

## SET HISTORY UNIT VI PART 3

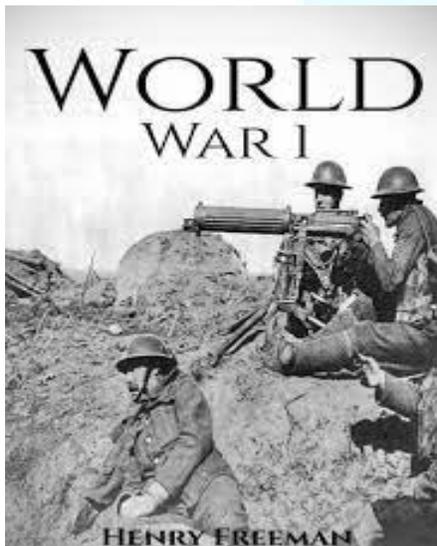
### THEMES OF WORLD HISTORY



## MODULE 9

### THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS

#### World War - I



What was the scenario in Europe during the Pre-war Era?

**World in 1914**

- Germany was the leading power in Europe both militarily and economically during the first phase of the 19th century.
- There was a great burst of imperialist expansion amongst European powers to get access to new markets and resources
- Europe had divided itself into two major alliance systems

### **What were the two alliance systems prevailing in Europe then?**

#### **The Triple Alliance:**

- o **Germany**
- o **Austria-Hungary**
- o **Italy**

#### **The Triple Entente:**

- o **Britain**
- o **France**
- o **Russia**

- The two major groups termed as 'the armed camps' had already brought Europe on verge of war numerous times.

### **What were the major causes of friction amongst these nations?**

#### **Three major crises between 1900 and 1914**

- Between 1900 and 1914 there had been three major crises between the great powers exposing differences between the powers and hostility between them.
- Two were over Morocco (1905, 1911) and the other was over the Austrian annexation of Bosnia (1908).

#### **First Moroccan Crisis**

- In 1905 Kaiser Wilhelm II visited the Moroccan port and denounced French influence in Morocco.
- The visit provoked an international crisis, which was resolved in France's favor at the Algeiras Conference, 1906.

## **Second Moroccan Crisis**

- This crisis erupted when the Germans sent the gunboat "Panther" to the Moroccan port of Agadir, to protect German citizens there.
- Germany claimed that the French had ignored the terms of the Algeiras Conference. The Germans agreed to leave Morocco to the French in return for rights in the Congo, leading to its humiliation

## **The Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina**

- Austria annexed Bosnia after tricking Russia during negotiations between their respective foreign ministers.
- The action outraged Serbia as there was a large Serbian population in Bosnia
- Russia bowed to German pressure when they supported Austria and they agreed to the annexation.

### **The Germans**

- There was a lot of resentment among Germans against the 'the triple Entente', as Germany remained wary of it getting 'encircled'
- Germany was disappointed with the results of their world policies as it was not as fruitful as compared to the other European powers.
- There was a Naval contention between Germany and Britain

### **The Serbian Nationalism**

- Following the second Balkan war, Austria-Hungary became wary of the rising regional power in form of Serbia
- The relations between Serbia and Austria-Hungary were tense despite King Milan, the ruler of the Serbian kingdom being pro-Austrian
- This triggered a sense of distrust by many Serbian nationalists for him leading to his assassination.
- The change of regime caused a dramatic shift in the Serbian policy towards Russia
- This further seeded a sense of nationalism amongst many Serbians and Croats who were part of the Hapsburg Empire.

### **The Russians**

- The Russians were suspicious of the Austrian ambitions in the Balkans
- They were also bothered about the rising military and economic strength of Germany

### **Britain and Germany Rivalry**

- The desire for economic mastery caused many German businessmen and capitalist to want a war with the English

### **Naval Domination**

- Sea power was one of the benchmarks to a successful and a strong military buildup. Both Germany and Britain were involved in an arm race.

### **What were the key reasons that led to the World war?**

#### **Russia backing Serbia**

- Serbia's anti-Austrian policy was only encouraged by the Russian backing that led to the great mobilization of armies between Russia and Germany.
- Bulgaria and Turkey were both under the German influence enabling Germans to control Dardanelles, the outlet of the Black sea, which was the main trade route for RussiaGermany backing Austria ("Blank Cheque")
- Ambitious Germany in 1914, gave Austria a green signal to attack Serbia, in order to remain the sole power in Europe.
- Germany always remained a strong ally to Austria-Hungary as they helped them to gain control over the Balkans

#### **Immediate Cause: Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand**

- On 28 June 1914, a Serbian-nationalist terrorist group called the Black Hand sent groups to assassinate the Archduke.
- A Serbian nationalist named Gavrilo Princip assassinated him and his wife while they were in Sarajevo, Bosnia which was part of Austria-Hungary.
- This led to Austria-Hungary declaring war on Serbia.
- When Russia began to mobilize due to its alliance with Serbia, Germany declared war on Russia.

## Timeline (Summary of events)

- **Archduke Franz Ferdinand**, the prince to the Austria-Hungary command was assassinated in Sarajevo by a Serbian named Gavrilo Princip.
- **July 28** - Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia. Russia begins mobilizing its troops.
- **August 1** - Germany declares war on Russia.
- **August 3** - Germany declares war on France as part of the Schlieffen Plan.
- **August 4** - Germany invades Belgium. Britain declares war on Germany.
- **August 23** - The Battle of Tannenberg is fought; the Germans defeat the Russian Second Army.
- **October 19** - The Allies defeat the Germans at the First Battle of Ypres.
- **November 11** - The Ottoman Empire declares war on the Allies.
- **December 24** - An unofficial truce is declared between the two sides at Christmas.

## 1915

- **April 25** - The Allies attack the Ottoman Empire at the Battle of Gallipoli.
- **October 14** - Bulgaria enters the war by declaring war on Serbia.

## 1916

- **February 21** - The Battle of Verdun begins between France and Germany. This battle will last until December of 1916 and will finally result in a French victory.
- **May 31** - The largest naval battle of the war, the Battle of Jutland, is fought between Britain and Germany in the North Sea.
- **July 1** - The Battle of the Somme begins. Over 1 million soldiers will be wounded or killed. 1917
- **April 6** - The United States enters the war, declaring war on Germany.
- **November 7** - The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, overthrow the Russian government.
- **December 17** - The Russians agree to peace with the Central powers and leave the war. 1918

- **January 8** – President Woodrow Wilson issues his "Fourteen Points" for peace and an end to the war.
- **March 21** – Germany launches the Spring Offensive hoping to defeat the Allies before reinforcements from the United States can be deployed.
- **July 15** – The Second Battle of the Marne begins. This battle will end on August 6 as a decisive victory for the Allies.
- **November 11** – Germany agrees to a settlement and the fighting comes to an end at 11am on the 11th day of the 11th month.
- **June 28** – The Treaty of Versailles is signed by Germany and World War I comes to an end

## Post war

### What the Treaty of Versailles held?

- World War I officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919.

### What were the terms of the Treaty of Versailles?

- There were a total of 440 clauses in the final treaty.
- The first 26 clauses dealt with the establishment of the League of Nations.
- The remaining 414 clauses spelled out Germany's punishment.

## General Clauses

- The establishment of the League of Nations
- War Guilt clause – Germany to accept blame for starting the war.

### Financial Clauses

- Reparations – Germany was to pay for the damage caused by the war. The figure of £6,600

## Military Clauses

- Germany was asked to disarm and abolish conscription
- Army – was to be reduced to 100,000 men and no tanks were allowed

- Navy – Germany was only allowed 6 ships and no submarines
- Air Force – Germany was not allowed an Air Force
- Rhineland – The Rhineland area was to be kept free of German military personnel and weapons
- Germany was asked to dismantle her fortifications along the river Rhine and open the Kiel canal to all nations

### **Territorial Clauses**

- Anschluss – Germany was not allowed to unite with Austria.
- Land – Germany lost land to a number of other countries.
- Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France
- Eupen and Malmedy were given to Belgium
- North Schleswig was given to Denmark.
- Land was also taken from Germany and given to Czechoslovakia and Poland.
- The League of Nations took control of Germany's colonies

### **Political clauses**

- Germany recognized the independence of Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and GermanAustria
- She was asked to give her consent to the invalidation to the treaties of Brestlitovsk and Bucharest (signed with Russia and Romania in 1918)
- She had to permit the Allies to make new arrangements regarding the affairs of Eastern Europe

## **World Organisations – League of Nations**



- **The League of Nations** was the first worldwide intergovernmental organization whose principal mission was to maintain world peace.
- It was founded on 10 January 1920 by the Paris Peace Conference that ended the First World War. The main organization ceased operations on 20 April 1946 but many of its components were relocated into the new United Nations.
- The League's primary goals were stated in its Covenant. They included preventing wars through collective security and disarmament and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.
- Its other concerns included labor conditions, just treatment of native inhabitants, human and drug trafficking, the arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, and protection of minorities in Europe.
- The Covenant of the League of Nations was signed on 28 June 1919 as Part I of the Treaty of Versailles, and it became effective together with the rest of the Treaty on 10 January 1920.
- The first meeting of the Council of the League took place on 16 January 1920, and the first meeting of the Assembly of the League took place on 15 November 1920.
- In 1919 U.S. president Woodrow Wilson won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role as the leading architect of the League.
- The diplomatic philosophy behind the League represented a fundamental shift from the preceding hundred years.

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- The League lacked its own armed force and depended on the victorious First World War Allies (Britain, France, Italy and Japan were the permanent members of the Executive Council) to enforce its resolutions, keep to its economic sanctions, or provide an army when needed.
- The Great Powers were often reluctant to do so. Sanctions could hurt League members, so they were reluctant to comply with them.
- During the Second Italo–Ethiopian War, when the League accused Italian soldiers of targeting International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement medical tents, Benito Mussolini responded that "the League is very good when sparrows shout, but no good at all when eagles fall out."
- At its greatest extent from 28 September 1934 to 23 February 1935, it had 58 members. After some notable successes and some early failures in the 1920s, the League ultimately proved incapable of preventing aggression by the Axis powers in the 1930s.
- The credibility of the organization was weakened by the fact that the United States never joined the League and the Soviet Union joined late and was soon expelled after invading Finland.
- Germany withdrew from the League, as did Japan, Italy, Spain and others. The onset of the Second World War in 1939 showed that the League had failed its primary purpose; it was inactive until its abolition. The League lasted for 26 years; the United Nations (UN) replaced it in 1946 and inherited several agencies and organizations founded by the League.
- Current scholarly consensus views that, even though the League failed to achieve its ultimate goal of world peace, it did manage to build new roads towards expanding the rule of law across the globe;
- strengthened the concept of collective security, giving a voice to smaller nations; helped to raise awareness to problems like epidemics, slavery, child labour, colonial tyranny, refugee crises and general working conditions through its numerous commissions and committees; and

paved the way for new forms of statehood, as the mandate system put the colonial powers under international observation.

- Professor David Kennedy portrays the League as a unique moment when international affairs were "institutionalized", as opposed to the pre-First World War methods of law and politics.

## Principal organs

Further information: Organisation of the League of Nations, Permanent Court of International Justice, and Leaders of the League of Nations

### League of Nations Organisation chart

- ❖ A drive leads past a manicured lawn to a large white rectangular building with columns on its facade. Two wings of the building are set back from the middle section.
- ❖ Palace of Nations, Geneva, the League's headquarters from 1936 until its dissolution in 1946
- ❖ The main constitutional organs of the League were the Assembly, the council, and the Permanent Secretariat. It also had two essential wings: the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organization. In addition, there were several auxiliary agencies and commissions.
- ❖ **Each organ's budget was allocated by the Assembly** (the League was supported financially by its member states).
- ❖ The relations between the assembly and the council and the competencies of each were for the most part not explicitly defined.
- ❖ Each body could deal with any matter within the sphere of competence of the league or affecting peace in the world. Particular questions or tasks might be referred to either.
- ❖ Unanimity was required for the decisions of both the assembly and the council, except in matters of procedure and some other specific cases such as the admission of new members.

- ❖ This requirement was a reflection of the league's belief in the sovereignty of its component nations; the league sought a solution by consent, not by dictation. In case of a dispute, the consent of the parties to the dispute was not required for unanimity.
- ❖ The Permanent Secretariat, established at the seat of the League at Geneva, comprised a body of experts in various spheres under the direction of the general secretary.
- ❖ Its principal sections were **Political, Financial and Economics, Transit, Minorities and Administration (administering the Saar and Danzig), Mandates, Disarmament, Health, Social (Opium and Traffic in Women and Children), Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux, Legal, and Information.**
- ❖ The staff of the Secretariat was responsible for preparing the agenda for the Council and the Assembly and publishing reports of the meetings and other routine matters, effectively acting as the League's civil service. In 1931 the staff numbered 707.
- ❖ The Assembly consisted of representatives of all members of the League, with each state allowed up to three representatives and one vote. It met in Geneva and, after its initial sessions in 1920, it convened once a year in September.
- ❖ The special functions of the Assembly included the admission of new members, the periodical election of non-permanent members to the council, the election with the Council of the judges of the Permanent Court, and control of the budget. In practice, the Assembly was the general directing force of League activities.

The League Council acted as a type of executive body directing the Assembly's business. It began with four permanent members – Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan – and four non-permanent members that were elected by the Assembly for a three-year term. The first non-permanent members were Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain.

The composition of the council was changed several times. The number of non-permanent members was first increased to six on 22 September 1922 and to nine on 8 September 1926. Werner Dankwort of Germany pushed for his country to join the League; joining in 1926, Germany became the fifth permanent member of the council. Later, after

**Germany and Japan both left the League**, the number of non-permanent seats was increased from nine to eleven, and the Soviet Union was made a permanent member giving the council a total of fifteen members.

The Council met, on average, five times a year and in extraordinary sessions when required. In total, 107 sessions were held between 1920 and 1939

## **MODULE 10**

### **ANTI COLONIAL STRUGGLES**

Most of the colonies of various European Powers had to wage struggle for their independence. However, there was no uniform pattern of these struggles, nor a common method of the struggle, nor even the duration of struggles was, generally speaking; the same.

Their nature often differed sharply and the time taken by a moment to be successful depended on many factors such as determination of 104 Leadership, support of the people and attitude of the colonial power

concerned. In many countries, protest against colonial rule had existed right from the time of arrival of colonial rulers.

In other countries like Ghana (Gold Coast), Nigeria, the Congo, Angola, etc. such movements began much after many of the Asian countries had already become free. It is not possible in this unit to go into all the details of struggles of all the colonies. What is proposed to be done is to examine the broad patterns and methods of freedom struggles.

In the present section two broad patterns of anti-colonial struggles are dealt with. an attempt will be made to briefly deal with the methods used by different colonies. The two main patterns were generally highlighted by the leftist scholars.

A large number of present members of the United Nations were subjected to foreign rule and exploitation, for a long time, before they attained sovereignty and full statehood after the Second World War,

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of European Powers set out to establish their economic domination and political control over vast territories of Asia and Africa. Practically the entire continent of Africa and large parts of Asia had become colonies either of Britain or France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium or the Netherlands.

The peoples of colonies had to carry out struggles for their freedom from foreign rulers. These struggles are known as anti-colonial struggles, and were carried out in different ways in different colonies. The process of victory of anti-colonial struggles and achievement of freedom by the colonies came to be known as decolonisation.

## **Colonialism**

The term colonialism is used to indicate a situation in which economically prosperous and developed countries of Europe established their control over the backward, poor and underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The basic feature of colonialism is exploitation of underdeveloped countries by the rich European nations. Imperialism is a term that indicates political control of one country over the other. The imperial powers acquired political control over a large number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, if colonialism was economic exploitation, imperialism was political control. The two went hand-in-glove. In most cases imperialism followed economic domination and exploitation.

Colonies were used to acquire cheap raw material and labor, and for dumping in their markets the finished goods produced by the colonial powers. Both colonialism and imperialism were exploitative and undemocratic. One naturally followed the other.

## **PATTERNS OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES**



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### **National Independence Movements**



A large number of countries, including India, followed the pattern of anti-colonial struggles known as independence movements. The 1<sup>st</sup> movements were aimed at the removal of the foreign rulers, and securing political independence. It was believed that the principal concern of the leadership of freedom movements was transfer of power from the imperial masters to the local people.

The aim was to replace the foreign governments with national governments and to build a strong state after independence. The critics pointed out that it simply meant change of rulers. For example, in the case of India, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya, etc. the objective was to throw the British out, and secure transfer of power to the local elite.

The national independence movements were not immediately concerned with patterns or anti-colonial restructuring of colonial societies. Leftist scholars describe these movements as bourgeois, professional and bureaucratic movements for political change. The point that the critics tried to make was that transfer of power made no difference to the common man and woman who remained under the existing exploitative socio-economic system. National independence movements did not seek to change the social system or the economic order. In India and Pakistan, for example, caste continued to dominate the social system which perpetuated social injustice. In economic

sphere , capitalists and landlords continued to enjoy full power over their workers and peasants. Industrial management remained exploitative.

The workers were given no share in management. Not only that, conditions of living and work were neither hygienic nor conducive to good life. The peasants in the rural areas % remained at the mercy of landlords and big peasants.

To sum up, political power changed hands, while the socio-economic system remained as before. Exploitation remained; exploiters changed. This was the result of freedom movements carried out by parties and leaders who were essentially concerned with transfer of political power. Most of the leaders had been educated in Great Britain, or in other European countries. In many countries these "**~westernized'~** leaders failed to be mass leaders. This, according to critics, was a pattern that helped leadership to acquire power, but did not help the common man overcome his difficulties.

### **National Liberation Movements**

These movements began rather late. In very few colonies movements that were launched and carried out for independence had twin purposes. These anti-colonial struggles were aimed at liberation of the masses from exploitation and injustice.

At the same time they wanted to defeat the foreign rulers and seek power for the people, not for the elite. This, however, is doubtful if the gains actually reached the masses. Power, when transferred, went into the hands of leadership. Vietnam can be cited as an example of the liberation movement.

**The Communist Party**, under the leadership of **Ho Chi Minh**, had to wage a long struggle first against the French who wanted to regain their hold after the Japanese defeat and retain it as long as they could. Later, when the US intervened on the side of South Vietnam, where a right wing government had come to power, the Ho Chi Minh regime had to fight against the Americans and South Vietnamese.

At the same time, this struggle was aimed at removal of poverty, illiteracy and exploitation. The objective of the national liberation movements (or liberation struggles), as in the case of Vietnam or Congo or Angola was ending alien rule and radical restructuring of socio-economic systems.

The aim was to bring about socioeconomic justice and ensure power to the people. Though the western critics dubbed it as mere communist domination, the leaders of the movement described it as people's struggle for their rights, and freedom, and struggle against foreign domination and internal injustice perpetuated by the landlords and holders of wealth.

To conclude, the two main patterns of anti-colonial struggles were common in one respect. Both types of struggles were to defeat the colonialism and imperialism by throwing the foreign rulers out - British in case of India, Burma, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana etc.; French in case of Algeria, Ivory Coast and IndoChina Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam; Belgians in case of Congo; the Dutch in case of Indonesia, and Portuguese in case of Angola and Mozambique.

objective was common, the difference between the independence Anti-Colonial ' **Struggle movements and liberation struggles** was that whereas the former sought only the political freedom from foreign rule or Swaraj the latter also wanted social and economic justice and defeat of exploitation in all its manifestations. Guided by Marxist-Leninist ideas, their aim was social revolution along with political independence.

### **THREE STAGES OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES**

Patterns and methods of anti-colonial struggles were largely influenced by changes in the international environment and changes within the colonial powers.

The Second World War, emergence of two SuperPowers, Cold War and weakened position of once powerful Britain: France and other European Powers certainly ensured success of anti-colonial struggles. In this section, you will read about three stages of freedom struggles.

These three stages are explained below as general patterns, not necessarily followed in all the colonies and all the anti-colonial struggles. Geoffrey Barraclough analyzes the struggles for freedom by dividing them into three stages. Here no distinction is made between independence movements and liberation movements.

The three stages discussed by Barraclough were: proto nationalism; the rise of new leadership; and the struggle assuming the nature of mass movements.

### **Proto-Nationalism**

The first stage, called proto-nationalism refers to the earliest period of anti-colonial struggles. During this early phase people in the colonies had not yet become aware of their rights and the need for independence. By and large, colonial rule was accepted by the local people. Nevertheless, social groups and political inconveniences demanded reforms within the system of colonial rule. In India, the Indian National Congress was established in 1885, but not to oust the British rulers.

For the next 20 years, the Congress remained a forum of quality debates. Its sessions were annual gatherings of western - educated well-dressed English Speaking elite. The then leadership believed in the superiority of British civilisation and Englishmen's sense of justice and fair play.

The early demands of the Congress were limited to local reforms, limited share in the Councils and job opportunities for educated Indians. There was no confrontation with the colonial masters.

It was the stage of submitting petitions and seeking reforms. In Indonesia, the first stage began only in 1910-11 with the beginning of religious - nationalist movement called Sarekat Islam. Similar movements began in African colonies like Algeria, Nigeria etc. only around 1920.

## The Rise of New Leadership

The second stage is described as the rise of new Leadership. As nationalism became mature and the struggle against colonial powers became the goal, a number of new, patriotic, dedicated leaders emerged in the colonies who took over the control of the movement.

Nationalism began to gain ground among the middle classes. During this stage demands made on colonial powers were substantially expanded, and independence was considered as a future goal. In India, this stage lasted till after the First World War.

The social base of the Congress Party had expanded, yet the struggle had not fully become a mass movement. Complete independence, or purna swaraj, was demanded only in 1930. Till then the goal was dominion status. During this period leadership passed from the hands of Gokhale to Mahatma Gandhi, and soon leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad came to the forefront. In Indonesia, Sarakat Islami constituted itself to independence in 1917 under the Leadership of Sukarno. In Tunisia and Nigeria such turning points were reached in 1934 and 1944 respectively.

There was no chronological similarity in different stages in different countries, but several prominent leaders emerged in different colonies. These included Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah in Gold Coast (Ghana) and Aung San in Burma (Myanmar).

## Mass Movement

The third and final stage leading to success of anti-colonial struggles was shown as mass movement. National movements became so strong by this time that, in many cases, colonial rulers had to use force (often brutal force) to maintain themselves in power.

In India, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, the movement reached the common man even in the remote villages. This process began with the civil

disobedience movement. The movement for punia swaraj was a mass struggle for independence. The British used force, arrested large numbers of people and often sent prominent leaders to jail. The British rulers had become panicky even with the mere announcement of Quit India Movement in August 1942.

Indonesia, a comparable movement, could be launched by Sukarno only during the Second World War. In Nigeria, the third stage was reached only in 1951. The three stages were not equally distinct everywhere. The process extended to the longest period of time in the British colonies. In many of the French colonies it took just 10 to 20 years. In the Belgian Congo, there were hardly any demands for independence till 1955. Many local leaders then visualized a period of 60 years or longer for independence. Still, the tempo of events was so fast that the Congo was free in 1960.

## **SUCCESS OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES**

- The process of termination of colonial rule is described as decolonisation. The anti-colonial struggles achieved success and the colonial system was liquidated in phases and stages.
- It took nearly 45 years for the entire process to be completed. Anti-colonial struggles achieved their first success in Asia, and then in Africa.
- In 1946 the Philippines achieved independence, and in 1947 India became free from British colonial rule. Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Burma (Myanmar) achieved freedom in 1948, and next year independence and sovereignty of Indonesia was formally recognized by the Netherlands.
- Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (former Indo-China) were recognized as sovereign states in 1949, but they remained within the French Union until France finally lost control in 1954.
- The second phase commenced in the mid-1950s when Morocco and Tunisia left the French Union. Britain pulled out of Egyptian Sudan and Malaya became independent in 1957.

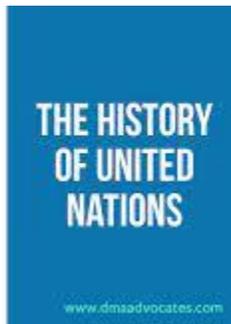
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- But all these states had enjoyed some degree of autonomy even when they were parts of the French or British colonial system. The freedom struggle of Gold Coast (Ghana) under the leadership of Nkrumah successfully ended in 1957. This struggle was a short affair, but its victory proved that the will of the colonial powers to rule was cracking.
- **"French Community"**-established in 1958 to **"assimilate"** all the French colonies in it broke up just after two years as Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Togo and Cameroon all became independent.
- Also in 1960, Britain withdrew from Nigeria, an independent Somalia was created with the fusion of British and Italian Somaliland, and the Belgian Congo became independent. In 1961 British rule ended in Cyprus, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Kuwait.
- Next year Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago and Uganda achieved freedom from Britain. In 1962, France ended her long war in Algeria and gave her full freedom.
- In 1963, anti-colonial struggle succeeded in Kenya, and Zanzibar also became free. While most of Asia and Africa became independent by the mid 1960s, the struggle of the colonies of Portugal and Spain did not succeed till the 1970s. With the fall of Portuguese ruler Salazar, Guinea - Bissau achieved its independence in 1974. Angola and Mozambique followed suit in 1975.
  
- It is only in the last phase that Namibia succeeded in its long anti-colonial struggle in 1990 when South Africa was forced to grant independence to its neighbor. Although the United States always declared itself to be against the colonial system it still continued to rule over Guam and Puerto Rico.

## **MODULE 11**

### **UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION – COLD WAR**

#### **UNITED NATIONS**



#### **Brief Introduction**

- The United Nations (UN) is an intergovernmental organization tasked to promote international cooperation and to create and maintain international order.
- A replacement for the ineffective League of Nations, the organization was established on 24 October 1945 after World War II in order to prevent another such conflict.

#### **What is the main purpose of the United Nations?**

Article I of the Charter of the United Nations specifies the purposes of the UN. The Charter of the United Nations (UN Charter) is the UN's governing document, much like the Constitution of the United States of America.

The UN Charter sets out the following four main purposes:

- 1. Maintaining worldwide peace and security.**
- 2. Developing relations among nations.**

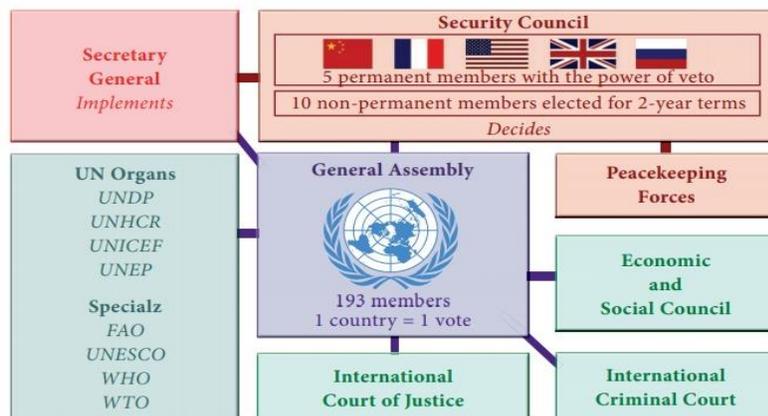
**3. Fostering cooperation between nations in order to solve economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian international problems.**

**4. Providing a forum for bringing countries together to meet the UN's purposes and goals.**

## **History of United Nations**

- • The predecessor entity to the UN was the League of Nations.
- • The League of Nations was established during WWI in 1919, by the Treaty of Versailles (one of the peace treaties adopted at the end of WWI).
- • The League of Nations goal was to encourage cooperation between countries and keep international peace and security.
- • Unfortunately, the League of Nations failed to prevent WWII and, therefore, was seen as a failure.
- • After WWII ended, the representatives of the Allied Powers and twenty-four other countries met in San Francisco for the United Nations Conference on International Organization.
- • The conference's sole purpose was to draft the UN Charter.
- • On June 26, 1945, the United Nations Charter was signed by 51 countries, including Poland, which did not attend the conference but signed later.
- • After the ratification of the UN Charter, the remaining members of the League of Nations met and unanimously voted to transfer all of its assets to the United Nations and formally dissolve the League of Nations.

## **Structure of the UN**



- The UN system is based on five principal organs: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice.
- A sixth principal organ, the Trusteeship Council, suspended operations in 1994, upon the independence of Palau, the last remaining UN trustee territory.

## UN General Assembly

- May resolve non-compulsory recommendations to states or suggestions to the Security Council (UNSC).
- Decides on the admission of new members, following a proposal by the UNSC.
- Adopt the budget.
- Elects the non-permanent members of the UNSC, members of ECOSOC, UN Secretary General, and judges of the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

## UN Secretariat (Administrative organ of the UN)

- Supports the other UN bodies administratively (for example, in the organization of conferences, the writing of reports and studies and the preparation of the budget).
- Its chairperson, the UN Secretary General, is elected by the General Assembly for a five-year mandate and is the UN's foremost representative.

## **International Court of Justice**

- Decides disputes between states that recognize its jurisdiction.
- Issues legal opinions.
- Renders judgment by relative majority.
- Its fifteen judges are elected by the UN General Assembly for nine-year terms.

## **UN Security Council**

- Responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.
- May adopt compulsory resolutions.
- Has fifteen members: five permanent members with veto power and ten elected members.



## **How different is the United Nations from the League of Nations?**

- • The League's failure to prevent the outbreak of World War II in 1939 did not destroy the belief in the need for a universal organization. On the contrary, it bred a determination to learn from the mistakes of the past and to build a new world body more adequately equipped to maintain
- international peace in the future.
- • The differences between the League of Nations and the UN begin with the circumstances of their creation.
- • Whereas the Covenant of the League was formulated after hostilities were ended, the main features of the UN were devised while war was still in progress.

- • The UN is committed to safeguarding human rights, which the League did not get involved in.
- • The Covenant was hammered out behind closed doors, first by the five major powers of the era – France, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States and eventually in conjunction with nine other allied nations.
- • The UN Charter, on the other hand, was the product of combined efforts of 50 nations represented at the 1945 San Francisco Conference and therefore took into account the views of the smaller nations, especially their concern to give the new organization far-reaching responsibilities in promoting economic and social cooperation and the independence of colonial peoples.

### **How successful has the UN been as a peacekeeping organization?**

- The UN, after approval by the Security Council, sends peacekeepers to regions where armed conflict has recently ceased or paused to enforce the terms of peace agreements and to discourage combatants from resuming hostilities.
- Since the UN does not maintain its own military, peacekeeping forces are voluntarily provided by member states.

### **Following are the successes and failures of UN peacekeeping organization:**

#### **Successes:**

- **Palestine (1947):** The dispute between Jews and Arabs in Palestine was brought in 1947. After investigating, the UN decided to divide Palestine, setting up the Jewish state of Palestine.

However, the decision was not accepted by the majority of Arabs. The UN was then unable to prevent a series of wars between Israel and Arab states. Though, UN did useful work in arranging ceasefires and providing supervisory forces.

- **Korean War:** The UN took decisive action in a crisis directly involving the superpowers. South Korea was invaded by communist North Korea. UN called member states to send help to South Korea. It was claimed as a great success by the UN.

- **Suez Crisis (1956):** In 1956, the first UN peacekeeping force was established to end the Suez Crisis. Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser had announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, the joint British–French enterprise which had owned and operated the Suez Canal since its construction in 1869.

- **1991 Gulf war:** UN action during the Gulf War of 1991 was impressive.

- **Iran–Iraq war:** The UN was successful in bringing an end to the long-drawn war between Iran and Iraq.

### **Failures:**

- **The Hungarian Rising (1956)** – This event showed the UN at its most ineffective. Hungary had been controlled by Russia since 1945. Russia crushed the revolts by Hungarians while exerting their independence. Russians did not cooperate with the UN and no progress could be made by the UN.

- **Cyprus** – A civil war broke out in Cyprus in 1963. The civil war broke out between the Greeks

and the Turks. The UN condemned the invasion but was unable to remove the Turks. The UN has still been unable to reach a final conclusion. An acceptable constitution has not yet been arrived at.

- **Kashmir** – The UN faced a similar situation in Kashmir, like that in Cyprus. The original dispute still remains. There seems little prospect of the UN or any other body finding a permanent solution.

Other works and responsibilities of United Nations



- **The Human Rights Commission**
- **International Labour Organization (ILO)**
- **World Health Organization (WHO)**
- **Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)**
- **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)**
- **United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)**
- **United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)**
- **Financial and Economic agencies like IMF, World Bank, GATT and UNCTAD**

## **THE COLD WAR**



Towards the end of the Second World War, the harmony which had existed between the USSR, the USA and the British empire began to wear thin and all the old suspicions came to the fore again.

Relations between Soviet Russia and the west became so difficult that, although no actual fighting took place directly between the two camps, the decade after 1945 saw the first phase of what became known as the Cold War. Instead of allowing their mutual hostility to express in open fighting, the rival powers attacked each other with propaganda and economic measures, and with a general policy of non-cooperation.

This continued, in spite of several 'thaws', until the collapse of communism in eastern Europe in 1989- 91.

## **What caused the Cold War?**

### **• Differences of principle**

The basic cause of conflict lay in the differences of principle between the communist states and the capitalist or liberal-democratic states:

- Ever since the world's first communist government was set up in Russia in 1917, most capitalist states viewed it with mistrust.
- They were afraid of communism spreading to their countries.

## **E ▶ ENTRI**

- Capitalist states- the USA, Britain, France and Japan sent troops to Russia in 1918 to help the anti-communist during the civil war.
- Communists won the civil war but Stalin, who came to power in Russia in 1929, was convinced that there would be another attempt by the capitalist forces to destroy communism.
- The German invasion of Russia in 1941 proved him right.

### **Stalin's foreign policies**

- As Nazi army collapsed, Stalin occupied as much German territory as he could. He also acquired land from countries such as Finland, Poland and Romania.
- The west was alarmed at this, as they believed that Stalin was committed to spreading communism over as much of the globe as possible.

### **US and British politicians to the Soviet government**

- President Roosevelt was inclined to trust Stalin. However, he died in April 1945. President Truman was suspicious of Stalin.
- Many believe his main motive of dropping the atomic bombs on Japan was not simply to defeat Japan, which was ready to surrender, but to give a warning to Stalin.
- Stalin was suspicious of the USA and Britain as during the Second World War they delayed the invasion of France. He believed it was intended to keep Russia under pressure on the first front.
- Stalin was also miffed with them as they hid the information on the existence of an atomic bomb from him.
- They also rejected Stalin's request that Russia should share in the occupation of Japan.

Above all, the west had the atomic bomb and the USSR did not.

## How did the Cold War develop between 1945 and 1953?

### The Yalta Conference (February, 1945)

- Held in Russia.
- Attended by three allied leaders- Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill.
- Purpose- to plan the road ahead after the war got over.
- Agreements reached:
  - The United Nations should be formed to replace the failed League of Nations
  - Germany to be divided into zones- **Russian, American and British (a French zone was included later)**- while Berlin, which was in the middle of the Russian zone would also be split into corresponding zones.
  - Similar arrangements were made for Austria.
  - Free election to be held in the states of Eastern Europe;
  - Stalin promised to join the war against Japan on condition that Russia received the whole of Sakhalin island and some of Manchuria.
- However, there are signs of trouble over the issue of Poland. Stalin pursued a policy of expanding the area under communist influence, causing irritation to Roosevelt and Churchill.

### The Potsdam Conference (July, 1945)

- The war with Germany was over, but no agreement was reached about her long-term future.
- It was agreed that the Germans should pay reparations to the USSR. \* It was over Poland that the main disagreements occurred. The pro-communist government in Poland had expelled 5 million Germans; this was not agreed to at Yalta.

- Truman did not inform Stalin about the exact nature of the atomic bomb, though Churchill was informed about it.
- A few days later, two atomic bombs were dropped on Japan and the war was over without the Russian help.
- Although, Russians declared war on Japan and annexed south Sakhalin as agreed at Yalta, they were allowed no part in the occupation of Japan.

### **Communism established in Eastern Europe**

- In the months following Potsdam, the Russians systematically interfered in the countries of eastern Europe to set up pro-communist governments.
- This happened in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania. This alarmed the west. Churchill responded to this in a speech where he said that an iron curtain has descended across the continent from the Baltic to the Adriatic.
- He called for a western alliance against the communist threat. \* Stalin described him as a warmonger.
- The speech widened the rift between the east and the west.

### **The Russians continued to tighten their grip on eastern Europe**

- By the end of 1947 every state in the area, except Czechoslovakia, had a communist government.
- The Russians used fair and foul means to bring up these governments. In addition, Stalin treated the Russian zone of Germany as if it were a Russian territory.
- It was Stalin's methods of gaining control which upset the west.

### **• The Truman Doctrine**

#### **The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan**

**The Truman Doctrine** - In 1947, President Harry S. Truman pledged that the United States would help any nation resist communism in order to prevent its spread.

His policy of containment is known as the Truman Doctrine. - The world was in flux in the aftermath of World War II, and political upheaval reigned in many countries. - Already wary of communism, the United States was dismayed when a number of countries in Europe and Asia adopted communist governments in the late 1940s. - When England notified the United States that it could no longer afford to fight communist insurgencies in Greece and Turkey, US President Harry S. Truman issued what would become known as the Truman Doctrine: a promise that the United States would do whatever was necessary both economically and militarily to contain the spread of communism around the world. - With this step, the US signaled that its role on the world stage would not conclude after World War II, ending a century and a half of isolationist foreign policy in America. - During Truman's presidency, the Truman Doctrine would result in another conflict in Asia, this time in Korea, as the US attempted to prevent the unification of Korea under a communist government. - Truman's policy would continue to drive American interventions through the 1980s. - To help rebuild after the war, the United States pledged \$13 billions of aid to Europe in the Marshall Plan.

**The Marshall Plan:** - One of the most pressing problems in the immediate aftermath of World War II was the reconstruction of Europe. - The war left a swath of destruction that crippled infrastructure and led to massive food shortages in the winter of 1946-1947. -

The United States feared that a hungry, devastated Europe might turn to communism (as China would do in 1949). -

## ENTRI

To stabilize the European economy, US Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed a plan to provide Europe with \$13 billion in economic aid. The Marshall Plan proved enormously successful, helping to rehabilitate European nations that accepted the aid. - It also provided a boost to the American economy, since Marshall Plan funds were used to purchase American goods. - However, its main aims were political; communism was less likely to gain control in a prosperous western Europe. - Russia denounces the whole idea as "dollar imperialism". - The USSR rejected the offer, and neither her satellite state nor Czechoslovakia, were allowed to take advantage of the plan. - The "iron curtain" seemed a reality.

### The Cominform

- This was the communist response.
- Set up by Stalin in 1947, this was an organization to draw together the various European communist parties.
- All the satellite states were members, and the French and Italian communist parties were represented.
- Stalin's aim was to tighten the grip on the satellites.
- Eastern Europe was to be industrialized, collectivized and centralized. States were expected to trade primarily with Cominform members.
- In 1949, the Molotov Plan was introduced, offering Russian aid to the satellites.
- Another organization known as Comecon (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance) was set up to co-ordinate their economic policies

### **The Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia (February, 1948)**

- This came as a great blow to the western bloc.
- It was the only democratic state in Eastern Europe.
- The western powers and the UN protested but felt unable to take any action because they were unable to prove Russian involvement.
- The “iron curtain” was complete.

### **The Berlin Blockade and airlift (June 1948- May 1949)**

- Believing that a reunified Germany would prevent a repeat of the economic catastrophe that had followed World War I, the US, Britain, and France decided to consolidate their zones of Germany.
- The USSR, which wanted to make sure that Germany would never attack it again, strongly objected to this plan.
- In 1948 the USSR flexed its might by cutting off all highway and railroad access to the city of Berlin (which fell within its occupation zone), hoping to absorb all of Berlin under Soviet control.
- West Berlin would either starve or the Western Allies would surrender to the Soviets' wishes for Germany.
- The US, Britain, and France refused to allow Russia to hold Berlin hostage. Instead, they arranged for a massive support mission to supply West Berlin.
- From June 1948 to May 1949, they sent hundreds of airplanes filled with food and fuel every day in what became known as the Berlin airlift. They also instituted a counter-blockade on East Berlin.
- After 11 months, the Soviets realized that the blockade was a failure and ended it.
- But the standoff over Berlin had crystallized the divisions of the Cold War. The Western Allies turned their combined occupation zones

into the new country of West Germany, and the Soviets responded by creating East Germany.

- In Berlin, the Soviets began the process of building a barrier between its eastern and western zones that would stand for the next forty years.

## **NATO**

- As tensions raged in Europe, the United States realized that long-lasting peace was not going to follow on the heels of World War II.
- When Britain, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg asked the United States to join its defensive alliance in 1948, the US broke its longstanding aversion toward entangling alliances abroad and signed on.
- The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as the pact was named, started with twelve-member nations (today, it has twenty-eight). NATO promised that an attack on one of its members would provoke a response from all of its members.
- NATO became the major international body opposing communism in the twentieth century.

## **The Warsaw Pact**

- The Warsaw Pact was created in reaction to the integration of West Germany into NATO.
- It is also considered to have been motivated by Soviet desires to maintain control over military forces in Central and Eastern Europe.
- The Warsaw Pact, formally the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was a collective defense treaty signed in Warsaw among the Soviet Union and seven Soviet satellite states of Central and Eastern Europe during the Cold War.

- The Warsaw Pact was the military complement to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CoMEcon).
- While the Warsaw Pact was established as a balance of power or counterweight to NATO, there was no direct confrontation between them.
- Instead, the conflict was fought on an ideological basis and in proxy wars.
- Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact led to the expansion of military forces and their integration into the respective blocs.

### **The Berlin Wall**

- The communists were embarrassed at the large number of refugees escaping from East Germany to West Germany.
- In 1961 Russia suggested to the USA to withdraw from Berlin.
- When Kennedy refused, the Berlin Wall was erected, a 28-mile-long monstrosity across the entire city, effectively blocking the escape route.

### **Nuclear arms race**

- After the USSR exploded an atomic bomb in 1949, an arms race began to develop.
- Truman responded by giving the go-ahead for the USA to develop a hydrogen bomb.
- What followed was a competition to create more and more nuclear bombs.
- The Americans remained ahead in numbers of nuclear bombs and bombers.
- However, Russians took the lead in 1957 when they produced an Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile. Americans soon followed.

## ENTRI

- Russians successfully launched the world's first earth satellite—Sputnik 1, in 1958. Americans followed within a few months.
- The race continued into the 1970s. By this time both the sides had enough horrific weapons to destroy the world many times over.

### **Protests against Nuclear weapons**

The world has become an increasingly dangerous place to live in. \*There were calls and campaigns for disarmament.

Earlier there were calls for unilateral disarmaments and then multilateral disarmaments.

In the 1980s there were protest demonstrations in many European countries, including West Germany, Holland, USA and Britain.

Perhaps the enormity of it all and the protest movements did play a role in bringing both sides to the negotiating table.

### **Détente**

- Détente (a French word meaning release from tension) is the name given to a period of improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union that began tentatively in 1971 and took decisive form when President Richard M. Nixon visited the secretary-general of the Soviet Communist party, Leonid I. Brezhnev, in Moscow, May 1972.
- Both countries stood to gain if trade could be increased and the danger of nuclear warfare reduced.
- In addition, Nixon—a candidate for re-election—was under fire at home from those demanding social change, racial equality, and an end to the Vietnam War.

- The trip to Russia permitted him to keep public attention focused on his foreign policy achievements rather than his domestic problems.
- Nixon's trip to China had also heightened the Soviets' interest in détente; given the growing antagonism between Russia and China. On May 22 Nixon became the first U.S. president to visit Moscow. He and Brezhnev signed seven agreements including the prevention of accidental military clashes; arms control, as recommended by the recent Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).
- In June 1973, Brezhnev visited the United States for Summit II; this meeting symbolized the two countries' continuing commitment to peace.
- Summit III, in June 1974, was the least productive; by then, the SALT talks had ground to a halt, several commercial agreements had been blocked in Congress because of Soviet treatment of Jews, and the Watergate investigation was approaching a climax.
- Nixon's successor in the talks, President Jimmy Carter, supported SALT II, but also pressed a military build-up and a human rights campaign, which cooled relations between the countries. With the election of Ronald Reagan, who emphasized military preparedness as the key to Soviet-American relations, détente as Nixon had envisioned it came to an end.

### **The Cuban missile crisis, 1962**

- Cuba became involved in the cold war in 1959 when Fidel Castro, who had just seized power from the corrupt, American-backed dictator Batista, outraged the USA by nationalizing American owned estates and factories.
- The Cuban Missile Crisis was a 13-day (October 16–28, 1962) confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union

concerning American ballistic missile deployment in Italy and Turkey with consequent Soviet ballistic missile deployment in Cuba.

- The confrontation is often considered the closest the Cold War came to escalate into a full-scale nuclear war.
- In response to the failed Bay of Pigs Invasion of 1961 and the presence of American Jupiter ballistic missiles in Italy and Turkey, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev decided to agree to Cuba's request to place nuclear missiles on the island to deter a future invasion.
- The missile preparations were confirmed when an Air Force U-2 spy plane produced clear photographic evidence of medium-range (SS-4) and intermediate-range (R-14) ballistic missile facilities.
- The US established a military blockade to prevent further missiles from reaching Cuba.
- It announced that they would not permit offensive weapons to be delivered to Cuba and demanded that the weapons already in Cuba be dismantled and returned to the Soviet Union.
- After a long period of tense negotiations, an agreement was reached between **US President John F. Kennedy and Khrushchev**. The Soviets would dismantle their offensive weapons in Cuba and return them to the Soviet Union, subject to United Nations verification, in exchange for a US public declaration and agreement to avoid invading Cuba again.
- The United States also agreed that it would dismantle its missiles, which had been deployed in Turkey and Italy against the Soviet Union.
- When all offensive missiles had been withdrawn from Cuba, the blockade was formally ended on November 21, 1962.
- The negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union pointed out the necessity of a quick, clear, and direct communication line between Washington and Moscow. As a result,

the Moscow–Washington hotline was established. However, the arms race continued into the 1970s.

## **The fall of USSR and the end of Cold War**



- ❖ Throughout the 1980s, the Soviet Union fought an increasingly frustrating war in Afghanistan.
- ❖ With the passing of several Soviet leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev assumed control of the Soviet Union. His rise to power ushered in an era of perestroika (restructuring) and of glasnost (openness).
- ❖ At the same time, the Soviet economy faced the continuously escalating costs of the arms race.
- ❖ Dissent at home grew while the stagnant economy faltered under the combined burden.
- ❖ Attempted reforms at home left the Soviet Union unwilling to rebuff challenges to its control in Eastern Europe.
- ❖ As the decade of 1980s came to an end, much of the Eastern Bloc began to crumble. The Hungarian government took down the barbed wire on its border with Austria and the West. The Soviet Union did nothing in response. Although travel was still not completely free, the Iron Curtain was starting to unravel.

## **ENTRI**

- ❖ On November 10, 1989, one of the most famous symbols of the Cold War came down: The Berlin Wall.
- ❖ By the end of the year, leaders of every Eastern European nation except Bulgaria had been ousted by popular uprisings.
- ❖ By mid-1990, many of the Soviet republics had declared their independence. Turmoil in the Soviet Union continued, as there were several attempts at overthrowing Gorbachev.
- ❖ In late 1991 the Soviet Union itself dissolved into its component republics. With stunning speed, the “Iron Curtain” was lifted and the Cold War came to an end.

