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## THE WORLD IN 1900: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY LEGACY

When we learn about the past through books, films, television or the stories told by older people, we notice the differences and similarities between other times and our own. We are aware that certain material things and technologies that we use today either did not exist in 1900 or were used only by small numbers of people. Yet in terms of the organization of human life we have much in common with the people of the year 1900. This Unit will discuss how people in various parts of the world lived in 1900.



### OBJECTIVES

After studying the lesson, you will be able to:

- visualize population patterns in different regions of the world in 1900;
- define capitalist industrialisation and understand its social consequences;
- explain relations of colonialism;
- visualize modern patterns of energy and resource use and
- analyse the emergence of modern political ideologies and mobilizations.

### 22.1 STRUCTURE OF WORLD POPULATION: 1900

The study of human populations—their rates of growth and shifting patterns of settlements—is called demography.

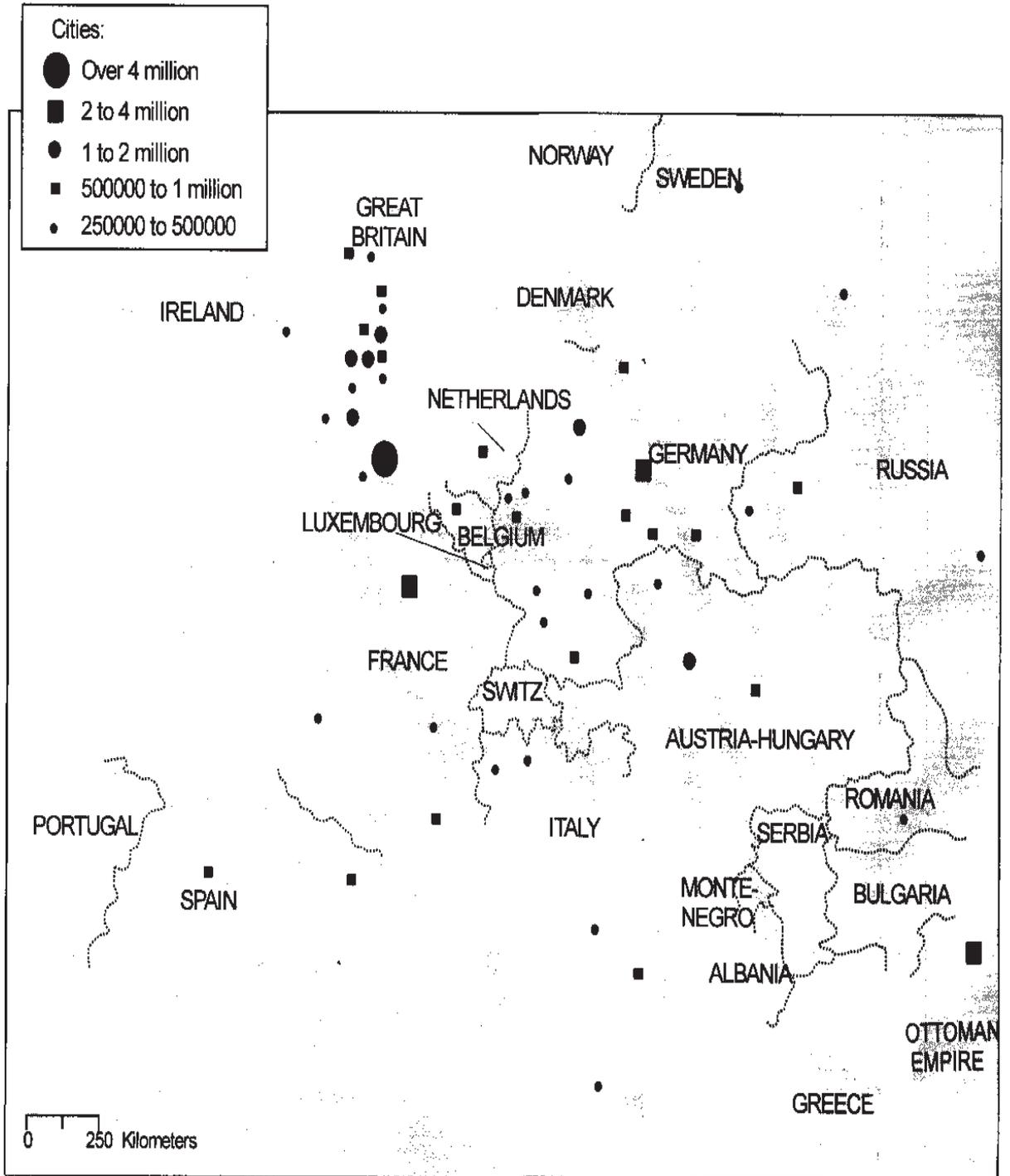
In 1900 the human population was about 1.5 billion (150crores). China and India were then, as today, the most populous countries. Yet in 1900 Asia contained a smaller *portion* of the world's population than it does today. Most of the people all over the world were settled agriculturalists in 1900, which cultivated crops and animals and lived in villages. In many parts of the world people existed as nomads, grazing herds of animals, and many were tribal hunter-gatherers, although they formed a smaller number in 1900 than a few hundred years earlier.

A steadily growing section of the world's population lived in cities. Cities had existed since ancient times in many parts of the world, but they were limited in size and population. However capitalist industrialization led to urbanization and faster growth of population in cities. By 1900 Europe has a larger concentration of cities than any



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other region in the world: more than 100 cities had a population of at least 1,00,000 people, and there were six European cities with about 10,00,000 inhabitants. Europe and America had the largest cities, whereas in Asia and Africa large expanses of territory contained few cities and many stagnated and declined compared to hundreds of years earlier. Most of the large cities outside of Europe in 1900 were only 100 or 200 years old-like Sydney and Chicago-and were inhabited mostly by people of European origin. Some, like Calcutta in Bengal, grew under British rule.

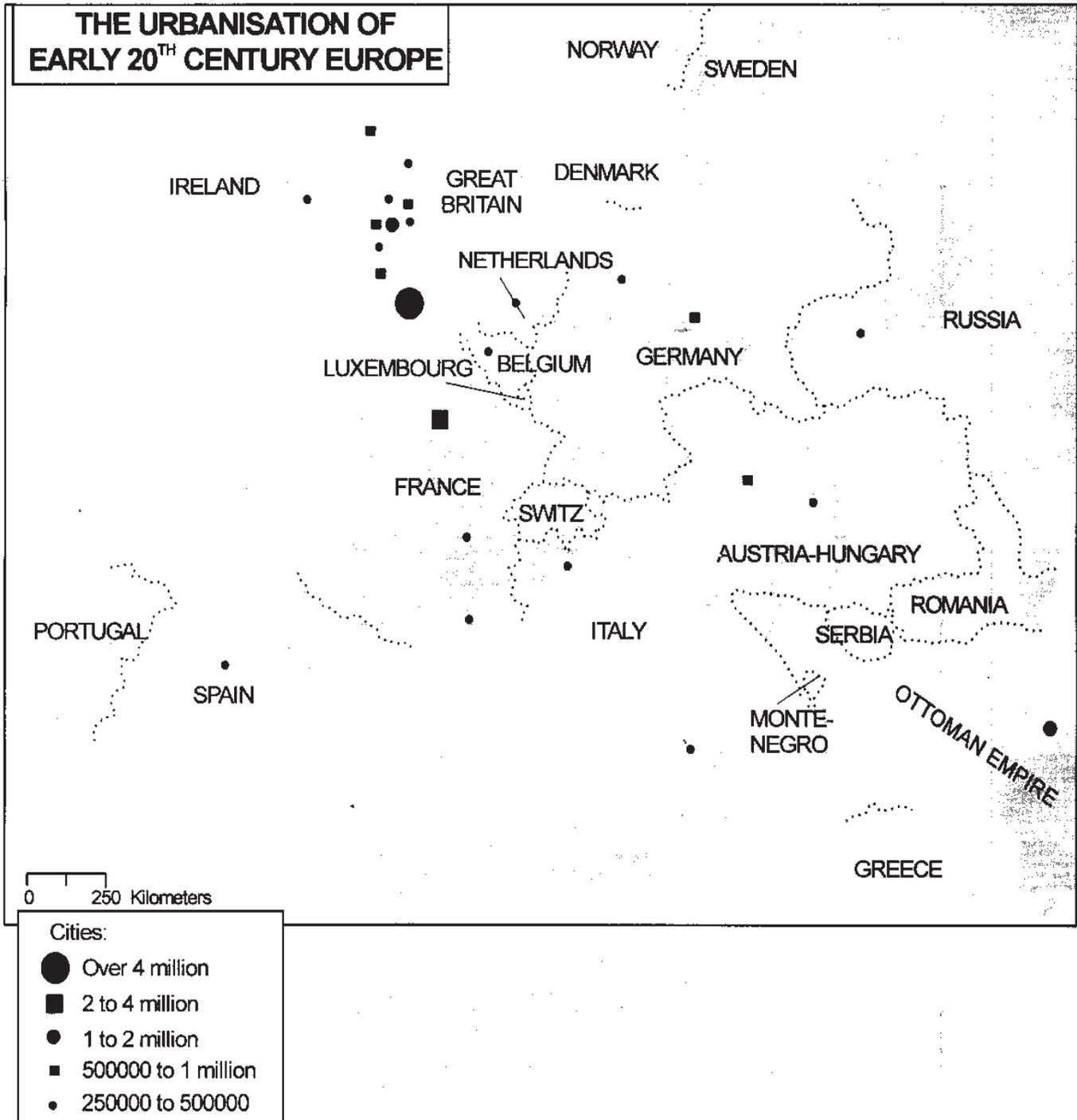


Map 22.1(a) Urbanisation of Early 20th Century Europe



Notes

In general human populations of Asia, Africa and South America in 1900 were 75–95% rural, or living in villages and dependent on agriculture. Industrializing Europe, or Americas and Australia where people of European origin had settled, either already had or were close to having 50% urban population, i.e., living in towns and cities.



Map 22.1(b) Urbanisation of Early 20th Century Europe



## Notes

**22.2 INDUSTRIALISATION AND SOCIAL CLASSES**

The process of industrialization began in Western Europe after about 1700 with bringing together of large number of labourers near areas of energy and resources to produce metals, and to operate machines that turned out finished products at a fast pace. By 1900 when big amounts of money began to be required for industry to operate on a big scale, we see the growth of capitalist industrialization. Capitalism derives from the word capital, meaning accumulated wealth and property, and those people who have capital are called capitalists. Capitalists were directly engaged in industrial production, trading, administration and banking. By 1900 most of Europe, America and Australia had undergone capitalist industrialisation.

The wealth and property of capitalists came either from trade and commerce or from expropriating the property of small owners. On the other hand were people—men, women and children—who worked in factories and who did not have any property and were dependent for their livelihood on their labour for which they got wages. Between them was a large majority which even in 1900 was not property less wage earners, but which could not be called wealthy. Many were members of the salaried middle classes: teachers, doctors, engineers, clerks, and in other services.

Most people by then also believed that the existence of such classes is normal and would continue to remain so, and that the majority of people would accept these inequalities as their situation improved. They saw that the transfer of wealth from colonies would allow some benefits to go to the working people as well in the European countries. This did happen to some extent by 1900, and most people lived better than their grandparents had. But there were also difficult periods of unemployment.

By 1900 Asian and African cities like Bombay, Shanghai and Dakar also contained large numbers of businessmen, shopkeepers and other sections of middle classes, as well as industrial wage labourers. But population here was greatly outnumbered by landlords, peasants and agricultural labourers in the surrounding villages.

It is important to keep in mind a few other facts about capitalist societies in 1900. Much of the raw materials and markets for European economies came from the colonies, and this relationship was also one of inequality: it was not an equal trading relationship. Within European societies landlords were no longer the dominant class.

**22.3 URBANISM AND KNOWLEDGE**

Another characteristic of industrialization was that production and sharing of knowledge in society became more closely connected than before with urban life. Cities and towns were not only concentrations of industrial wage labourers, they also had growing numbers of people engaged in jobs requiring education and literacy: clerks, managers, teachers, government officials etc. Soon it began to be recognized that even industrial workers with literacy and numeracy contributed to greater efficiency. Newspapers and magazines contributed to it. Daily production of newspapers in 1900 exceeded one million copies in cities like London, Paris, Berlin and New York.

By 1900 most industrial societies required that both boys and girls receive basic education, at least up to the age of thirteen or fourteen. School teaching became one of

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the modern professions in which women participated in large numbers. There arose a knowledge and cultural gap between urban and rural people. As a whole, adult literacy in some western societies by 1900 was between 60% and 90%, while it was much less in non-western societies.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 22.1**

1. What proportion of the human populations outside of Europe were rural in 1900?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Were most of the world's super-cities (> 10,00,000 people) in 1900 in Europe or outside of it?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Why was there a significant 'literacy-gap' between urban centers and rural areas by 1900?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. What were indications of high literacy in the world of 1900?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**22.4 ENERGY AND RESOURCE USE: INDUSTRIAL VERSUS NON INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF THE WORLD**

In 1900 not only did people in the industrialised and non industrialised world produce different things, they developed very different patterns of energy use. Most production in the non-industrial world in 1900 was driven by human and animal power. Even on American farms plows and mechanical harvesters were drawn by horses, as were carts, carriages and buses in the towns.

Industrial societies required new energy sources to run their factories, light their homes and offices, and power modern means of transport such as railway engines and automobiles. Thus Britain, France and Germany in 1900 were largely coal powered societies, while Italy had begun to use hydro-electricity. US was relying increasingly on petroleum fuels. By 1915 it was clear that cars would replace horses in transportation.

These countries began to realize that their economic and political strength depended on sources of energy, and they began to exploit resources in their colonies. For example, the British were engaged in oil in Assam and Burma; the Dutch were doing the same in Sumatra and the Americans in Mexico. These factors determined their foreign policies.

**22.5 COLONIALISM, ECONOMIC PATTERNS, AND SOCIAL RELATIONS**

Most industrialized nations of the western world in 1900 directly ruled, or controlled economically, territories far beyond their own boundaries. Britain ruled over most of



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while Holland ruled over the entire area that is now Indonesia. France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Belgium had colonies in Africa, Japan, China.

These colonial rulers tried to prevent Asians and Africans from acquiring advanced technologies, and carefully controlled railways and telegraph networks in their colonies. They also came down heavily on aspirations for freedom. They replaced the earlier languages of administration with their own. They also initiated some educational policies with the aim of assimilating some sections of colonial society with the foreign rule. They also prepared some sections of them for manning the colonial administration at lower levels. They practiced policies of divide and rule, restricted development of modern economic activity and used education for purpose of creating a social gulf between those educated in the colonial languages and those in the local languages.

The impact of colonialism and capitalist penetration altered social relations in the colonies. They altered the pattern of agriculture to shift its priorities towards the cash crops they might trade in. This pattern of production for export was greatly expanded during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, Indian peasants produced opium that British entrepreneurs exported to China. Indian merchants too had a hand in this. In other words both production and trade were geared to the interests of the ruling power. As a result larger number of people around the world came to produce things that they did not themselves consume, while they consumed things produced elsewhere by others.

Such commercial patterns created interdependence but also dependancies because of the hold of the ruling powers. Peasants in many areas lost food sufficiency, with the result that although the total world production of food was higher than ever before in history, the late nineteenth century famines killed millions of people.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 22.2**

1. Which countries in 1900 were shifting towards use of fossil fuels?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Where were such fuel supplies located in 1900?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Did international trade benefit the colonies of the great powers in 1900?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. While the total supply of food in the world grew rapidly during the last part of the nineteenth century, many people lost food security. Why?  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. How was language use and access to education related to colonial rule?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**22.6 IDEOLOGIES AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN THE DEVELOPED AND UNDEVELOPED WORLDS**

The world of 1900 saw a tremendous growth of ideas and competing ideologies or various sets of political ideas about life and organization of societies. This was to a



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large extent the result of economic and social transformations connected with industrialization. The debates became widespread and different ideologies began to have mass following and organizations due to the rise of print culture and other means of communication. By 1900 print media in western countries and in many colonies as well were providing information (and advertising products and services) to large numbers of people, but also shaping their political views.

### Liberalism

Liberalism as a set of ideas began to emerge more than three hundred years ago when nobles and people of substantial property (sometimes joined by poorer people) struggled to regulate or limit the powers of the rulers. Liberals believed that individuals have some 'natural rights' including the right to resist oppression, accumulate property, freedom of religion, right to express their opinions freely and so on. They believed that governments and rulers must be made to respect these rights. They thought formulation of public laws and constitutions were the best method of creating and enforcing these rights. These laws and constitutions were the best safeguard against arbitrary exercise of power by rulers and government machinery. They also objected to state authorities dictating the religious beliefs of their people through national churches, as religion was a private matter. With growth of popular movements liberalism was forced to acknowledge the extension of political and citizenship rights to all members of society and not just the propertied classes. These included rights to form organizations and participate in elections.

Liberalism is also connected with certain economic ideas. Liberals saw people as economic agents, as producers and consumers of goods and services. They saw these as important aspects of their personalities and self expression of individuals. But to them it was not the labourer but the profit seeking merchants, shopkeepers and manufacturers who were the heroes. Adam Smith, one of the major spokespersons of economic liberalism, argued that such people, if allowed to pursue their own self interest would contribute to common good. Economic activity if left to its own creates its own set of supply and demand and this leads to fairness in society. They argued for free trade. So for economy the best government is that which governs least and leaves everything to the market operations.

By 1900 many liberals began to think that governments should intervene in a minimal fashion by introducing some welfare measures for the poorer sections of society—like education and health. But their basic ideas remain till today. They represented mainly the interests of propertied people. Liberals drew their main support from professional and educated people who were dissatisfied with traditional and arbitrary arrangements which ensured privileges on basis of birth (i. e., noble lineage), and of the business and industrial capitalists. They also won support of many working people who liked their arguments about constitutions and individual rights, but did not understand that they were not at all keen on economic equality or economic rights of the working people.

### Conservatism

Conservatives came mainly from land owning and other sections of society who did not like the abolition of privileges and restrictions which benefited them. They were from land-owning classes, or merchants and traders who enjoyed state protection and monopolies which were lost due to free trade policies. For them the whole idea of natural rights was disruptive because it destroyed the old traditional order in society, in which each section of society already had its place. To them social order and stability were more important than equality. They felt that while all may be equal before God, it was not



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desirable that it should be so in the real world as well. They saw the old social order as the best defense against the chaos of the modern world which was causing upheavals and conflicts in society. All the western states had strong conservative political groups who participated in elections, and had influence in the administrative machinery.

**Socialism**

Socialists also criticized the liberals, but for things very different from the conservatives. The socialists represented the interests of the working people, and argued that in industrialist capitalist societies the old tyranny of the monarchy and the aristocracy had been replaced by that of the propertied capitalist bourgeoisie. Some earlier socialists, such as Louis Blanc and Robert Owen believed that co-operatives of producers would lead to more equal sharing of profits.

Others, like Karl Marx, thought that workers would never be fairly rewarded under the capitalist system. This would happen only if all enterprises were commonly owned i. e., if the state owned them for the equal benefit of all. Marx said that in a communist society when all means of production were held in common and were not private property, each person will contribute according to his/her capacity and receive according to his/her needs. Social justice therefore required abolition of private property. Classes would also cease to exist in a society which was equal. According to him the ultimate goal of the socialist movements was the establishment of such a society. Marx also said that since the ruling classes would not co-operate in this, a revolution was necessary. There should be communist parties and strong and committed working class movements.

Thus, the Social Democratic (Marxist) Party in 1900 organised millions of workers into labour unions, clubs and associations, participated in elections, and held a huge block of seats in the Reichstag (German parliament). They were able to get passed legislation to improve the lives of the workers. Marxist, socialist and labour parties existed in many parts of the world by 1900, though they were under tremendous surveillance by the governments and police of their countries who wanted to prevent revolutions at all costs. In countries like Russia the socialist organizations were banned and known socialists were imprisoned or exiled (as happened to V.I Lenin, a leader of the Russian revolutionary movement).



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 22.3**

1. What were the 'natural rights' recognized by liberals?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Why were liberals in principle opposed to govt. regulation of economic activity?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Describe the shifting class argument of the later 19<sup>th</sup> century with regard to liberalism & conservatism.  
\_\_\_\_\_

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4. Explain the Marxist conception of equality and Marxists' understanding of basis of inequality.  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Give one example of a country in 1900 where Marxists were very successful in mobilizing working class people.  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. Socialists (Marxists) are the most consistent opponents of imperialism. Why?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Imperialism**

The world of 1900 was one in which the more industrialized states had power over the people and resources of the unindustrialized world. Many inhabitants of the industrialized countries believed that colonialism was beneficial for the countries that were being ruled and that the inhabitants of the 'backward' countries were being 'civilised' by foreign rule. Liberals in the ruling countries were divided over how the dominance of their countries over the colonies should be maintained. Not everyone thought that direct political rule was necessary: but none were willing to let go of the benefits of colonialism and the control over resources in the colonies. In Germany the liberals argued that their country's industrial power depended on taking more colonies. In the US many liberals said that their country had no moral right to rule over Cubans and Filipinos, but hardly any US citizens criticized their government's interventions in Latin America. British, French, German, Belgian and American capitalists invested heavily in economic activities both within and outside the formal empires. They therefore supported as well as influenced the foreign policies of their respective countries and pushed for colonial domination of the rest of the world—countries comprising Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The political groups in 1900 that had the most consistent anti-imperialist views were the socialists, who believed that colonialism benefited only the ruling classes everywhere and was not in the interest of the working people anywhere. Therefore the working classes of all the countries needed to unite to overthrow this imperialist domination by a few countries.

**Nationalism**

Nationalism and national liberation ideology was an explosive force in the world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In all parts of the world in 1900 competing nationalisms flourished and became important forms of mobilization of people. Broader notions of civilisational identity competed with nationalism in winning support of the people. Both were important in Asia and Africa. Pan ('All')-Africanism and Pan-Islamism fueled freedom struggles in the colonies. The Chinese and Indians emphasized their cultural independence as well as opposition to colonial policies in their struggle for freedom. Popular participation in government was also an important aspect of national movements. Protest against colonial policies of the imperialist countries—economic exploitation and denial of self governance—formed the basis for national liberation movements all over the world. Most national freedom struggles of the twentieth century thus engaged with ideas about democracy and also with ideas of how national wealth should be produced and shared.

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In contrast, within the industrialized, imperialist countries, nationalism became aggressive and tied with support to colonial policies and domination of other countries, which, as you will see in your study of the following Units, led to intense competition among those countries and eventually to World War I.

**WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT**

The century before 1900 was a period of rapid population growth, with the most striking growth occurring in Europe and North America. Population growth in these places occurred in tandem with industrialization. The emergence of industrial society led to the formation and solidification of ideologies – sets of ideas and principles about achievement of the desired social order. By 1900, ideologies were beginning to shape the struggles of people in non-industrial societies for liberation from empires. In particular, nationalism and socialism were to have an explosive impact within ‘developed’ Europe as well as in the ‘undeveloped’ colonial world.

**TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. In what ways did industrialization alter ancient patterns of human existence?
2. How did industrialization change patterns of global production and trade?
3. How were liberalism and socialism opposed to one another, even though both sought to achieve human liberation?

**ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTION****22.1**

1. 75-95%.
2. Inside of Europe.
3. Urban areas were sites of industrial production and commercial distribution. Literacy was most useful or relevant in such areas and less useful in rural areas.
4. High levels of primary school attendance and large circulation of newspapers.

**22.2**

1. Britain, France, Germany, U.S. were some of the fossil fuel dependent countries of 1900.
2. Many rich supplies of fossil fuel were located outside of Europe and the U.S. in 1900.
3. Colonies suffered from unequal trade. They produced mainly low-cost food and raw materials for the industrializing countries.



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4. Large number of people produced food for others distant from them and consumed larger quantities of goods produced by others.
5. Colonial rulers used language and education to create new social differences and retard growth of national consciousness.

**22.3**

1. Resistance to oppression, private property, choice of religion, freedom of speech and expression, participation in government.
2. Liberals believed that individuals pursuing self-interest in economic activity would serve the good of all better than a powerful regulating authority ('government').
3. Early in the 1800s conservatives were mostly members of the land –owning classes or their dependents while liberals were often active in manufacturing and commerce. By 1900, members of the traditional land-owning class had combined with business people to support liberalism. Meanwhile, some traditional 'liberals' came to support conservatism.
4. Marxists believed human inequality was due to access or lack of access to the means of production. By eliminating private property and putting resources under (national) state control, people would become really equal.
5. Germany, where the Social Democratic Workers' Party won most votes from the working classes.
6. Socialists believed that the division of society between capitalists and proletarians was occurring on a global scale. Therefore, proletarians of all countries/colonies should be interested in struggles against oppressive capitalists everywhere.

**HINTS FOR TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. See para 22.1 -22.4.
2. See para 22.5.
3. See para 22.6.2 & 22.6.4

**GLOSSARY**

1. **Bourgeoisie** – The social class including people with substantial property in the form of houses, factories, or bank accounts—'capitalists'.
2. **C.E.** – Common Era. The historical epoch dated according to Christian calendars, with Year One being the year following the birth of Jesus Christ. Civilizations and states centered on other religious traditions (e.g., Judaism, Hinduism, Islam) follow different calendars, but the 'Christian' calendar is the one most widely used around the world today. 'Twentieth century' means the century of the 1900s.



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- 3. **Ideology** – A set of principles or ideas, or a ‘worldview’ that endorses a particular plan for the development of a society; a social philosophy.
- 4. **Imperialism** – (1) The process of acquiring or maintaining colonies, territories dependent on the ‘parent’ country. (2) The ideology of acquiring empire.
- 5. **Laborism/laborist** – Referring to political or economic organizations of workers. Laborism defends the ‘rights of labor’ against employers or the state. Some laborists are Marxists.
- 6. **Print culture** – Means the pattern of communication and knowledge based on printed texts, such as books and newspapers, that can be replicated quickly through mechanical means (instead of people copying out texts ‘by hand’). Print culture depends on literacy and cheapness of technology of printing. Europe, Japan and Korea all had print cultures c. 1500 C.E. involving small numbers of readers in each of those places. By 1850 print culture involved tens of millions of people around the world, most of them in towns and cities. Reading a newspaper to learn prices of stocks and reading a novel are both practices of print culture.



# 23

## WORLD WAR I AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

World War I and the Russian Revolution of 1917 were consequences of the developments and chain of events in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Both were very significant experiences involving millions of people: they influenced and shaped the entire 20th century.



### OBJECTIVES

After studying the lesson, you will be able to:

- identify some of the factors which caused the war in 1914, and discuss whether such factors of conflict exist in the world today;
- explain why the revolution became possible in the Russian Empire of 1917 and not in any other country;
- analyse the immediate and long term consequences of both the War and the Russian Revolution and
- discuss the meaning of the War and the Revolution for India.

### 23.1 HOW WAS WORLD WAR I DIFFERENT FROM PREVIOUS WARS IN HISTORY

Except for Spain, the Netherlands, the three Scandinavian countries and Switzerland, all the European nations were involved in a war which connected the whole world in its violence and suffering. Troops from other areas—specifically colonies—were also made to fight in this war for countries which ruled over them. For example, Indian soldiers had to fight for Britain outside the territory of India. It is estimated that over three million men came from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India on the side of Britain (Britain ruled over these areas). The regions involved i. e., the territories of the war zones were also widespread: the war engulfed Europe, Asia, Africa and the Pacific. For the first time almost the entire peoples of the world were involved in a war, which they also knew was a *world* war.

There were new technologies used in warfare, not seen in earlier wars: airplanes, tanks and submarines. But it was fought on the ground in the ordinary way as well and most people remembered it that way later because most images of war depicted soldiers fighting in trenches on ground. Sea battles took place in the South Atlantic



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and the Pacific. USA for the first time got involved on a world scale, with more than 100,000 troops on the side of Britain and her allies.

The World War led to huge mobilizations of men as soldiers, while women took on many jobs back in the cities and also as nurses in the battle zones. Governments took many measures to ensure that their own armies do not run short of any supplies. Just as they mobilized men they also mobilized grain for food from peasants. They curtailed workers' rights to make them work longer hours and for same wages to meet the needs of army equipment and ammunition. There was a rise in prices of food and articles of daily consumption because major investments were only in industries related to war and other requirements of war. There was a general sense of despair among people.

We must also remember that there were 10 million who were killed in war or due to hardships caused by war, another 20 million who were wounded, and millions who became refugees or unemployed as towns and industries were destroyed. Homelessness resulted not just on border areas of countries, but all over. Civilian populations were involved and became casualties for the first time in war history: bombings of civilian areas, and the famines and epidemics caused by war, led to millions of civilian deaths.

When it began most people thought the war would be short: it lasted four years. You can imagine what life would have been like for people in countries involved in a war for four whole years. It dismantled quite a few of the existing socio-economic and political structures. It affected the economy of the entire world. Because of the spread and the mobilization of all resources by the warring states on such scale for the first time, it is known as the First World War.

For all these reasons the war marked a turning point in world history.

**23.2 REASONS FOR WAR**

The reasons for World War I are complex, although it was sparked off by a kind of incident which could have happened anywhere at any time. There was hostility between Serbia and Austria during which Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand, heir to throne of Habsburg Empire was murdered at Sarajevo in 1914. This became the event which spiraled into World War I.

But why did one incident have such devastating consequences as to finally lead the entire world into a four year war?

You have already read about the race for colonies in an earlier lesson, and how in the second half of the nineteenth century there was a full fledged imperialist system in place. For example, in 1876 no more than 10 percent of Africa was under European rule, but by 1900 more than 90 percent was colonized. You have also seen that Germany had been left behind in this race, and now it began to feel that she too wanted her own colonies to rule over. By 1914 these powers were ready to increase their own respective spheres of influence, to bring more areas under each one's control, and to have a larger share in the resources of the world.

As most of the world was already divided amongst them, each one could increase its own areas of control, economically or politically, only by 'reordering' the world, or fighting each other to increase their own share at the expense of another. Though none of them thought in terms of a big war, yet potential for conflict was always there.

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They made short wars for gaining new territories from another country or to protect territories already under their control, and sometimes in order to check a rival they entered into alliance with another power. Bismarck of Germany entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary in 1879, known as Dual Alliance, which became the Triple Alliance when Italy joined in 1882. On the other side France in 1894 made an alliance with Russia, in 1904 France made an agreement with Britain and in 1907 Britain made an entente with Russia. This came to known as Triple Entente.

The leaders of Europe thought these alliances would prevent war through a balance of power: in fact what happened was that these alliances tied the countries together. When one country went to war the others would have to get involved to help their ally. The rivalries and conflicts among the imperialist countries thus became the underlying causes of the War.

Nationalist movements were an important feature of the nineteenth century. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century nationalism also underwent a transformation. In the advanced capitalist countries it became linked with extending areas of control and increasing one's military strength. The dominating perception was no longer one that came with the French revolution and its ideals of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity'. These countries were also no longer concerned with the idea of popular sovereignty in a nation. On the other hand within multi national empires like Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire people wanted to free themselves and form independent nations, which all big powers were opposed to.

The big powers therefore went in for an unprecedented arms race, and building up of huge armies and navies. Militarism became the main aspect of foreign policy. Domestic policies were aimed at increasing strength vis a vis other powers rather than the welfare of their own citizens. Mass media was made into a major tool: newspapers played an important role in the spread of aggressive nationalism.

In 1901 relatively few people were permitted to vote anywhere, and women practically nowhere. Most citizens therefore hardly had an influence on policy making of their governments. The governments were guided by the interests of capitalists and landlords and under their influence they competed among themselves for increasing areas of control under them. Although ordinary people hardly had a stake in this competition, once the war broke out people did come forward with support for their respective countries.

The horrors of modern war were still not understood. It was the impact of war that made people reconsider the war and begin to demand peace.

**23.3 COURSE OF WAR**

We will not go into the details of the course of war or the major campaigns. But you should know that Austria regarded the murder in Serbia as provocation for war, and once she decided to retaliate, her Triple Alliance partners Germany and Italy were drawn in on her side, and the other powers (Britain, France and Russia) came on the opposing side.

Germany sent troops towards France and seemed to be succeeding, when Russia attacked Germany and Austria from the east. The war became long drawn and more complicated. Fighting in the trenches on the ground continued for four years as both sides were evenly matched. Labour from colonies was used for digging trenches. Then the war spread to areas in Asia and Africa.



**Notes**

Use of technology during the war meant heavy casualties for all countries. For example, on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, 60, 000 British soldiers were killed or wounded.

Italy changed sides during the course of the war. In April 1917 the US also declared war on Germany. The decisive element at this stage was the revolutionary movement in the Russian Empire.

In October 1917 the Russian revolution was successful and Russia came out of the war when communists emerged in leadership there. They signed a peace treaty with Germany in March 1918. This treaty was very harsh on Russia, but the new regime in Russia, led by Lenin, agreed to it because they had been opposed to the war from the beginning.

This complicated matters: not only to Germany, but also to Britain and France, the new Russia seemed a bigger enemy because they were fundamentally opposed to communism.

Therefore when the fortunes of battle began to turn by the beginning of 1918 and the German armies began to retreat, Britain and France agreed to a peace. In Germany too, as in Russia, the workers threatened revolution. Armistice came into effect on November 11, 1918, and then all the powers together put their strength into trying to defeat the revolution in Russia. You will learn something about it in the next section.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 23.1**

1. What were the new weapons used in World War I?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Name the two main international alliances formed by 1914.  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. How many people were affected by World War I?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Which side did Indian soldiers fight on in World War I?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**23.4 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917**

The Russian Revolution was made in 1917, before the end of the War. It is also known as the Bolshevik revolution, because Bolsheviks as a political group played a leading role in the success of the revolution and also determined its policies.

This was the first socialist revolution in history and it was inspired by the ideals of communism. In your earlier lessons you have learnt something about capitalism and the ideas of socialism, and how socialism represents equality and social justice to a greater degree than is possible under capitalism. The revolution came about as a result of the movements of the working people—the working class and the peasantry.

By 1917 the Russian Empire was under strain both from the consequences of the long war and by the political and social movements within the country. Up to February 1917 Russia was a multinational Empire, ruled by an autocrat, who was known as



the Tsar. Its territory was huge, including a large part of Central Asia and parts of Eastern Europe. There were no representative institutions, no right to form political or trade union organizations, no elections. There was strict censorship and arbitrary arrests. There was no religious tolerance, and the other nationalities and minorities in the Empire did not enjoy equal rights with the Russians, because the Tsar, Nicholas II, belonged to the Russian Romanov dynasty. The Tsar used his military and diplomatic strength against all democratic movements in Europe. For this he was known as the 'Policeman' of Europe. These conditions were very oppressive and very different from Western Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 23.5 THE OLD AND THE NEW

While the political system remained an autocracy, important changes were taking place in economy and society, which created new aspirations. New ideas were also emerging, and many sections of society were becoming dissatisfied with the oppressive rule of the Tsar. Since they had no parliamentary system or elections through which to express their opposition to the Tsarist policies, they had to adopt a revolutionary path. They had to overthrow the system of autocracy itself to have a say in society and policies which affected them. This was a major difference between other European countries and the Russian Empire.

### 23.6 AGRICULTURE AND PEASANT DISCONTENT

The peasants were also very discontented. As in western and central Europe, the peasant-serfs were freed in the Russian Empire as well, although very much later, in 1861. But despite this land reform, the landed aristocracy remained strong and continued to oppress the peasants. Also, the peasantry just did not have enough land: the peasants constituted about 80 percent of the population, but had hardly 50 percent of the land. The demand for land was therefore a major cause for anger against the Tsar who had let them down by such an inadequate land reform.

Also the freed peasants had to pay very heavily for both land and freedom, because the Tsar was interested in keeping the goodwill and support of the big landlords by giving more than fair compensation to them. The peasants had to pay such a heavy price that they remained continually in debt, and were forced to work very cheaply for the landlords. Peasants were also very heavily burdened with taxes.

Agriculture remained backward because the peasants did not have enough money to invest in the improvement of their land, and the landlords thought: why pay for buying machinery if peasants are there as cheap labour?

In all matters of interest to the peasants the autocracy sided with the landlords, and sent out troops to suppress peasant revolts. Since agriculture was the major sector of Russian economy and peasants were the majority population, the agricultural backwardness and the peasant discontent became important factors for the revolution. There were continuous peasant uprisings during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century they became part of the general revolutionary movement.

### 23.7 INDUSTRIALISATION AND WORKERS' DISCONTENT

The workers movement in the Russian Empire was stronger and more political than anywhere else in Europe. This had something to do with the nature of industrialization here and the political conditions in the Russian Empire. Industrialization in Russia was



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late as compared to Western Europe, but it was at a much faster pace. This meant that there were small, but also many huge factories with a great number of workers, even in the early stages of industrialization. Working class movements were therefore able to develop here much faster than they had in the west European countries, and the capitalists here did not get time to consolidate their power before the working class movement became strong. Many strikes took place in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and by 1905 the workers played a leading role in the revolutionary movement.

The workers' movement in the Russian Empire was also much more militant and political than in other countries; and it was both against the Autocracy which did not allow them to form organizations and sided with their employers, and against the employers who were the factory owners and responsible for their low wages and bad working conditions. Their movement also had a greater orientation towards socialism than in other countries.

By the first decade of the 20th century women constituted a sizeable percentage of the working class and also working class organizations, as a result of which many issues pertaining to them began to be reflected in the discussions on workers' rights and women's equality. Working class women participated in a big way in working class movements.

**23.8 DISCONTENT AMONG NATIONALITIES**

The relationship between the Russian Romanov dynasty and the other nationality regions was almost colonial in nature, with these areas being used as sources of raw material for development of industries in Russian regions. You may remember that something like that happened to India as well under British colonial rule. These nationalities such as the Caucasians, the Polish, the Kazakhs, the Latvians, the Estonians and others played an important role in overthrowing the Russian autocracy.

**23.9 LEADERSHIP AND VISION**

For a revolutionary movement to succeed it is necessary that there should be a committed leadership, it should be guided by certain ideals and should have a programme of change. In other words, people should not merely like to destroy something; they should also have an idea of what they want to build, and of how to go about bringing change. They should be able to form organizations to take forward their movements.

Many political groups were active during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but they were illegal and had to work underground, hunted by the Tsarist police and subject to severe repression and punishment if found out. However, they played a very heroic and significant role in raising the consciousness of the people-particularly of the workers and peasants-through political education, political propaganda and agitation. Millions of organizations were formed on the ground among all sections of society-of workers, peasants and soldiers, of students and teachers, of all types of employees, and of women. Many of these organizations had close links with political parties and were very responsive to political discussions and ideas.

By 1917 women's organizations began to reflect working women's interests as well, as did working class organizations, although women had to fight continuously for such attention. Although women constituted a big share in popular movements, there were still very few women in leadership roles.



### Notes

The important political groups were Populists (in late 19<sup>th</sup> century) and Social Revolutionaries, various types of Liberals and the Social Democrats (Marxists). Social Democrats had two parties, Bolshevik (meaning majority in Russian) and Menshevik (meaning minority). They got these names after they split as a result of differences. These groups had different ideas about how to bring about a revolution, of how to change the Russian society and political system.

Lenin was the most important leader of the Russian revolution of 1917. Another was Trotsky. Both were Bolsheviks. It would be correct to say however that there were thousands of important leaders, both men and women, just as there were in our freedom movement, without whose work, heroism and sacrifices the revolution could not have succeeded.

### 23.10 STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION

The Russian revolutionary movement emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when some members of the aristocracy began to feel that the Tsarist political system was too oppressive and Russian society too unjust. They particularly felt for the plight of the peasantry. How could Russia progress if the majority of its people were in such a sorry condition? These members of the aristocracy and the newly emerged middle class formed the intelligentsia, who criticized Russian society and political system and worked for its transformation. They formed secret societies and small political groups. They could not campaign or work openly to spread their ideas because of the strict censorship and ban on political activity. They became dedicated revolutionaries. They demanded a constitution and elections. Many women were active revolutionaries. When caught they were given cruel punishments. Yet the movement grew.

As workers and peasants became confident of fighting the injustices of their lives, they also began to struggle against the Autocracy. When they came into contact with revolutionaries both the movements were enriched. By early 20<sup>th</sup> century the Russian revolutionary movement was a mass based movement, and 'Revolution' became the rallying cry.

The first major popular attack on the Autocracy, took place in 1905. This great revolutionary upsurge was unsuccessful, and the movements were suppressed. But because the people learnt many important lessons through this experience, Lenin later called it the "dress rehearsal" for the 1917 revolution. The main demands were a "democratic republic", universal franchise, land for peasantry, and higher wages and a shorter working day for workers. Women's equality, right of self determination for the different nationalities and abolition of capital punishment were other demands. For the first time there was a General Strike. Sections of the army and navy also revolted, and a revolutionary organization of the working class known as Soviet was formed. It played a leading role in the revolution.

Many years of repression followed, but the revolutionary movement picked up again during World War I as larger and larger sections of people began to directly feel the impact of war and to understand the nature of tsarist policies. The puppet Cabinet did not function and the weak parliament (Duma) could not address popular aspirations.

By 1917 majority of the people of the Russian empire were determined to overthrow the Autocracy and to take matters in their own hands. In this atmosphere the February revolution was sparked off by shortages of bread, and a demonstration of women who called on the soldiers to support their brothers and sisters rather than the Tsar



**Notes**

who oppressed them. The soldiers who were also fed up with the war did not fire on the agitating people.

A few days later came the demand: 'Down with Autocracy'. Red flags dominated the cityscape of St Petersburg, the capital city, and soon the entire territory of the Empire was aflame with cries of revolution. The Autocracy was overthrown and replaced by a Provisional Government. The workers and peasants played an important role in this change, and the bourgeoisie supported it. Even the soldiers came to the side of the revolutionary forces. St.Petersburg was renamed Petrograd.

The Provisional government created conditions for political freedoms, such as right of forming organizations and freedom of speech, but did not bring any major change in policies which affected people; it could not have, as this government was dominated by parties representing landlord and capitalist interests. The workers, soldiers and peasants, along with the Bolshevik party, therefore continued with their movements which culminated in the October-Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

The Bolsheviks were the only political group in tune with the aspirations of the people in 1917: they called for an immediate end to War; they demanded land for peasants, workers' control over industries, and right of nations to self determination. Peace! Bread! Land! Democracy! became the slogans in all the mass organizations of the workers, peasants and soldiers all over the country, and Bolsheviks were elected to their leaderships in a majority in these organizations.

The October 1917 revolution thus had a popular base and was not simply a military coup that overthrew the Provisional Government. You should also remember that although it is known as October revolution, it took place on November 7 1917, and is celebrated on November 7, because after the revolution Russia adopted the international calendar. Prior to that Russia was following its own calendar which was 10 days behind the calendar followed internationally.

**23.11 POLICIES AND IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTION**

Revolutionary Russia not only changed the policies of Tsarist Russia, it also did many things that were different and more just than what existed in capitalist countries of Europe. Its policies laid the foundations of socialism in Russia.

Knowing fully well that people were tired of war and wanted peace, and that war was not in the interest of people in any country, one of its first acts was to withdraw from the war.

The Bolsheviks abolished private property in the means of production i.e., land, factories, and banks, all of which were nationalized and now owned by the state and not by private owners. This means that they could not be used to exploit the labour of others and make private profit anymore. Workers organizations had a greater say in the decision making processes.

Through the land decree of November 1917 landlordism was abolished and land was given over to peasants for hereditary use. Peasants could not sell or mortgage the land or use it to exploit the labour of others, but they were masters of their land and enjoyed the full fruits of their labour and produce from the land. They did not have to depend on former landlords in any way, whose powers over rural economy and society were demolished.

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These measures meant that the Russian people became equal beneficiaries of the resources and economy of the country. It also became possible now to plan centrally for the benefit of all parts and all sections of the people. This system of centralized planning was seen as important and was adopted by many countries, including India.

The new constitution guaranteed free medical care, free and equal education for all, an unemployment allowance, equal access to culture and cultural advancement. Not all of this was immediately available, but by making these a right for all, the new regime showed the direction of its policy and commitment. The differentials between people holding middle class type of jobs and those working on land or in the factories were far less than in other countries—both in terms of salaries and entitlement to facilities provided by the state. Standard of life was not dependent on whether one could personally pay, because many things did not have to be paid for.

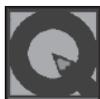
Women were not just considered equal; a lot of measures were taken to make their equal participation in social and political life possible: maternity leave, public canteens, free crèches at workplaces etc.

They considered their state the ‘dictatorship of the working class’ because the working, ordinary people and their welfare was now the basis of polity and policies.

The new regime gave moral and some physical support to independence struggles against colonial rule, and recognized the right of all nationalities to decide their own future. For this reason the Russian revolution was lauded in all Asian countries and inspired people all over the world. China and India were also greatly influenced by the Russian revolution. There was spread of socialist ideas.

Nationalist leaders in India realized the significance of the intervention of peasants and workers in political struggles. People in India sensed that a ‘kisan-mazdoor raj’ has been established in Russia. The 1920’s thus saw the formation of Workers and Peasants Parties, the All India Trade Union Congress, and increasing efforts in India to organize workers and peasants.

The imperialist countries were however opposed to the Revolution and they sent their troops to defeat the new Bolshevik regime. They were not successful, and the new revolutionary regime survived, due mainly to the support of the people and the dedication of the revolutionaries. What happened in Russia and Europe following the Russian revolution and the end of World War I is another story, which you will read about in the next lesson.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 23.2**

1. What was the political system in Russia before the Revolution?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. What other name is the Russian Revolution of 1917 known as?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Name the important political groups in Tsarist Russia.  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. What is meant by abolition of private property?  
\_\_\_\_\_



**Notes**



**WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT**

World War I was very different from the previous wars in history because it connected the whole world in its violence and suffering. There were new technologies used in warfare, not seen earlier, and it had an impact on all aspects of life.

The reasons for the war were immediate as well as long term. The major reasons were the race for colonies, control over the resources of the world. The war continued from 1914 to 1918 and ended with the defeat of Germany and her allies. The Russian Revolution was achieved in 1917, before it ended.

The Russian Revolution came about as a result of the strain of war and the conflicts within Russian society. This was the first socialist revolution in history.

There were three stages: the 1905 revolution, which was defeated; the February 1917 revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the Autocracy; and the October 1917 revolution led by the Bolsheviks, which established a socialist state.

The revolution created a new social and political system, based on social justice. It had a great impact on the rest of the world, including the countries fighting for their national independence.



**TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. Describe the political system in Tsarist Russia. Why were peasants dissatisfied with the Autocracy?
2. Why did the different nationalities revolt?
3. Why was the revolution of 1905 important?
4. What happened in February 1917 in Russia?
5. Give the main changes brought about by the Bolsheviks. Do you think they were in the interest of the Russian people?
6. Write a few lines on the impact of the revolution in India.



**ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTIONS**

**23.1**

1. Airplanes, tanks and submarines.
2. Triple Entente, Triple Alliance.
3. Ten million killed, 20 million wounded, millions of refugees.
4. Britain.

**23.2**

1. Autocracy.
2. Bolshevik Revolution.



3. Social Democrats, Liberals, Social Revolutionaries.
4. Means of production owned by the State.

**HINTS TO TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. See 23.4 para 2.
2. See 23.8.
3. See 23.10 para 3.
4. See 23.10 paras 5 and 6.
5. See 23.11 paras 1-7.
6. See 23.11 paras 9 and 10.

**GLOSSARY**

- Autocracy** - A political system ruled by a king who holds all power and in which there are no effective representative institutions that can share political power.
- Social democrats** - Those who believed that it is not enough to have political and legal equality alone, but also to have economic and social equality. Therefore they believed in socialism.
- Capitalism** - A system based on rights of private property and market, and therefore also private profit, in which the owner of property derives his/her profit from the exploitation of labour of those who work on it.
- Socialism** - A system based on state ownership of means of production, so that the labour of those who work on it cannot be exploited for the private benefit of a few, and in which the political system is such in which the interests of the working people predominate.

Notes



## **THE INTER-WAR PERIOD AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

The first half of the twentieth century is known in history as the era of world wars. The First World War was considered by many to be ‘a war to end all wars’. Yet, the developments during the next twenty years, led the world into another war—more destructive, more widespread and much larger in scale. In order to understand the reasons for the outbreak of this war, we need to study the inter-war period in detail.

The end of the First World War did not end the rivalries between the European nation. Even the peace Treaties failed to ensure peace. The treaties were harsh on the defeated countries and thus sowed the seeds of future conflicts. They even failed to satisfy the territorial ambitions of some of the allied powers. In many of the countries strong dictators rose to power and spread the message of national chauvinism. The most important fact was that, imperialism, the basic cause of war, was not destroyed.

The Russian Revolution and the emergence of the Soviet Union also divided the world into two groups—those who favored the revolution and those who fear effects. Most of the west European countries belonged to the latter group. They considered socialism to be a threat to their social and economic systems. Soviet Russia was also anti-imperialist and supported the freedom struggles in the colonies of Asia and Africa. This chapter will tell you how all these combined to create conditions for another war.



### **OBJECTIVES**

After studying the lesson, you will be able to:

- analyze the peace treaties and the changed map of Europe;
- trace the rise of totalitarian regimes – Italy, Germany and Japan;
- explain effects of Great Depression on U.S.A., U.S.S.R and Europe ;
- correlate aggression and appeasement and
- explain the course of war.

**Notes****24.1 THE PEACE TREATIES**

The First World War ended with the signing of the peace treaties at a conference held in Paris. The important leaders at the conference were the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, and the French Prime Minister George Clemenceau.

**League of nations:**

One of the first acts of the peace conference was the decision to create a world organization, called the League of Nations, for the promotion of 'international cooperation, peace and security. The Covenant (formal agreement) of the League was approved in April 1919.

The agreement required all member to reduce armaments in the interest of peace. If any member country resorted to war, then collective action would be taken against that country. The trade relations with the aggressor country would also be cut off. However, the League of Nations could never be an effective organization. Two major countries-Soviet Union and Germany - were not allowed to become its members for many years. United States, despite its leading role in the formation of the League, decided not to join it. Hence, when aggression began in the 1930s, the League failed to prevent it.

**The Treaty of Versailles:**

The peace treaties were to be based on President Wilson's peace proposals or Fourteen Points, which promised to bring in an era of peace, freedom, democracy, self-determination (the right to have a say in one's own government). But these principles were ignored when the allies signed the Treaty of Versailles with Germany.

According to the treaty:

1. Germany was blamed as the aggressor and forced to accept responsibility for the damage caused to the Allies during war.
2. Germany was to pay \$6,600 million as compensation to them.
3. The German coal mining area in Saar valley was put under the control of the league for 15 years, while the mines were transferred to France for that period.
4. The newly created state of Poland (see Map.1) was provided a corridor which give her an outlet to the Baltic Sea. This corridor separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany. The port of Danzig, which lay in the corridor, was made a free city.
5. The strength of the German army was to be limited to 100,000 and it was permitted to have any air force or navy.
6. Germany's colonial possessions were divided amongst the victorious powers. We shall read more about the territories lost by Germany after a study of the map of Europe.

Germany was made to sign this treaty under threat of invasion. In fact no German representative was invited to attend the conference. So the Germans called it a "dictated peace".

Some of the seeds of the Second World Was were thus sown at Versailles.



Notes



Map 24.1 Territorial Changes as a Result of World War I



Map 24.2 The Changed map of Europe 2 Block



## Notes

## 24.2 THE CHANGED MAP OF EUROPE 2 BLOCK

A study of the post-war map of Europe shows us that almost all European countries emerge from war with changed frontiers. **Germany** surrendered Alsace Lorraine to France, which it had captured in 1871. In the north it gave up some areas to Belgium and Denmark. The area given to Poland has already been mentioned. Apart from losses in Europe, Germany also gave up right on its African colonies and privileges in China. Thus, after war, the Germans were a discontented lot.

**Italy** has fought the war on the Allied side to satisfy her territorial ambitions in Austria, Turkish Empire and Africa. But all that Italy gained from the peace settlement was a small part of Austria.

**Russia** suffered more casualties in war than all the Allies put together. It withdrew from war in March 1918 after signing a treaty with Germany. By this treaty it accepted the independence of Poland, Finland and the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Added to this were the problems of civil war, military intervention and economic collapse.

**Poland**, which had disappeared from the map in 1815, after being annexed by the three empires of Austria, Prussia and Russia, now reappeared when the three empires declined together. However, the old enmity with the new neighboring countries could not be wiped out so easily.

By a separate treaty, **Austria** was reduced to a small state and it lost all its imperial glory. Austria recognized the independence of the newly formed countries of Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. You would remember that Italy had also gained some territory at the cost of Austria. All the newly formed countries had to deal with the problems of border disputed, political upheavals and economic difficulties.

**Britain** was given Palestine and Iraq as MANDATES and France was given Syria. They would administer them till the people learnt to govern themselves. But these Mandates were also governed as colonies.

The treaty with **Turkey** resulted in the complete dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. Turkey lost its Arab possessions in North Africa, in Southwest Asia and almost all its territories in Europe. Some of these territories came under British and French control as mandates. Russia and Greece also gained some areas. Turkey was thus reduced to a small state. The Turks rose in rebellion against the treaty under the leadership of Mustafa Komal. The Sultan was removed from power and a republic was established in Turkey in 1923 with Mustafa Kemal as its first president. He began the process of modernization of the country. The people called him 'ATATURK' or Father of the Turks.

You have just read about the changes that occurred in various European countries. An understanding of these changes tells us that most countries remained dissatisfied with the peace treaties. Was another re-division of the world necessary? Was another war the only solution?

This chapter will help you find the answers.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 24.1**



**Notes**

**A. Match the following :**

- |                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Treaty of Versailles  | Outlet to Baltic Sea |
| 2. Russian Revolution    | Covenant             |
| 3. The League of Nations | Dictated Peace       |
| 4. Iraq and Palestine    | Mandates             |
| 5. Polish Corridor       | Allied intervention  |

**B. Complete the following statements:**

- The League of Nations was created for \_\_\_\_\_.
- Wilson’s Fourteen Points promised to bring in \_\_\_\_\_.
- Russia withdrew from war after \_\_\_\_\_.
- The Baltic States which gained independence after war, were \_\_\_\_\_.
- Poland was formed after the decline of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

**24.2 RISE OF TOTALITARIAN REGIMES**

The immediate post war years were full of problems for almost all countries of Europe. These included reorganization of the economy, resettlement of the survivors of war, and growing unemployment. The working classes in many countries tried to organize socialist revolutions on the Soviet pattern, but they were ruthlessly suppressed. In their place, strong, anti-democratic movements arose in Hungary, Poland, Italy, Portugal, Germany and Spain, which can generally be termed as ‘Fascist’.

**Emergence of Fascism in Italy:**

The term ‘**Fascism**’ is of Italian origin and was first used for the movement started by **Beni to Mussolini** in Italy. The fascists adopted as their symbol ‘the fasces’ or a bundle of rods, which represented state power. The main features of these movements were opposition to democracy and socialism, establishment of dictatorial rule, extreme nationalism and militarism.

Mussolini made eloquent speeches about the glory of ancient Roman Empire and urged people to restore Italy’s honor. Many ex-soldiers, after listening to his speeches, joined his armed gangs, which was a private army called ‘Blackshirts’. Mussolini used these gangs to break up strikes and to spread terror among the socialists and communists. The ruling classes of Italy did not curb their action because they also wanted to prevent a socialist revolution.

In 1921, Mussolini set up the National Fascist Party. In October next year, he sent 30,000 of his Blackshirts in a march on Rome. The government surrendered without a fight and the king asked Mussolini to form the new government. By 1928, Mussolini had destroyed all parliamentary opposition and had begun to rule as a dictator. All non-fascist parties were banned. He used imprisonment torture and organized killings to suppress the socialists and the communists. He set up the Fascist Grand



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## THE INTER-WAR PERIOD AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Council and took the title of **Il Duce** of The Leader. He tried to make Italy a great power by advocating a policy of war and expansion.

**Hitler and Nazi Germany:**

You already know about the humiliating defeat of Germany and the downfall of its monarchy. In 1919, a Republican form of government was established under a new constitution, which provided for a President, a Chancellor and an elected Parliament. During the world war, **Adolf Hitler** had been a soldier in the German army and had fought bravely for four years, winning an Iron Cross. Disappointed at Germany's defeat, he now decided to join politics. In 1921, Hitler's powerful speeches and his organizational skills made him the leader of the National socialist German Workers' Party, in short, the **Nazi** party. Like Fascists, it had its own army called the 'Storm Troopers' or the 'Brownshirts.' By 1930, the Brown shirts number about 100,000 men.

After the Fascist captured power in Italy, Corporal Adolf Hitler made a similar attempt in Germany in 1923. The attempt failed and Hitler was jailed. While in jail Hitler wrote his book **Mein Kampf** (My struggle), in which he set out his plans to create the most barbaric dictatorship of modern times.

The aim of Nazi policies was to wipe out the humiliation of Versailles and to make Germany powerful and feared in the world.

The Nazis were similar to Fascism in their opposition to democracy, civil liberties and socialism. They used brutal force to crush any opposition.

Hitler put the blame for Germany's defeat in war on the Jews, so extermination of the Jewish race became an important feature of Nazism. He believed in the purity and superiority of the German race-calling them pure blood Aryans-and wanted the union of all Germans to create a Greater Germany. A very large section of the people were marked by the Nazi politics. They appealed to the national pride of Germans and gained support for Nazi politics.

The 1936 Olympics were held in Berlin. Hitler wanted to use the games to prove his theory of Aryan racial superiority. But his attempt failed as the most popular hero of the games was an Afro-American sprinter -Jesse Owens.

The economic development of the 1930s helped in Hitler's rise to power. A severe depression hit America and Europe. As a result almost 8 million workers in Germany became unemployed. The Nazi party now began to spread its influence. The Communists and the Socialists failed to unite against the Nazis. Consequently, the Nazi party, which had won only 12 seats in the Parliament in 1928, became the single Largest party in 1932. President Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor and asked him to form the new government.

Soon after coming to power, Hitler unleashed a reign of terror. All democratic principles were put aside. In February 1933, the Nazis set the Parliament building on fire and put the blame on the socialists and communists. Over 60,000 people were imprisoned or sent to concentration camps. By mid-1933 all political parties, other than the Nazi party, were banned. Following Hindenburg's death on August 2 1934, Hitler became the President of Germany. An organized campaign for the total

**Notes**

extermination of Jews was launched. Simultaneously a programme of militarization was introduced. The victory of Nazism brought the world closer to war.

Hitler was so ruthless that he ordered the killings of hundreds of storm Troopers, who had helped in his rise to power, in one night. June 30 1934 is known as the night of Long Knives.

**Military Fascism in Japan:**

Japan had been the only country in Asia to escape colonization. By the end of the nineteenth century, Japan's expansionist policy led her to a war with China. The defeat of China enabled Japan to gain a foothold in the country. In 1905, Japan defeated Russia in war and took over Manchuria, the Russian sphere of influence in China. This was the first instance of an Asian country defeating a mighty European nation in war. Later Japan also annexed Korea.

The outbreak of the First World War gave her a chance to acquire Germany's possessions in China and some German-held islands in the Pacific. After the war the League gave her the mandate over the islands. By this time, Japan's military had become a dominating force in society. It destroyed democracy within the country and advocate of extreme nationalism and expansionism. In less than fifty years Japan changed from a peaceful country to an aggressive military power. During one 1930s she was to establish close relations with the fascist governments of Germany and Italy for another re-division of the world.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 24.2****A. State whether True or False:**

1. In 1920s, the socialist revolutions succeeded in many countries.

\_\_\_\_\_

2. The term 'Fascism' is used to describe democratic movements.

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Hitler set up the most barbaric regime of modern times.

\_\_\_\_\_

4. The European governments supported the rise of socialism.

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Japan adopted a peaceful policy towards China.

\_\_\_\_\_

**B. Fill in the blanks:**

1. Mussolini's armed gangs were called \_\_\_\_\_.

2. Hitler wrote \_\_\_\_\_ while he was in jail.

3. Like Fascists, Nazis were also opposed to \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.



**THE INTER-WAR PERIOD AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

4. Mussolini came to power by organizing a \_\_\_\_\_ on \_\_\_\_\_
5. After defeating Russia in war, Japan took over \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_.

**24.3 THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND ITS EFFECTS**

A significant development after the First World War was the decline in the supremacy of Europe and the growing importance of the United States of America. While the war damaged the economy of the European countries, the U.S. economy became stronger. No war was fought on the U.S. soil and the industrial expansion also continued during war as it supplied arms and other materials to the Allies. However, a decade later serious economic problems arose in the country, which later spread to the rest of Europe.

You know that America followed the capitalist system of production, in which maximum profit was made by the owners of industry. Most of the workers, however, lived below the poverty line. Thus, not many people had the means to buy goods, which were being produced by the industries. So ‘overproduction’ and ‘maldistribution of purchasing power’ were the two main causes of The Great Depression, which hit U.S.A. in Oct. 1929 and then spread worldwide.

The Crisis began with a fall in the share prices leading to a collapse of the U.S. stock market. In one day, nearly 16 million shares were sold on the New York stock exchange.

During the next four years, almost 9000 banks closed operations and millions of people lost their life’s savings.

As goods remained unsold, thousands of factories shut down, resulting in unemployment, poverty and starvation.

Most of the European countries, except Soviet Union, also suffered as they had become dependent on the U.S. economy, especially on the American bank. The effects of the crisis in these countries were similar. The number of unemployed in the world rose to over 50 million, of which 15 million were in U.S. alone

The economic crisis also affected the political conditions in these countries. In U.S. the Democratic Party came to power with Franklin D. Roosevelt as President. He introduced a programme of economic reform and social welfare called New Deal. In Britain and France, labour friendly governments came to power. Though fascist movements arose in Britain and France they were not successful.

In Germany and Italy as you have read above, post war discontent and Depression led to victories of fascist parties.

During the 1930s the foreign policies of U.S, Britain and France were also similar. They did not adopt a strong position against the fascists. Their main concern was to check the spread of socialist ideas and workers’ movements. Thus when fascist aggression began, they did nothing to check it. Instead they chose to appease Fascism in the hope that it would destroy communism.

**Developments in the USSR**

We have already discussed Russia’s participation in war and the Russian Revolution. This was followed by a civil war and the allied military intervention. All this had resulted in the collapse of the Russian economy. There was a severe shortage of food and the industrial production declined drastically.

**Notes**

The consequent famine worsened the conditions further.

Lenin was forced to take strict measures. The soviet government forcibly seized surplus food from rich farmers (kulaks), to feed the rest of the population. Nothing could be bought or sold in the markets. The industrial produce was distributed to the workers in lieu of wages. People were encouraged and even forced to work for the good of their fellow men rather than for motive. This grim state of affairs, which lasted from 1918–1921. was called ‘War Communism’.

The fierce opposition to this system mainly from the peasantry and some members of his above party led Lenin to replace it by the New Economic Policy in 1921. The harsh measures of War Communism were withdrawn. Now the peasant gave one-tenth of their produce as tax and were allowed to sell the rest in the open markets. Though most of the industries remained under state control, yet smaller industries were given back to private owners. Payment of wages in cash was reintroduced.

A new constitution was introduced in 1924, under which Russia became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic. But after Lenin’s death in 1924 a fierce power struggle arose within the party. There were serious differences among the senior leaders over the policies to be followed. Finally, Stalin, emerged victorious, became the General Secretary of the Communist Party, and soon assumed great powers.

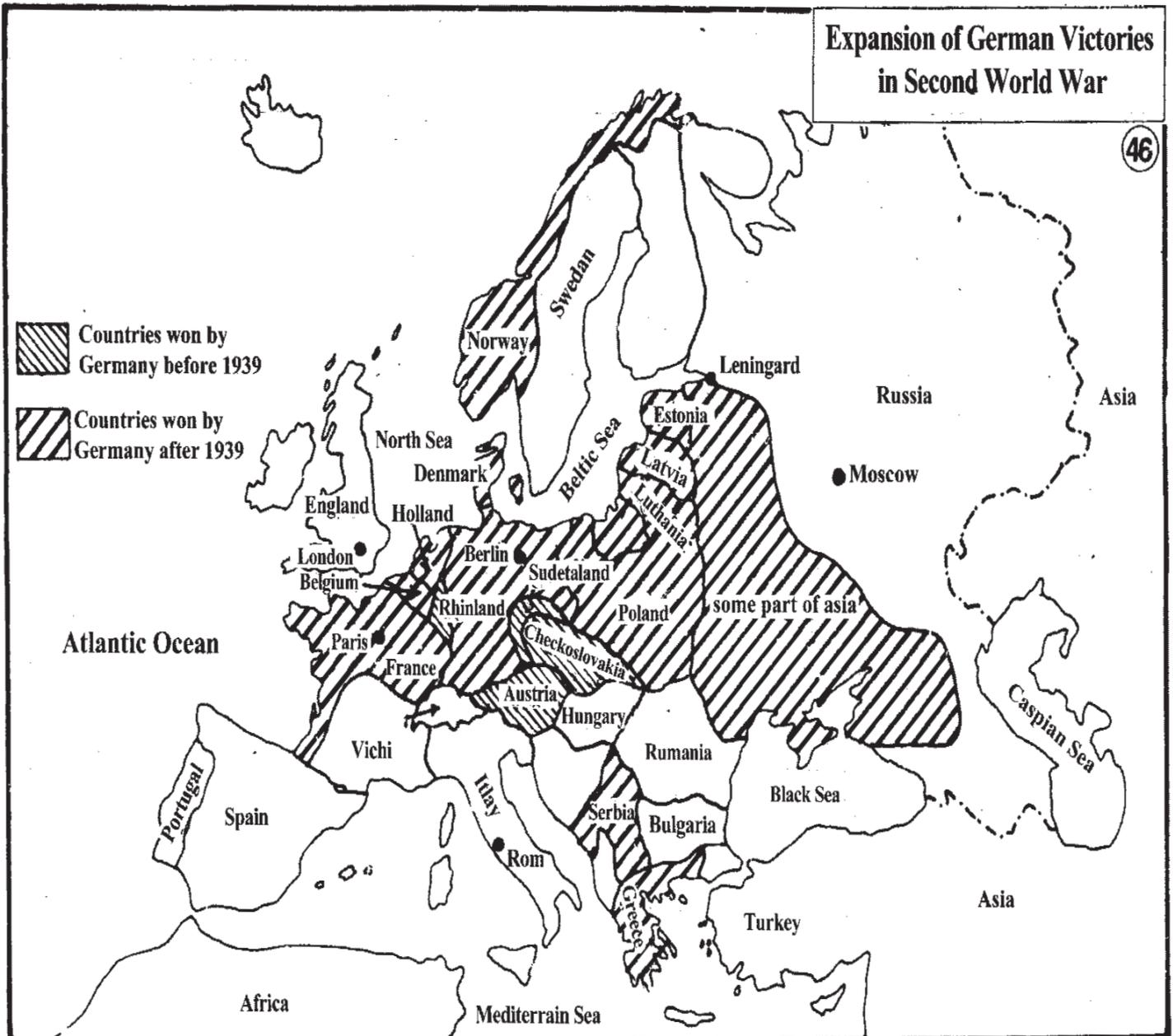
Within a few years, the U.S.S.R. started a vigorous program of industrialization through a series of Five Years Plans. The first plan was introduced in 1929. One of the aims of the Plan was to bring about changes in agriculture. After the revolution, agricultural land had been redistributed among peasants resulting in millions of small, less productive land holdings. To increase production, the government promoted the idea of Collectivization of small farms. The peasants were both encouraged and forced to give up private ownership of farms, land was pooled and they had to become members and joint owners of the collective farms. The kulaks, who opposed collectivization, were severely dealt with. It is estimated that thousands perished during this period.

The main effort of the plan was towards industrialization. Here the success was greater and soon Soviet Russia emerged a major, industrial power in the world. It is important to remember that the capitalist economies at this time faced a severe economic crisis. The Soviet example of a successful socialist economy stood out and was adopted later by many colonies after independence. Most of the European countries and U.S.A., however, did not recognize Soviet Russia till 1933. It became a member of the League of Nations only in 1934. The hostility towards Soviet Union continued even after this. When fascist aggression began in the 1930s, Soviet Union was the only major power that actively opposed them.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 24.3****A. Match the following :**

- |                        |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. New Deal            | U.S.S.R            |
| 2. Rich farmers        | Co-operative farms |
| 3. New Economic Policy | U.S.A.             |





Map 24.3 German expansion in second world war

Hitler's next Plan was the annexation of Austria. The union of Austria and Germany or the Anschluss was completed in 1938. The same year, at a conference in Munich, Britain and France signed the Munich Pact. By this pact, they agreed to the German occupation of Sude tenland in Czechoslovakia. The Czechs had no role in these talks. Germany wanted Sudetenland because this area had a large German population and was the hub of coal chemical and iron and steel industries. A few months later, Germany took over the whole of Czechoslovakia. The Munich Pact was the last act of appeasement by the western powers.



**Notes**

In an article in National Herald dated 5th Oct. 1938, Pt. Nehru wrote that Britain and France should ‘hang their heads in shame’ for signing the Munich Pact.

**A dress rehearsal of Second World War**

The first example of joint German-Italian aggression was seen during the Spanish Civil War (1936–39). It had serious consequence for the entire world and is considered to be a dress rehearsal of the Second World War.

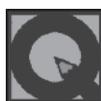
In 1936, a Popular Front Government, comprising the socialists, communists and other anti fascist parties, came to power in Spain. They formed a democratic republic under the leadership of General Franco, a section of the army planned to overthrow this government. Germany and Italy gave armed support to Franco’s men and German aircrafts carried out air raids on Spanish towns and villages. They captured many parts of the country and terrorized people into submission.

The Republican government appealed for help but Britain, France and U.S.A. accepted a policy of non-intervention. Only the Soviet Union offered to help the Republicans. The anti-fascists from all over the world came together to form an International Brigade to fight for the Republic. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru went to Spain to offer the support of the Indian Freedom Movement to the Republic. The Spanish Civil War was no longer a Spanish affair as thousands of non-Spaniards sacrificed their lives to save the Republic from the fascists. The civil war continued for three years. By 1939, Spain fell to the fascists and the new government was recognized by most of the western powers.

**Towards Poland**

You can understand that the policy of appeasement adopted by the western powers encouraged the fascist towards more aggression. The Soviets demanded an anti-fascist alliance but the western powers did not agree. To protect its own interests the USSR signed a Non-Aggression pact with Germany in August 1939.

Hitler now directed his attention towards Poland. He wanted both, the Danzig Free City and the Polish Corridor, which, you remember, had separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany. The British and French governments declared that they would attack Germany if it invaded Poland. But Hitler could not be stopped now. On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany. The Second World War had begun.



**24.4 INTEXT QUESTIONS**

Complete the following sentences:

1. The League failed to prevent \_\_\_\_\_
2. In 1931, Japan invaded \_\_\_\_\_
3. Italy defied the League to take over \_\_\_\_\_
4. German troops entered the demilitarized zone of \_\_\_\_\_
5. The Munich Pact allowed Germany to occupy \_\_\_\_\_
6. Anschluss refers to the union of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_

## THE INTER-WAR PERIOD AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

7. The Popular Front Government in Spain consisted of \_\_\_\_\_
8. The Second World War began with the invasion of \_\_\_\_\_
9. The Anti-Comintern Pact was signed between \_\_\_\_\_
10. The policy of appeasement encouraged \_\_\_\_\_

## MODULE - 5

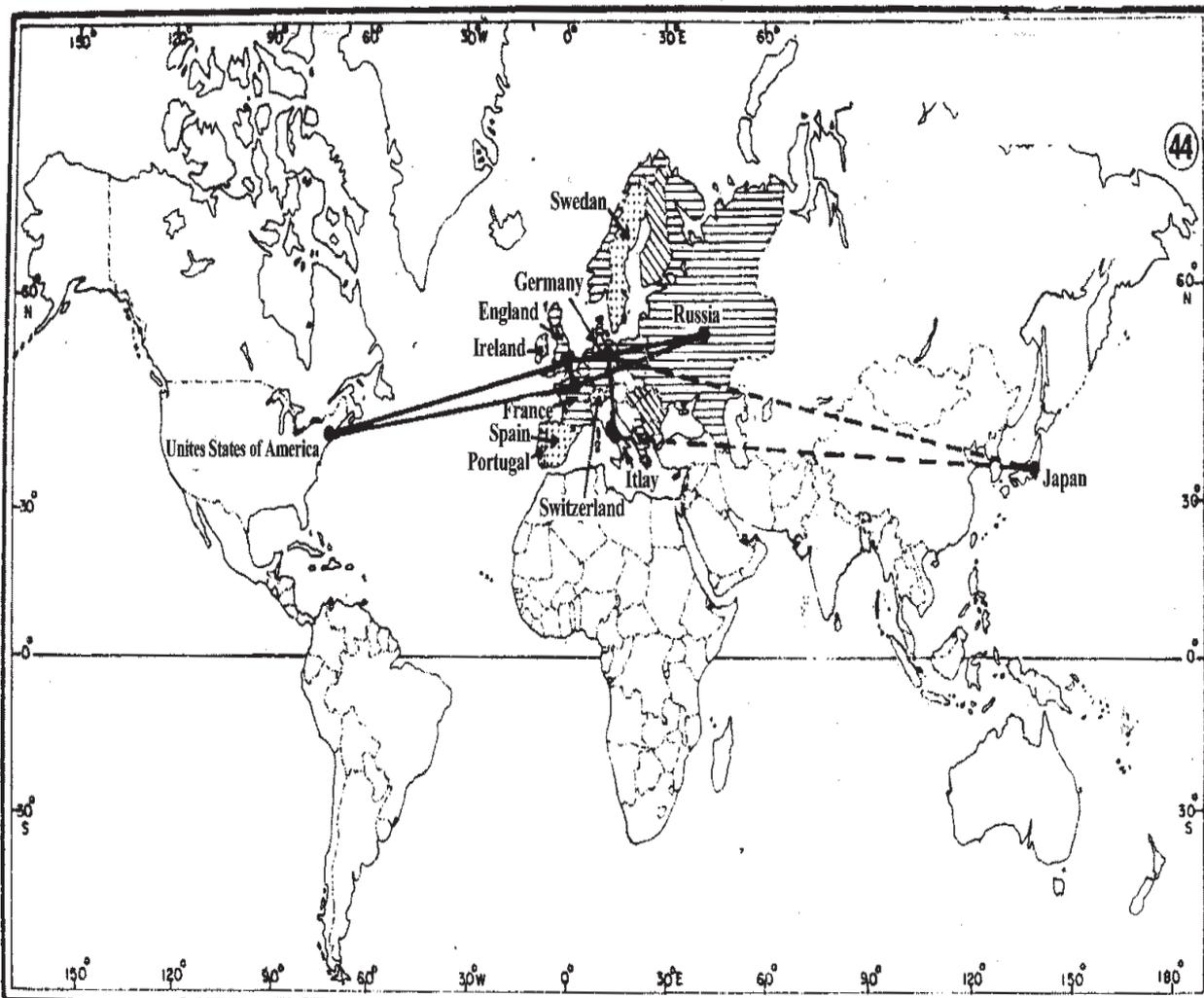
Contemporary World



Notes

### 24.5 THE WORLD AT WAR

We have just read that the invasion of Poland marked the beginning of the Second World War. The German army crossed the Polish frontier from the west and completed the conquest of Poland in three weeks. Despite declaration of war, no help reached Poland. The Soviet Red Army took the opportunity to get back the territories which had earlier been part of the Russian empire. By 1940, the Russians had taken over the Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—and forced a treaty on Finland. As there was little actual fighting for the first six months, this period is known as ‘the period of Phony War’.



Map 24.4 The world at war



## Notes

## THE INTER-WAR PERIOD AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

On 9th April, 1940 the German forces launched an attack on Norway and Denmark and conquered them. Next to fall were the neutral countries of Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. This was followed by the invasion of France. The German armies occupied the capital city of Paris, almost without a fight, on June 14, 1940. The French government surrendered and Germany occupied the northern half of France. The other half remained under the French and was called Vichy France. They collaborated with the Nazis. The swift takeover of European countries by Hitler is called 'lightning war'.

Meanwhile, about 350,000 British, French and Belgian troops, who did not surrender, reached Dunkirk on the Northern coast of France, from where they marched to Britain. Among them was Charles , a colonel in the French army, who started the 'Free France' movement in Britain to fight Nazi Germany.

### The battle for Britain

With the conquest of west Europe almost complete, Hitler turned his attention to Britain. The invasion of Britain or 'Operation Sea-Lion' was only possible if the German army could cross the English Channel. This meant that the Royal Air Force and the Royal Navy had to be put out of action.

During the development discussed above, there was a change of government in Britain. The British Prime Minister Chamberlain, who had signed the Munich pact had resigned and Winston Churchill took over as the new Prime Minister of a coalition government.

In August 1940, the German Air Force (Luftwaffe) began its campaign over British skies and carried out air raids on British ports and cities. The RAF in their Spitfires and Hurricanes carried out air raids on British ports and cities. The Germans began night raids on large cities, especially London. The aerial fights between the R.A.F and Luftwaffe came to be known as 'dogfights'. Churchill's powerful speeches kept the morale of the people high and the British Air force caused severe damage to the Luftwaffe.

By November 1940 Operation Sea-Lion was indefinitely put off

In praise of the role of R.A.F., Churchill said, 'Never have so many owed so much to so few'

### The expansion of war

On September 27 1940, Germany, Italy and Japan signed a Tripartite Pact at Berlin, promising to give full support to each other in the event of an attack. The three Axis powers also agreed upon the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe and Japan's similar leadership in Asia. Some other countries like Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria also joined the pact.

Meanwhile, war had spread to other parts of Europe and Africa. Italy invaded Greece, but faced stiff resistance. However, German troops succeeded in capturing Greece, Yugoslavia and parts of North Africa. Italian and British forces clashed over several territories in Africa and this conflict was to continue for another two years.

### Germany turns against Soviet Union

A new chapter opened in the war with Hitler's decision to invade Soviet Union. The Non-Aggression pact was forgotten and 'Operation Barbarossa' was launched on

**Notes**

June 22 1941, without a formal declaration of war. The German army rapidly advanced on three fronts—Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev—and the Soviet army taken by Surprise, fell back. The soviet appeal for help had positive results at this times and Britain and U.S.A. gave support.

Hitler had hoped to end the war before the onset of winter. By early October, Moscow was besieged. But, by then, Russian Winters set in. Within a month, temperatures dropped to—40 degrees C. Neither the German soldiers nor their equipment could stand up to the extreme cold. By December, the Russian counter-attack started and the German forces were driven back. The threat to Moscow was over. Operation Barbarossa had failed, but the Germans would accept total defeat only after suffering another Russian winter, and a heroic resistance firm the Soviet Red Army.

**A global war**

Since the outbreak of war, U.S. had been sympathetic to Britain, allowing her to buy arms, first on a ‘Cash and carry’ basis and then on a ‘Lend – lease’ system. The latter deal was extended to the Soviet Union also in November 1941. However, U.S. was opposed to direct entry into the war.

However, on December 7, 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. This resulted in the destruction of the American Pacific Fleet and the death of over 2000 soldiers. On December 8, US declared war on Japan and, a few days later on Germany and Italy. The war had become truly global.

After Pearl Harbor, the Japanese advanced rapidly in the Far East, capturing Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, Philippines and Burma, by the middle of 1942. The fascist countries had reached the peak of their power.

**The battle of Stalingrad**

During the summer of 1942, Hitler’s army continued its offensive in the Soviet Union. Hitler again hoped for victory but the advance of the German army was checked at Stalingrad. By November, the German armies were in an around Stalingrad, but they were encircled by the Soviet troops. All supplies to the German army cut off. The Russian winter again took its toll and by January 31, 1943, the German army had collapsed. Germany and their allies lost almost 250,000 men in the battle, which marked the turning point in the war. Soviet Union also suffered very heavy losses in terms of dead and wounded.

**The beginning of the end**

Meanwhile the war in North Africa had developed into a battle between the Western Eighth Army under General Montgomery and the German Afrika Korps under General Rommel, who had been sent by Hitler to help the Italian troops. In August 1942, Rommel began to move towards Egypt. The decisive battle was fought at El Alamein on the north coast of Egypt in October 1943, which led to Rommel’s retreat.

By the summer of 1943, the Allies had taken over North Africa, In July, they invaded Sicily. Mussolini’s government was overthrown and Italy surrendered unconditionally. The German troops immediately marched into northern Italy and rescued Mussolini, who set up his government under German protection.

On the Eastern front, the Soviet Red Army forced Hitler’s army to retreat along the route on which they had set out so confidently two and a half years before.



**Notes**

**THE INTER-WAR PERIOD AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

Most of the East European countries—Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—were liberated. The fascists were also driven out of Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania.

In June 1944, the Allies opened the Second Front in Western Europe. On June 6—D- Day—the first of the Allied troops landed on the beaches of Normandy in the North coast of France. The landings had been planned in total secrecy and they took the Germans by surprise. Commanded by General Eisenhower, they broke through the German line of defence and liberated Brussels, Paris and Luxemburg by September.

**Surrender By the fascist powers**

By the spring of 1945, the end of war was in sight. The allied troops had taken over many cities in Italy. In April, there was an uprising in Fascist occupied areas. On April 28, Mussolini was captured and executed, thus putting an end to fascism in Italy.

The downfall of Germany was now certain. The Allied troop entered Germany from three directions – the south, the northwest and the east and as the Soviet army reached Berlin, Hitler committed suicide. On May 7, Germany surrendered unconditionally.

**The fall of Japan**

The war in Asia and the Pacific continued even after Germany’s surrender. Despite American and British victories in the Pacific and the Far East, Japan still held out. On August 6, 1945, U.S. dropped the first atom bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Fifty thousand people were killed and large parts of the city were leveled to the ground. Two days later, a second bomb destroyed the city of Nagasaki and forced Japan to surrender.

The Second world war came to an end. More than 50 countries had been involved in war. Another international organization – The United Nations Organizations – was set up to maintaining peace in the world. But the two super powers – U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. – would soon try to divide the world into two power blocs, creating a situation of Cold War. That is what we will study in the next chapter.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 24.5**

A. Match the followings:

- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Free France Movement   | Operation Barbarossa   |
| 2. Battle of Britain      | Winston Churchill      |
| 3. Invasion of U.S.S.R    | Operation Sea-Lion     |
| 4. British Prime Minister | Normandy               |
| 5. Second Front           | Spitfire and Hurricane |
| 6. British Aircrafts      | Charles de Gaulle      |

B Complete the following sentences:

- The Second World War began with \_\_\_\_\_
- Operation Sea-Lion was possible only if \_\_\_\_\_

**Notes**

3. The attack on Pearl Harbor led to \_\_\_\_\_
4. Operation Barbarossa failed because \_\_\_\_\_
5. The battle of Stalingrad marked the \_\_\_\_\_
6. The war in Asia and Pacific ended with \_\_\_\_\_

**WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT**

1. The first world War came to an end with the signing of the peace treaties and the creation of the League of Nations, which would make the world safe from war.
2. The treaties also changed the map of Europe. Large empires like Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary broke up and several smaller nation-states emerged in their place.
3. The success of the Russian Revolution led to the spread of socialist ideas and the rise of socialist parties in almost all European countries.
4. The post-war period was full of economic hardships for most European countries and their governments took steps to prevent the occurrence of similar revolution in their countries.
5. In Italy and Germany, the ruling parties encouraged fascist movements, which resulted in the rise of strong dictators like Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany. The fascist leaders ruthlessly suppressed socialists and communists. They believed expansionism and war. Japan allied with Germany and Italy and the three Axis powers signed the Anti-Comintern pact in 1937.
6. When the fascist aggression began, the western powers followed the policy of appeasement. They believed that the aggression would be directed against Soviet Russia. But Hitler had other plans and soon the war spread to Europe.
7. The Second World War (1939–1945) was much more destructive and it ended with the dropping of the atom bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan.

**TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles? Did they contain the seeds of another war?
2. Describe the rise of Mussolini to power in Italy. How did he deal with the opposition?
3. What were the aims of the Nazi policies? How did Hitler try to achieve those aims? Were his methods justified?
4. Why did the western powers follow a policy of appeasement during the 1930s? What was its effect on the fascists?

**Notes****ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTIONS****24.1**

- A.** 1. Dictated Peace  
2. Allied intervention  
3. Covenant  
4. Mandates  
5. Outlet to Baltic Sea
- B.** 1. promotion of international cooperation, peace and security.  
2. an era of peace, freedom, democracy and self determination.  
3. signing a treaty with Germany.  
4. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.  
5. Austria, Prussia and Russia.

**24.2**

- A.** 1. F  
2. F  
3. T  
4. F  
5. F
- B.** 1. Blackshirts  
2. Mein Kampf (My Struggle)  
3. Democracy, socialism  
4. March, Rome  
5. Manchuria, China

**24.3**

- A.** 1. USA  
2. Kulaks  
3. U.S.S.R.  
4. Cooperative farms  
5. Great depression
- B.** 1. T  
2. T  
3. F  
4. T  
5. T

**Notes****24.4**

1. Aggression
2. Manchuria
3. Ethiopia
4. Rhineland
5. Sudetenland
6. Austria, Germany
7. Socialists, communists and anti-fascists
8. Poland
9. Germany, Italy and Japan
10. The fascists.

**24.5**

- A.**
1. Charles de Gaulle
  2. Operation Sea-Lion
  3. Operation Barbarossa
  4. Winston Churchill
  5. Normandy
  6. Spitfires and Hurricanes
- B.**
1. the invasion of Poland.
  2. the German army could cross the English Channel.
  3. the U.S. entry into war.
  4. the Germans could not tolerate the Russian winters.
  5. the turning point of war.
  6. the dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**HINTS TO TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. 24.1, paras 2–3.
2. 24.2, paras 3–4.
3. 24.2, paras 7–9.
4. 24.4, paras 1.

**GLOSSARY**

- Annexed** - to add another's territory into one's own territory
- Comintern** - The Communist International set up by the Russian Communist party countries. With membership of all communists parties of the world with the purpose of bringing about revolutions all over the world.
- Eloquent Speech** - To speak in a fluent, forceful, effective and persuasive manner.
- Holocaust** - the systematic killing of over 6 million European Jews by the Nazis during and after Second World War.



**Notes**

**THE INTER-WAR PERIOD AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

- Imperialism** - A policy of acquiring and administering colonies or dependent territories e.g. India was a colony of imperialist Britain.
- National Chauvinism-** Unreasonable or aggressive patriotism, excessive loyalty to one's nation.
- Socialism** - A political and economic system where the state controls the means of production and there is a fair distribution of wealth.
- Totalitarian regime** - A system of government, in which there is a single party dictatorship, the state is all powerful and the individual is subordinated to the state.

**TIME LINE-1919–1945**

- April 28, 1919 - League of Nations set up
- June 28, 1919 - Treaty of Versailles signed
- July 29, 1921 - Hitler becomes leader of Nazi party
- Oct. 28-29, 1922 - March on Rome, Mussolini forms government
- Oct. 29, 1929 - Stock market in U.S.A crashes
- Jan. 30, 1933 - Hitler appointed Chancellor of Germany
- Aug. 2, 1934 - Hitler becomes President as well
- March 7, 1936 - German troops occupy Rhineland
- May 9, 1936 - Mussolini's Italian troops take Ethiopia
- July 18, 1936 - Civil war begins in Spain
- March 12, 1938 - Anschluss – Nazis take Austria
- Sep. 30, 1938 - Munich pact signed
- Aug. 23, 1939 - Nazi-Soviet pact signed
- Sep. 1, 1939 - Nazis invade Poland
- Sep. 3, 1939 - Britain and France declare war on Germany
- April – May, 1940 - Nazis invade Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and France
- July 10, 1940 - Battle of Britain begins
- Sep. 13, 1940 - Italians invade Egypt
- Oct. 12, 1940 - Operation Sea-Lion put off
- June 22, 1941 - Operation Barbarossa begins
- Dec. 5, 1941 - German attack on Moscow abandoned
- Dec. 7-8, 1941 - Japan attacks Pearl harbor, U.S. enters war
- Feb. 2, 1943 - Battle of Stalingrad begins
- Feb. 2, 1943 - German surrender at Stalingrad, Soviet troops push back German army
- July 25, 1943 - Mussolini arrested, fascist government falls in Italy
- June 6, 1944 - Second Front – Allied troops land in Normandy
- April 16, 1945 - Soviet final attack on Berlin
- April 28, 1945 - Hitler commits suicide
- May 7, 1945 - Germany surrenders
- Aug. 6, 9, 1945 - Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
- Sep. 2, 1945 - Japan signs the surrender agreement



**25**

## **THE COLD WAR ERA AND ITS POLITICS**

After the Second World War, the Allies of the war—the United States of America and Soviet Russia—were engaged in what has been described as the ‘Cold War’. During the War the two countries were on the same side with Britain and France to defeat the Fascist dictatorships (Germany and Italy) and the empire of Japan. The two countries also signed a five-year non-aggression treaty in 1941, and even as late as the Yalta Conference in February 1945 there was some harmony among the two countries. But soon the situation changed completely and the USA and the Soviet Union stood against each other in a “war like situation” which has generally been described as the Cold War.



### **OBJECTIVES**

After studying the lesson, you will be able to:

- describe the meaning of the Cold War
- discuss the factors responsible for the Cold War
- point out different issues of struggle
- list the phases of the Cold War and
- compare the Cold War with New Cold War.

### **25.1 MEANING OF THE COLD WAR**

The Cold War has been described as “peace time unarmed warfare” between new superpowers. It was a “diplomatic war” and not an armed conflict among the superpowers and was based on ideological hatred and political distrust. Flemming described the Cold War as “a war that is fought not in the battlefield, but in the minds of men; one tries to control the mind of others.” The Cold War was very different from an open war where the enemies are well known and the war is fought in the open. In the Cold War, war was never declared and diplomatic relations were maintained among the countries. The Cold War did involve some military confrontation and loss of life, but it was also a psychological warfare aimed at reducing the enemy’s area of influence and increasing the number of one’s camp followers.

The Cold War was a bi-polar confrontation between the United States of America and the Soviet Union but it also involved allies or satellites of the two superpowers. The Cold War has also been understood as the clash between two ideologies and two



**Notes**

differently organised systems of economy and society—communism and liberal democracy, and socialist command economy and capitalism. Although there have been many bi-polar confrontations in history, this was the first time that two different forms of social organisation were competing for implementing alternative visions of the world.

From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century both the USA and the USSR were on their way to becoming superpowers. A comparison of the share of various countries in manufacturing in 1932, just after the Great Depression shows America the indisputable leader with nearly 32%, and the Soviet Union which came next with 11.5%. But other leading countries were not far behind—Britain (10.9%), Germany (10.6%), France (6.9%). After the Second World War, however, the armed strength of Germany and Japan stood defeated and of Britain and France stood exhausted. Now it was the two countries—America and Soviet Union—which emerged as superpowers. Soviet Union, despite phenomenal losses in war made rapid strides because of its socialist command economy. The phenomenal rise of these two countries led to a competition between the two which ultimately resulted in the Cold War.

The Soviet Union set up the Cominform (the Communist Information Bureau), ‘Radio Moscow’ and supported some communist parties in other countries. The United States of America set up a Radio News programme called ‘Voice of America’ and supported the anti-communist political parties and movements in other countries.

The conflict between the two countries turned out to be the conflict between different ideologies that both the countries adopted. One of these ideologies was political and economic liberalism which was adopted by America and the other was Marxism-Leninism adopted by Russia.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 25.1**

1. Which two ideologies clashed in the cold war?

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Which were the news services set up by the USA and the USSR?

\_\_\_\_\_

**25.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLD WAR**

After World War II, the USA and the USSR, the new superpowers, wanted to establish the supremacy of their position and ideology, and this conflict became the focal point of international relations. There was formation of opposing blocs, intensifying the rivalry of these two powers. Most western countries tended to side with the USA and were firmly opposed to communism. America’s rise to the status of superpower was complete with the possession of the nuclear weapons. Very soon Russia emerged as a challenger and rival to America’s position and in 1949 she also developed nuclear weapons and ended the American supremacy.

There had been a long period of suspicion and distrust between the Soviet Union and the western countries. The Soviet Union could never forget that Western states

**Notes**

(Britain, France and the USA) had tried to undo the Bolshevik revolution and intervened (along with Japan) in the civil war. The western countries also did not forget that the declared objective of the Soviet Union was the overthrowing of capitalism worldwide. During World War II, mutual suspicion increased further. After Germany invaded the USSR in 1941, the Western democracies delayed opening a second front against Germany. Britain and the USA promised that they would do so, but the delay confirmed the Soviet suspicion that the west wanted a prolonged struggle between Germany and Russia so that both would be eliminated.

During the war, both the sides encouraged opposite elements in the countries liberated from the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and a few smaller states). After the fascist dictator Mussolini was removed from power in Italy, Italy was supported by the Western powers and received 'aid for reconstruction' (grants of money totaling hundreds of millions of USA dollars). Since Italy had one of the largest communist parties outside of the USSR, USSR leaders saw this as an attempt to strengthen the capitalist camp or bloc of countries. There were similar problems in Greece and Poland. The USA helped defeat communist forces in Greece.

After 1945, both superpowers took some steps to lessen mutual suspicion. The USA agreed to occupy only the western zones of Germany and Austria and to stay out of Poland, Czechoslovakia and other eastern European territories that had been liberated by the Soviet Red Army. The Soviet Union dissolved the Comintern (Communist Information Bureau) and allowed capitalist forces to control Greece. The Soviet Union in 1952 vacated Finland and by 1955 had removed all its troops from Austria. There remained differences of opinion between the USA and USSR regarding the future of Europe and other areas. Soviet Union wanted to install 'friendly' governments in the East European countries liberated from the Nazi Germany. By friendly governments, the Soviet Union meant the communist governments, with which America and Britain did not agree. The Soviet Union also tried to establish her domination in Turkey and delayed the withdrawal of her troops from Iran, much to the dislike of the western countries.

Both sides were responsible for the Cold War. The temporary truce between the two parties during the World War II was just a bright patch in the otherwise strained relationship between the two, before and after the war.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 25.2**

1. Which countries formed the part of the Axis power?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Which countries formed the part of the Allies power?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Which parts of Europe were influenced by the USA and the USSR?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**25.3 DIFFERENT PHASES OF THE COLD WAR**

It is very difficult to find an exact date for the start of the Cold War since the war was never declared and even the undeclared aggression was of a long-term kind. After



## Notes

the initial phase (1945-47) which has been called the ossification phase, the Cold War began in earnest and at its centre was the creation of a European postwar order. The onset of the Cold War reflected the failure of the different powers to consistently respect the principles agreed on at wartime conferences of Yalta and Potsdam.

**First Phase**

In the early phase the fate of **Poland** turned out to be a crucial issue. All the countries had a special interest in Poland. France and Britain had declared war on Germany when Hitler's army had crossed the Polish border in September 1939. For Russia, Poland had been a historic enemy: on the other hand Polish lands had been the traditional gateway for invasion of Russia from the west. When the Soviets entered Poland in 1944, they formally handed over power to the Lublin government, pro-communist committee of National liberation. The future of Poland was discussed at length at the Yalta Conference of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. No agreement could be reached on the exact boundary of Poland. But Poland ultimately came into the Soviet camp. The sovietisation of Poland became a landmark in the origin of the Cold War.

The second crucial area of conflict was the **Balkan**. Britain and the Soviet Union had decided to have their own spheres of influence in the Balkan areas. But in all the countries except Greece communist regimes were installed, and once the communist governments were installed they were openly supported by the Soviet Union. Except Greece, which came under British control, all other East European countries fell under Soviet domination. Churchill's formulation of this state of affairs was that an 'iron curtain' had descended over Europe. This led to an intensely strained relationship between the East and the West, including between the USA and the Soviet Union.

After the unconditional surrender to the Allied forces, **Germany** was divided into four occupation zones—each one under the control of the Soviet Union, the USA, Britain and France. Berlin, the capital of Germany, fell in Soviet occupation zone but Berlin itself was divided into four occupation zones on the same pattern as the whole of Germany. The military occupation was a temporary arrangement till the time the Peace Treaty was concluded. The Potsdam Conference was convened to finalise the peace treaty with Germany. The Allies were not clear on critical issues, such as whether Germany should be disarmed, demilitarised and partitioned. To what degree was the reconstruction of the German industry to be allowed? The Soviet Union wanted a pauperised and weak Germany so that its interests did not get threatened by Germany. The Soviet Union also demanded US\$ 20 billion from Germany as reparation fees. But the western allies did not agree to these proposals. Later the British, American and French zones were merged into one and Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) came into existence. After the election in the new state a pro-west government came to power. It started getting heavy financial aid from America. Soon, with the Soviet help the other zone also created a state called German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

The western allies wanted to introduce monetary reforms in Germany, but the Soviet Union did not and responded by what is known as the **Berlin Blockade**. The Soviet Union imposed a total ban on all traffic between Berlin and the western zones, be it road, rail or waterways. This Blockade was also in protest against the **Brussels Pact** which was formulated as a mutual defense treaty between Britain, France and Belgium. The Pact directed the signatories to extend military assistance to any



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member state in case of attack by Germany or any third party in Europe. Though the name of the Soviet Union was not mentioned in the text it was mainly aimed against the Soviet Union and not against Germany.

In **Iran** a crisis developed when Soviet troops failed to withdraw by March 1946. Iran had been the main thoroughfare for western aid to the Soviet Union during the war. Iran was also rich in oil. The Soviet Union demanded privileged access to Iranian oil and refused to allow Iranian troops in the Soviet held areas. US then mounted pressure in the United Nations Security Council forcing the Soviet forces to leave Iran.



Map 25. The Confrontation between the Superpowers-1950



## Notes

In **Turkey**, the Soviet Union demanded the internationalisation of the Bosphorus Strait. The western allies resisted that. In Greece, the USA and the Soviet Union backed rival factions. The Greek conservative forces had called upon the USA for support.

It was in this backdrop that the US President Truman formulated his policy which came to be known as **Truman doctrine**. The Truman doctrine was a policy of ‘containment’ i.e., to limit or contain communism to areas where it had already triumphed, but to not let it spread any further. Thus, the American foreign policy changed from one of isolationism to become interventionist. This intervention was aimed at containing the spread of communism anywhere in the world.

There was a significant rise of communism in some of the western European countries also. The war-torn countries of Europe had hoped for improvement in their lot after the war but that did not happen. European national economies and industries were struggling and the members of the communist parties in these countries were increasing. It was in this background that U.S. Secretary of State, Marshall, put forward his plan for European economic reconstruction which is known as ‘**The Marshall Plan**’. The Plan envisaged American transfer of more than ten billion dollars to Europe over a period of twenty years. It was hoped that such massive monetary infusion would help Europe recuperate from the ravages of the war and thus stabilize its material condition and political climate. It was also believed that only a stable Europe would be able to resist the indigenous and external communist challenges. Significantly, the offer of aid was made to East European countries also.

On its part the Soviet Union revived the ‘**Cominform**’ (Communist Information Bureau) in response to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. It was founded with the intention to bring the communist governments in the Soviet sphere of influence in line with Moscow’s policies. Thus, it was an attempt to further consolidate Communism in Eastern Europe.

The **North Atlantic Treaty Organisation** was signed on April 4, 1949. This treaty was signed in pursuance of the policy of “containment”. It was between the US and other European countries—Britain, France, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Norway and Portugal. The treaty was a military alliance against the Soviet Bloc. Article V of the NATO treaty is the central provision which states that an attack on any member of NATO would be considered as an act of aggression against all others. However, every member state had the right to decide on the kind of support it wanted to offer to other member states. Later, Greece and West Germany also joined the NATO.

Post-1945 developments in China and Korea led to the intensification of the Cold War. In **China**, the Communists gained power in 1949 under Mao Tse-Tung and People’s Republic of China was established (See Unit 5.5.7). The United States refused to recognise the People’s Republic of China, which was also denied entry into the United Nations; only Taiwan (‘Nationalist’ China) was recognized. The United States used its power of veto to keep communist China out of the U.N. and the Soviet Union effectively boycotted the U.N. because of this. However, this did not mean the establishment of friendly relations between the USSR and PRC: after 1950 their relations took a turn for the worse.

After the defeat of Japan in the World War II, **Korea** was divided into North Korea under Soviet control and South Korea under American control in accordance with the Potsdam Conference. South Korea was effectively a dictatorship with direct support



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from the USA. In North Korea a pro-Soviet Government was set up. Neither the Soviet Union nor the U.S.A. recognised the governments which were opposed to them. In 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. The United Nations, whose permanent Security Council was dominated by capitalist states, declared North Korea the aggressor and set up a unified UN command to repel the North Korean attack. General MacArthur of the USA was named its commander. The UN troops pushed North Korean forces out of South Korea and entered deep into the North Korean territory, reaching the Chinese border. China then joined the North Korean troops to push the UN troops into South Korea. Ultimately an armistice was signed in 1953 bringing to an end the threat of an open war. The Korean crisis was the first military struggle of the Cold War. The USA and USSR and PRC did not engage in much direct combat with one another (although North Korean aircrafts were actually flown by Soviet pilots) but they fought each others' client powers (the Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Korea: neither was actually a democracy!).



### INTEXT QUESTIONS 25.3

1. Which countries future was discussed at Yalta conferences?

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2. Which leader coined the famous term "Iron Curtain"?

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3. What was the aim of the Truman Doctrine?

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4. What does NATO stand for?

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### 25.4 SECOND PHASE OF THE COLD WAR : POST TRUMAN-STALIN ERA

In the second phase, tensions eased considerably but there was no end to the Cold War. In both the countries, there was a leadership change at the highest level. In the USA President Truman's tenure came to an end in 1953 and in the Soviet Union Stalin died in 1953. Stalin was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev, who retreated on many of the policies of Stalin. On the policy front, Khrushchev stood for the policy of relaxation of tension in Europe and admitted Soviet responsibility for some problems there. On the other hand, he openly suppressed anti-Soviet leaders and ideas in Poland and Hungary and denounced as 'fascist' the activities of liberals and Catholics who expressed Polish and Hungarian nationalism. Soviet leaders during this period also commented critically on racial conflicts in the USA, which they said were inevitable consequences of capitalist inequality. For its part, the USA and its clients tried to stir up anti-Soviet feelings in the East European countries.

The change of leaders in the USSR and Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalinism inspired revolts in **Poland** and Hungary. In 1956, revolt broke out in Poznan city of Poland but was suppressed. The Communist Party of Poland became divided into



## Notes

two factions, one Stalinist and the other owing allegiance to Gomulka. Gomulka's faction succeeded and the Communist Party of Poland decided to pursue a "national road to socialism". This meant that Poland would have more control over its affairs as long as it respected Soviet hegemony (for instance, in economic and military affairs) throughout Eastern Europe. Thus, Poland became the second country after Yugoslavia to follow the path of "Nationalist Communism", which most Soviet leaders accepted within limits.

In **Hungary** people rose in revolt in 1956. The Soviet Union initially agreed to some reform, but when Hungarians demanded complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops and Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact (which was set up by the Soviet Union in response to NATO), the Soviet leadership got annoyed with the 'New Course'. The final declaration of Hungary's neutrality and withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact led to the execution of Imre Nagy, the then ruler of Hungary and the attack on Hungary by the Soviet Union. Thus the Soviet Union made it clear that it was not ready to accept a liberalised communist regime or a multiparty democracy in Poland. The US did not do much about it as any action on its part would probably have led to direct confrontation between the Soviet Union and the USA.

After the Chinese Revolution, General Chiang Kai-Shek led his followers across the Taiwan Strait and set up the Republic of China which continued to represent China in the UN till 1971. The American policy before 1950 was not to interfere in **Taiwan** in the event of attack by the Communist China (Peoples' Republic of China). But after the Korean War in 1950, the U.S. policy changed and after 1953 US President Eisenhower agreed to massive American rearmament of Taiwan.

In 1954, the PRC (China) declared that Taiwan had to be liberated and accordingly started military operations. The US on its part threatened to use nuclear weapons and war between the PRC and the US seemed imminent. Communist China showed an inclination to back down and the NATO states declared they would not support American use of nuclear weapons. During this period the PRC leaders believed that the advances made by the USSR in the development of long range delivery systems for nuclear weapons, ICBMs, had tilted the European balance of power in favour of the Eastern bloc. PRC leaders were not sure what USSR military resurgence would mean for them; perhaps it would make the USA less likely to threaten the PRC. When the PRC bombarded Quemoy in 1957, it was the USSR that pressured the PRC to stop. Ultimately direct Sino-USA war was avoided, but Chinese Communist suspicion of the USA *and* USSR increased.

The **Suez Canal** was constructed in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> c. by the British and the French. The Suez Canal Company enjoyed the right to operate the canal and earn profits for a period of 99 years commencing 1869. The Egyptian decision to nationalise the Suez Canal—that is, make it part of Egyptian national territory—in 1956 led to a series of crises. Britain, France and Israel decided to initiate a concerted military campaign against Egypt. America was against the use of force. But Israel attacked Egypt in collusion with Britain and France. This forced the USA to condemn its own allies and for the first time since the Cold War, the USA and the Soviet Union came together on this issue. Britain and France had to accept a UN peace keeping force for the canal. The imperial decline of France, which had tried to remain independent of the USA security bloc, speeded up after the 'Suez Crisis'. Britain too was now generally recognized as being only a second-rate power and junior partner of the USA.

**Notes**

In **Cuba** Fidel Castro came to power after many years of struggle in 1959. He brought Cuba closer to the Soviet Union within a few years. The USA cut off diplomatic relations with Cuba, refused to purchase Cuban sugar and supported an ‘invasion’ of Cuba in 1961 by anti-Castro Cubans who were living in exile in the USA. The exiles attempted a landing at the Bay of Pigs. The ‘invasion’ turned out to be a complete failure as the exiles got no support from the people of Cuba. The Soviet Union then decided to install a nuclear bomber and ground-to-ground missiles in Cuba (some of them only 150 km. from the USA). The Soviet Union also dispatched dozens of long-range missiles to Cuba. (Since 1949, the USA had put bomber and missile bases in Norway, Turkey and other places directly adjacent to the USSR.) The USA in turn announced a blockade of Cuba. There was a strong possibility of war between the superpowers. Initially the Soviet Union denounced the blockade but later agreed to withdraw the missiles on the condition that the Americans would not invade Cuba and would remove their medium-range nuclear missiles from Turkey. The USA agreed to the first condition; they soon removed missiles from Turkey with the excuse that they were outdated. This was probably the closest the superpowers came to nuclear war during the Cold War.

The Soviet Union virtually gave an ultimatum to the western powers demanding demilitarisation of all of Berlin within six months; the USSR would remove its occupation troops if the other occupiers did the same. If agreement was not reached within six months, the Soviet Union was to transfer its occupation rights in East Berlin to the German Democratic Republic (‘East Germany’). When Soviet troops surrounded the city, the West Berliners and foreign occupiers were supplied by an ‘air-bridge’; eventually Soviet leaders decided they could not easily force the Western powers out of Berlin, the city they had lost 300,000 troops in occupying at the end of the Second World War. The ‘**Berlin Crisis**’ was not so much defused as won in favor of the Western occupation forces.

The Soviet Union continued to be worried during the 1950s by the flight of many workers and professionals from East Germany to West Germany via Berlin. When they resumed pressure against the Western occupiers over the Berlin question, the latter changed some of the terms of occupation to prevent being drawn into a major conflict over Germany. West Germany, the German Federal Republic, was being re-armed after 1955 and given effective control over most of the western occupation zones, where the communists were outlawed for some time. In 1961 the Soviet occupiers of East Berlin built a concrete wall to prevent East Germans from fleeing to the West German state. The **Berlin Wall** became a symbol of Cold War politics until Germans tore it down in 1989–90.

During the second phase of the Cold War, there was a thaw between the two superpowers but on certain occasions, as during the Cuban Missile crisis in 1962, the tension ran very high. The possibility of a nuclear war and its catastrophic effects was an important factor that forced the two superpowers to change their attitudes. In both the countries there were pressures to reduce military expenditures.

Some grounds for improved relationship between the two superpowers had already been made. In 1963 the Soviet Union, the USA and Britain had signed a nuclear test ban treaty and agreed to carry out their nuclear tests underground only to avoid polluting the atmosphere any further. In the same year a telephonic link (the so called hot line) was introduced between Moscow and Washington to ensure swift consultations.



Notes



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 25.4**

1. Which Soviet leader initiated the policy of relaxation of tension on Europe and suppression of anti-soviet leaders and ideas at the same time?

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2. What does PRC stand for?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. When did Berlin wall collapse?

\_\_\_\_\_

**25.5 THE DETENTE**

The Soviet Union and the USA relationship now entered a new phase which has been described as **Detente**, a term that was used for relaxation in East-West conflict. The Detente was also to take into account China. The relationship between the USA and China had been tense for past few years. The Detente with China was a notable achievement. The Cold War did not end during this period but there were improved levels of understanding. Henry Kissinger, an American official, described Detente as “a mode of arrangement of adversary power”. Leonid Brezhnev, who succeeded Khrushchev as Soviet leader after the Cuban missile crisis, described Detente as “willingness to resolve differences and disputes not by force, not by threats and saber rattling, but by peaceful means at the conference table. It also means a certain trust and ability to consider each other’s legitimate interests.” President Nixon of the USA has been described as the “author of Detente”. But this is more appropriate in the context of U.S.-China relations. Although Nixon had based his political career during the 1940s-60’s as an anti-communist ‘hardliner’, when elected President in 1968 he took steps to improve US relations with China.

Several steps were taken by both the countries to ease the tension. In 1968, a nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) was signed by U.K., USA and USSR. A major area of conflict between the two superpowers was the two Germanys and Berlin. In 1969, the government of West Germany initiated the policy of *Ostpolitik* which means a “policy for the East”. West Germany renewed normal relations with East European countries. Both the Germanys recognised each other and were recognised as separate and legitimate states by the superpowers; the two Germanys joined the United Nations in 1973. In 1972 USA and the Soviet Union signed the **Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty** (SALT-I). The agreement did not reduce the amount of armaments but did slow down the arms race. The then Presidents of the Soviet Union and the USA met thrice (Brezhnev and Nixon respectively). The USA also started exporting wheat to the Soviet Union. In July 1975, 35 countries assembled for the **Helsinki (Finland) Conference**. The signing of its final act was regarded, for the time being, as burying the Cold War. The final act contained ten principles, most important of which was that all the Nations were to accept the European frontier which had been drawn after the Second World War. Thus the division of Germany was accepted. The communist countries promised to allow their peoples “human rights” including freedom of speech and freedom to leave the country.



Notes

During the period of detente USA-China relations improved considerably. President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made special efforts to ease the tension with China. In 1971, China was admitted to the UN and Taiwan was expelled. In 1978 the USA withdrew the recognition of Nationalist China and in 1979 the USA gave recognition to the People's Republic of China, and ambassadors were exchanged.



### INTEXT QUESTIONS 25.5

1. What was Detente? Who was its author?

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2. What was NPT?

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3. What was SALT-I?

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4. What was the policy of ostpolitik?

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### 25.6 NEW COLD WAR

After the Helsinki Conference the process of detente lost its momentum. Relations between the USA and the Soviet Union became so sore that by 1980 it appeared that Cold War had come back. The new tensions came to be described as the **New Cold War**. The New Cold War was different from the Cold War in the sense that it was not based on ideological conflict but on balance of power. In the New Cold War a new power bloc, namely the PRC, emerged as a power that could not be defeated or ignored. The intervention of the Soviet army in Afghanistan in 1979 was the turning point. The New Cold War was marked by the efforts of both the countries to spread their influence mainly outside Europe. Conflicts outside Europe assumed greater significance than ever before. Detente for the Soviet Union meant acceptance of status quo in Europe only. In Indo-China, Africa, Afghanistan etc. both the countries supported opposing groups. The Soviet Union replaced the President of Afghanistan by one favourable to it. Nearly 1, 00,000 Soviet soldiers were stationed in Afghanistan. America regarded the positioning of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan as a threat to Iran and moved her warships in the Gulf. Both the countries were deeply involved in developing the new weapons of destruction. The US President, Ronald Reagan, approved of the plan to develop a new weapons system, the **Strategic Defence Initiative** (SDI) which was also known as Star Wars.

### 25.7 THE END OF THE COLD WAR

The New Cold War came to an end with the **collapse of communism** in various East European countries. The pace of collapse was very fast and ultimately communism collapsed in its birth place i.e., the USSR. The process began in Poland in 1988 when the Solidarity trade union organised huge anti-government strikes forcing the government to allow free elections in which the communists were comprehensively



**Notes**

defeated. The same happened in Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Czechoslovakia. In East Germany the communist leader Eric Honecker wanted to disperse the demonstrators by force but was overruled by his colleagues. By the end of 1989, the Communist Government had to resign in East Germany and the Berlin Wall, the symbol of Cold War, was pulled down in 1989 with much public enthusiasm. The fall of the Berlin wall was taken to be the end of the Cold War as its erection had been taken as the start of the Cold War. In 1990 the West German currency was introduced in East Germany and finally the two Germanys were reunited. The Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany was chosen as the head of the Government of the united country which adopted market economy and western type of democracy.

In the Soviet Union also communism collapsed. Mikhail Gorbachev made efforts to transform and revitalize the country by his policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *Perestroika* (restructuring-which meant economic and social reforms). But the measures did not succeed and by the end of 1991 the USSR split into separate republics, and Russia alone was not in a position to command the same influence that the old Soviet Union did. The Cold War came to an end. Many political commentator argued that with the end of the Cold War the world problems would disappear but new problems and new areas of conflict have now emerged.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 25.6**

1. What was SDI?

\_\_\_\_\_

2. What was glasnost and perestroika?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Which symbol symbolized the end of the Cold War?

\_\_\_\_\_



**WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT**

The Cold War started immediately after the Second World War, though signs of it had started appearing during the war. In the early phase of the Cold War, there were attempts by the USA and the USSR to spread their areas of influence and ideology. There was suspicion and distrust against each other. During the second phase there was some relaxation in the tension between the two countries. The suspicion and distrust, however, persisted. Immediately after the Detente, a New Cold War started. A new power bloc i.e. the PRC emerged during this period. Only with the collapse of communism in East European countries and in the USSR did the Cold War come to an end.



**TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. What do you understand by Cold War? In what ways was it different from an open war?

2. Mention some of the factors responsible for the Cold War.

**Notes**

3. Discuss the issue of Poland during the first phase of the Cold War.
4. What is meant by Berlin Blockade?
5. Discuss the Suez Canal Crisis during the second phase of the Cold War.
6. Discuss the phase of Detente in the cold war.
7. What is New Cold War? In what ways does it differ from the Cold War?

**ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTIONS****25.1**

1. Political and economic liberation and Marxism – Leninism.
2. Voice of America and Radio Moscow.

**25.2**

1. See third para of 25.2
2. See third para of 25.2
3. See the second last para of 25.2 Eastern, Europe by the USSR, Western Europe by the USA.

**25.3**

1. Poland.
2. Churchill.
3. Containment.
4. North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

**25.4**

1. Nikita Khrushchev.
2. People's Republic of China.
3. 1989-90.

**25.5**

1. 'Detente' was a term used for relaxation in east-west conflict. President Nixon of America was its author.
2. Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.
3. Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty I.
4. Policy of West Germany which meant policy for the East.

**25.6**

1. Strategic Defense Initiative.
2. Openness and restructuring.
3. Collapse of the Berlin Wall.



**Notes**

**HINTS TO TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. Refer 25.1
2. Refer 25.2
3. Refer 25.3 para 2
4. Refer 25.3 para 5
5. Refer 25.4 para 6
6. Refer 25.5
7. Refer 25.6

**GLOSSARY**

- Cominform** – The Communist Information Bureau. It was founded by the Soviet Union in 1947 with the aim to encourage International communist solidarity.
- Ossification Phase** – The initial phase of the Cold War during 1945-1947. After this phase the Cold War began in right earnest.
- Iron Curtain** – The term was coined by the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Churchill used this term to describe the state of affairs in the Balkans where all countries except Greece had come under the Soviet domination.
- Berlin Blockade** – The ban imposed by the Soviet Union on Berlin curtailing its links with the western zones. The western allies wanted to introduce monetary reforms in Germany.
- Brussels Pact** – The Pact formulated as a mutual defense treaty between Britain, France and Belgium against Germany. However, the Pact was mainly directed against Soviet Union and not against Germany.
- Truman Doctrine** – The Truman Doctrine was a policy of containment which was aimed at limiting or containing communism to the areas where it had taken roots.
- Marshall Plan** – The Plan was aimed at transferring more than ten billion dollars to European countries over a period of 20 years to come out of the ravages of the war.
- NATO** – The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation which was formed in 1949 between the US and some European countries. It was a military alliance against the Soviet Bloc.
- Detente** – A term that was used for relaxation in East-West conflicts. During the period of détente there was improved level of understanding between the two power blocs. The US relationship with China also improved during this period.
- SALT – I** – Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty that was signed between the US and the Soviet Union. The Treaty helped in slowing down the arms race.

**Notes**

- SDI** – Strategic Defence Initiative which was also known as Star Wars. It led to development of new weapons of destruction.
- Glasnost** – A policy which meant openness. The policy was initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev of Soviet Union to transform and revitalize the country.
- Perestroika** – A policy initiated by the Soviet Union President Mikhail Gorbachov which meant restructuring economic and social spheres.
- Ostpolitik** – A policy initiated by the government of West Germany which meant “ a policy for the East”. West Germany renewed normal relations with East European countries and both the Germanys recognized each other and were also recognized as separate and legitimate states by the superpowers.



## NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, DECOLONISATION AND DEVELOPMENT, 1945-PRESENT

During the twentieth century, millions of people living under colonial rule were directly or indirectly involved in ‘national freedom’ struggles. Between 1945 and 1980, nearly all the parts of Asia, Africa, Oceania (islands in the western Pacific Ocean) and the Caribbean that had been under European, Japanese and American rule won freedom and organized themselves into new, independent nation-states.

During the Second World War (1939-1945), the imperialist and expansionist goals of the defeated powers, Germany and Japan, were thwarted. Even the victorious colonial powers, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, were unable to keep their imperial commitments, and their leaders faced growing pressure to ‘decolonise’ – not only from their colonial subjects and national citizens but also from the two new ‘superpowers’, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Most of West Africa, the Philippines (an Asian colony of the U.S.A.) and some other places achieved independence without much violence after 1945. In Algeria, Indochina, Malaya, Angola, Mozambique and other places only years of armed struggle by freedom movements led to national independence.

Political independence did not immediately bring all the benefits colonised people had dreamed of. New states faced problems of economic development and modernisation that they needed to solve in order to resist ‘neocolonialism’. Standards of living in most of the new independent states did not match those of the ‘developed’ countries of Western Europe and North America, and many people today argue that forms of colonial domination or old patterns of exploitation still remain in the world of formally independent nation-states.



### OBJECTIVES

After studying the lesson, you will be able to:

- learn about some national freedom movements;
- analyse global political forces affecting the decolonisation process;
- discuss relationships of dependency and inequality in the post-colonial world and
- identify some of the problems of national development and some proposed solutions.



Notes

## 26.1 MODELS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. BEGINNINGS OF DECOLONISATION

### Models

Leaders of national liberation struggles of the twentieth century were inspired by earlier examples of national liberation and development which had introduced the modern idea of *citizenship*—that all members of a nation should enjoy equal rights and responsibilities.

The American war of independence was followed by the emergence of stable, democratic governing institutions in the new United States of America, and the gradual extension of rights of full citizenship to *all* members of the American nation. Also, the American military remained small and did not often interfere with the working of civil institutions. This was very attractive to people in colonies in Asia and Africa where the military was regularly used to control the population.

The French revolution in 1789 did not begin as a struggle against a foreign power, but the revolutionaries launched a campaign to spread ‘universal principles’ of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity to other parts of Europe. The French revolution inspired people in Europe and in the French *colonies* to revolt against French domination—in the name of these principles. Not all of these national revolutionaries believed deeply in democracy or equality, but most believed that ‘the people’ needed to be mobilised to fight against foreign domination.

There were other reasons why people under colonial rule admired the *American* model of national freedom and development. Americans developed the world’s largest economy between 1865 and 1950, based on capitalist agriculture, heavy industry and mass consumer spending. Many people around the world believed that the U.S.A. was sincerely committed to self-governance through democracy on a *global* scale, and that it would act as a force against colonialism, perhaps by directly assisting colonial subjects in their national liberation struggles.

The Russian (Bolshevik) Revolution of 1917–1921 had a huge global impact. The Bolsheviks argued that different ‘nationalities’ all over the world have a right to independence and to decide their own future. The Russian revolution also presented an alternative model of rapid social and economic ‘development’ different from that of the capitalist Western states. Many Soviet citizens in 1941 enjoyed a higher material standard of living than had their grandparents.

The Soviet leaders gave ‘moral’ and material support to people of many politically- and economically-dominated countries and colonies. Marxist theory taught that small peasants and proletarians around the world shared the same interests and needed to cooperate to defeat the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Some colonial nationalists visited or studied in the U.S.S.R. in order to learn to organise national freedom struggles. These included the Vietnamese nationalist Ho Chi Minh, the Chinese nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek (1887–1975), and Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian National Congress leader who believed in democratic socialism and thought that aspects of the Soviet command economy might be imitated by India.

### Beginnings of decolonization

Great Britain and France were forced to respond to some of the growing agitations for self-governance and ‘home-rule’. As early as 1867, Britain started granting



## Notes

effective home-rule to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and parts of Canada, regions where Europeans had settled in large numbers since the 1600s, displacing or killing the 'natives'. White, settler colonists in those places were allowed to make decisions about 'domestic' affairs through elected legislatures and parliaments, but their relations with other colonies and nation-states were regulated by imperial authorities in London. After 1910, these colonial states were referred to as Dominions or a British Commonwealth of co-operative nations. Britain also granted commonwealth status to the Union of South Africa (where Europeans were greatly outnumbered by black Africans, but the latter were not allowed to vote, etc.).

Like the British and other Westerners, many French people believed that certain 'races' and societies—especially their own—were 'advanced', whereas others were 'primitive'. They argued that it was the moral duty of the "advanced" societies to guide or teach the more primitive societies. After 1914, small numbers of non-French people in the French colonies were allowed to participate in governing their societies by voting for or serving on legislative assemblies.

British, French and Dutch colonial rulers were convinced that people in the colonies would accept this partial independence for sentimental reasons (e.g., appreciation for European culture) or because they might enjoy economic benefits from continued association with the mother country. Many colonies did accept plans of loose federations under European guidance as a first step towards complete national independence. In some colonies, however, for example India, the nationalists continued to agitate and fight for complete independence.

We should also know that modifications of colonial rule before 1945 did not really weaken the position of European colonists and benefited only small numbers of 'natives' in the colonies.

## 26.2 IMPACT OF WORLD WAR II ON ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES

World War II radicalised many people in the colonial world who had earlier been untouched by national freedom movements. In some cases, military struggles of colonised people against new invaders (principally, the Japanese) turned against the Europeans who tried to re-occupy the colonies. Africans and Asians were enlisted in colonial armies to fight the Germans, Italians and Japanese in far corners of the world, and they learned that Europeans were not undefeatable 'lords of the earth'. About five million Indian soldiers served in British-led armies during the war. Asian and African soldiers had contact with people from other colonies and with European and American soldiers and civilians. Trained to fight German and Japanese 'tyranny', they presented a new kind of threat to their own colonial rulers. During the 1940s in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, colonial subjects engaged in strikes and mass demonstrations despite attacks by police and soldiers (including their own 'countrymen'). By 1945 many more colonised people than before the war were insisting on full citizenship rights and national liberation, and they were more confident about fighting those who opposed their demands.

Before 1939 African intellectuals, professionals and civil servants had formed the basis of nationalist movements. However, after 1945 such leaders faced greater pressure in their own lands from men and women of the peasant and laboring classes to fight for democratic reforms and independence, and to include stronger demands for economic equality in their national liberation campaigns.



Notes

In French Indochina, Ho Chi Minh tried to spread communist ideas during the 1930s. In 1940-1941, the Japanese expelled the French from Indochina and occupied the region themselves. Ho formed a 'national people's front' (Viet Minh) to throw them out, and when the French were restored as rulers of Indochina in 1945, with British and American consent, Ho and the Viet Minh continued to fight the French, and gained control over much of Indochina by 1954. In that year Vietnam was partitioned into two, nominally independent states—the northern territory controlled by Ho and his allies, and the southern half of Vietnam with a growing American political, military and economic presence. The conflict cost the lives of more than 50,000 Americans and millions of Vietnamese, but the Vietnamese had forced the biggest imperialist power of the world to retreat in 1975.

In India there were mass movements against the British all over the country, under the leadership of the Congress. There were also independent movements of workers and peasants led by the Communists, and also organizations of youth, students, writers, women, lower castes. The British were forced to quit in 1947. Independence came with partition and the formation of two independent states, India and Pakistan.



### INTEXT QUESTIONS 26.1

1. Name some countries that became independent or semi independent between 1867 and 1914.  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. How did the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war radicalize people in colonized countries?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Name some countries that gained national independence after 1945 through armed struggle.  
\_\_\_\_\_

### 26.3 COLONIAL NATIONALISM, FREEDOM STRUGGLES AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Some colonial nationalist leaders in Asia and Africa after 1945 asked for or received Soviet or American assistance and they hoped for honest negotiations by new international organisations like the **United Nations Organisation** (based in the U.S.A. from 1945). They also formed regional associations of independent states with similar interests of national freedom and development. Such associations included the Organisation for African Unity (O.A.U.), founded in 1963 to arbitrate conflicts between new states and to pressurise colonial powers to let go of their remaining African dependencies. Another important development was the emergence of the **Non-Aligned Movement (N.A.M.)**, including China, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Iran and Egypt, among other states. Leaders of twenty-nine states met in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955, to condemn imperialism, national aggression, racism and atomic weapons.

The non-aligned movement expressed the need for peaceful cooperation of Third World states with one another and with *both* of the superpowers. Leaders of most participating N.A.M. states wanted to find and follow a middle path that was neither purely communist nor purely capitalist: there was much talk between the 1950s and



**Notes**

1970s of Asian and African ‘paths’ to socialism and democracy. Many of the new states of Africa fell quickly into dictatorships following independence, like Zaire (a former Belgian colony) under Mobutu Sese Seko (president, 1965–1997) and Uganda (a former British colony) under Idi Amin Dada (1924–2003, deposed 1979).

Some leaders of Saharan Africa (such as Egypt and Libya) co-operated with states of the Middle East in economic development matters, and also to force the state of Israel (formerly British Palestine) to end what they saw as an illegal, semi-colonial occupation of Palestinian lands. This was part of the Pan-Arab movement. Leaders of ‘Black Africa’ through the 1970s and ‘80s continued to pressurise white-minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa to end racism and discrimination against blacks; they gave aid to liberation movements (such as the African National Congress in South Africa) outlawed by white-minority governments.

Newly independent states faced difficulties of national independence and development during the Cold War era (1945–1991). Leaders who were sympathetic—or at least not hostile—to communism often won popular support. But they faced resistance when they tried to weaken the position of the old colonial ‘native’ elites.

In Indonesia, the freedom-fighter Achmed Sukarno (1901–1970) had founded during the 1920s a Nationalist Party of Indonesia (similar to the Indian National Congress). Sukarno proclaimed Five Principles of national liberation: faith in God, humanitarianism, national independence, democracy and social justice (the latter implying some central economic guidance and redistribution of wealth). Muslims (the majority religious community) agreed to rule by a centralised Indonesian state on the condition that they preserve some local control, especially in matters of religion. During the 1950s, Sukarno also worked with the Chinese-inspired communist people’s movement, but in 1959 he established a dictatorship, although he recognised the legality of the communist movement. In 1965 Sukarno’s internal enemies (mainly army officers) deposed him and clamped down on the Indonesian communists, killing hundreds of thousands of them. The U.S.S.R. stood aside as this happened, while the Americans gave covert support to the army officers. Indonesia remained a military dictatorship until very recently.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 26.2**

**Match each in the left column with the corresponding meaning or term in the right column.**

- |                                 |       |                  |
|---------------------------------|-------|------------------|
| (1) Idi Amin                    | _____ | founded 1945     |
| (2) Sukarno                     | _____ | includes India   |
| (3) Non-Aligned Movement        | _____ | African dictator |
| (4) United Nations Organisation | _____ | Indonesia        |

**26.4 DECOLONISATION AND GLOBAL POLITICS**

Thousands of men and women in the colonies suffered punishments for opposing colonialism, such as Habib Bourguiba (1903–2000), a leader of the independence movement in French Tunisia (North Africa), and Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), the



### Notes

chief figure in the Ghanaian independence struggle (in British West Africa). However, others lived during the interwar years in the homelands of their colonial rulers, where they learned political ideas and techniques of organisation. Ho Chi Minh (1894–1969) lived in France between 1918 and 1930, where he helped establish the French Communist Party, before he returned to French Indochina to fight for Vietnamese independence. Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001) was a university professor and poet in France before returning to his native West Africa to lead the Democratic Bloc of Senegal; he became the first president of Senegal, 1960–1980.

Decolonisation proceeded rapidly after 1945, in some areas with limited violence and loss of life. For example, French West Africa was divided into independent Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Ivory Coast, Guinea and other states after 1958, while British West Africa was divided into the independent nation-states of Ghana, Sierra Leone and Nigeria between 1957 and 1961.

The British imprisoned thousands of Indians during the ‘Quit India’ agitation in 1942, but the Indian independence struggle thereafter involved less violence between Indians and British. However, millions of South Asians lost their lives or were displaced across borders in the ensuing partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan. Independence of some neighboring regions of the former British Raj occurred with less violence—in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and Burma (now Myanmar).

Morocco and Tunisia in North Africa separated peacefully from France during the 1950s, but neighboring Algeria gained independence (in 1962) only after an eight-year struggle in which hundreds of thousands of Algerians and thousands of French died. The people of present-day Angola and Mozambique (in southern Africa) freed themselves from Portuguese rule after more than a decade of fighting and heavy loss of life among Africans and the occupying Portuguese in 1975.

People of present-day Malaysia fought against Japanese occupation during the Second World War; the same Malayan Anti-Japanese People’s Army then resisted re-occupation by the British. Over the next ten years, as many as 100,000 British soldiers were present in Malaya at one time to fight what British leaders called a ‘communist insurgency’. Britain had to withdraw its forces in 1957 and recognised the Federation of Malaysia as a semi-independent member of the British Commonwealth.

The process of decolonisation had much to do with the politics of the **Cold War**, that is the hostility after 1945 between the two superpower blocs: the ‘First World’ led by the U.S.A. and supposedly upholding capitalist democracy, and the ‘Second World’ system represented by the Soviet Union and emerging socialist states like the People’s Republic of China. Some states of the newly decolonized Third World benefited from close alliances with either of the two superpowers.

After the expulsion of the Japanese from Korea in 1945, the northern part of the Korean peninsula fell under the influence of the U.S.S.R. and the People’s Republic of China, while the southern part became a dependency of the U.S.A. The Americans poured more than ten billion dollars of ‘**development assistance**’ into South Korea between 1953 and 1970. Economists from the 1970s were calling South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore the ‘Little Dragons’ of Asia—the ‘big dragons’ being Japan and the People’s Republic of China—because of their rapidly growing economies based on production of industrial goods (e.g., steel, ships, electronic equipment) for export. The Little Dragons all benefited from massive grants and



**Notes**

loans as well as trade agreements with developed countries, principally the U.S.A., Japan and Great Britain.

In Africa however the European states invested only small amounts in their African possessions for education, health care and other human development needs. Even in Latin America, where there remained few formal colonies by 1900, many people remained nearly as poor, ill educated and politically powerless as their ancestors had been in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 26.3**

1. How did the post 1945 'Superpowers' express interest in anti-colonial struggles?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Name some of the 'Little Dragons' of Asia during the period C 1953–1980.  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Which continents remained poorly developed after 1945.  
\_\_\_\_\_

**26.5 CHINA: NATIONAL LIBERATION, TWO STATES**

In 1911–1912, the Chinese autocratic system headed by an emperor was formally abolished and replaced by a republic, but the new republic was unable to throw off foreign domination. From the late 1920s, Communists led by Mao Zedong (1893–1976), Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others fought against the Chinese Nationalists (Guomindang), and both groups tried to expel the Japanese, who exercised territorial and economic control since the 1890s.

Mao believed that Chinese nationalists were unwilling to bring about social and economic changes that would emancipate the Chinese masses, and that they were too corrupt to resist the foreigners. The Chinese Communists therefore not only forced the Japanese, French and British out of most of the 'national' territory by 1949, but also drove their opponents, the Goumindang, Chinese 'Nationalists', to the island of Formosa–present-day Taiwan–across a narrow strait from mainland China . Hong Kong was a British Crown Colony until 1997. Their ultimate goal remained to reunify Taiwan with the Chinese mainland, which became a separate state.

Since 1945, China has experienced probably the greatest revolution in history, transforming itself from a peasant-majority society dominated by native elites (and by the British, French, British and Americans who controlled much of the country's trade), into a socialist state called the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.). A socialist state meant state owned industrial enterprises and a policy leading to collectivized agriculture, with land owned collectively.

Since the 1980s, however, the C.C.P. leadership has promoted free enterprise in manufacturing and commercial activities. By 1993, less than ten percent of P.R.C. industrial production was under central planning. The P.R.C. since the 1980s has welcomed hundreds of billions of (U.S.A.) dollars in foreign investment from countries that are China's ideological opponents. Some economists estimate that the P.R.C. will have the world's largest economy by 2020, as China did before 1800, but

**Notes**

economic liberalisation and relaxing of some government controls have also reversed the trend of 1949–1980, when the goal of the C.C.P. was to make Chinese more equal in every possible way.

While the P.R.C. condemned Western aggression and the development of nuclear weapons, it became one of the nuclear-weapon states by the early 1960s. Chinese leaders justified their military buildup by pointing to the fact that American leaders had considered dropping nuclear bombs on the P.R.C. during the Korean War (1950–1953). At the same time, P.R.C.-U.S.S.R. relations worsened during the 1950s as Mao believed Marxism-Leninism needed to be adjusted to Chinese conditions and he and some other leaders feared Soviet domination. During the 1960s and '70s, the Soviets gave military assistance to the Vietnamese communists in their struggle against the U.S.A., but the P.R.C. refused to support the Vietnamese communist movement. In this same period the P.R.C. was assisting pro-communist people's struggles in Africa. Chinese development assistance was extended to many Third World countries.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 26.4**

1. Name two countries identified by the C.C.P. as enemies of China since the 1930s.  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. What evidence is there that the Chinese communist leadership has modified its conceptions of socialism and development since 1980?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Did the P.R.C. assist or discourage the Vietnamese freedom struggle?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**26.6 PROBLEMS OF 'DEVELOPMENT' IN THE POST-COLONIAL WORLD**

During and after the Second World War, leaders of the Great Powers recognised more equitable global distribution of wealth as essential to world peace and stability. After 1945 new global institutions like the U.N.O., the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) and the World Bank were established in order to manage conflicts over wealth production and access to trade. The I.M.F. organises loans to states that do not earn enough from their exports to 'balance' their expenditure on imports. The World Bank loans money to states, often as supplement to 'development assistance', to pay for irrigation and hydroelectric systems, and other infrastructure improvements that are supposed to increase productivity and economic security.

Many people have however, argued that these institutions have favored the interests of the countries that were already developed. The I.M.F. has required governments receiving loans to reduce their deficits, which those governments have often had to do by reducing 'social spending' (e.g., funding for health, education, housing). The I.M.F. has also advised governments to devalue their currencies, which has made their export products cheaper in the world market.

The permanent Security Council of the U.N.O. after 1945 consisted of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Nationalist China (until the 1970s), Great Britain, and France. During the



## Notes

Cold War, Britain and France sided with the U.S.A. on about two-thirds of the issues that came up for vote in the Security Council—reinforcing American preferences and decisions about world politics, including economic issues.

To some people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, claims by leaders of developed, capitalist societies about freedom and justice often seemed a sham, and the policies designed by them appeared hypocritical. At the same time, wider exposure of people around the world to ‘Western’ capitalist lifestyles—through magazines, cinema and television—has led them to acquiesce to Western (especially American) ways of organising economic and other activity.

W. W. Rostow, an American economist believed that former colonies could follow the paths taken by early industrial states like Britain and by expanding their agricultural production and following free-trade policies, could accumulate the capital to develop industry, and thus move into economic modernity. This concept of development is known as ‘modernisation theory’.

While countries like Argentina and later Brazil tried to follow this model and did develop some industry, many other Latin American, African and Asian countries showed signs of ‘development crisis’ between the 1960s and 1980s: stalled industrialisation, and increasing poverty. Foreign companies in Latin America after 1960 took out far more money (as profits) than they had invested there. Loans from private banks and bodies like the I.M.F. did not improve the situation: during the 1980s, Latin American states had to make loan repayments totaling more than \$200 billion (U.S.A. dollars). In the early 1990s, more than sixty percent of Latin American households did not earn enough to cover basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter. In Africa, the economic situation was still worse: some African states like Zaire and Burundi experienced ‘negative growth’ during the 1980s.

Economists and political scientists in Latin America criticised the arguments made by economists like Rostow and the development policies promoted by some Western leaders. This critique is sometimes called ‘dependency theory’ or ‘underdevelopment theory’. Raul Prebisch and other ‘dependency theorists’ claimed that centuries of Spanish and Portuguese rule, followed by decades of *economic* domination by Britain, the U.S.A. and other states, had left most Latin Americans unable to exercise their freedom, especially with regard to material circumstances like employment and use of economic resources. Like Prebisch, Walter Rodney in Africa in the 1970s observed that colonies could not easily pull out of the ‘dependency patterns’ created during the centuries of colonialism. (See discussion of imperialism in Unit 5.1.) They claimed that agriculture would remain backward until large landowners ceased exploiting the poorer peasants and laborers: large estates (like the zamindari in India) should be broken up and land redistributed to peasantry.

Many successful political leaders in the ‘Third World’, based on experience of Soviet Union and China, have followed economic development strategies based on state ownership or control of enterprises and resources. They have also tried to prevent mass outflows of profits to foreign investors and states, and to lift up the poor through free education, more affordable health care, and so forth. For example, in Cuba Fidel Castro (1927–) led a nationalist revolution during the late 1950s, and has been following such policies that favour the interests of the Cuban people. The Castro revolution has been popular among some Latin Americans who resent continuing foreign influence and dictatorships of their countries propped up by the U.S.A. Majority of the Cubans enjoy a better standard of living than people in richer countries.

**Notes**

Other Latin American leaders after 1960 followed the Cuban example in some respects. Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile in 1970 as a socialist. During his brief rule he tried to 'nationalise' the Chilean mineral resources controlled by foreign corporations. However, he was deposed and killed in 1973 by internal enemies with assistance from the U.S.A. and replaced by a dictator (General Pinochet) until 1990. More recently, Hugo Chavez (1954–), an army officer elected president of Venezuela in 1998, has used revenues from state-owned oil companies to lift Venezuelans out of poverty. Government spending on social programs was increased dramatically during the first years of his presidency, and he has been able to resist the US quite effectively. The rule of Castro in Cuba and the rise of Chavez in Venezuela show the strength in the parts of the developing world of nationalist and pro-people patterns of development.

**INTEXT QUESTIONS 26.5**

Match the terms in the left column with the corresponding terms in the right column.

- |                 |   |                                       |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. W. W. Rostow | - | manages 'balance-of-payment' problems |
| 2. I.M.F.       | - | Cuba                                  |
| 3. Prebisch     | - | Venezuelan national populist          |
| 4. Fidel Castro | - | modernisation theory                  |
| 5. Chavez       | - | dependency theory                     |

**WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT**

The world today is divided into nation-states that are formally free to conduct their own affairs. European states no longer rule territories much larger and more populous than themselves. Hundreds of national freedom struggles, some beginning before the Second World War, were successful after the war. While there continues to be aggression among nations and 'national' separatist movements (of people wanting to join other nations or form their own nations), there are also transnational institutions and organisations that exist to minimise such conflicts. Some of these organisations were established to help 'develop' former colonies and other poorer regions of the world. Yet more than fifty years after the surge of national freedom struggles, five or six states control more wealth than all of the rest combined: the debate about unequal economic power in the world also continues.

**TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. How did the 'old' modern revolutions (of the USA and France) and the Russian Revolution of 1917 influence national liberation movements of the twentieth century?
2. Identify some leaders of anti colonial struggles who had lived and worked in the countries of their colonial 'masters'.



**Notes**

3. Which anti colonial/national liberation struggles started from, or grew out of, the second world war?
4. Why is it fair to say that the Chinese revolution of the twentieth century has been the 'greatest' in history?
5. Describe some major (differing strategies) of national development.
6. What international institutions have been invented to supposedly equalize global trade and development?



**ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTION**

**26.1**

1. Australia, N.Z., South Africa, Canada.
2. Mobilization of colonized peoples in 'imperial' armies and participation in war industries motivated colonized people to demand full citizenship rights and national freedom.
3. Algeria, Malaya, Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam.

**26.2**

1. Africa dictator
2. Indonesia
3. India
4. Founded 1945

**26.3**

1. The U.S.S.R assisted a number of national freedom struggles after 1945. The U.S.A. opposed some national freedom struggles and encouraged others. The superpowers chose to support or oppose national freedom struggles depending on how it might impact their opponent.
2. South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore.
3. Africa and Latin America.

**26.4**

1. Japan, USA. The P.R.C. had better relations with the USSR **before** 1957 then it did later. The P.R.C had poor relations with Great Britain because of the latter's occupation of Hong Kong (until 1997).
2. During the 1980s the C.C.P. controlled a smaller part of national industry than in the previous three decades and also invited and received massive foreign investment.
3. P.R.C. did not assist the Vietnamese against the U.S.A., though according to Socialist ideals they should have done so.

**26.5**

1. Modernisation theory.
2. Manages balance of payment problems

**Notes**

3. Dependency theory
4. Cuba
5. Venezuelan national populist.

**HINTS FOR TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. See para 26.1.
2. See para 26.4.
3. See para 26.2, 26.4.
4. See para 26.5.
5. See para 26.6 sub para 4 to 9
6. See para 26.6 sub para 1,2.

**GLOSSARY**

- Decolonization** – The process of the reverse of imperialism, with colonies becoming politically independent states. Historically, decolonization usually refers to the period 1945-90.
- Cold War** – The period 1945-1990, when the two new ‘super powers’ (USA and USSR) did not directly fight each other (‘hot war’) but instead tried to oppose each other’s expansion through proxy wars. Key conflicts of the Cold War were the USSR aiding the Vietnamese national liberation struggle and the USA assisting Afghan freedom fighters in their struggle against occupation by the USSR.
- Non-Aligned Movement** – An association of former colonized states since the 1950s trying to avoid new dependency on the ‘superpowers’, the USA and the USSR. NAM states include India, Pakistan, Egypt, Cuba and Indonesia. Despite pledges of non-alignment, some NAM states did become ‘dependent’ on one or another of the superpowers in matters of military defense or in trade and economic exchange.
- Third World** – A term invented during the early 1950s to indicate former colonial territories in need of ‘development’ (economic modernization). The First World refers to wealthy capitalist or non-socialist states including UK, USA and Canada. Second World refers (until 1990) to the USSR and others European states following its path of socialist development: for example Poland, Bulgaria.
- Development assistance** – Grants of money or financial loans given by wealthy states (or associations of such states) to poorer ones



**Notes**

to assist their economic modernization. During the Cold War, development assistance was often used by superpowers or their allies to push former colonized states into cooperation with the USA or the USSR.

**Modernization theory**

- A theory of economic development introduced during the 1950s by American economist W. W. Rostow. Rostow believed that economic development and modernization would involve industrialization, but that this would be preceded by capitalist agricultural development. Roughly speaking, Britain, the USA and Germany were the examples to be followed by Third World countries in their development.

**Market socialism**

- Term used by leaders of the People’s Republic of China to describe their mixed or combined strategy of development since 1980. Instead of strong central (economic) planning and state ownership of resources (means of production) throughout the entire country, as happened before 1980, capitalists are allowed to generate profits for their investors, including foreign partners. Special ‘free enterprise zones’ are recognized in which the Chinese state allows capitalism to operate.



## **SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

In lesson 26 you learnt about the changes that came with colonial expansion and capitalist industrialization in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this lesson we will carry over the discussion into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which saw the acceleration and deepening of the social processes that characterized the 19<sup>th</sup> century: some of them quite irreversible and profound in their impact on human life.

The last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the collapse of the socialist societies in Europe and the collapse of the capitalist welfare state as well. It saw increasing inequalities between the capitalist countries and within the capitalist countries. We will point towards some of these and the differences in social transformation between capitalist and socialist societies as well.



### **OBJECTIVES**

After studying the lesson, you will be able to:

- discuss how development of industrialisation to large parts of the world contributed to fundamental changes in society everywhere;
- recognise that there were differences in these processes between the advanced countries and those that won their freedom from colonialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century;
- note some of the social changes over time even within the advanced countries and
- identify the differences between capitalist and socialist countries.

### **27.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES**

The pattern of demographic changes noticed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1990s the world contained five or six billion human beings, perhaps three times as many people as at the outbreak of World War I: this is despite an estimated 187 million deaths during the century due to various causes, including natural deaths.

There was a sustained growth in world population throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Western Europe and North America this was mainly due to better health facilities and decline in infant mortality, and expansion of social security systems which allowed for longer lives. In Eastern Europe and on the other continents the increase was because birth rates continued to be high.



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But from 1930 we find a downward trend in Eastern Europe as well, and by 1960s almost the whole of Europe had low fertility, but this was offset by low mortality rates. So over all there was growth of population throughout the developed world.

However, population growth in Europe was negatively effected by the two world wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was mainly due to the huge numbers killed, but also because of delayed marriages and disruption of family lives.

The developing societies experienced rapid population growth after 1945, at rates greater than the West. Here better medical facilities became available in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but at the same time older structures of society dominated by agriculture (where more children meant more family labour and security for parents) meant a more rapid demographic growth.

A comparison therefore shows that at the end of the century what we call the western world contained just 1/6 of the world population.

Demographic changes involved changes in patterns of human settlements and in distribution of population as well. For example, continued migrations remained an important factor affecting population distribution in the twentieth century. 1901 to 1915 saw the most intensive out-migration from Europe. Southern and Eastern Europe were especially areas of out migration, north Europe both sent out and received migrants, while western Europe received people rather than have them move out. These migration patterns were due to push and pull of labour demand and of political factors. For example, Nazi policies resulted in forced migrations of Jews, minorities and political prisoners from Germany, while post war reconstruction led to migration into Germany of Turkish workers. Civil wars in Russia and Spain similarly resulted in out migrations.

Thus we can see that population growth and population shifts were a result of many factors. Today there is a migration to the western world from poorer countries, but mostly of skilled and qualified middle classes, while those who are poor have no chances to migrate there because of strict restrictions by these countries. Some migrations of poorer population do take place to the Middle East, however.

Son preference has destroyed the gender balance in countries like India and China, and has become a matter of great concern.

### 27.2 URBANIZATION

Modern urban life is specifically connected with capitalist industrialization. Urbanization means growth of towns and a faster growth of town population as compared with rural population. Urbanization is therefore a result of not just natural growth in population, but also of shift of population from countryside to towns because of industrialization and greater economic opportunities in towns. You have read something about these processes in Unit 1. This process was not uniform throughout the world, and not even throughout Europe, or within a country, and did not come about all of a sudden.

There was a great divergence in rhythm of change between industrial and non-industrial areas, and areas where agriculture had become mechanized and not become mechanized. With industrialization most people came to be employed in the production of manufactured goods and services, both of which were concentrated in towns and cities.

In 1900 UK, the country that industrialized first, was still the most urbanized country with a 77% urban population, while Germany, which by then had a faster pace of



### Notes

industrialization, had about 56% living in urban areas. Other countries still had less than half its people living in urban centres. And if we take the world into account, at the beginning of this century about 70% of the population still lived in rural areas.

During the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with significant shifts in production due to science and technological changes, we find urbanization becoming more widespread. In UK and USA, by the mid 1970s more than 95 % of the employed population was engaged in manufacturing and services and less than 5% in agriculture; in Europe (excluding Russia) by mid 1980s more than 70% lived in urban areas; in Japan, more than 80% were in manufacturing and services and less than 20% in agriculture.

In countries like Russia even in 1917 the majority of its population was linked with villages, although the 1930s and the latter half of the century saw rapid urbanization. In many countries of Asia and Africa, including India, agriculture is still a much bigger sector in terms of people engaged in it.

Urbanization has meant growth of very large cities of course but also small towns in developing countries like ours. In 1900 there were 16 cities with more than one million inhabitants; in 1950 there were 67; and in 1985 more than 250. In the world as a whole, by 1980 at least 40% of people lived in cities, and it could well be 50% today. You can see the trend in our own country: thousands of people come to big cities in search of jobs and livelihood. In fact the developing countries have some of the largest cities in the world: Kolkata, Delhi, Mumbai, Cairo, Shanghai, Nairobi, Seoul, Bangkok etc



### INTEXT QUESTIONS 27.1

1. In what way was population growth affected by the two world wars?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. How did political factors in Germany effect the migration of population?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. What do you mean by urbanization?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Name some of the big cities in the developing countries.  
\_\_\_\_\_

### 27.3 MODERN CLASS SOCIETY

Capitalist industrialization resulted in the growth of modern class society, by which we mean that social classes which existed before it were transformed and integrated into the capitalist economy and society, and two new social classes also emerged, the bourgeoisie and working class. Pre-capitalist societies were dominated by landed wealth and the landed aristocracy. They were crucially affected by capitalist industrialization, as and when it emerged in different parts of the world. As with changes in population and urbanization, changes in social structures were not uniform all over the world and not sudden.

For much of Europe the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the crucial period when the landed aristocracy found their lives changed. In England they became modern **landlords** deriving



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their wealth from rent in land and other capitalist ventures, such as commerce, mines, railways etc. The continental nobilities retained their dominance well into the twentieth century.

**Peasants** continued to be an important component of societies even after capitalist industrialization, and growth of capitalism in agriculture. However, as the capitalist economy penetrated their lives, peasantry itself became divided into classes—the rich, the poor and middle peasants—and began to look at property, criminality and state authority differently. There also emerged a class of landless agricultural labourers. The absolute numbers of those engaged in agriculture did not decline even in Europe till the mechanization of agriculture in the 1940s. The relationship with the landlord continued to be the crucial aspect of their social and political experience.

The second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has, however, seen the disappearance of the peasantry almost throughout the western world, and a dramatic fall in countries like Japan and South East Asia in general. Only Sub-Saharan Africa, India and China continue to have very large peasantries.

The capitulation by many governments of the Third World—particularly in Asia and Africa - has resulted in agrarian crises and a very desperate situation for the peasantry in these areas. Landlessness is increasing, and enclaves of corporate agriculture have meant a shift to export crops. The demand for export crops from advanced capitalist countries of the west has resulted in decline of food crop production and consequent decline in food consumption by the majority of the peasantry. This has led to thousands of suicides by farmers, and also movements of the peasantry for support prices, lower costs of inputs, and water and electricity for irrigation. China has been able to integrate its peasantry very well into its political system, but the market reforms of the last two decades are leading to discontent there as well, as there is a demand on agricultural land for industrial purposes.

The **bourgeoisie** emerged as the growing and finally the dominant social class in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, throughout Western Europe the wealthiest and most influential sections among the bourgeoisie were the capitalists: industrialists, the factory owners, the bankers and mine owners. The **middle class** also included shopkeepers, managers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers and those in services. With the expansion of education there was an expansion of this class. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century it began to include a significant component of **lower middle classes** who manned the lower paid rung of services. This section was most insecure and worst affected by the ups and downs in the market, particularly the Depressions in economy.

The formation of the **working class**, dependent on wage labour, is linked directly with the growth of capitalist industry. Throughout Europe the working class remained stratified and differentiated well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century as mechanization did not come all of a sudden and not to all the industries at the same time. Some skilled crafts died out with emergence of big factories, but new skills were required and new skilled workers were associated with metal working and electrical industries, and later electronics. But at any given period skilled craftsmen, domestic workers, tailors, laundrymen, print workers, masons and construction workers, post and telegraph workers, railway men in a variety of jobs, miners, and skilled and unskilled factory workers co-existed in all cities. Women formed an important component of these workers, both in terms of their numbers and also through entry into jobs earlier not open to them. All this is equally true of the working classes in the colonized world—Asia, Africa, Latin America—and later when they became independent.

**Notes****27.4 CITY AND SOCIAL LIFE**

The city and the social life have reflected the strong division of the rich and the poor. They had different spaces in the city to live in, and the amenities and facilities were quite different. Multistoried apartments, huge stores and shopping malls, parks and boulevards have changed the landscape of most modern cities, but these co-exist with pollution, bad sewage, slums, one room dwellings shared by two or three families and even homelessness. This continues to be the face of modern cities even today, anywhere in the world. Unemployment has become a dreaded reality.

**27.5 FAMILY**

Significant changes came about in both nuclear and joint families with the penetration of capitalist industrialization. Prior to this economic revolution, the household was characterized by the inseparability of family functions and labour, though different tasks may be performed unequally by men and women.

With capitalist industrialisation the family no longer remained the unit of production, though it continued to be one unit in terms of consumption. The growth of manufactures and factories meant wage labour; each person in the family earned separately. With bourgeois values predominating, a man's wage began to be considered the "family wage" i.e, a whole family was meant to survive on it, and women's work ideally was home and nurturing of children. This was, however, a middle class value that better off working class families could aspire to, but was hardly the norm for most working class people.

Women of the working class were as much wage workers as men were. In fact many industries preferred women or children as employees because they could get away with paying them less. In practice the concept of equal pay for equal work did not apply to women.

**In Practices**

In the modern world women usually bear the double burden of earning a wage and primarily doing the domestic work as well. It is a situation all of you must be familiar with.

**INTEXT QUESTION 27.2**

1. Which are the two new classes which emerged with capitalist industrialization?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Who are the people included in the middle class?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. In what way did the emergence of big factories affect workers?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. What impact did capitalist industrialization have on employment of women?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**27.6 WOMEN'S EQUALITY AND FEMINISM**

The expansion of economy in the twentieth century, along with literacy, opened new avenues for women, both of the working class and the middle class. Apart from domes-



## Notes

tic service women now worked in shops and offices, and as nurses and school teachers: these came to be seen as primarily feminine jobs. The two world wars opened new possibilities for women as they manned many jobs left vacant by men mobilized for war. All this brought a change in the social position and expectations of women.

Middle class women demanded the vote, and the suffragette movements became an important aspect of their assertions for equality. The real fillip for women's emancipation in the western world came from the rise of labour and socialist movements, which spoke for all oppressed, and called for the transformation of the whole society along lines that would ensure equality for all, including women. Women saw this as more realistic. Women formed a good percentage of union members and also of socialist organizations, although they were not so visible in leadership roles. It was not easy for women to assert equality even in these organizations, and demands for equal pay came only when women or enlightened socialist leaderships stressed on it.

Roza Luxemburg and Beatrice Webb were celebrated socialist leaders, Colette and Selma Lagerlof were important writers, and women were already participating in tennis tournaments like Wimbledon, French and US Open in the early twentieth century. Women took up journalism and photography as professionals, and became doctors and engineers. Soviet Union had a large percentage of women in its mass organizations and in the central parliament, and in scientific establishments.

In Russia the working class movement had a significant component of women, and peasant women were part of the general revolutionary movement. In Russia and in the anti-colonial movements they found a much more favourable environment for mass participation. In countries like India and China, questions of women's education, and opposition to backward social practices were part and parcel of the national liberation struggles, and both men and women expressed them very boldly, with the result that in India and China women won their vote as free citizens along with men. The same was true for women in Russia after the Russian revolution of 1917.

By 1990 women were or had been heads of government in sixteen states. Their numbers in the workforce grew dramatically in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. Mauritius is a significant example. In China and in Eastern Europe there has been almost 100% employment of women.

All this is not to say that women's battle for equality is over; it is not so anywhere in the world. The neo-liberal economic policies from the 1990s have led to increase in unemployment. Women have borne the brunt of it all over the world, including in the former socialist countries. In the Third World countries, women have been pushed into the unorganized sector, with least protection of worker rights and no guarantee of minimum wage. Domestic service is still a major source of employment for women.

In India female infanticide and female foeticide have increased in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Dowry deaths in India, and domestic violence in general have also been on the increase all over the world.

### 27.7 CHANGES IN WORK PATTERNS

As and when the factory system developed, work patterns changed. In Europe this was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but in much of the rest of the world only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The workplace of the worker became the factory; he/she had to follow set hours of work; women and children also went out to work and had to follow the rhythm of the factory; there was an elaborate system of factory discipline, rules and regulations;

**Notes**

and now it was not the worker, but the machine which decided the form and pace of work. Introduction of new technology sometimes rendered one set of workers redundant and therefore caused distress and unemployment; at others times they had to learn new skills in order to adapt themselves to new machinery.

In the latter part of the century, another set of changes have taken place in work patterns. Some of the big firms in the western countries have found that with computers it is possible to work from home and cheaper for them because they need not spend on office maintenance. These changes were presented as benefiting employees, but in fact have meant that employees never fully get off the job; they cannot claim “leave” and other benefits that employees can get because they do not work in an office; and no opportunity to form trade unions or share grievances with other employees.

New types of software allow employers to more closely monitor the work and work time of the employee through the computer networks. You would have read in the newspapers, about the working conditions of the people who work in BPOs and call centres that are mushrooming in our country today.

Another set of changes has come from what is called out-sourcing. Big trans-national companies have found it easier to shift some of their functions to Third World countries, where wages are low, and where they can bully governments to ensure that those enterprises remain “trouble free” and enjoy tax benefits. This has meant unemployment for workers in the western countries, and some jobs for people in Third World countries, but on extremely unfavourable terms.

Big multinational companies have also brought back the era of sweat shops, where they contract jobs to small enterprises, which means production often takes place at home. Here the pay scales are lowest and the workers most exploited. This section of workers has increased in third world countries, with mostly women having to perform these jobs.

**INTEXT QUESTION 27.3**

1. What were the new jobs that women took up in the 20<sup>th</sup> century?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. How have neo-liberal economic policies of the 1990s affected women?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. How did the factory system change work patterns?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Explain the changes brought about by “out – sourcing”?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**27.8 SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS**

The range of social and political organizations has expanded phenomenally in the twentieth century. Apart from political parties and trade unions among various sections of employees, and women’s and students and writers organizations, we now



**Notes**

have all kinds of viewpoints and aspirations reflected organizationally: on education, public health, minority rights, human rights, peace movements, culture, gay rights, environment and conservation, credit and self-help groups. Almost no area of life remains unrepresented. Many of these organizations have demands and aspirations that present a critique of how their societies are organized, and many of them are supportive of the way things are.

**27.9 CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM AND INEQUALITY**

The technological and scientific achievements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century made possible great progress and benefits for mankind. Possibilities are there for sustaining the entire world population and for improving the standards of life for all people. Yet globalization and economies of scale have only widened the gaps between the haves and the have-nots.

Socialist societies, with all their drawbacks, had been able to create more equal societies, without the huge gaps that we see between the rich and the poor in capitalist countries.

After the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe the capitalist states everywhere have unleashed massive cuts in welfare. The consequences have been disastrous for the majority of the people of this world.



**WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT**

In this lesson you would have learnt how the social processes that began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were deepened and accelerated during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Among these were the demographic changes, the growth of urbanization and changes in city life. The spread of capitalist industrialization led to the emergence of modern class society all over the world and changes in family and work patterns. It also gave rise to popular movements and growth of social and political organizations representing different sections of society.

Capitalist industrialization creates expansion during the 20<sup>th</sup> century which made possible great progress but also led to increasing inequalities in the world.



**TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. Give the main reasons for population growth in Western Europe and North America.
2. What do we mean by modern class society?
3. Describe the impact of agrarian crises in the third world countries.
4. How do cities reflect the different lives of the rich and the poor?
5. How did the labour and socialist movements affected women?
6. Describe the changes in work patterns brought about by computers.
7. Give some examples of how science and technological advances have improved human life.
8. Is the gap between the rich and the poor increasing/decreasing today? Discuss it thoroughly.

**ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTION****Notes****27.1**

1. Huge numbers killed, delayed marriages, disruption of family lives.
2. Nazi policies resulted in forced migrations of Jews, minorities and political prisoners from Germany, post war reconstruction led to migration into Germany of Turkish workers.
3. Shift of population from countryside to towns because of industrialization and greater economic opportunities in towns.
4. Kolkata, Delhi, Mumbai, Cairo, Shanghai, Nairobi, Seoul, Bangkok etc.

**27.2**

1. Bourgeoisie (middle class), working class.
2. Industrialists, bankers, lawyers, teachers and other professionals in service sector.
3. Employment of some increased, others faced unemployment, wage labour in factory, composition of workers changed.
4. Employment outside home, unequal pay, factory discipline.

**27.3**

1. Factory work, teachers, offices and shops.
2. Increase in unemployment, pushed into unorganized sector and domestic work.
3. Place, pattern, hours of work, discipline norms.
4. Big trans-national companies shift some of their functions to third world countries, where wages are low, and where they can bully governments to ensure that those enterprises remain “trouble free” and enjoy tax benefits.

**HINTS TO TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. See 27.1 para 2.
2. See 27.3 para 1.
3. See 27.3 para 5.
4. See 27.4.
5. See 27.6 para 2.
6. See 27.7 paras 2 and 3.
7. Think about the answer.
8. Write what you think.



## CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The twentieth century is often remembered through its landmark events such as the Bolshevik Revolution, the World Wars, Fascism and the liberation of Asian and African nations from colonial rule.



*Fig. 28.1.1 Bolshevik Revolution storming of Fort*



*Fig. 28.1.2 African Liberation*



*Fig. 28.1.3 Attack on Pearl Harbour world War II*



*Fig. 28.1.4 Fascism in Italy*



*Fig. 28.1.5 Ethiopia Liberation Movement*



*Fig. 28.1.6 Trench in World War I*

All these developments were undoubtedly crucial and left their deep imprint on the contemporary world. However, it is important to note that society is transformed not just by dramatic occurrences but also many **slow and long term changes** in economy and culture and demography. The twentieth century was also a period of numerous such changes some of which were imperceptible to people living through them but which, in the long run, played a major role in giving to the world its present form.

In the previous chapter you learnt about a number of such developments including demographic explosion, rapid urbanization and the phenomenal growth of the middle and the working classes over the past century.



Notes

Akin to such changes in the social structure or relations between major social groups in different countries, **cultural transformation** i.e. changes in people's values, attitudes, artistic tastes etc. also came during the same period through a slow and long term transformation. In the following chapter we shall try to closely examine some of these cultural changes and also assess whether they are leading to the evolution of a widely shared global culture today or to more tensions and frictions between cultures.

**OBJECTIVES**

After studying this lesson, you will be able to:

- explain the various meanings of the term culture;
- highlight the peculiar features and problems of interpreting culture;
- enumerate the major changes which came about in science, art, religion, education, media, recreation and attitudes and values during the twentieth century and
- assess the balance between 'globalization' or creation of an integrated world economy and culture and continuing resistance to western dominance today.

**28.1 CULTURE DEFINED**

But before we begin our journey into cultural changes of the twentieth century, it would be useful to carefully examine the various **meanings given to the term culture** in different disciplines.

Indeed, culture is one of the most complex terms in social sciences. Not only because it refers to a wide range of attributes such as customs, habits and values etc. which are difficult to measure or quantify but also because the term has been used in a variety of ways by different scholars.

For example, in official announcements and news bulletins, the term culture is frequently used to refer to **artistic creations** and intellectual achievements primarily. Thus Indian culture is showcased through our classical and folk music, dance forms, literature etc. with this usage of the term.

In a sharp departure from this notion, anthropologists use the term culture to refer to **the whole way of life** of a community including its cuisine, dress, work and leisure routines as well as popular customs, festivals etc. In this usage the focus is not so much on the exclusive or classical achievements of great artists and thinkers but on everyday practices which have been traditionally shared or accepted in a community. Thus in the study of Indian culture the focus on our popular festivals, religious traditions and also the caste system would be important according to this definition.

In yet another interpretation of the term culture, it is the **implicit values, beliefs and attitudes** widely shared or understood in a community that are recognized as the core of any culture. Thus Indian culture is supposed to have traditionally valued family bonds and respect for elders much more than the western world where children mostly leave their parents after marriage and the marital bond has also become extremely fragile.

In contrast to this concern with mentalities or ideals and belief patterns, archaeologists prefer to focus on **material culture** or commonly used artifacts such as pottery, jewelry, buildings etc. of ancient communities whose remains they try to locate through excavations.



**Notes**

If you were to carefully review the preceding definitions you would note that culture can be studied with **two different criteria** in mind: of artistic and intellectual refinement on one hand and of historically shared or popular traditions on the other. The latter can also be identified at different levels: in material objects, practices or in values and attitudes.

Following these multiple facets of culture, we shall now briefly go through some outstanding developments in related fields such as the sciences, arts, entertainment, values, religion and education which were witnessed in the twentieth century.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 28.1**

1. Give two example each of revolutionary and slow modes of change witnessed in the twentieth century.  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Compare and contrast various interpretations of the term culture. Can you locate some common features in these interpretations?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Why is culture such a difficult term in social sciences?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**28.2 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

Perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the twentieth century was the phenomenal growth of science and technology which affected and transformed every aspect of life from entertainment and education to transport and communication at a very rapid pace during the period. Cars and aeroplanes, radio and transistors, movies and television, calculators and computers, satellites and mobile phones and lasers and organ transplants are only some of the new products and services made available by modern technology during the preceding century.

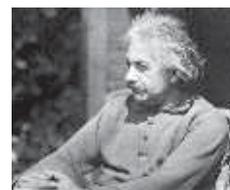
Behind this spate of technological innovations lay very intricate developments in various scientific realms such as sub atomic physics, genetic and molecular biology and space research. Some of the famous scientists who made major discoveries in these fields were **Marie Curie, Albert Einstein, Fyneman** and **Homi J. Bhabha**.



*Fig. 28.2.1 Marie Curry, Discovery of Radioactivity*



*Fig. 28.2.2 Richard P Fyneman*



*Fig. 28.2.3 Albert Einstin, Nuclear Scientist*



*Fig. 28.2.4 Homi J. Bhabha`, Nuclear Scientist*

**Notes**

But by and large recent scientific advancements have not been a product of individual genius so much as of large teams of scientists drawn from various countries of the world and concentrated in heavily funded research centers in advanced countries, specially the USA.

It is also important to note that while contemporary science and technology have offered numerous benefits to people, at the same time, the apprehension and fear of science amongst people has also grown simultaneously. Partly this is due to the incomprehensibility of latest advances in modern science even to educated laymen. What makes modern science perhaps even more awesome is its power to manufacture evermore destructive weapons and to threaten the delicate ecological balance on the earth.

Obviously, social accountability and responsibility of scientists and governments promoting and guiding scientific research is high in the present epoch.

**The Arts and Literature**

Besides science, the twentieth century has also been a time of considerable growth of art forms such as painting, music and literature and of the emergence of some totally novel artistic media such as cinema and recorded music.

Some of the major art movements which shaped new creative work in this period across countries were modernism, socialist realism and postmodernism. In fact modernism evolved as ‘avant garde’ or leading art trend in Europe in the last quarter of nineteenth century and became a worldwide influence in the twentieth century.

Although modernism had diverse streams such as symbolism, impressionism and surrealism, one major tendency common to them all has been the urge to uncover the deeper world of subconscious feelings and thoughts instead of portraying the apparent world of objects and persons as they appear. Further, to give expression to this modernist concern with subjective and subconscious elements, conventional modes of artistic expression had also to be transcended and new and bold experiments tried repeatedly which often look extremely abstract and incomprehensible to an untrained viewer.

Some of the great modernists who evolved their own styles in this vein were the Spanish painter Pablo Picasso famous for introducing ‘cubism’ or multi dimensional view of figures in paintings and the famous Irish writer James Joyce who introduced the technique of ‘the stream of consciousness’ in his work called Ulysses.



*Fig. 28.3 Picasso*



## Notes

Ironically, while most modernists were extremely bold and experimental in evolving new modes of artistic expression, in their social and political outlook, many of them remained apathetic to political challenges of their time and deeply pessimistic about modern civilization or even the human condition as a whole.

In the same period, however, another branch of artists expressed a more forward looking and hopeful vision of social transformation in their works through the genre of socialist realism. Playwrights like Bertold Brecht in Germany and George Bernard Shaw of Britain and novelists like Maxim Gorki and poets like Alexander Blok in Russia can be counted as the leading lights of this trend. These poets and writers were inspired by the ideals of an egalitarian transformation of society.

The Bolshevik Revolution and the creation of the Soviet Union inspired many and socialist realism as an art trend continued to inspire considerable creative work in many non communist countries caught in the fierce trap of colonial, feudal and capitalist exploitation simultaneously. In India, for example, the Progressive Writers' Association was formed by master poets like Majaz and Josh in 1940s with explicit left sympathies, and other masters such as Premchand reflected deep social concerns in their realist accounts of rural life of their times. Similarly, in China, great realist writing with socialist leanings was penned by a genius like Lu Hsun while in Latin America the anti US resistance inspired the poetry of Pablo Neruda.

In fact, the flowering of art and literature in Asian, African and Latin American countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is one of the most significant developments of recent times. Artists in such countries gave expression to the nationalist aspirations on one hand and also dealt with the problem of feudal and emerging capitalist exploitation within their societies, as also the peculiar challenge of synthesizing their traditions with a rapid surge of modernization on the other. From the creative genius of Rabindranath Tagore a hundred years ago to the post colonial musings of Gabriel Garcia Marquez in Latin America and Chinua Achebe of Africa, this engagement has produced some of the finest literature of recent times.

### Philosophy and the Human Sciences

In terms of students, faculty positions in universities and publications, the Human Sciences (Social Sciences and Psychology) have seen a phenomenal expansion in the twentieth century and specially after the Second World War in most countries of the world.

However, along with expansion and the growing race for publications and promotions amongst social scientists has come a growing tendency for specialization and jargon which characterizes lots of academic writing today.

In fact, the birth of specialized disciplines from a comprehensive and unspecialized approach to social and philosophical enquiry can be traced back to early nineteenth century in Europe when economics, political science, sociology, anthropology and psychology gradually emerged as distinct disciplines with their own specific methods and delimited concerns.

Meanwhile, philosophy under the influence of thinkers like A.J. Ayer and Wittgenstein itself shifted focus increasingly from probing broader questions about ethics and politics to a narrower and rigorous concern with clarifying the nature of language and symbols through which issues are posed.



**Notes**

**Great Thinkers**



*Fig. 28.4.1 E. P. Thompson*



*Fig. 28.4.2 Amartya Sen*

This does not imply that broader questions about causation, human nature and change are not being posed today. Great thinkers like Bertrand Russell, Noam Chomsky and Louis Althusser continued to write on a broad range of concerns.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS 28.2.1**

1. Name four outstanding scientists of the twentieth century along with the discoveries.  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Name the major art movements which influenced artists and writers across nations in the twentieth century.  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Name a few thinkers who continued to write innovatively on ethical and political issues at a time when excessive specialization and jargon came to dominate the majority of scholarly writing in the preceding century.  
\_\_\_\_\_

**28.3 CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS AND SYMBOLS**

While changing concerns and achievements of scientists, philosophers and artists are important aspects of cultural history, changes in cultural institutions such as religions, folklore, language, education systems and the mass media are also extremely significant to note in any study of cultural change. Anthropologists refer to these as cultural institutions or symbol systems which represent coherent patterns of values and worldview to the participants. Such cultural symbols are of historical significance not only because they address basic human needs for information, entertainment and faith or ‘meaning’ in life but also because they have a major role in shaping popular values, beliefs, emotions and behavior patterns commonly observed in different social groups.

**Notes**

But it is important to note here that in most societies, the regulation and control of cultural institutions such as education and the mass media is mostly in the hands of the dominant elites who control property as well as centres of power. You are familiar with the Brahmanical influence on Hindu beliefs regarding caste system, sati etc. which enabled the upper castes especially in ancient India to monopolise the fruits of labor performed by the Sudras. Similarly, in modern times, the capitalist class exercises vast influence on the mass media and seeks to mould popular beliefs and attitudes in such a way as to facilitate its dominance over the exploited masses with or without the use of force.

Within this general model of the operation of cultural institutions, numerous variations can be seen in their characteristics or 'meaning'. The past century was indeed a time of rapid transformation when fundamental changes occurred not only in the message and content of education, religion and folklore etc. but also in the balance between these major cultural institutions across countries.

**LANGUAGES**

One of the principal ingredients of any culture is its language. The twentieth century witnessed a dramatic transformation of the linguistic map of the world as local dialects spoken by the masses as well as classical languages like Sanskrit and Latin, which had been the privileged media of learning amongst scholars for centuries, gave way to select national languages adopted by regions to express their emerging national identities.

It has been estimated that nearly 6500 languages are still spoken in the world today. Nearly half of these are spoken by tiny communities and are in the process of becoming extinct already. Ten major languages are mother tongues of more than half of world's population already. (Source: Foundation for Endangered Languages website)

Another interesting feature of the changing language pattern of the globe in recent times has been the growth of bilingualism or familiarity with at least two languages amongst a growing number of educated people across the globe. The English language has particularly emerged as the second adopted language with the growth of globalization and the emergence of the internet. While the Chinese remain the biggest linguistic group in the world still, the number of people knowing English (about 10% of global population) is second and the number knowing English as second language is the highest.

Another major development amongst languages in the twentieth century under the impact of growing education and mass media has been the growing mixture between them. While English itself has adopted a number of new words from other languages including French and Hindi, the evolution of Hinglish or the spoken mixture of Hindi, Urdu and English amongst educated Indians is also noteworthy in this context.

**FOLK TRADITIONS**

The twentieth century also saw a major transformation in the position of folklore in popular culture across societies. Dozens of traditional arts and modes of entertainment such as puppet shows, story telling, mythological drama, folk dances etc have quietly but surely got marginalized within the past century over most of the developing world. Age old songs, tales and fables which had been used by communities to both transmit ideas and values to succeeding generations rapidly lost ground to professionally produced entertainment and news programs broadcast through the modern mass media.

**Notes**

Yet some effort is being made by states as well as civic agencies, as in India, to preserve them through financial and institutional support now.

**MASS MEDIA**

On the other hand radio, cinema, gramophone records, television, cassettes and CDs and computers and mobile phones arrived in quick succession and revolutionized the way we receive information, entertain ourselves, relate to each other or even think and respond to social and political issues.

Though some of the new media like cinema and television have been used for producing highly artistic and educational programs also by great artists of the century such as Charlie Chaplin, Satyajit Ray and Steven Spielberg yet, the logic of advertising and the competition for a mass audience which is the driving force behind these media has encouraged more and more sensationalism, sex and violence in their programs.

The attention commanded by these new channels of mass communication and entertainment has been historic. Thus it was found during a survey that in the USA a majority of families already had two TV sets in 1980 and that an average child there spent twice as much time before television as in study or sports.

**RELIGION**

Besides traditional art forms and folklore, another major cultural institution whose role in most societies has got delimited over the past century is religion. In both the developed and the developing world, predominantly secular outlooks and loyalties such as humanism, nationalism and democracy have inspired vast movements and commitment amongst people over the past century. This is not to say that nationalists (who profess a strong loyalty to a nation state) or the humanists (who value human life more than the after life) can't be religious at the same time. Indeed, in almost all the countries, most people (specially women) continue to count themselves amongst believers to this day. In a 1981 survey of religious beliefs in the USA, for example, only about 10% of people described themselves as atheists. Moreover, pilgrimages and the production of devotional literature and songs etc has actually grown phenomenally over the past century.

Yet, the shrinking influence of religion in everyday life is also evident in the fact that religion does not permeate daily practices ranging from greetings, meals, celebrations, public ceremonies etc specially in the cities in the manner it did only a hundred years back. Secondly, religious values and outlook do not entirely encompass other major social institutions such as the state, arts etc. as they did earlier and a vast number of our practices today are actually carried on in a manner quite contradictory to common religious beliefs. Thus, only a century ago, most marriages even in the west were solemnized in the church and baptism for every new born was almost mandatory. By 1990, it was discovered in France that only 30% of couples got married in church. Divorce and abortion which were prohibited by the church have become not only legalized in most countries in the west but also increasingly accepted and destigmatised. Similar trends are visible in many Asian and African countries too.

**EDUCATION**

While religion has ceased to define, in recent times, the rules and ideals operative in a growing number of social realms, modern education based on secular and scientific knowledge has grown phenomenally over the same period. The requirements of modern educated citizens proficient in reading, writing and calculations and proud of their



**Notes**

**CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

national history and heritage was strongly felt not only for manning the modern posts in the state and industrial and service sectors of the economy but also for creating a homogeneous body of citizens intrinsically loyal to their nation states.

Most western countries had made school education compulsory and affordable or free in the nineteenth century itself. In the previous century, the newly liberated nations in Asia and Africa also made efforts in the same direction though with less success due to limited resources and the heavy burden of the colonial and alien pattern in their education systems. In our country, more than half of the population remained non literate as late as 1980 and only in the preceding two decades has the proportion of non literates come down to 25% approximately.

Meanwhile university education expanded rapidly from the middle of the twentieth century. Thus, in 1939, in advanced countries like Britain and France, less than 0.1% of the population were enrolled in colleges. By late 1990s, however, nearly 2% of the population in most of these nations could be receiving college education (a twenty fold increase). Indeed, between 1960 and 1980, higher education expanded phenomenally in the developing world too and similar proportion of students in these poorer countries got enrolled in universities soon even though their vocational and primary education still remained undeveloped. Further, due to a much smaller organized sector in their economies the problem of educated unemployed was also stupendous in these countries.

University students have been active in social and cultural protests. The large scale and simultaneous student protests which spread like wild fire from New York and San Francisco to Paris and Prague in 1968 are still remembered for their radicalism since they sought to not only oppose repressive state policies and educational elitism within these countries, but also spawned robust internationalism and anti war anti imperialist sentiments by challenging US intervention in Vietnam. In the more recent decades, however, especially after the fall of the Soviet Union and the proliferation of escapist entertainment channels, student protests seem to be in a state of lull worldwide.



**INTEXT QUESTIONS**

1. What is meant by the term cultural institutions in the given text? Name some major institutions of culture.  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. In what ways did the linguistic pattern of the globe change in the twentieth century?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Name the various new channels of mass communication which revolutionized the ways in which we receive news, information, entertainment and talk today.  
\_\_\_\_\_

**28.4 GLOBALIZATION**

The rise of modern education, mass media and secular political ideologies have contributed to another significant development of the twentieth century, namely,

**Notes**

globalization. The process of globalization may be defined as the emergence of a more and more integrated world with growing networks of multi-national trade, manufacturing and finance as well as political and welfare agencies such as the United Nations and professional bodies such as the World Social Forum uniting an overwhelming number of people in ties of interdependence though on unequal terms favoring the rich.

The growth of multi national corporations, the availability of goods and services from across the globe in city malls and over the internet, cheap and instant communication of ideas, news and information across the globe, the emergence of global trends and markets in fashion, food and entertainment are all indications of the extent of globalization apparent today.

Here it is important to understand that globalization did not suddenly emerge in the twentieth century. Global trading networks and flow of medical and technical knowledge can be traced back to earlier periods too. The process of colonization of non European countries by European powers from the beginning of the sixteenth century stepped up the unequal integration of the world in a phenomenal way. But the growth of powerful and far reaching transnational corporations and associations and global media networks are more specific to the preceding century only.

While these new channels enable global flows of goods, services and information and may be expected to bring greater choice and possibly prosperity to some regions, the reality is that not only have they suddenly disrupted age old cultural patterns and social customs but are also moulding the entire world in western habits and values generally, besides further sharpening inequalities between the rich and the poor across the globe.

Unfortunately, within this advance of western ideas and habits across the globe again, the migration of the great ideals of liberty, equality and democracy into the non western world have been much more difficult than the contagion of western individualism, materialism, break up of the joint family and community ties, loneliness, neurosis etc. On top of this, in many developing countries, the problems of rampant poverty, corruption, criminalization, lawlessness or dictatorships still complicate the situation ominously.

In this scenario, great responsibility falls on the shoulders of the young to make the right choices between enticing options and steer their countries through the whirlwind of cultural and social change expected to accelerate in the new century.

**WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT**

While leaders, battles and revolutions have a major influence on the world at times, slow and imperceptible changes in demography, social classes and widely shared beliefs, values and attitudes also transform it cumulatively.

The twentieth century was a unique time of major changes of the latter type too. Thus science and technology grew on a phenomenal pace in this period while the arts, philosophy and literature experienced worldwide movements such as Modernism, Socialist Realism and Postmodernism, and universal cultural institutions such as language, religion, education and mass media saw mammoth quantitative and qualitative changes in their working.

**Notes****CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

As a result of these all round and speedy transformations, the world is also becoming more and more globalised now. This involves increasing integration of most countries of the world not only in terms of production and consumption of goods and services but also through exchange of news, information, ideas and entertainment.

While these growing cultural changes offer new opportunities for learning and mobility to today's youth, they also pose challenges such as increasing global competition, rising egoism, consumerism and hedonism and resultant alienation from family, country and collective efforts for building a just, prosperous and free society.

**TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. Unprecedented growth of science and technology in the twentieth century has not been an unmixed boon. Comment
2. Despite the fact that most people in the world still describe themselves as religious, the role of religion in public life has declined in recent times. Explain.
3. Describe the role of education and students in cultural transformation during the twentieth century.
4. Describe the relationship between globalization and westernization and also reflect on the challenges as well opportunities they bring to cultures of countries such as India.

**ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTIONS****28.1**

1. Examples of Revolutionary Changes of the twentieth century include the birth of the Soviet Union in 1917 and the independence of colonized nations of Asia and Africa, led by India from 1947. Illustrations of slow but major cultural changes of the same period include the spread of literacy and ideas through expansion of educational institutions as well as mass media and the increasing globalization of entertainment, news and knowledge production.
2. The term culture has been used in two different ways by social scientists: to refer to creative work in the arts, literature, philosophy etc and to denote common values, beliefs and behavior patterns of a community deriving from its shared history, physical environment and traditions of language, folklore etc. While the former notion of culture is often exclusive to highly talented minds the latter pertains to social groups as a whole. Both, however, speak of mental phenomena mainly.
3. The term culture is as difficult as it is important in social sciences because its usage varies across thinkers and also because it refers to phenomena which are neither concrete nor measurable.

**28.2**

1. Among the outstanding scientists of the twentieth century were: Marie Curie (who laid down her life while working on the process of radiation); Albert Einstein

**Notes**

(credited with the development of the theory of relativity); Fyneman (responsible for the development of the wave theory of sub atomic particles) and Charles Babbage (who did pioneering work in the creation of computers).

2. Modernism, Socialist realism, Postmodernism.
3. Bertrand Russell, Noam Chomsky, E.P. Thompson, Amartya Sen.

**28.3**

1. Cultural institutions here refer to symbol systems which are designed to shape attitudes, beliefs and values in a community. Some of the major cultural institutions found in all societies are religion, education, language, folklore and customs and the means of mass communication.
2. The twentieth century saw the further consolidation of national languages or major regional languages over local dialects and classical tongues in Asian and several African countries too. At the same time, English has emerged as a major link language of a globalising world.
3. Telephones, radio, cinema, television, tape recorders, compact discs, computers, communication satellites and mobile phones.

**HINTS TO TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1. Refer 28.2
2. Refer 28.3
3. Refer 28.3.6
4. Refer 28.4

**Project Work**

Cultural change is often slow and imperceptible. But the twentieth century has witnessed a relatively rapid transformation of culture too. Ask your elders and try to cite some examples to illustrate cultural transformation witnessed within their lifetime.

Cite some elements of unity underlying the diversity in Indian culture in the realm of values, arts, institutions and customs today.

**GLOSSARY**

<b>Culture</b>	:	Shared values, beliefs and customs of a community on one hand and creative works in the arts, literature, philosophy or science on the other.
<b>Globalisation</b>	:	The growing integration of the world through increasing cross country networks of communication, entertainment, business and politics.
<b>Jargon</b>	:	Excessive use of technical and unfamiliar terms instead of everyday words in a display of scholarship.
<b>Bilingualism</b>	:	Ability to use and comprehend two languages with equal competence.
<b>Modernism</b>	:	A major twentieth century aesthetic trend which sought to express inner pains and problems of modern society.
<b>Secularisation</b>	:	The declining role of religion in public life without necessarily involving the rise of atheism.