

**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

MASTER OF ARTS-HISTORY

SEMESTER -I

TWENTIETH CENTURY WORLD

CORE-101

BLOCK-2

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

Postal Address:

The Registrar,

University of North Bengal,

Raja Ram mohunpur,

P.O.-N.B.U., Dist.-Darjeeling,

West Bengal, Pin-734013,

India.

Phone: (O) +91 0353-2776331/2699008

Fax: (0353) 2776313, 2699001

Email: regnbu@sancharnet.in; regnbu@nbu.ac.in

Website: www.nbu.ac.in

First Published in 2019



All rights reserved. No Part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without permission in writing from University of North Bengal. Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this book may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages. This book is meant for educational and learning purpose. The authors of the book has/have taken all reasonable care to ensure that the contents of the book do not violate any existing copyright or other intellectual property rights of any person in any manner whatsoever. In the even the Authors has/ have been unable to track any source and if any copyright has been inadvertently infringed, please notify the publisher in writing for corrective action.

FOREWORD

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavors.



TWENTIETH CENTURY WORLD

BLOCK-1

- Unit -1: Capitalism: Growth And Structural Changes
- Unit -2: Imperialism: Theories, Concepts And Expansion
- Unit -3: Liberalism And Liberal Ideas
- Unit -4: Socialism
- Unit -5: Russian Revolution
- Unit -6: Socialist Movements
- Unit -7: Nationalism: Forms, Nature And Effects

BLOCK -2

- Unit -8 - World War I: Causes, Events, Nature And Consequences.. 7**
- Unit - 9 - League Of Nations: Failures And Collective Security..... 29**
- Unit - 10 - Fascism, Nazism And Rise Of Militarism In Japan 55**
- Unit -11 - World War Ii: Causes And Consequences 86**
- Unit - 12 - Decolonization 117**
- Unit -13 - Formation Of Communist Party Of China And War With Japan 137**
- Unit - 14-The Chinese Revolution 168**

BLOCK-2: TWENTIETH CENTURY WORLD

UNIT-8: WORLD WAR I: CAUSES, EVENTS, NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES

(Causes of War, Sequence of Events of the War, End of the War Nature of Mobilizations, Consequences of the War, Economic Crisis and Impact of the War)

UNIT-9: LEAGUE OF NATIONS: FAILURES AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

(Political Activities of the League, Other Activities of the League, Meaning and Nature of Collective Security, Problems of Collective Security and Failure of Collective Security under League of Nations)

UNIT-10: FASCISM, NAZISM AND RISE OF MILITARISM IN JAPAN

(Features of Fascism and Nazism, Ideology-- Fascism and Nazism, Social Bases of Fascism and Nazism, State and Society under Fascism and Nazism, Rise of Militarism in Japan, Education and Nationalism, Division within the Army, Military Authoritarianism, The War and Economic Policies, The War and Military Behaviour)

UNIT-11: WORLD WAR II: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

(Causes and Outbreak of World War II, The War Begins, USA and USSR become Allies, The Nature of Mobilisation in the World War II, Consequences of World War II, Peace-making after the Second World War, Emergence of Super Powers)

UNIT-12: DECOLONIZATION

(Types of Decolonization, Approaches--The Nationalist Approach, International Context Approach, Domestic Constraints Approach, The Era of Decolonization, France and Britain, Indian Independence: A Case Study of Decolonization)

UNIT-13: FORMATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND WAR WITH JAPAN

(The Birth of Marxism in China, Communist Party: 1921, CPC: War with Japan)

UNIT-14: THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

(Some Observations, Post-war Situation and Political Forces in China, Outbreak of the Civil War, KMT Offensives and their Defeat: 1946-1947, Communist Victories (1948-49), Difficulties for the New Regime, New Regime: Economic, Political and Social Framework, Significance of the Chinese Revolution)

UNIT -8 - WORLD WAR I: CAUSES, EVENTS, NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES

STRUCTURE

8.0 Objective

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Causes

8.2.1 Economic Rivalries

8.2.2 Colonial Disputes

8.2.3 Conflicting Alliance Systems

8.2.4 Rising Nationalist Aspirations

8.2.5 The Outbreak of War

8.3 Sequence of Events of the War

8.3.1 European Phase of the War

8.3.2 Global Phase of the War

8.3.3 End of the War

8.4 Nature

8.4.1 The Notion of Total War and its Implications

8.4.1.1 Trench Warfare as a War of Attrition

8.4.1.2 Naval Blockade and Submarine Warfare

8.5 Consequences of the War

8.5.1 Repartition Problem

8.5.1.1 Paris Peace Conference

8.5.1.2 The Treaty of Versailles

8.5.1.3 Minor Treaties

8.5.2 Economic Crisis

8.6 Impact of the War

8.6.1 Impact on Europe

8.6.2 Impact on the World

8.7 Let Sum Up

8.8 Key Words

8.9 Questions for Review

8.10 Suggested readings and references

8.11 Answers to Check your progress

8.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the First World War (1914-18). After studying the unit you will be able to trace the causes of the war, narrate the sequence of events of the war, discuss and analyse the nature and consequences of the World War I.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The First World War broke out in the third quarter of 1914. Initially it was confined to Europe. After the war spread all over the world, it continued for more than four years. The world experienced an unprecedented holocaust. Established dynasties collapsed, Europe began to decline and America started to dominate. The war generated new ideologies, founded new institutions and gave birth to new leaderships in the world. The world, indeed, was transformed at the termination of the war. This unit examines the circumstances leading to the breaking out of the First World War, proceedings of the war and how it conditioned the developments and future of International relations.

8.2 CAUSES

The war broke out in the wake of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Hapsburg throne. He was assassinated by a group of Bosnian radical Inter-War Period nationalists on 28th June 1914. The assassination however was not the real cause of the war. It was just the pretext. The causes of the war may be found in the politicoeconomic developments that had been taking place in the international arena since the Franco-German War (1870). There arose economic rivalries, disputes over colonies and the conflicting alliance system in Europe. The growing nationalist aspirations in the subject people in Europe added fuel to the fire.

8.2.1 Economic Rivalries

Throughout the last quarter of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century most of the European powers had been locked in tariff

wars and had been engaged in competition for overseas markets. There had been tariff wars between Italy and France, Russia and Germany, Austria and Serbia and so on. Besides these tariff wars, there arose stiff competition among the powers in general, and between Germany and Great Britain in particular for overseas markets. Throughout the 19th century, Britain had been the supreme economic power, backed by a powerful navy and army. Germany suddenly emerged as a competing great economic power in Europe after its principalities unified as a nation state. Germany's emergence as the economic super power made it a stiff competitor for overseas markets too, where other European powers including Britain had great stakes. This competition had far reaching political repercussions. It created an un-ending tension in the relations between these states. These relations got further embittered when the competing countries started building up strong navies for safeguarding trade routes and merchant shipping. Germany, which already had a big army, devoted its energy for building a large navy and achieved the goal within a short period of time. Germany's emergence as an economic power backed by a strong navy and an army became intolerable for Britain and the other powers hostile to it. Hence rivalries intensified and a flare up became inevitable.

8.2.2 Colonial Disputes

The European powers, in order to ensure protected markets for their surplus capital and industrial products, got involved in conflicts for overseas colonies. Germany was the youngest in the race for colonies. With its emergence as a super economic power it became very aggressive in the demand for the overseas colonies which could provide markets for its growing economy. It was a general cry in Germany that the country must have a "place in the sun". In its struggle for acquiring colonies, Germany found Britain as the stumbling block. Britain was condemned as a selfish, "dog in the manger". The disputes for a "place in the sun" were not confined to Germany and Britain alone. All major powers were engaged in the scramble for dependencies in the years preceding the First World War. There were in Africa and in Asia

between the European powers for colonies. These made relations between European states.

8.2.3 Conflicting Alliance Systems

The struggle for colonies in different parts of the world between antagonistic powers led to the formation of conflicting alliances. Germany showed the way. It signed the Dual Alliance with Austria-Hungary (1879). This Alliance aimed at strengthening Germany against a possible French attack for recovering Alsace-Lorraine. The Alliance was also designed to protect Austria-Hungary against Russia with which the former had protracted clashes in the Balkan region. The alliance became the Triple Alliance in 1882, when Italy joined Austria-Hungary and Germany, seeking their support in her struggle for colonies against France.

The partners of the Triple Alliance attempted to maintain the status quo in the continent. Others however, saw this as an attempt to dominate Europe and to isolate other states from each other. They, therefore, took steps to form counter alliances. France and Russia entered into an entente (1893). This entente was aimed at countering the Triple Alliance and also containing Britain, against whom both France and Russia had outstanding disputes over the colonies. In the course of time, however the disputes, between France, Russia and Britain were resolved peacefully. They now entered into alliances. First, Anglo-French entente (1904) was signed and then the Anglo-Russian entente (1907) was formalised. These two ententes were transformed into the Triple Entente. Europe was thus divided into two conflicting alliances which added fuel to the already embittered international relations which were aggravated by economic and colonial rivalries.

8.2.4 Rising Nationalist Aspirations

There were subject minorities in different regions of Europe. These subject minorities remained hostile towards their respective imperial rulers. The growing nationalism of these peoples made them restless against foreign rule. They were demanding the right of self-determination. The French people in Alsace-Lorraine were hostile to

German rule over their territory. The Hapsburg Empire, ruled by the Austrians and the Hungarians, had been facing growing discontent by the subject peoples. Italians, Romanian, and the Slavic peoples living within the Austro Hungarian Empire awakened and initiated demands for self-determination or unification with their brethren in the neighbouring states. The rulers however tried to suppress the nationalist awakenings. The nationalist movement within empires transformed into militant revolutionary movements. Secret radical and militant organisations sprang up in different places in the Balkan region. One such organisation named Black Hand which was founded by the Bosnian Serbs in Belgrade, the Serbian capital, in 1911, hatched the conspiracy to kill Archduke Francis Ferdinand while he was on an official tour in Serajevo, and assigned the job of assassinating him to Gavrilo Princip and his comrades. Princip carried out the assassination.

8.2.5 The Outbreak Of War

At the assassination of the Archduke, Austria issued a stiff ultimatum to Serbia on 23 July 1914. Serbia had little knowledge about the conspiracy to kill the Duke. Serbia, however, politely replied to the ultimatum, agreeing to comply with all but one of the demands. The ultimatum included, among others, the demands for apologies, suppression of anti-Austrian movements, and participation of Austrian officials in the enquiry for fixing responsibility for the murder. Serbia refused to include Austrian officials for conducting the inquiry. Austria declined to accept the Serbian reply and declared war against Serbia of the 28th July, 1914. Russia joined the fray in favour of Serbia on 30th July, Russia's involvement brought Germany into the war. Germany declared war against Russia and France on 1st and 3rd August respectively. The German strategy to attack France by vanquishing Belgium annoyed Britain. Britain declared war on 4th August.

Thus the war broke out in full scale between the two blocs, consisting of Austria-Hungary and Germany on one side and France, Britain and Russia on the other. The former bloc came to be known as Central Powers and the latter became famous as the Allies.

Check your progress 1

1) Identify the root causes of the First World War.

2) Who constituted the opposing parties in the War?

8.3 SEQUENCE OF EVENTS OF THE WAR

At the outbreak of the war it was presumed that the war would be a brief encounter and there would be a victorious party. These presumptions proved to be wrong. The war was prolonged for more than four years and caused an unprecedented toll of men and material. Both the winners and the losers suffered almost equally from the war. Though the Allies won, but it cost them far dearly.

8.3.1 European Phase Of The War

The war continued till the beginning of 1917, and was essentially a European affair. War was being fought over European issues and their control over the colonies. Europe had been the main theatre of the war. The German strategy was to end the war in a month or so. German forces, accordingly, attacked France by over-running Belgium. German soldiers, within a few days, reached the vicinity of Paris. The Germans, however, failed to sustain this victory. The French army forced them to retreat to the Aisne River bank, which was considered the natural defence line. The warring parties failed to make much headway in either direction during the next three years. A deadlock resulted. The war took heavy casualties at this front. The casualties during the first four months alone were 700,000 Germans, 850,000 French and 90,000 Britons.

On the Russian and Balkan fronts, however there had been decisive battles. On the Russian front the Russian soldiers could not invade East Prussia and on the Balkan front, Austria faced humiliating defeats. The Serbians drove away the Austrians. Turkey joined the Central Powers in

November 1914. Turkey closed the supply line and attempted to stop the Allies from sending supplies to Russia through sea routes. Consequently, the combined Austro-German armies inflicted humiliating defeats upon the Russian forces in the middle of 1915. With these defeats the decline of Tsarist Empire began. Meanwhile, Bulgaria joined the Central Powers and enhanced their strength and striking capabilities. Now, Serbia fell to the central powers. At this juncture Italy was persuaded to intervene in favour of the Allies. Italy's intervention however failed to influence the outcome of the war. The Central Powers won important victories and the whole area from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf was under their control. In February 1916 the Central Powers launched an all-out attack against the Allies. Their strategy was to inflict a decisive defeat on the Allies and to dictate peace terms for terminating the war. This strategy failed. Germany suffered from heavy losses both in men and material. Russia defeated the Austrians. Now Romania joined the Allies and soon Greece broke her neutrality and intervened in favour of the Allies. Now the joint offensive in the Balkan front against the Central Powers hounded Bulgaria out of the war. The Germans were defeated on several fronts. They opened unrestricted submarine warfare at sea, to block the ships carrying supplies to Britain. Though this strategy paid off handsomely, it forced America to intervene in the war in favour of the Allies. The war thus entered into a global phase. The war now entered the fourth year. Europe incurred heavy losses both in terms of human life and in terms of wealth. Europe was on the verge of collapse. Now peace became a general demand. The German Reichstag passed a peace resolution in July 1917. Many important personalities appealed for peace in order to save European civilization but worse was still to come.

8.3.2 Global Phase Of The War

The intervention of USA in the war and the successful conclusion of the Russian Revolution in 1917 completely changed the complexion of the war: which was now transformed from being a European affair into a world affair. The US intervention and the Russian revolution also brought into fore differing ideologies. While the Russian revolution unleashed revolutionary ideologies, the USA sought to make the world

safe for democracy and peace. President Wilson of the USA came out with his famous fourteen Point programme. The war contributed largely to the downfall of the Tsarist regime in Russia. The Bolshevik government, installed in power after the fall of Tsar, signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in March 1918 with Germany and opted out of the war. Thus war between Germany and Russia ended. USA had maintained strict neutrality since the beginning of the war. She broke this neutrality for several reasons which included amongst others, Germany's unrestricted submarine attack on merchant ships, America's huge economic involvement in the war and the military preparedness within USA.

In April 1917 USA intervened in the war in support of the Allies. After joining the war President Wilson declared his famous Fourteen Point Programme which was proclaimed as the war aims of the US. The 14 points included amongst others, open covenants peace instead of secret pacts, freedom of the seas, removal of barriers to international trade, reduction of arrangements, justice to colonial peoples, right to self-determination to the various subject minorities of Europe, and the establishment of an international body to maintain peace in the world.

8.3.3 End Of The War

The participation of America sufficiently enhanced the striking power of the Allies. The USA sent both men and materials. By July 1918 the number of American soldiers in the different fronts rose to more than 300,000. The Central Powers had no hope of getting fresh supplies. So they failed to bear the Allies offensive. Consequently they surrendered during the latter half of 1918, one by one. Bulgaria surrendered in September and Turkey in October. The Hapsburg Empire disintegrated and Emperor Charles abdicated in November. The German had now no way out. Emperor Kaiser William abdicated and Germany surrendered in early November. The war thus ended with the victory of the Allies. The war had continued for four years and three months. Thirty states from Europe, America, Asia and Africa were entangled in the war which overthrew four dynasties and brought into existence seven new states.

The war killed more than 18 million people and the total cost was nearly \$ 333 billion.

8.4 NATURE

The nature of modern warfare was the result of two simultaneous processes. One was the emergence of modern politics which implied mobilisation of masses around some specific idea, goal or policy. Its manifestation was in the idea of 'nation in arm' or conscription in the French Revolution. This gave men equality in battle which was denied to them in actual life. This 'democratisation of war' transformed wars into mass-wars or people's war in which civilians and civil-life itself became the proper and sometimes the main target of military strategy. The other was the growth of industrial economy which provided the resources, the organizational techniques and methods of motivation needed to fight mass-wars. Thus re-modelling them as total wars, i.e., towards total involvement of entire industrial societies in war. The American Civil War (1861-05) was the first such war which anticipated the nature and character of the great global conflict of Twentieth century.

8.4.1 The Notion Of Total War And Its implications

The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed the transformation of war from a specialized activity of a professional military group, first into the total mobilisation of industrial resources to produce weapons then into total involvement of entire industrial societies in the process or hurling concentrated mechanized forces against military or civilian targets anywhere on the globe and finally into a scientific contest to develop weapons of massdestruction and means of delivering them to destroy the opponent's total society, and even endangering the life of human species on the planet.

An International Court of Arbitration was established at Hague (1907) for settling disputes among powers. However, the armament race among major powers continued, fuelled by the profit motives of the private firms such as Krupp in Germany, Vickers-Armstrong in Britain, Schneider-Cruesot in France, Skoda in Austria and Putiloff in Russia

collectively known as 'the merchants of death'. The growing militarism was further reinforced by the extreme nationalism of the period.

8.4.1.1 Trench Warfare As A War Of Attrition

Most statesmen and people expected a short and swift conflict when the World War I began. But it soon got deadlocked into positional trench warfare along the Western Front - a massive stretch of 600 miles from Switzerland to the North Sea. This continuous front marked the end of local small, isolated and restricted warfare. In fact, restricted warfare of the eighteenth century was part and parcel of an autocratic and hierarchical order, a relic of military organization of Feudal Europe in which the nobility specialised in military leadership. Now millions of men faced each other across the sand-bagged, parapets of trenches under which they lived like, and with rats and lice. The opposing systems of zigzag, timber-riveted, sand-bag reinforced trenches were fronted by tangles of barbed wire and scattered covered dugouts for providing shelter for troops.

Often, there were several lines in the depth of trenches. The heavy artillery and machine gun fire used by the opposing armies made it almost impossible to achieve any breakthrough. In order to break the stalemate, each side tried to expand its war-production. This necessitated total mobilisation of human and industrial resources. Warfare became a clash of national resources of industrial might and supply capacity, a war of attrition. It required complete subordination of the whole life of people and the economy of the belligerent state to the cause of preparing and waging war. It also became necessary to arouse and to develop a sense of personal involvement throughout the classes and groups of the warring nations as the war machine consumed people en masse. The battle of Verdun (February-July, 1916) in which the Germans attempted a breakthrough was a battle of 2 millions, with one million casualties. The British offensive on the Somme, designed to force the Germans to break off the Verdun offensive cost Britain 420,000 lives.

In this battle, British artillery was provided with 23,000 tons of projectiles whereas the French Artillery in the celebrated battle of Waterloo had used only 100 tons. In the third battle of Ypres (1917)

which lasted for 19 days, the British bombardment used 4.3 million shells weighing 107,000 tons, a year's production of about 55,000 workers. The war, though a European conflict, forced European powers to draw supplies from all over the globe to maintain such huge consumption of resources.

8.4.1.2 Naval Blockade And Submarine Warfare

Karl von Clausewitz, the philosopher of war had defined War as "an act of violence pushed to its utmost bounds". In the epoch of total war, this meant effacement of the distinction between civilian and military targets and expenditure. As the role of munitions workers and civilian production became important to the victory as the soldiers in the trenches. There was need for constant flow of supplies. The phrase 'home front' acquired wider usage during World War I. The supply lines of opponent became the first natural target of military strategy. The economic warfare was symbolised by naval blockade and unrestricted submarine warfare during World War I. This was a prelude to mass civilian bombing and attempt to destroy the entire society of the opponent during the World War II.

The Allies attempted naval blockade on the Central Powers (Germany, Austria, and Hungary) and their co-belligerents Turkey and Bulgaria. The blockade proved unsuccessful as the Central Powers continued to get the supplies through neutral countries. Germany launched attacks on Allied commercial shipping in October 1914 through its submarines – the U-boats. Such attacks intensified from 1915- 1917. By mid- 19 15, average monthly sinking of Allied ships was 116.000 gross tons and touched 866,000 tons by April, 1917. However the political disadvantages outweighed any logistical damage, since there was strong American reaction to these sinking's. The Allied Powers also developed measures to counter submarine menace such as the convoy system, increased ship-building and improved management and coordination of shipping movements and cargoes.

8.5 CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

8.5.1 Repartition Problem

The war consumed an unprecedented number of men and materials. Europe's supremacy in the world began to decline and the USA began to emerge as a super power. Japan established its supremacy in the East. The war was terminated through a series of five separate treaties between the Allies and the individual states of the Central Powers. These treaties were the Versailles Treaty with Germany, St. Germain Treaty with Austria, Neuilly Treaty with Bulgaria, Trianon Treaty with Hungary and Sevres Treaty with Turkey. While the first four were signed in 1919, the last one was signed in 1920. The salient features of these treaties included amongst others the foundation of the League of Nations; the application of the right of self-determination in Europe only, and the non-application of the doctrine in the colonies of the European powers in Asia and Africa.

8.5.1.1 Paris Peace Conference

Wars are normally terminated and peace is restored after the signing of peace treaties between warring states. The First World War was also terminated through peace treaties, mentioned earlier. When the war entered into the decisive phase, the Allied powers started considering the plans and proposals put forward by different quarters for a lasting peace in the world. At Germany's surrendering and signing the instruments of Armistice the Allies took effective steps for holding a peace conference. The conference was ultimately called in Paris in January 1919. It continued for about six months. The two countries, consisting primarily of the Allies, participated in this conference. The gathering was impressive, because most of the world leaders were present. This was the first time, in a conference like this that non-European powers - the USA, Japan, etc. attended. Russia did not attend because it had earlier withdrawn from the war. None of the Central Powers was invited to participate in the deliberations. The conference was mainly conducted by the Big Three - the USA, Great Britain and France. But they could not totally ignore the others. However, the conflicting and narrow national interests, petty and unjust claims, and tendencies of scrubbing colonies

dominated the proceedings of the conference and overshadowed President Wilson's idealism, enshrined in his Fourteen Points. The conference was called upon to tackle, many complex issues which included among others the growing national aspirations of the erstwhile subject nations in Europe, the secret pacts signed during the war, the demands for compensation for the losses suffered by the European Allied power and the redressal of the wrongs committed by Germany during the war. Germany was held responsible for the declaration of the war and the huge destruction of lives and property.

The peace conference in Paris, after its formal inauguration, appointed committees of experts and diplomats to study the different problems and issues and to make suitable recommendations to deal with them. In the context of the conflicting demands, aims and objectives of the participating countries, it was not easy for the conference to be at an objective and rational conclusion. President Wilson had to yield to the pressure of the European powers that were bent upon taking revenge on Germany. After protracted deliberations the conference came out with a peace treaty containing very stiff terms and conditions. It was offered to Germany for acceptance in total. Germany objected on the ground that the country was given an understanding when it had surrendered, that it would be dealt with as per the principles, contained in Wilson's Fourteen Points. It alleged that the peace terms had contained little of the 14 points. Germany's objections were brushed aside and she was asked to sign the treaty or face the consequence. All and all, Germany had to swallow the humiliation which later led to a desire for avenging the insult. The treaty, thus, sowed the seeds of another war.

8.5.1.2 The Treaty Of Versailles

The Versailles Treaty was signed between the Allies and Germany. It was the most important one in the five treaty series. The treaty contained 440 articles. It dealt comprehensively with the territorial, military and war guilt of the Central Powers and the economic, political and other related aspects of the peace settlement. Germany which was accused for initiating the war was dealt with severely. Emperor Kaiser William II was accused of having committed crimes against humanity and was

blamed. The war contributed largely to the downfall of the Tsarist regime in Russia. The Bolshevik government, installed in power after the fall of Tsar, signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in March 1918 with Germany and opted out of the war. Thus war between Germany and Russia ended.

USA had maintained strict neutrality since the beginning of the war. She broke this neutrality for several reasons which included Germany's unrestricted submarine attack on merchant ships.

In April 1917 USA intervened in the war in support of the Allies. After joining the war President Wilson declared his famous Fourteen Point Programme which was proclaimed as the war aims of the US. The 14 points included amongst others, open covenants of peace instead of secret pacts, freedom of the seas, removal of barriers to international trade, reduction of arrangements, justice to colonial peoples, right to self determination to the various subject minorities of Europe, and the establishment of an international body to maintain peace in the world.

8.5.1.3 Minor Treaties

The Versailles Treaty was followed by four minor treaties. The St. Germain Treaty was signed between the Allies and Austria. It recognised the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia (now Check and Slovak, two independent republics), Poland and Yugoslavia. Austria had also to cede large tracts of territories. Her empire had disintegrated. Her population was reduced. She was reduced to a small German speaking state from being a vast multilingual empire. The Neuilly treaty was signed between the Allies and Bulgaria. Bulgaria had to cede again part of her coast to Greece and some strategically important areas in the West of the country to Yugoslavia. Bulgaria's military was reduced and she was made to pay \$ 50 million as war indemnity to the Allies. The Trianon Treaty was signed between the Allies and Hungary. As per the terms of the treaty, Hungary was reduced in size and population. It had to give up Transylvania to Romania, Croatia to Yugoslavia, the Banat to Romania and the Slovak districts to Czechoslovakia.

The Nerves Treaty was signed between the Allies and Turkey in August 1920. The treaty stripped Turkey of her empire. The treaty was revised in 1923 when Turkey declared itself a Republic. The new government

signed the revised treaty with the Allies at Lausanne. It had then come to be known as Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey now renounced her claim to the Arab lands. Turkey was not forced to pay war indemnity nor was she debarred from having a military as per her own requirements.

8.5.2 The Economic Crisis

The immediate post war period saw the rationalisation of European industry on the lines of American experiments. Ford's assembly line and horizontal integration methods along with a new regime of labour standards had vastly improved productivity in the United States. The success of the United States (which by the end of World War I had become world's premier industrial nation) was held out as a model of emulation by Europe. Leaders as varied as Lenin and Mussolini praised American factory reforms and labour regimes as worthy of emulation. In fact, from Germany to Prussia, and France to Italy, variants of American style reforms took place. All this was often backed up by cheap American credits, by US machinery and capital goods. In fact it must be underlined that the post-war revival of world trade was largely due to the huge volumes of credit pumped into the world-economy by US lenders. In a sense the 'recovery' in Europe in the years after World War I was built entirely on US loans. The process also ensured a constant supply of liquidity back to US lenders. To take an example, the US lent money to Germany in 1920s for her recovery. In turn Germany passed on money to the French and the Britain as part of reparation payments. The French and the British for their part re-routed money back to die US as part of repayment forwar loans. The world economy was flush withmoney supply, most of it US-dominated. The atmosphere was ripe for speculation: a host of new fly-by-night players entered the scene. The period was in fact full of financial scandals and mismanagement, all of which would come to a head at the end of the decade.

The crisis actually began over the rapid drop in agricultural prices in North America. With European recovery the world agricultural surplus began to rise and the North American producers (who had vastly increased production during the war period) were convulsed by a rapid drop in prices. Bankruptcies began in US agriculture and saw a rapid

Notes

drop in expenditure. It was only a matter of time before the stock market would be affected.

The actual events began to unfold in October- 1929. On 24th and 29th October 1929 thirteen and sixteen and a half million shares were sold. In that period US investors lost 40 billion dollars, a huge sum at that time. The meltdown had begun. The crash was followed by the world-wide fall in agricultural prices. Given the fairly advanced integration of the world economy for agricultural products, millions of primary producers were affected. As prices of sugar, cotton, tobacco, wheat and rice and a host of other products fell, all monetized export related parts of the world felt the effects. Plantations and farms closed down, and millions were thrown out from work. The purchasing power of millions of working people the world over crashed and demand for other commodities began to fall, Trade between nations began to dip. Factories closed down, workers were on the streets and incomes showed no signs of stabilizing. The world felt the effects of US hegemony in the global economy. Once American banks stopped lending money (they were the only ones who risked long term loans) the credit squeeze was felt on a world scale. This crisis had earlier been predicted by writers like Karl Marx who had spoken about the cyclical nature of capitalism: how its chaotic and unplanned character would lead to periodic crises of over-production. In fact, the tendency towards over-production in capitalism (coupled with low wages' at home) had led some writers to deduce a theory of imperialism linked to underconsumption at home. However none of the previous downturns of the world economy had such serious consequences as that beginning in 1929. The downturn of 1871 was significant in that it undermined British hegemony in the world-economy but in no way did worldwide depression occur. The Great Depression of 1929 surpassed all the previous downturns in the world economy by its scope, depth and penetration. In a sense this was inevitable. The world economy had expanded tremendously in the period after 1871, and vast areas of the globe had been incorporated and monetized. As such the world was more vulnerable to crisis.

The only country that was relatively unaffected by the crisis was the Soviet Union, building "socialism in one country." The Soviet economic

model was now built on two inter-linked thrusts. First, was an agricultural collectivisation campaign aimed at destroying rural private ownership and channelling the surplus into industry and second, was a programme of industrialization directed by a series of five-year plans. The First Five-Year Plan was launched in 1928, was characterized by frenetic pace of quota fulfilment, in fact it was claimed that many of the quotas were overfulfilled by 1932 itself, a year early. Russian industry was reorganised and agriculture was transformed through collectivisation.

However, it must be stressed that the agricultural transformation was quite savage with large-scale deaths and dip in productivity. Soviet planning tendency to focus on heavy machinery and engineering goods led to the detriment of consumer goods. The results here, though impressive in terms of official figures, were mixed. While production did increase, it did so at a tremendous cost in terms of quality, and large scale waste was not uncommon. The lop-sided development of Soviet industry was not however felt at that time: it would show prominently in the post-war era. The frenetic pace of Soviet planning was partly a result of the threat perception of the Soviet leadership. Stalin said publicly that the Soviet Union needed to catch up with the West in 10 years or, "they will finish us." At any rate in the background of the severe economic crisis that had gripped the capitalist world the Soviet Union did not seem to do so badly. Planning seemed to protect the Soviet Union from the severity of the Depression. At that time anyway, the flaws of Soviet planning were not apparent and radicals in many parts of the world looked to the Soviet Union for hope.

Check your progress 2

1) Spell out some of the more important events and development during the European phase of the war.

2) What are the reasons for the intervention of the USA in the War?

3) Why did Russia opt out of the War?

8.6 IMPACT OF THE WAR

8.6.1 Impact On Europe

The war had weakened Europe so much that it could not re-emerge as an economic and political force. It lost ground to the United States of America. Europe faced economic decline, suffered from political crises one after another and lost her prestige in the eyes of the colonial peoples. Europe had been the leading economic power in the world. The source of Europe's economic prosperity was her vast colonies. She depended largely upon the huge income which was being earned from her massive overseas investments. The war had cut off this source considerably. Britain lost more than 25 per cent of her pre-war foreign investment, France nearly 34 per cent and Germany lost almost all. Europe yielded much of her ground to the USA, with which her economic relationship reversed from a creditor to debtor. Europe no longer remained the banker and the workshop of the world, which she had been till the beginning of the war.

The political impact of the war on Europe was also far-reaching. President Wilson's 14 points and the successful conclusion of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia unleashed new revolutionary ideas. Consequently, everywhere in the continent the old order came under severe attack. In Europe even the known democratic states had been continuing with restricted franchise. The war changed the scenario. Women, who had so far no voting rights in many countries, got the right to vote. The war also initiated the process for the emancipation of women. Despotic kingdoms were wiped out from the map of Europe and basic rights of the working people began to be included in the

statutebooks of different countries. Last but not the least, was the loss of prestige of Europe in the colonies. Intra-European contradictions and cleavages got exposed. The block pitted one against another and damaged their own prestige irreplaceably.

8.6.2 Impact on the World

The impact of the war on the world was all pervading. One of the most significant effects of the war was the emergence of the USA as the super power. The war gutted Europe but made the USA affluent. USA, after the war, almost became the banker and the workshop of the world. Factories and workshops mushroomed spectacularly to meet the almost unending war-time demand for manufacturing goods. The USA, which had been once the debtor country and owed nearly \$4 billion to European states, now became the creditor country. By 1919 Europeans owed to the USA more than \$ 3.7 billion and the debt increased to \$8.8 billion in 1930. The USA became the highest manufacturing country in the world; the industrial output even surpassed the industrial outputs of all the European nations taken together. USA's contribution to the world's manufacturing goods rose to 42.2 per cent in 1930. Along with economic supremacy, the USA had also established its supremacy in other fields.

The impact of the war on the other parts of the world was no less. The war destroyed the Tsarist regime in Russia. The repeated setbacks on the war fronts lowered the prestige of the Tsar which expedited the impending Bolshevik Revolution and wiped out the ancient Tsar dynasty from the map of Russia. The impact of the war in the Middle East was also all-pervading. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the war and the stripping from Turkey of her colonies hastened the revolution in the land. The revolution ended the despotic rule of the Ottoman dynasty, modernized the ancient state and founded democratic Turkey under the inspiring leadership of Mustafa Kemal. Efforts were also made in Persia (now Iran) to modernise on the lines of Turkey. Progress was made in many fields although Persia did not match the modernisation efforts of Turkey. The country was industrialised to a large extent. Many factories, including textile mills, cement plants, sugar refineries, etc, were founded. In East Asia, Japan emerged as a super power. Japan joined the war in

support of the Allies with the intention of capturing foreign territories as far as possible. Soon Japan took the German islands in the Pacific and the German holdings in the Shantung Peninsular.

The Treaty of Versailles almost approved the Japanese demands. The treaty transferred from Germany the leased territory of Kiaochow in Shantung to Japan, who was also given the mandate to administer Germany's North Pacific islands. This emboldened Japan, which gradually became an imperialist power. China entered the war in 1917 with the hope of regaining her territories. But the peace makers did not pay heed to the Chinese demands. China refused to sign on the treaty and wild demonstration broke out throughout China against Japan in particular and against foreigners in general. The movements reoriented the Chinese national movement with radical thoughts and activities. In India the repercussions of the war were also far-reaching. During the war the British government promised to grant advanced forms of administrative reforms after the war, in exchange for India's support to British war efforts. The British did not honour their promise. Consequently the ongoing national movement in India took a different course which ultimately forced the British to accord freedom to the subcontinent.

8.7 LET SUM UP

The First World War broke out in 1914 and continued upto the last quarter of 1918. The world reached an explosive situation because of economic rivalry, disputes over colonies, and conflicting alliance systems between the European countries. The growing nationalist aspirations of the subject peoples and the high military preparedness of the big powers added fuel to the fire, which ultimately engulfed the world on the pretext of the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Austrian throne. War was terminated when the warring countries lost everything. Peace Treaties were negotiated and offered to the vanquished. The terms were humiliating and contained the germs of much bigger flare-ups in the future. Europe got devastated and declined as a great power. The USA emerged as the super power. Japan became a big power. Turkey was modernized and was declared a republic. Despotic

rulers made way for democracy in Europe. Colonial peoples including India and the dependencies of the Europeans, though receiving a raw deal in the hands of the peace makers in Paris, got enthused because of the revolutionary ideas unleashed by the war, and were encouraged to launch more vigorous national liberation movements.

8.8 KEY WORDS

Tariff: Taxes imposed on the goods imported or exported from one country to another. **Franco-German War:** It was fought between France and Germany in 1870-71. France was defeated and the unification of Germany was achieved. The war sowed the seeds of the First World War.

8.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1) How did the war affect world (other than Europe)?
- 2) Write in brief the causes and consequences of the First World War.
- 3) Describe the nature of mobilization during World War I.
- 4) How 'Economic Rivalries' and 'Colonial Disputes' led to the World War I?

8.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, Middlesex, England, 1974.

L.S. Stavrianos, *A Global History: The Human Heritage*, New Jersey, 1983

H.W. Baldwin, *World War I: An Outline History*, Oxford, 1962:

William Woodroff, *The Struggle for World Power 1500-1980*, London. 1981:

8.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The root causes of First World War are Economic Rivalries, Colonial Disputes, Conflicting Alliance System and Rising Nationalist Aspirations etc. Elaborate the points for a long answer type Question.

Notes

2)The war broke out in full scale between the two blocs, consisting of Austria-Hungary and Germany on one side and France, Britain and Russia on the other. The former bloc came to be known as Central Powers and the latter became famous as the Allies.

Check Your Progress 2

1)The German strategy was to end the war in a month or so. German forces, accordingly, attacked France by over-running Belgium. German soldiers, within a few days, reached the vicinity of Paris. The French army forced them to retreat to the Aisne River bank, which was considered the natural defence line. The warring parties failed to make much headway in either direction during the next three years. A deadlock resulted. On the Russian and Balkan fronts, however there had been decisive battles. On the Russian front the Russian soldiers could not invade East Prussia and on the Balkan front, Austria faced humiliating defeats. The Serbians drove away the Austrians. Turkey joined the Central Powers in November 1914. Now Romania joined the Allies and soon Greece broke her neutrality and intervened in favour of the Allies. Now, the Germans opened unrestricted submarine warfare at sea, to block the ships carrying supplies to Britain. Though this strategy paid off handsomely, it forced America to intervene in the war in favour of the Allies. The war thus entered into a global phase.

2)While the Russian revolution unleashed revolutionary ideologies, USA had maintained strict neutrality since the beginning of the war. She broke this neutrality for several reasons which included amongst others, Germany's unrestricted submarine attack on merchant ships, America's huge economic involvement in the war and the military preparedness within USA, and sought to make the world safe for democracy and peace.

3)By 1917, participation in World War I had resulted in disaster for the Tzar's armies and Government. At home, the October revolution happened and the Bolsheviks were not in favour of continuing the War as it had brought untold miseries and losses to Russia in terms of men and material.

UNIT - 9 - LEAGUE OF NATIONS: FAILURES AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

STRUCTURE

9.0 Objectives

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Political Activities of League

9.2.1 Resolving of International Conflicts

9.2.1.1 The Settlement of International Disputes

9.2.1.2 Greek-Bulgarian Conflict and Letica Issue

9.2.1.3 Manchurian Crisis in China

9.2.1.4 Ethiopia

9.2.2 International Reconciliation and Disarmament

9.2.2.1 Locarno Pact (1925)

9.2.2.2 Plan for a European Union

9.2.2.3 Geneva Protocol and the Disarmament Conference
(1932)

9.2.2.4 Protection of Minorities

9.2.2.5 The Mandate System

9.2.2.6 Treaty of Versailles

9.3 Other Activities

9.3.1 Financial Reconstruction

9.3.2 The International Economic Conferences

9.3.3 Integrated--Transit, Transport and Communication

9.3.4 Social Questions

9.3.5 The Health Organization

9.3.6 Opium And Dangerous Drugs

9.3.7 The Intellectual Cooperation

9.3.8 The Repatriation of Prisoners of War and the Problem of
Refugees

9.3.9 Nansen International Office

9.4 Meaning and Nature-- Collective Security

9.5 Problems--Collective Security

9.6 Failure of Collective Security vis-a-vis League of Nations

9.7 Let sum up

9.8 Keyword

9.9 Questions for Review

9.10 Suggested readings and references

9.11 Answer to Check your Progress

9.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit we will see various activities performed by League of Nations in Inter War Period, In addition to this we will also examine the meaning and nature of collective security; the problems associated with the concept of collective security and; the failure of League of Nations in ensuring collective security among member states.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

World War I pointed out a basic flaw in the balance of power system. When the system failed, the results were dangerous and catastrophic. The incredible levels of destruction in the war led most nation-states to reject a balance of power system as the basis for international security in the post-World War I. Instead, the victorious states sought to institutionalize a system of collective security via the League of Nations in which aggression by one state would bring response from all states, primarily for achieving collective security. The achievement of collective security would be based on the fundamental principle that an attack on one is an attack on all member states. Any state contemplating aggression would face the sure prospect of struggle not simply with the member attacked but with all other signatory members who would make any necessary sacrifice to protect the state attacked. In a illusionary world of collective security, the assumption is that the members of the system will have such an overwhelming preponderance of power that the attack will never occur and if in case it does, will be successfully repelled. The League of Nations and the United Nations are two post-World War (first

and second World Wars) organizations under which the collective security system has been used as machinery for joint action for the prevention or counter of any attack against an established international order or incumbent. The aim of collective security is to nullify any attempt by states to change the status quo with force because a change in the status quo means a change to the world order of independent member states. This was meant to gather overpowering collective force, which could threaten and force the would-be aggressor to end the aggression.

9.2 POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF LEAGUE

9.2.1 Resolving Of International Conflicts

9.2.1.1 The Settlement Of International Disputes

The League of Nations' main objective was to settle disputes by any means other than war. However, reaching this objective depended on the willingness of the member nations in question to cooperate with the League and to respect the principles of the Covenant. By the time it was disbanded, more than 60 international disputes had been brought before the League. During the first 10 years of its existence, only eight of the 30 disputants resorted to hostilities or war. Some of the peaceful settlements included-

First: After the Russian Revolution, Finland declared its independence and sovereignty over Åland Islands. However, its Swedish-speaking population claimed it had the right to vote for Swedish governance. Before it could develop into an armed conflict, both parties accepted the solution offered by the League. Though autonomy under Finnish rule was continued, important guarantees were granted to the Åland Islands and demilitarization under League's observance was carried out successfully.

Second: Both Lithuania and Poland were claiming sovereignty over Vilna, and in 1922 the League was called in. Despite the Council's recommendation that the city be placed under Lithuanian rule however, the disputing nations were unable to reach an agreement acceptable to

all. Hence, when the Conference of Ambassadors redefined the Polish border in 1923, Vilna was granted to Poland.

Third: After the First World War, this previously Baltic port on the Eastern frontiers of Germany was taken over by the Allies under a provisional administration responsible to the League's Conference of Ambassadors. After a coup d'état, the port was under Lithuanian sovereignty. Special privileges were granted to German population and Poland and they received the right to use the port for trade and transit.

9.2.1.2 The Greek-Bulgarian Conflict And Leticia Issue

In the Covenant, it was mentioned that the League of Nations can take action and even impose sanctions in order to settle international disputes brought before the Council by any one of its Member Nations. One such case arose when in 1925 a border conflict broke out between Greece and Bulgaria that threatened to escalate into an all-out war between the Balkans States. The Bulgarian Government appealed at once to the League (Article 10 of the Covenant) and an Extraordinary Session of the Council was called in, which was subsequently held in Paris. Aristide Briand, the representative of France, acted as Chairman. Under the observation of the British, French and Italian military attachés, the hostilities were ceased and the evacuation of the territory annexed by Greek forces was carried out without any mishap. This conflict is but one of the few in which the system as outlined in the Covenant was successful; a conflict was identified, the Council met without delay, a fair hearing was given, and a general agreement arrived at for maintaining the peace, Law and Order and providing justice for all concerned members.

A more complicated example of an international dispute requiring the League's assistance was the one which took place between Colombia and Peru over Leticia, a remote border district in the Upper Amazon valley. After several attempts to solve the problem on a bilateral level, the member delegates finally turned to the League for assistance in 1933. However, it was only after Luis Sanchez Cerro, the Peruvian president,

was assassinated that an agreement could be reached. After the ownership of the Letician territory was transferred to an International Commission for one year, it was finally returned to Colombia.

9.2.1.3 Manchurian Crisis In China

On 19 September 1931, the League was made known of an incident instigated by anti-Japanese activists at the Japanese-owned South Manchurian railway line in China. Hence, the Japanese army invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria. China immediately appealed to the world's powers for the solution of the dispute. Under the chairmanship of Aristide Briand, and with the active participation of the United States of America, the Council attempted to negotiate a peaceful solution.

However, neither the Council nor the Assembly were able to agree on the imposition of sanctions or fines of any kind, which in accordance with the Covenant, should have been levied against any Member State that had contravened the principles of the League.

Sometime later, the Council dispatched an Inquiry Commission to China under the leadership of the British diplomat, the Earl of Lytton. By the time the so-called Lytton Commission arrived in China in April of 1932, the Japanese Army had already confiscated the Manchurian State of Manchukuo. In order to determine the source of the conflict and to come up with possible steps to restore the peace and order between China and Japan, the Commission began its inquiry with the assistance of George Moss, a member of the British Consular Service, who was also fluent in Chinese. On the advice of the Lytton Report (September 1932), the League refused to recognize Manchukuo as a genuine State and proposed a series of measures to re-establish the existing state of affairs. While China accepted the League of Nations' recommendations for restoring peace and order in the area, Japan did not bend and withdrew from the League of Nations in 1935.

9.2.1.4 Ethiopia

In 1933, the Fascist Government of Italy (Benito Mussolini) planned its attack Ethiopia with the intention to expand the colonial territory, despite

the fact that in 1928 it had signed the Italy-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship, Conciliation and Arbitration. In December 1934, a clash occurred between the armed forces of the two States at Walwal on the Ethiopian side of the frontier with Italian Somaliland. Mussolini declared the incident “an act of self-defence” and, therefore, not subject to League’ arbitration. Compensation was demanded from opposition, in addition to formal recognition of the area as Italian. When this was refused by Emperor of Ethiopia Haile Selassie, the case was taken as a *casus belliby* Italy. As a Member of the League, Ethiopia brought the case before the Council, but in order to continue his pursuit of expansion, Mussolini ignored all Leagues’ proposals in order to continue to mobilize his military forces in the northern Ethiopian state of Eritrea. Rounds of talks in Geneva proved useless, a clear indication that the Council was unable to protect a small Member nation from the interests of a larger and more influential, hence oil sanctions that would have halted Mussolini’s military adventures were not imposed. Thus, armed with a deadly combination of superior weaponry and poison gas, Italy was able to launch an attack on Ethiopia in December of 1935. Once Addis Ababa fell in May of 1936, Emperor Haile Selassie, who was in Geneva at the time, went to the Assembly and again asked League for help, but to no avail, as by then Italy’s conquest had been formally recognized by most countries. However, Mussolini’s declaration of war on France and the United Kingdom instigated the latter into facilitating the Emperor’s recapture of Ethiopia, and by 1941, the Ethiopian Government was finally restored Ethiopia became an independent State.

9.2.2 International Reconciliation And Disarmament

9.2.2.1 Locarno Pact (1925)

In 1924, with Gustav Stresemann appointed as the head of Germany’s Foreign Office, a more liberal foreign policy was ready to consider cooperating with the League rather than viewing the new setup as an instrument set up to oppress Germany. Thus, in December 1924,

Stresemann dispatched an application for Germany's admission to the Council in which he argued for a seat in the Council and special treatment concerning hostile actions to be taken against any Covenant breaking nation. His request for admission was denied. In early 1925, Stresemann made a second attempt. Even though the Geneva Protocol was not yet in force, its 'principles of security' made the follow-up application possible. Stresemann proposed to the British and French Foreign Offices his guarantee of Germany's intent to respect the Treaty of Versailles. After the exchange of Stresemann's proposals between London, Paris and Berlin, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Aristide Briand invited Member nations of the League to a common meeting in Locarno, Switzerland. Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Poland were also invited to join the meeting. The negotiations held in October 1925 resulted in the Locarno Pact, signed by Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. In addition, four arbitration conventions were signed between Germany and the following States: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France and Poland. Thus, Locarno prepared the ground for reconciliation between Germany and her neighbours Belgium and France hence for Germany's eventual entry into the League of Nations in 1926. However, in 1933, shortly after Hitler took control of the country, Germany withdrew her membership from the League of Nations.

9.2.2.2 Plan For A European Union

The original idea of a 'United States of Europe' can be traced back to the 17th and 18th centuries; however, it was Aristide Briand who revitalized the concept at the end of the 1920s. Briand and those in favour of a "European Union" believed that its realization depended on the establishment of new protocols and institutions which would collaborate with those of the League of Nations, yet would be independent of them in all essential aspects. Upon further discussion, it was decided that the formation of such a union should happen entirely within the framework and guidelines of the League of Nations. During the 1929 Assembly, Briand promised the 27 invited European Member nations that he would submit a more detailed plan that they could be discuss upon. While other

nations waited without further commitment for Briand's plan to evolve, Stresemann supported Briand's plan and spoke out on the need for European stamps, a European Customs Union, and a European coinage in order to remain economically competitive with countries outside Europe. By the time Briand's proposal was ready for discussion (May 1930), Stresemann had died and Europe was in the process of undergoing some drastic changes in the form of growing levels of unemployment, nationalism and insecurity. However, Briand's proposal was brought before the 1931 Assembly and it was agreed to go ahead with plans to establish a Commission of Inquiry for European Union. Briand was elected as Chairman and Sir Eric Drummond as Secretary. The activities of the Commission of Inquiry merged with the general work of the League of Nations for the purpose of economic cooperation. In addition, the Commission acted as ainstigator in bringing the Soviet Union and Turkey into closer cooperation with the League of Nations after inviting the two States to join the Commission.

9.2.2.3 Geneva Protocol And The Disarmament Conference (1932)

Disarmament was one of the most important questions to be considered by the League. The condition, however, was that Germany would agree to the Treaty of Versailles and would be the first country to reduce its arms and ammunitions in accordance with the prescribed Treaty. The Advisory Commission and the Temporary Mixed Commission (Coordination Commission) were bodies entrusted with the formulation of a plan for disarmament. The issue was discussed in each Assembly and in many sessions of the Council and other special meetings but all these efforts failed to bear fruits. One of the main obstacles faced was the belief of the main countries that their superiority depended on maintaining a level of armaments equal or even greater to those of their neighbours. Another problem was that the Soviet Union and the United States of America, not being members of the League of Nations, did not take part in the process until 1932. Thus, the 1922 Draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantees and the 1923 Treaty of Mutual Assistance, headed by

Lord Cecil with the close cooperation of Edouard Benes and the French delegation, were not accepted in the Assemblies. The new more liberal Governments in France under Edouard Herriot and in the United Kingdom under Ramsay MacDonald brought a new spirit to the disarmament negotiations and as a result the fifth Assembly adopted the Geneva Protocol on the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (October 1924), proposing the general disarmament of all nations linked with compulsory arbitration and security guarantees. It also pledged that a general Disarmament Conference would be convened shortly. This Conference eventually convened in 1932 and lasted, with a short interruption, for two and a half years. Despite numerous petitions and public demand for disarmament, the countries were not ready to sacrifice their security. Thus, the Conference proved to be a failure.

9.2.2.4 Protection Of Minorities

After the war was over, the new Eastern European States of Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia were forced to sign agreements granting religious, social and political equality to their minorities, irrespective of their defeat. In order to supervise these agreements, the League set up the Minority Section, whose influential programmes were rather quite unique at that time. Its responsibilities included screening the incoming petitions, requesting responses from the accused nations, forwarding cases to the ad hoc “Committee of Three”, and/or investigating matters on its own etc. If the case appeared before the Committee, a decision had to be made as to whether or not the Council’s involvement was warranted. In the beginning, the reports used to be unofficial but after 1929, the Council decided that the reports were to be published in the League’s Official Journal. Between 1920 and 1939, 883 petitions were submitted to the Minorities Section. Only 16 of the 395 petitions deemed “receivable” ever reached the attention of the Council, and in four out of these 16, the Council very reluctantly condemned the accused nation of improper treatment. Due to the efforts of Erik Colban, the first director of the Minority Section, a more personal approach was developed. The Section

officials would investigate matters locally and pursue their findings. This close cooperation between the Section and the accused nations made it possible in many cases to avoid further deteriorations and alleviate future problems.

9.2.2.5 The Mandate System

As a result of the World War I, the Allied and Associated Powers acquired the territories that were previously under the sovereignty of Germany and Ottoman Empire. As their inhabitants were at this time considered incapable of ruling themselves, the Peace Conference of 1919 decided that they should be ruled by a mandate where the powers were conferred upon a State chosen by the League to govern a region so as to secure the well-being and development of the peoples who inhabited the territories in question. Belgium, Britain, and France were entrusted with the governance of the mandated territories. In accordance with the Covenant, annual reports concerning these regions were to be submitted to the League's Permanent Mandate Commission, established in February, 1921. It was on the basis of these reports that the Commission advised the Council as to whether or not the conditions of each mandate were to be strictly observed.

The members of the Commission were nominated by the Council. As for the need of impartiality, it was preferred that they come from non-mandated Powers. As a result, the Commission was trusted and often consulted by both mandated and non-mandated Powers during its last years. Three categories of mandates, A, B and C, were applied "according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances" (Article 22, paragraph 3). Later under the United Nations, the work of the Mandates Commission continued through the new organization called Trusteeship Council, though it was no longer composed of non-governmental representatives. However, as the previously mandated countries have become officially recognized as sovereign and independent nations, its responsibilities have steadily diminished.

9.2.2.6 Treaty Of Versailles

One of the unique responsibilities given to the League by the Treaty of Versailles was the supervision of the former German border territories of the Saar basin and the Free City of Danzig. As stated in the 1920 Treaty, the Territory of the Saar basin was to be placed under the administration of the League for 15 years. During that time, the Saar was to be isolated from the rest of Germany and as compensation for war; France was given control of its coal mines. The administration of the Saar was entrusted to a Governing Commission consisting of five members chosen by the Council of the League: one representative of France, one native German inhabitant of the Saar, and three representatives of countries other than France and Germany. On 13 January 1935, the inhabitants of the Saar determined their sovereignty by referendum. On that day, order was guaranteed by an International Police Force composed of British, Dutch Italian, and Swedish soldiers. Over 90 per cent of the votes cast called for the immediate reintegration of the Saar into Germany. This decision took effect on 1 March 1935. The inhabitants of the Free City of Danzig and the territory surrounding it were primarily of German nationality. However, Poland needed to have access to the sea. In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, the League established a High Commission to oversee this district. Danzig was to be self-governing, though under the League's protection. Poland, however, was to govern the City's foreign affairs and maintain certain transit points, postal and harbour rights. The High Commissioner appointed by the Council was to reside in Danzig and make the final decision in those cases where mutual agreement between disputants could not be reached.

9.3 OTHER ACTIVITIES

9.3.1 The Financial Reconstruction

The Economic and Financial Section consisted primarily of an Economic Committee which was founded at the Brussels Financial Conference (1920). It was attended by 39 States concerned with the mammoth task of analysing Europe's post-war financial disorder and finding ways to overcome it. The members of the Committee were appointed not by their

Governments but by the Council of the League of Nations. Based on its finding, most of the ensuing decisions and actions resulted in Europe's financial reconstruction. After its foundation in 1919, the Republic of Austria, with its seven million inhabitants, soon ran into serious economic and financial difficulty. During the first three years of its existence, huge sums of public money intended for charitable purposes and other causes had accomplished nothing in the way of rejuvenating the economy. In 1922, when Chancellor Seipel addressed the League to request assistance, a detailed programme was put in place to balance the Austrian budget within approximately two years, and the country was given a loan of 26 million.

In 1924, under the control of the League of Nations, the internal economy and the public financial system were reformed and the budget was balanced without drawing upon the loan, which was subsequently used for reconstruction work. In 1926, League of Nations' control was withdrawn. Similarly, when the case of the financial reconstruction of Hungary came up in 1923, it was dealt with in a similar fashion, with £ stg. 10 million being loaned to the country by the League of Nations. Jeremiah Smith, from the United States of America, was appointed Commissioner-General in Budapest, and within one year, months ahead of schedule, the Hungarian budget showed a credit balance. A sizeable loan was also given to Greece, a country with only four million inhabitants at that time, to cope with the influx of more than one million Greek refugees from Asia Minor. Similar help was granted under League's auspices to Bulgaria and to the City of Danzig.

9.3.2 The International Economic Conferences

The Assembly's First International Economic Conference was held in Geneva (May, 1927). It was attended by the representatives of 50 countries, including the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The two main objectives of the Conference were to reinforce international trade laws and to halt the widespread practice of tariff increase. The final Convention was signed by 29 States, each of whom agreed to act collectively to carry out its recommendations. Despite this

Convention, States began reducing their imports and increasing their exports in their own interests due to the rise of economic nationalism all over the globe. This caused a global economic crisis that increasingly threatened the stability of international relations and increased the renewal of Franco-German and Franco-Italian tensions.

As a result of requests put forth by Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom, the League's Economic and Financial Commission arranged for a Second Conference to be held in London in June 1933. Delegates from 64 countries assembled with two goals in mind i.e. to stabilize international monetary standards and to have a price rise at a steady and reasonable rate. As no State was prepared to voluntarily give up any of its own financial and economic strengths, the conference doomed to its failure. The result was worldwide unemployment, poverty and collective insecurity. Thereafter, the Economic and Financial Section of the League decided to focus more on the collaboration between individuals rather than of States and thus began to work more closely with the Health Organization, the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome.

9.3.3 Integrated--Transit, Transport And Communications

Even before the starting of World War I, the necessity of instituting an integrated communications and transit organization had already been established. Hence, need for such an organization was reinforced in the Covenant, though with the provision that all the major organizations involved would maintain their own constitutions and hence a certain degree of autonomy. However, this was only fully implemented in the case of the Communications and Transit Organization, which consisted of the following: a General Conference, made up of representatives of all League of Nations Members; a Committee of 18 States, 14 of whom were elected by the Conference (not necessarily from Members of the League) and four of whom were Permanent Members of the Council; and a Transit Section in the Secretariat, directed by Robert Haas of France. A

number of subcommittees were set up to deal with such matters as rail transport, inland navigation, ports and maritime navigation, road traffic and power transmission. The Communications and Transit Organization held major Conferences in Barcelona, Spain (1921) and Geneva (1923) in order to conclude the Conventions on the International Regime of Maritime Ports and Railways. The purpose of the 1930 Lisbon Conference was to reach agreements on the unification of maritime signals. In 1931, a Convention on the Unification of Road Signals was drawn up. Other agreements concerned the simplification of passport and visa procedures, the regulation of the passage of commercial and touring motorcars, international road traffic and the transmission of electric power across national frontiers. In addition, the organization provided practical expert advice to individual States such as China and worked on reforming the it's calendar. The work of the Communications and Transit Organization has been continued by the Transport and Communications Commission set up under the authority of the Economic and Social Council of United Nations.

9.3.4 Social Questions

Several agreements intended to protect the rights of women and children were put in place by a number of States in 1904 and 1910 due to which Article 23 of the Covenant entrusted the League with supervising the execution of these agreements. Hence in 1921, an International Conference (ratified by 48 states) held in Geneva drew up a Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children. The Assembly launched two extensive enquiries in order to assemble data for the campaign against such trafficking, in both the East as well as West. In February, 1937 a Conference of Central Authorities of Eastern Countries was held at Bandung, Java (Indonesia). Several committees succeeded in discussing and improving some conditions. For example, in a number of countries, the age of marriage and consent was legally raised and licensed brothels were scrapped. The rights of illegitimate children were also discussed. In addition, 50 countries accepted the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1924), which dealt with issues

such as the placement of children in families, the support of blind children and the effects of economic depression and unemployment on children and juveniles. In 1934, the Assembly established an Information Centre for questions regarding child welfare. The Centre collected and classified as much information as possible on this topic. All printed material was collected and put forth in the League's Library. After 1940, the committees dealt with post-war societal problems.

9.3.5 The Health Organization

Established in Paris in 1908, the International Health Office collected and distributed information from various health departments around the world, though it had no authority to take the cases suo motto. In accordance with Article 23 of the Covenant (concerning the prevention and control of disease), the League of Nations' Health Committee and Health Section were established in 1922. However, due to disagreements that existed primarily between the United States of America and some Member States, these bodies were not associated with the Paris International Health Office. Under the guidance of Dr. Ludwig Rajchman, Secretary of the newly established Health Committee and Director of the Health Section, a health programme was started with the participation of non-member States such as Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United States of America. In addition to its information service, the Health Section acted as a link between national health administrations in many ways. For example, it augmented its support to governments through the promotion of technical assistance and advised the Assembly and the Health Council on all international public health questions. For these reasons it is considered one of the most successful auxiliary organizations of the League.

As a result of the 1922 Warsaw Health Conference, plans were set up to control the spread of epidemic diseases in Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean countries, the Far East, Soviet Union etc. Soon after, an Eastern Bureau of Epidemiological Information was established in Singapore, a State Serum Institute in Copenhagen and a National Institute for Medical Research was installed in London. Through these

institutions, several vaccines (for diphtheria, tetanus and tuberculosis for example) were standardized the world over. After the demise of the League of Nations, the Health Organisation became the World Health Organization (WHO) with its headquarters Geneva.

9.3.6 Opium And Dangerous Drugs

In 1912, the first global attempt to control the traffic in opium and other deadly drugs (such as morphine, heroin and cocaine) occurred via The Hague Convention, signed and ratified by 42 nations. The signatory nations agreed to allow only such drugs entry into their countries which were considered necessary for medicinal and scientific purposes. However, before this Convention could be implemented World War I broke out. After the war, the League was entrusted with rejuvenating The Hague Convention of 1912 and an Opium Advisory Committee was appointed by the Council with the task of convincing States to re-adhere to its protocols. However, it became evident that in order to prevent the illegal trafficking of drugs, drug manufacturing and production had to be controlled at the source. Hence in 1924 and 1925 the League organized two Opium conferences to deal with this grave issue. The Convention of the First Conference strengthened the original Convention of 1912 and the second Conference added practical control measures to be implemented regarding the production and manufacture of narcotic substances and drugs. The 1931 Convention proposed a stringent regulation of narcotic drugs to be used by the world's medical and scientific communities, though it did not indicate the need to limit and control the cultivation of the opium-producing poppy flowers; this was the situation when the Second World War broke out in 1939. Despite this setback (and its eventual demise), the League war against drugs did not fail. Responsibility was transferred to the United Nations, whose Advisory Committee continued to deal with this grave issue through its Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

9.3.7 Intellectual Cooperation

The League of Nations was concerned not only with the exchange of political ideals and material goods but also with the study of strategies that could reinforce intellectual relations among member nations. Therefore, the Council set up one of its last permanent organizations--the Intellectual Cooperation Committee (ICC) in 1922. Its purpose was to improve the working conditions of the educated workforce and to build up international relations between professors, artists, scientists and members of other intellectual professions hence national committees were set up to support their efforts. Though the committee had 12 members initially, its strength grew to 15. It comprised of some prominent contemporary personalities like Marie Curie, Albert Einstein, Béla Bartók and Thomas Mann. The ICC submitted a modest proposal of its plans in 1920 but the Assembly refused to supply it with adequate funds that would allow it to function from Geneva. Thanks to an offer from France, the Committee was able to re-establish itself in Paris (1926) as the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC). Its first director, M. Bergson was followed by Henri Bonnet in 1930. By 1939, more than 40 such organizations acted as bridge between the IIIC and the various scientific and cultural institutions around the world; their proposals and opinions were exchanged in a number of conferences and seminars. In Rome, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI) was created by the Italian Government which worked closely with the IIIC in Paris, and 7 out of 14 of its governing body members belonged to the IIIC as well.

9.3.8 The Repatriation Of Prisoners Of War And The Problem Of Refugees

In April 1920, there were approximately 500,000 prisoners of war (primarily in Russia) awaiting repatriation under miserable conditions. The Council of the League of Nations appointed Mr. Nansen, the famous Norwegian explorer and statesman to investigate the matter and come up with his findings. Nansen, however, took initiative on his own and organized the repatriation of the prisoners. Despite a very limited budget, in less than two years, he and his assistants succeeded in repatriate more

than 427,000 prisoners of war from 26 countries at an average cost of only one pound sterling each. At the same time, a similar grave situation was arising. As a result of the 1917 Revolution, there were more than 1.5 million Russian refugees scattered all over Europe. These refugees had neither the right to claim any nationality nor the monetary means to improve their condition. In 1921, the League of Nations set up a Refugee Organization in order to deal with this problem and appointed Nansen High Commissioner. After the situation of the Russian refugees had been settled, Armenian, Assyrian, and Greek refugees from Turkey were requesting help from the League of Nations. It soon became evident that the “temporary” Refugee Organization was becoming something more settled. In order to reach a common policy and to stimulate the process of repatriation, Nansen convened a number of conferences. However, with the exception of the recognition of the Nansen Passport, which gave the refugees some legal protection and was recognized by more than 50 States, the outcomes were minimal.

9.3.9 Nansen International Office

After Nansen’s death in 1930, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees evolved into the Nansen International Office for Refugees, a distinct organization which shortly thereafter found itself overwhelmed with refugees from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Nazi Germany and the Saar. For them, the Nansen Passport became their only permanent identity and nationality. The Office remained active throughout the war years, after which it became the International Refugee Organization, set up by the United Nations in 1947. In 1951, this Organization was replaced with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), with its headquarters in Geneva and more than 50 field offices throughout the world. The Nansen International Office was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1938. UNHCR was similarly honoured in 1951.

9.4 MEANING AND NATURE-- COLLECTIVE SECURITY

According to George Schwarzeberger, “collective security is a machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order” (Schwarzenberger, 1951). The term implies collective measures for dealing with threat to peace and stability. Van Dyke (1957) sees collective security as a system in which a number of states are bound to engage in joint efforts on behalf of each other’s security. To A. K. Chaturvedi (2006), collective security is “an arrangement arrived at by some nations to protect their vital interests, safety or integrity, against a probable threat or menace over a particular period, by means of combining their powers and resources.” In his conceptual clarification, Onyemaechi Eke (2007) sees the concept of collective security as “an idealist one which hinges on the prevention of hostilities by the formation of an overwhelming military force by member nations to deter aggression or, by implication, to launch a reprisal attack capable of defeating the obstinate member.” According to him, collective security “connotes the institutionalization of a global police force against abuse of peace, order and breaches, which can lead to insecurity among member nations. It is an arrangement in which all nations collaborate collectively to provide security for all by the actions of all against any recalcitrant state within the groups which might challenge the existing order by using force and threat. By employing a system of collective security, the United Nations hopes to deter any member state from acting in a manner likely to threaten peace, thereby avoiding conflict.”

From the above definitions it is clear that collective security can then be seen as a plan for maintaining peace and order through an organization of sovereign member states, who pledge themselves to defend each other against any attack. The concept is best seen as “security for individual nation by collective means”, that is, by membership in an international organization made up of all or most of the world states pledged to defend each other from attack. The idea of collective security was extensively discussed during the World War I and took shape in the 1919 Covenant of

the League of Nations and again in the Charter of the United Nations after World War II. According to Palmer and Perkins (2007), “a collective security system, to be effective, must be strong enough to cope with aggression from any power or combination of powers, and must be invoked if and as aggression happens.” The principle of collective security involves a willingness to apply punishments or sanctions as and when necessary and even to go to war against the country. Collective security will never work unless all the nations that take part in it are prepared simultaneously to threaten with sanctions and to fight, if necessary, with an aggressor. It must be open to those states which are willing to accept its obligations in good faith and credit. Rourke and Boyer (1998) assert that collective security is based on four principles: first, all countries relinquish the use of force except in self-defence; second, all agree that peace is indivisible, an attack on one is an attack on all; third, all pledge to unite to stop the aggression and restore peace; fourth, all agree to supply whatever material, personnel or resources that are necessary to form a collective security force associated with the United Nations or some IGO to defeat a recalcitrant and restore the peace.

9.5 PROBLEMS--COLLECTIVE SECURITY

At the twilight of World War I, many political thinkers thought and hoped that the states of the world would make the League of Nations a collective security system that would maintain international peace, security and amity in the world, and some had the same hope after World War II in connection with the United Nations. Karen Mingst averred that collective security is borne out of some salient presumptions. These postulations are that the wars are prevented by restraint of military action; attackers must be stopped; the attacker is easily identified; the attacker is always wrong; attackers know that the international community will act against them (Mingst, 1999). As asserted by Van Dyke (1957), “they wanted states to abandon narrow conceptions of self interest as a guide to

policy and to regard themselves as units in a world society having an interest in preserving and maintaining law and order everywhere.”

These ideas expressed by these scholars could not work out as a result of numerous lacunas associated with the concept of collective security.

There are other scholars who feel that the concept of collective security is misguided. They see it as conceptually muddled up and ingenuous.

Although they are pledged to defend each other, many countries will refuse to do so, if such an act is not in their self interests or thought to be too risky, adventurous or expensive. In addition, they argue that collective security arrangements will turn small struggles into bigger ones and halt the use of alternative (peaceful) problem solving, relying instead on the much more costly approach of military showdown. In addition, there is always a danger that groups formed for the purpose of collective security can also serve as a basis for an aggressive coalition.

Other problems associated with the collective security system are discussed as follows:

i) States do not regard themselves as members of one and only society, having a common interest in protecting and preserving the right of other member nation. Does it really matter to Japan if Paraguay and Bolivia destroy themselves in a war? Of what interest is it to Nigeria if Egypt should attack Tunisia and such attack be repelled or defeated? There is no doubt that states have demonstrated a willingness to come together with certain other selected states and thus to pledge to defend certain selected frontiers in addition to their own, but the principle of “one for all and all for one” does not satiate itself.

ii) Another challenge to collective security is that its risks are too great. Governments of various states can enforce law and order against individuals with little risk or fear. Internationally, however, the situation is quite diabolical. Disparities of power and authority are much greater. Theoretically, it might be easy for a world society to defeat aggression by a smaller power like Nigeria, but what if one of the great powers turns into an aggressor? It is one thing for a government to enforce a law against a hapless individual and another thing for the League of Nations or United Nations to try to enforce the law against a nation which may be

almost as strong as the rest of the world combined. The development of nuclear weapons makes the problem all the more greater. An aggressor with such weapons could virtually wipe out from the face of the earth a number of the members of the collective security system. Faced with such a possibility, a member whose own most vital interest was directly threatened might choose proud defiance and confrontation rather than surrender. But a member whose own vital interests were not directly threatened would be unlikely to be so bold and hence a damp squib. Nor do states want to commit themselves in advance to undertake such adventures due to domestic pressure, financial constraints etc, regardless of the identity of the aggressor and of his victim.

9.6 FAILURE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY VIS-A-VIS LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Palmer and Perkins observed that the League of Nations was a total failure as an instrument for the imposition of collective security. They cited the failure of the United States of America to join the League of Nations from the beginning and the rise of the Soviet Union outside the League as one of the major reasons why the League of Nations failed as an instrument for the development and enforcement of collective security. They also believed that, “the open defiance of Japan, Italy and Germany combined to destroy any hopes that the League would be useful in major international scenarios/crisis.” (Palmer and Perkins, 2007) This view was also captured by Charles Kegley. He believed that “the failure stemmed from the U.S. refusal to join the organization and that the other great powers fear that the League’s collective strength might be used against them. (Kegley, 2007) Another example of the failure of the League of Nations’ collective security is the Manchurian crisis when Japan occupied part of China. After the invasion, members of the League passed a resolution calling for Japan to withdraw or face harsh penalties. Given that every nation on the League of Nations Council had veto power, Japan promptly vetoed the resolution, thereby severely limiting the League of

Nation's ability to react. After two years of deliberation, the League passed a resolution condemning the invasion without committing the League's members to do any action against it. The Japanese reciprocated by quitting the League of Nations.

A similar process occurred in 1935, when Italy invaded Ethiopia. Sanctions were passed, but Italy would have vetoed any stronger resolution. Additionally, Britain and France sought to court Italian government as a potential deterrent to Hitler (under the policy of appeasement), given that Mussolini was not in what would become the Axis Alliance of World War II in future. Thus, neither enforced any serious sanctions against the Italian government. Karen Mingst pointed that Collective Security does not always work. She observed that the inability of the international community to respond to Japan's misadventure in Manchuria and Italy's invasion on Ethiopia was the fundamental differences in state's self interests and ideologies. In neither case did other states act as if it were in their collective interest to respond and reply. In this instance, collective security did not work because of lack of commitment on the part of other member nations and an unwillingness of the International Community to act in unison. In the post-World War II era, Collective Security could not work because of fundamental differences in both state's own interests and ideologies." (Mingst, 1999)

Further, in this case and with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, or Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, the absence of the USA from the League of Nations deprived the League of another major power that could have used economic leverage against either of the aggressors' states. Inaction by the League of Nations subjected it to criticisms that it was weak, passive, docile and concerned more with European issues (most leading members were Europeans) and did not dissuade Hitler from his plans to dominate Europe. Hence, no action was taken by an inert League of Nations against Germany when she foreswore the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty (1919) and the freely negotiated Locarno Pact remilitarised Rhineland (1936), when annexed Austria (1938) and

dismembered Czechoslovakia (1938-39). Thus, failure of the collective security system turned out to be a major cause of the World War II.

Check Your Progress 1

1) What are the functions of League of Nations?

2) What are the problems of Collective Security?

3) How League of Nations failed to ensure collective security?

9.7 LET SUM UP

In this Unit we have seen various activities performed by League of Nations in Inter War Period. Further we also examined the meaning and nature of collective security, the problems associated with the concept of collective security and how the League of Nations failed on numerous occasions in ensuring collective security, which ultimately led to the World War II.

9.8 KEYWORDS

- 1) **Disarmament:** the reduction or withdrawal of military forces and weapons.
- 2) **Collective Security:** It emphasizes venues of cooperation and mutual obligation among nation States. States enter multilateral agreement to refrain from attacking one another and for economic relations, but within an overarching organization to which they owe allegiance to.
- 3) **Reconciliation:** The restoration of friendly relation.

4) **Locarno Pact (1925):**The Locarno Pact of 1925 was an agreement signed on 1st December 1925 between Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany. Stresemann believed that through signing the Pact, it would increase confidence in Germany amongst her own people but also other European powers.

9.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1) What is the meaning and nature of collective security?
- 2) Describe the political functions of League of Nations?
- 3) What was the work done by League of Nations in the fields of International Reconciliation and Disarmament?

9.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

- 1) Langsam, W.C. and Mitchell, The World Since 1919, New York, The Macmillan Publishing Co.
- 2) Albrecht Carrie, A Diplomatic History of Europe, since the Congress of Vienna, New York, Harper and Row.
- 3) Johnson, Paul, A History of Modern World from 1917 to the 1980s, London, Weidenfield and Nicolson.
- 4) Dhar, S.N., International Relations and World Politics, Since 1919, New Delhi, Kalyani Publisher.

9.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1)The League of Nations performed various functions like:-The Settlement of International Disputes, International Reconciliation and Disarmament, Protection of Minorities, Financial Reconstruction of Austria and Hungary, The Repatriation of Prisoners of War and the Problem of Refugees etc.
- 2) The concept of collective security is misguided. It is conceptually muddled and naivelyunrealistic. Although,the countries pledged to

Notes

defend each other, many countries will refuse to do so if such an act is not in their own best interests or thought to be too risky or expensive. In addition, some argue that collective security arrangements will turn small struggles into large ones, and prevent the use of alternative (non-violent) problem solving, relying instead on the much more costly approach of military confrontation.

3) No action was taken by a weak League of Nations against Germany when she repudiated the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty (1935) and the freely negotiated Locarno Pact remilitarised Rhineland (1936), when annexed Austria (1938) and dismembered Czechoslovakia (1938-39). Thus, failure of the collective security system turned out to be a major cause of the World War II.

UNIT - 10 - FASCISM, NAZISM AND RISE OF MILITARISM IN JAPAN

STRUCTURE

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Features of Fascism and Nazism

10.3 Ideology-- Fascism and Nazism

10.4 Social Bases of Fascism and Nazism

10.4.1 War, Diplomacy and Nationalism

10.4.2 Economic Crisis of 1929

10.4.3 Political Mobilisation for Fascism

10.4.4 The Question of Hegemony and Coercion

10.5 State and Society under Fascism and Nazism

10.6 Rise of Militarism in Japan

10.6.1 Nature of the Regime

10.6.2 Military and Government

10.6.3 Military displeasure with Political Parties

10.7 Education and Nationalism

10.7.1 Freedom of Thought and Expression Curbed

10.7.2 Opposition to Military

10.7.3 Post 1930 developments

10.8 Division within the Army

10.9 Military Authoritarianism

10.10 The War and Economic Policies

10.11 The War and Military Behaviour

10.12 Let sum up

10.13 Keyword

10.14 Questions For Review

10.15 Suggested readings and references

10.16 Answers To Check Your Progress

10.0 OBJECTIVES

The basic purpose of this unit is to make you understand the development of fascist ideas and states as extreme right wing political mobilisation. After reading this unit, you will be able to understand:

- Some general features of fascism and Nazism and the nature of mobilisation to achieve dictatorial aims;
- Multiple ideological strands that contributed to the evolution of the Fascist state and its organisational style;
- The socio-economic forces responsible for the emergence of Fascism and Nazism; and
- The nature of state and society under fascist regimes.

Further we will know about the rise of militarism in Japan after 1930, role of education and patriotic societies in creating an atmosphere for the military to increase its strength, means and methods used by the military to conduct the affairs of the State, and conflicts within the military itself.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The project of Enlightenment in Europe posed a serious challenge to the older order of society and state based on the notion of divine sanction. By the 18th century, the idea of representation and a state organised around elected representatives had taken roots. This marked the inauguration of modern politics or mobilisation of people around some specific idea or policy to achieve a specific political aim. The institutional forms of this modern politics were elections, parties and modern newspapers with all the political insignia and trappings of modern political culture, which created a public space. This led to a whole range of political choices available and competing with each other for occupying this public space. By the end of the 19th century, this had crystallised in the triple ideological division of Europe into the Left, the Right and the Centre. It is important to bear this in mind in order to understand the processes of political mobilisation that brought extreme right wing organisations or fascists to power in a number of European countries during the inter-war period. The growth of monopoly capitalism and resultant intense imperialist rivalries fuelled extreme nationalist

ideologies and militarism after the 1870s. In the new political context, appeal for political support was made on the basis of new, seemingly non-class identities, especially, outside the workplace. As a result, unique mass-constituencies such as “war-veterans”, “tax-payers”, “sport-fans”, or simply “national-citizens” were created. The transformation of these latent social-cleavages into open conflict must also be seen as the necessary background for the growth of right-wing fascist dictatorship in Europe after World War I. The unit begins with some general features of fascism and then, details the ideological and social bases of fascism.

The period between 1931 and 1941, the decade immediately preceding the outbreak of the Pacific war, is often referred to by the Japanese as "Kurai Janima" (Dark Valley). This was a period which saw the unprecedented rise of "Militarism" and "Ultra-nationalism" in Japan. It was during this period that the military established its supremacy in the spheres of politics, economy and foreign relations. It also takes into account the factors behind the rise of militarism and the role played by the patriotic societies and literature in this regard. The chapter discusses the conditions under militarism and the divisions within the military. Lastly it deals with the wartime economic policies and the attitude of military towards the War.

10.2 FEATURES OF FASCISM AND NAZISM

Fascism has been interpreted in multiple ways. A favourite Marxist position is to explain it as a violent, dictatorial instrument of monopoly finance capital, which emerged in the form of brutal attack on workers, rights in a period of intensification of class struggle and acute crisis in the capitalist economy. Another interpretation views fascism as the product of cultural and moral breakdown in the aftermath of brutality and savagery of World War I. According to Karl Polanyi's 'The Great Transformation', World War I destroyed the foundations of 19th century Europe and unleashed a long period of crisis marked by war-mobilisation, privation and dislocation. Oswald Spengler wrote his

Notes

'Decline of the West' in 1918 and argued that Western civilisation, characterised by industrialism had reached a period of decline in the 20th century. Spengler attacked the rational strains of modernity in order to celebrate the 'Philosophy of Life' as an alternative. Wilhelm Reich, a neo-psycho analyst, in his *Mass Psychology of Fascism* explains Fascism as a result of extreme neurotic or pathological impulses that lay dormant in the patriarchal family set-up. Another liberal interpretation traces fascism as a product of mass society where traditional solid identities based on kinship, religion, craft and guild and residence break down and anew amorphous mass-society is created. Some others relate it to a unique expression of middle-class radicalism against monopoly business houses' profit-motive. Lastly, it has been seen as a form of Bonapartism or an autonomous authoritarian state led by a charismatic leader independent of any specific class-interests or class-domination. Fascism emerged as a radical movement based on the rejection of liberalism, democracy and Marxist socialism. However, it differed from the conservative authoritarian groups. The conservative right invoked traditional legitimacies based on the church, the monarchy, kinship etc. whereas the Fascists and Nazis wanted a radical institutional change and mobilised people in the name of Organic Nationalism, a belief in the harmonious collectivity of nation privileged over all other forms of human-identification. As in the human body, the structural relationship of the various organs or parts of the body to each other only serves to define and delimit their roles; so in the organic view of the Fascist and Nazi state, the state as the embodiment of national will takes precedence over the identities and rights of the individuals. This view also accounts for the deep-rooted hostility of Fascism and Nazism to inter-nationalism and to organisations and movements based on inter-nationalism such as communism, freemasonry, the League of Nations and to the multi-national Jewish community. In general, the terms symbolised the rejection of political culture inherited from Enlightenment and its ideas such as rationalist materialism, the philosophy of individualism and pluralism. The Nazi opposition to the democratic-bourgeois institutions and values did not rule out their use of mass, constitutional and plebiscite

forms of politics, but they made use of these democratic institutions only to wreck them from inside and in order to undermine their value. Fascism was opposed, in all its forms, to the notion of democracy based on respect for pluralism, individual autonomy and the existence of civil and political liberties.

The mass- mobilisation of Fascists and Nazis was based on the pattern of militarisation of politics. They made use of military insignia and terminology in their mobilisation. As military-organisations are based on unity of command and order and perfect subordination of rank and file to the higher command, so the Fascist and Nazi organisations had their quasi-sacred figure of the leader-the Duce in Italy and the Fuhrer in Germany whose will was supreme in all matters.

A party militia was often used to reinforce the sense of nationalism and wipe out opposition to their dictatorships. The extreme stress on the masculine principle of male-dominance in the fascist ideology and the exaltation of youth were also related to this militarisation of politics.

Another significant feature of fascism was the organisation of some kind of regulated, class-collaborationist, integrated national-economic structure. The idea of corporatism as a community of people free from class-conflict emerged in reaction to the growth of individualism and the new centralising states. It was a residue of the feudal ideology of mystical 'community' of personal ties. But gradually it acquired a modern, class-collaborationist form. The ideology of societal corporatism believed in giving full autonomy to the corporations, but fascist ideology emphasized state corporatism or the complete subordination of corporations to the needs and requirements of the fascist state.

Check Your Progress 1

1) What are the different ways in which Fascism and Nazism has been interpreted?

2) Distinguish between fascism and authoritarianism.

10.3 IDEOLOGY-- FASCISM AND NAZISM

At the ideological level, there was no single unifying idea that guided the fascist movement and state. Fascism emerged from heterogeneous borrowings from various ideas. The basic ingredient of fascism, as we have noted above, was a kind of synthesis of organic nationalism and anti-Marxist ideas. The influence of Sorel's philosophy of action based on intuition, energy and élan was also discernible in the pattern of fascist mass-mobilisation. The fascists also tried to apply Darwin's ideas to the development of society. They believed that people in any society compete for survival and only superior individuals, groups and races succeed. This belief directly fed into the anti-Jewish politics or anti-semitism practiced mainly under German fascism, but also elsewhere. Such application of Darwin's ideas in the realm of society came to be known as 'Social Darwinism'. Adolph Hitler's autobiographical statement in *Mein Kampf* (1924) made out an explicit case for the application of such Social-Darwinist racial ideas. In this book, Hitler characterised parliamentary democracy as a sin against 'the basic aristocratic principle of nature' and depicted all human culture as the exclusive product of the creative Aryan race and condemned the Jewish community as inferior and lacking in creativity. The mass-extirpation of millions of Jews grew out of this insanity of Nazi ideology in Germany where completely impersonal bureaucratic 'extermination' of a people classified as a species of inferior humans was put into practice. The political theorist Carl Schmitt wrote his critiques of parliamentary democracy in the 1920s arguing for a plebiscitary dictatorship. The philosopher Martin Heidegger attacked Western modernity for its technological violence and for a contempt of being. In various ways, these philosophies of the right were to become justifications for the Fascist and Nazi regimes in the 1930s.

Fascism in Italy emerged as the convergence of three different trends. The radical Syndicalist Confederation of Trade Unions split in 1914 over the issue of Italian participation in First World War. The Syndicalists had believed in the 'self emancipation' of the producers through regulation at factory level. The workers associations or syndicates would replace the state at an appropriate time and these would act as the instruments of self-government. Now the right wing Syndicalists moved towards extreme nationalism. They described nations in class terms, i.e., as 'plutocratic' or having colonies or 'proletarians' or 'have not' nations without colonies. Italy was described as a proletarian nation. The Futurists who rejected traditional norms and existing institutions and exalted 'violence', and who were fascinated by speed, power, motors and machines or all the modern technological possibilities, contributed a second major ideological factor. Mussolini's 'socialistic' views and ideas on 'national revolution' was the third major ideological strand of Italian fascism. This heterogeneity of ideas along with local political exigencies was responsible for variations in the form of the Fascist movement and state.

10.4 SOCIAL BASES OF FASCISM AND NAZISM

In the following sub-sections, we will describe the nature of political and institutional forces that helped in the development of the fascist movement and state and sustained it.

10.4.1 War, Diplomacy And Nationalism

World War I provided the sociological and psychological conditions for the crystallisation of the fascist state. It revealed the capacity of nationalism in the mobilisation of masses and economic resources. It further demonstrated the importance of unity of command, of authority, and moral mobilisation and propaganda in the service of the modern state. After the war, fascism emerged as a vision of a coherent and reunited people, mobilised on the basis of a whole communal liturgy of

songs and torch- light procession, highlighting the cult of physical force, violence and brutality.

At the Versailles, the victorious Allied powers tried to extract the terms of defeat from Germany. Severe reparations were imposed on Germany. Germany's military might was reduced to 100,000 men. Germany also suffered in terms of territorial possessions including loss of its colonies. Discontent over the severity of the Allies peace terms and conflicts and squabbles over the newly drawn frontiers contained seeds of future conflicts. There was no mechanism to adjudicate rival claims and resolve conflicts. The League of Nations lacked the executive powers to impose peaceful solutions. Hitler was ready to use military force to achieve union with Austria and to get sufficient 'living space' (Lebensraum) for the German people. Italian fascism claimed colonies for a 'proletarian' Italy. Japanese militarists demanded an 'equitable distribution of world resources' and were willing to favour a military action to achieve their aim. Nationalism, war and diplomacy forced individuals and groups within national boundaries to take sides. It also made it possible to restrict the public democratic space. Any person or group could be identified as the 'national enemy' or 'traitors' and wiped out for not owing allegiance or loyalty to the fascist national state. Earlier defeat was attributed to the betrayal of these elements in the fascist propaganda.

10.4.2 Economic Crisis Of 1929

World War I resulted in mass destruction, of resources both physical and human, and hence, productive capacities of societies involved in it. Reconstruction and 'recovery' in Europe after the war was financed by US loans. The process went on smoothly till a crisis began in the US over the rapid drop in agriculture prices. As the world agriculture production began to rise with 'recovery' in Europe, North American agriculture was hit by a rapid drop in the prices and many faced bankruptcies. Soon the stock markets in America were affected in October 1929. As a result of the global integration of the markets, the crash affected all the economies.

Plantations, farms and factories closed down throwing millions out of jobs and restricting output.

The Industrialists who had taken advances and loans from banks and financial institutions found it difficult to repay. Many banks and financial institutions started facing bankruptcies. With millions out of jobs and factories, there was no demand for goods and services as the purchasing power of the people deteriorated. The economy showed no sign of recovery. In such circumstances, re-militarisation advocated by Fascist or Nazi leaders created jobs not only in the armies, but also in the armament industries. As this stimulated a demand for goods and services, the fascist programme appealed to people in crises-ridden times, especially when it also satisfied their 'national pride'.

10.4.3 Political Mobilisation For Fascism

The initial programme of fascists in Italy, launched as 'Fasci Di Combattimento' (1919) called for the installation of a republic and reflected demands for radical democratic and socialistic reforms including confiscation of huge war-time profits of capitalists, the suppression of big joint-stock companies and land for landless peasants. These leftist elements of the programme were dropped in 1920 and only an emotive mixture of strident patriotism, justification of war, a concern for national greatness and aversion to the socialist party were retained. The growth of fascist squads, with the support and connivance of state officials and army was directly linked to actual or perceived threats of the left. The support of the traditional conservative elites such as army officers, bureaucrats, and businessmen was utilized and left its imprint on the fascist party and state. In order to achieve a broader mobilisation of people, the military type militia, semi-military propaganda type organisations and regimented fascist trade unions were also created. The Party and its grand Council controlled all these organisations.

Similarly, chauvinist sentiment and popular radical demands in Germany were used by Hitler's Nazi organization, the German National Socialist Worker's Party (NSDAP) in order to gain mass political support. It called

for a greater Germany with land and colonies, the annulment of the treaty of Versailles, nationalisation of big monopoly business, profit sharing in big enterprises, the abolition of unearned incomes and agrarian reforms. German Nazism capitalised on the growing unease created by the Great Depression of 1929 and its impact on the German economy. They made use of the political instability of the Weimer republic, whose own constitution was used as an instrument to subvert it from within. All these factors created conditions for the rise of the Nazi Party, the organisation of German fascism. It had a particular appeal for those patriotic Germans whose national pride had been hurt by the defeat of Germany in World War I and its subsequent humiliation at Versailles.

10.4.4 The Question Of Hegemony And Coercion

The German fascist state associated with the Fuhrer Adolph Hitler earned for itself the distinction of being the most barbaric and destructive regime that used industrial techniques for the execution of planned mass murder and genocide. The secret state police office, or 'Gestapo' as it came to be known in Germany was created in 1933 under the Prussian Interior Ministry and rapidly attained autonomy from the provincial government. From 1934, Heinrich Himmler became the head of this nationwide fascist organ of terror. Its Prussian section was headed by Reinhard Heydrich, who was also in charge of the SD, a party intelligence organisation affiliated to the dreaded SS, with a nation-wide network of informers. It became the internal disciplinary executive of the German Nazi state. Such organisations of terror acquired the complete power of life and death over every German. Any opposition to the fascist state was ruthlessly suppressed. Absolute power was concentrated in the hands of the Fuhrer. The use of a rational bureaucratic mechanism in order to exterminate the gypsies, Jews and political opponents through concentration camps is a well-known aspect of the Nazi state. All this points towards the overwhelming dependence of the Nazi state on the coercive machinery of state power. Similarly, in Italy, Spain and other fascist regimes, every attempt was made to dismantle democratic institutions of the civil society and replace

them with institutionalised dictatorships based on the personal command of the dictators. All this necessitated more and more regimentation of the civil society. Some scholars even characterise fascism as a 'totalitarian state' or a state, which acquires day-to-day control over the life of its citizens. But despite the dictatorial rule, fascism made use of certain consent-building experiments. At the ideological level, use of nationalist sentiments and even anti-Semitism had a popular sanction behind it. Apart from this, some new methods were also tried. The fascist state in Italy created the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro in 1925. Its main concern was the organisation of leisure time for the working people. It ran a huge network of local clubs and recreational facilities with libraries, bars, billiard halls and sport grounds. The Dopolavoro circles arranged concerts, plays, films shows, and organised picnics and provided cheap summer holidays for children. By the 1930s, there were about 20,000 such circles in Italy. Moreover, although the Syndical Law of 1926 brought labour under the control of the state in the interest of production and confirmed the fascist trade unions in their monopoly of negotiations with employers and banned strikes, the fascist state also introduced some welfare schemes for the workers in the 1930s. Family allowances were given in 1934, largely to compensate for the loss of income resulting from the imposition of a forty-hour week. Insurance against sickness and accident was incorporated into wage agreements, and later in the 1930s, Christmas bonus and holiday pay were introduced. All such measures were meant to establish legitimacy of the state that had abolished civil liberties and democratic rights. Compared to Italy, German labour was more tightly regimented under the Nazi regime.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) How was Italian fascism different from its German counter-part?

10.5 STATE AND SOCIETY UNDER FASCISM AND NAZISM

The fascist state emerged as the institutionalisation of personal dictatorship. In Italy, all opposition parties and organisations were banned in October 1926. The Public Safety Law (1926) made the security of the state take precedence over personal liberties. The Fascist Party itself was bureaucratised and Syndicalist ideas were suppressed within the party. Many industrialists from North Italy including the owner of Fiat Company, Giovanni Agnelli, had financed Mussolini's fascist organisation. Private capital was a beneficiary of the fascist control of labour. The "Corporate State" was formally created in 1934 with 22 combined corporations of employers and employees, but they lacked the real power to take economic decisions. State intervention in the economic life of the Italian nation was marginal in the early part of fascist regime. The Great Depression and the need to fulfil imperialist ambitions, especially in the Mediterranean Sea and Africa for its aggressive nationalist-militarist project led to an increased state intervention in the economic life. The foundation of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI) and Istituto Mobiliare Italiano (IMI) in the 1930s reflected this trend of economic regulation in the service of modern warfare. However, even in 1940, IRI possessed only about 17.8% of the total capital assets of Italian industry. The state, in particular, focused on the growth of chemical, electrical and machine industries and gave impetus to modernisation through electrification of railways and telephone and radio industry. However, compared to Germany, investments in military-production were low despite the regime's rhetoric of Italy "being in a permanent state of war". Moreover, despite early radical denunciations of the monopoly capitalist class, the fascist state helped in cartelisation and trustification i.e. creation of large industrial federations.

Mussolini also tried to appease the Church. Large grants were made for the repair of war-damaged churches. In 1923, religious education was made compulsory in all secondary schools. The Roman question was finally settled in 1929. The Lateran Pacts were signed with the Church,

giving virtual control of religious-education to the Church and the Pope's right to govern the Vatican was recognized. The Church's main lay organization, Catholic Action, was guaranteed freedom provided it stayed out of politics.

The personal absolutism and party's control of social life was more stringent in Germany. In Italy, big business, industry, finance, army and professional bureaucracy retained a large degree of autonomy and fascism came to power on the basis of tacit compromise with these established institutions and elites. In Germany, the Enabling Act (March 1933) became the legal basis for Hitler's dictatorship. Legislative power was transferred to the executive. The bureaucracy was purged of politically undesirable and 'non-Aryan' elements. The federal character of the state was destroyed. The basic constitutional rights were suppressed. The "rule of law" was transformed into the 'rule of leader'. The extra-legal notion of the Fuhrer, to whom bureaucracy and the army swore 'unconditional obedience', assumed crucial importance in the administrative functioning and signified burial of constitutionalism. The will of the leader became the basis for the legitimacy of law. The independence of the judiciary was completely destroyed. Furthermore, the press was completely controlled. Liberal and Jewish-owned newspapers and the Socialist Press were forced to close down. Any type of literature, and art that was found anti-thetical to the Nazi perception was banned. The control of cultural life of citizens through propaganda and education became one of the chief goals of the Nazi regime. All education was transformed in accordance with fascist ideals. Text-books were re-written. Jews were forbidden to teach and racial theories of 'Aryan- German' master race supremacy became a part of the curricula.

The fascist state in Germany also attempted to achieve a complete regimentation of labour. "Trustees" appointed by the owners fixed wages. A labour front was created in October 1934. It operated not as a trade union, but as a propaganda machine, and included employers and professionals as members. Its stated aim was the maximisation of work, and the fascists controlled it. The fascist state's attitude to women

was based on ultra-conservative patriarchal sentiments. The social role of women was defined by the slogan of “Kids, Kitchen and Church”. The most oppressive aspect of Nazism in Germany was a systematic persecution of Jews. The ideology of Nazi party in Germany was informed by a strong hatred of the Jews and an intense obsession with the maintenance of the Aryan purity of the German Master race. The Jews were stereotyped as inferior, racially impure and a source of all ills of Germany. They were deprived of citizenship, places in the universities and administration. Their businesses were attacked. They were subjected to all sorts of unprecedented discrimination. Later on, millions of them were sent to concentration camps and massacred during World War II. Italian fascism in contrast, lacked any systematic policy of racial anti-semitism, at least, up to 1937. However, in November 1938, under the influence of the Nazis, racial anti-Jews laws were also passed in Italy.

10.6 RISE OF MILITARISM IN JAPAN

10.6.1 Nature Of The Regime

There has been a considerable debate among scholars about the nature of the regime in power during this period (1930s and 1940s) in Japan. This debate centres on the question, whether the regime was Fascist or Militarist? Let us briefly mention the characteristics of both these systems. The main characteristics of Fascism are aggressive nationalism based on the innate superiority of a stock of people, a highly regimented authoritarian political state, and this state is symbolized by a single leader. By Militarism, we mean a state where the military plays a predominant role in the administration of the country, military is the chief formulator of the economic and political policies, and under military dominance an aggressive and expansionist policy is pursued in foreign relations.

The best example of Fascist states are Italy and Germany during the period 1922-45--Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini and Germany under Adolf Hitler. Certain scholars equate Japan with these two Fascist states. There is no doubt that some of the Fascist

characteristics were present in Japan like: aggressiveness in foreign relations, a feeling of superiority above other Asians, and a repressive policy in relation to dissent at home. However, Japan's case was different from that of these two European states. There was no coup d'état in Japan, as in Rome in 1922, or as carried out by Hitler in 1933.

In Japan there was no mass Fascist party as the Nazi party in Germany. Also there was no one leader who dominated the scene like Hitler or Mussolini. Here it was the military which was all pervasive and had decisive powers. Though the Emperor continued to be the head of the state, after 1930 the real assertive power was that of the military and yet it fought for the restoration of the Emperor's prestige. Hence in relation to Japan it would be more appropriate to say that the state was governed by militarism. It is also worth mentioning here that a large section of the society, let it be among the bureaucracy, the agrarian class, militarists, Asian liberationists, national socialists, elder statesman, and scholars, all believed in the "uniqueness" of Japan.

The nationalist sentiments were inculcated into the very consciousness of the Japanese people. Even though Japan had adopted the path of modernization along Western lines it had retained certain fundamental aspects of its society such as, the monarchy; Confucian ethics and the samurai tradition of service. The nationalist feelings of the people acquired an extreme form in the 1930s, i.e. "ultra-nationalism". During the 1930s and early forties the military leaders took upon themselves the task of rescuing Japan from the influence of political and business leaders and to restore the Emperor's prestige. The military leaders felt that the political leaders and business leaders were jeopardizing the "Japanism" of the society.

10.6.2 Military And Government

The military from the very start of the Meiji period was at the helm of the state affairs and administration. Military leaders played an important role in the, decision-making process of the government. In fact almost half of the total numbers of prime ministers from 1885 to 1945 had been military leaders. In addition many military leaders often held the position

of home and foreign minister as well. The ministry in any case was always held by top military leaders even in a cabinet formed by the majority political party.

The Meiji constitution promulgated in 1889 provided for a parliamentary system in which the elected representatives in the Diet participated in the decision-making. Yet they did not play a dominant role because the Emperor was invested with extensive powers. All the executive organs which acted for the Emperor could implement their plans without the approval of the Diet which also had no control over the military. For example, Article XI stated: The Emperor is the supreme commander of the army and navy, and according to Article XII: The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the Army and Navy. Thus, the Emperor as the Supreme Commander was advised by the army and navy general staffs. Hence, the general staffs could formulate and execute plans which need not be approved by the Government. Nor was it necessary for them to even inform the Government about their decisions. This was because Article VIII stated, "in matters involving military secrecy and command reported by the chief of the general staff to the throne, except those matters on whose the Emperor himself informs the cabinet, the army and navy minister should report to the Prime Minister". We have mentioned earlier that only a military officer could hold the Defence portfolios. Consequently, the military could topple any government which was not acceptable to it by simply asking its officer to resign or refusing to nominate an officer for the post. As we shall see later the military frequently used this tactic to its own advantage.

10.6.3 Military Displeasure With Political parties

The genro or the elder statesmen had played a major role in the Meiji Restoration and in the modernization process of the country. They enjoyed a special status in the society which was superior both to the government and the military. The genro had direct access to the Emperor and it were their views which were often followed. As long as the elder statesmen lived there were few serious conflicts between the civilian and military policies. By 1922, however, most of the genro members had

either died or retired. Now the conflicts between the political parties, which had become an important force in politics, and the military became more serious.

The military was displeased with the performance of the political parties which had formed the government since the end of the First World War. The military objected to the attitude of the political parties who resisted increase in the military's budget and expansion of its divisions. For example, Prime Minister Kato Takkaki's government had reduced the size of Japanese army from 21 to 17 divisions. The military was also unhappy with the China policy of the political parties. The 4th February 1922, bilateral agreement between Japan and China restored the sovereignty of Shantung province to China and Japanese economic privileges in the region were ratified. Since then the China policy was aimed to mainly achieve economic goals instead of military expansion. This was termed as "soft" China policy and is associated with Baron Shidehara Kijuro who served as Prime Minister from June 1924 to April 1927 and July 1929 to December 1931.

The military was critical of the "soft" China policy since Japan's gains on the mainland were likely to be imperilled due to the upsurge of anti-imperialist movement which was gaining momentum under the leadership of Chiang-Kai Shek, the leader of the Kuomintang. He demanded a review of all foreign rights including those of Japan and questioned the continuation of Japan's dominant role in South Manchuria. The political parties were also criticized for their close alliance with the Business houses (zaibatsu). The farmers, in particular, believed that the political party dominated government safeguarded the interest of the zaibatsu and emphasized on trade and industry rather than agriculture. For example, the import of cheap rice from Korea and Taiwan benefited the traders but had an adverse impact on the income of the farmers. The political parties, along with the business houses were charged for the spread of corruption. The inflow of foreign ideologies, which were regarded as dangerous and detrimental to the Emperor's authority was also attributed to the political parties. The Military took advantage of all such feelings against the political parties.

Notes

Against this background the Navy strongly opposed the London Naval Treaty (1930) which called for armament reduction. But the then Prime Minister Hamaguchi Yuko got it ratified by the Diet. The government came under severe criticism and there was violent opposition in Tokyo. A little later Hamaguchi was assassinated. The last Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was also not popular with the military who did not find it necessary to keep the government informed about their military actions in Manchuria. Inukai opposed military expansion and called for discipline in the army. He was also killed by a junior military officer in May 1932. This brought to the end an era of party governments in Japan. However, we must mention here that militarism gained currency in Japan because of ultra-nationalist feelings that had been generated for a long time. In the development of these feelings certain factors had played a role and we will discuss them in the subsequent sections.

Check your progress 3

1) List the characteristics of Fascism and Militarism. Among these where do you place Japan?

2) Discuss the reasons for military's hostility to political parties in Japan.

10.7 EDUCATION AND NATIONALISM

Japan had successfully used education as an effective tool to inculcate nationalism in the minds of the people. The educational system, founded during the Meiji period, was inspired by the German system. Japanese, like the Germans, believed that "battles can be won in the classrooms." The primary schools were considered to be the most fertile ground for sowing these seeds of nationalism. Moru Arinovi, who

contributed enormously to the shaping of the Japanese education policy in early Meiji period, once said: "In the administration of all schools, it must be borne in mind (that) what is to be done is not for the sake of the pupils but for the sake of the country." On another occasion he said: "Our country must move from the third position to the second to the first and then to the leading position in all the countries of the world." As a result of such feelings moral studies were given top priority in the school curriculum. The curriculum of the normal school opened for the training of teachers was also so planned that it would prepare them to be an ideal example to the students in obedience, devotion, and love for the country, loyalty and reverence for the Emperor. A retired military officer was also employed to instil in them discipline of both mind and body. The twin aims of education during the Meiji period were to promote "loyalty and patriotism and to create a new class of engineers, managers, financiers, etc."

Education was also used as an instrument to further intensify the nationalist sentiments of the people. After the second war with China in 1937, the entire country was placed on a war footing. Consequently, changes in the educational system were suggested by the Education Council to suit the needs of a country at war. The primary schools were renamed "national schools". The purpose was to train people in conformity with the moral principles of the Japanese Empire which meant being loyal subjects of the Emperor.

The nationalist content of education was stepped up as Japan was drawn deeper into the War. The educational reform of 1941 and the policy of instruction issued by the Ministry of Education in 1943 emphasized upon the need of training the youth in "consonance with the way of the empire", the importance of faithfulness, loyalty, guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Imperial throne; reverence to the deities and ancestors. It also stressed the necessity of apprising the students of Japan's mission in East Asia and the world. Studies of Japanese literature, understanding the traditions of the empire and the Japanese way of life and culture were to be encouraged.

In order to enable the Japanese to understand and appreciate the significance of the policy of greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere and Japan's mission, it was necessary to educate them about the East Asian countries and about their plight under the rule of the European countries. Thus, the government could quite easily mould public opinion in the manner in which it wanted since the nationalist fervour was very well cultivated by education. In imparting all such views the military had played a definite role. This also created such an atmosphere of nationalist feelings that helped the military in furthering its own ends.

10.7.1 Freedom Of Thought And Expression

Curbed

Fostering the spirit of nationalism was also necessary to suppress discontent created by the changes in the political and economic structures of the country. Industrialization brought with it population which disturbed the family system in Japan. New Western values also crept into Japanese society, which tended to erode the social system based on Confucian principles. Several internal security laws and publishing regulations were implemented by the Meiji Government to curb the freedom of thought and expression. These laws only allowed the publication of such literature which favored the Government. During 1870s and 1880s there was widespread Peoples Rights Movement in Japan. In addition to methods like imprisonment, buying off leaders and harassment, the Government enacted regulations which prohibited assembly of people (1880) and prevented the newspapers from publishing anything without the prior approval of the Government authority (1883) to crush the movements. Even plays and movies before opening to the public had to seek the approval of the government. Nevertheless, the Peoples' Rights Movement was successful to the extent that in 1889 a parliamentary form of government was established in Japan. The constitution, however, guaranteed only limited freedom to the

people "within the limits of law", which was further limited by successive laws adopted over the years.

10.7.2 Opposition To Military

There was at home a strong opposition to growing militarism during and after World War-I. The most organized and systematic anti-war movement was led by the socialists and communists. Several anti-war writings showed the military in a bad light. For example, Kobayashi Takiji's *Kani Kosen* (Cannary boat, 1929) described how the troop crushed a strike. The miseries and sufferings of the soldiers during the Siberian expedition were depicted in *Buso Seru Shigai* (City Under Arms) by Kuroshima Denji. Literary works of this kind were banned. The Communist Party too, which was most vocal against the expansionist policies of the military was banned. Many of its leaders were imprisoned and others went underground. The military used the nationalist sentiment to create such a working class that was hardworking, disciplined and undemanding. This was beneficial to both the military and the capitalists.

10.7.3 Post 1930 Regulations

As Japan's involvement in the War increased in the late 1930s and 1940s, control over freedom of thought and expression also tightened. Existing regulations were amended to widen the scope of their application. The Peace Preservation Law passed in 1925 was amended by an extraordinary Imperial Ordinance in 1928 and further amended in 1941 to allow preventive detention of political activists and indefinite detention of political prisoners. The new restrictive legislation included the National Defence Security Law of 1941, according to which all the discussions in the Liaison Conference and Cabinet meetings were "state secrets". Anyone revealing or attempting to obtain this classified information was liable to rigorous punishment. Special laws on wartime crimes enacted in 1942 were later on revised to include interference with government administration.

Under the prevalent laws public debate and dialogue on the issues relating to war became impossible. It was also not possible for the public

Notes

to know the real facts of the war since the newspapers conveyed to the public only what the government wanted it to know. It is hence not surprising if the public tended to support the Military government policies. In fact the task of the military had been facilitated by the existence and propaganda of the various patriotic societies and organizations that had existed since the beginning of the Meiji period. These societies and organizations brought out 'ultra-nationalist' literature and gave strength to the military. Many military officers were not just only members of these societies but firmly believed in their ideology and were ever ready to carry it out. Most of these were young officers. A large number of the younger officers belonged to the ordinary middle class families; sons of small businessmen and clerks in the offices. A big number also came from the rural areas where the impact of the economic crisis was felt more. Many of these officers resented the affluence of the rich in the cities.

Inspired by the nationalist ideology, the young officers either joined leaders like Kita Ikki or formed organizations consisting of members belonging to the army and navy. Kita Ikki, along with Okawa Shumei had formed the Yuzonsha (Society for Preservation of the National Essence). Okawa was a lecturer at the Colonization Academy and together they advocated military expansion abroad and military takeover at home. Another famous society was Sakurakai (Cherry Blossom) founded in 1930 by Lt. Colonel Hashimoto Kingoro.

The Meirinkai (Higher Ethic Society) was also composed of reserve or retired army and navy officers. The Kodokai (Imperial Way Society), founded in 1933 aimed at the abolition of the capitalist economic structure, political parties and favoured the establishment of a state controlled economy. Those societies which were dominated by military men became popular especially after the 1931 Manchurian crisis. The numerous plots which took place during the 1930s revealed that the High Command was unable to control their own officers. The first major proof was the Manchurian Army which controlled affairs in this region, planned and executed the operations behind the backs of the senior officers in Tokyo. The army leaders in the capital were unable to control

their subsequent moves, but had to defend their actions. Junior officers broke military regulations; units posted abroad did not abide by the policies made in Tokyo. At times the military had disregarded even the wishes of the Supreme Commander, the Emperor.

Check Your Progress 4

1. How did education contribute in the development of militarist nationalist ideas? Answer in about ten lines.

10.8 DIVISION WITHIN THE ARMY

At the highest level the army was divided as to the course of action that was to be adopted to deal with the situation created by the economic and political crisis. The two main groups were:

i) The Kodoha (Imperial way faction) which had generals like Araki Sadao and Mazaki Jinzaburo.

ii) The Tosei (Control faction) which included grade officers of the general staff like Nagata Tetsuzan, Tojo Hideki and Ishiwara Kanji.

The Kodofaction emphasized loyalty and morale and underplayed structural changes. The Tosei was not opposed to capitalism and a parliamentary system. Its emphasis was on the establishment and enforcement of state controls so that Japan could be prepared for war. The Tosei group received support from the businessmen, bureaucrats and some intellectuals. The struggle for power within the military was also quite severe. The Kodofaction was in a dominant position when Araki became War Minister in, 1931 and Mazaki Vice Chief of Staff. But it was the Tosei group which exercised greater influence in Manchuria.

In 1934 Araki resigned and was succeeded by Hayashi Senjuro, who gradually came under the influence of Nagata Tetsuzan. Mazaki had assumed the post of Director General of Military Education after having served as the Vice Chief of Staff. Nagata, however, managed to get him dismissed in July 1935. In retaliation, Mazaki's supporters, a little later,

murdered Nagata. During this period all those Kodohamembers who were regarded as trouble makers were despatched to Manchuria. However, Kodohamembers were determined to reclaim power. An attempt was made on 26th February, 1936 when young officers of this group took over the centre of Tokyo and killed top leaders like the Finance Minister, Lord of the Privy Council and Inspector General of Military Education. The young officers demanded the establishment of a new order under Mazaki. Ultimately, under pressure the officers had to surrender. About thirteen of these officers were tried and executed. Kita Ikki, though not directly involved, was also executed in 1937. Araki and Mazaki were placed on the reserve rolls. The Kodogroup, as an organization, was further weakened by dispersing the officers. Some of them were transferred to far off provinces or sent to Manchuria. Between the conflicting groups it was the Toseigroup which emerged victorious. But this internal struggle in the military in no way weakened the military.

10.9 MILITARY AUTHORITARIANISM

The army's authoritarianism was reflected in the manner it interfered in the formation of the cabinet. If the Prime Minister or a leader appointed as member of the cabinet was not acceptable to the military then it refused to appoint an officer to a service post. This made it impossible to form a cabinet. As the army's intervention increased the political leaders had no option but to bow before the military.

After the 26 February 1930 incident when Okada Keisuke's cabinet fell, Hirota Koki was invited to form a cabinet. He could not finalize the list of the members to be included in the cabinet till it was approved by the military. The Hirota cabinet also was compelled to resign when the military objected to a question asked by Hamada Kunimatsu in the Diet which was interpreted as anti-military. The military asked for his expulsion or forego its cooperation.

The military also was not in favour of Ugaki Kazushige, who was now called upon to form the cabinet, and refused to provide a minister to the

cabinet. In fact Ugaki was prevented from accepting the prime minister ship in a very unscrupulous way. While Ugaki was going to Tokyo he was intercepted at the Kanagawai prefecture and Tokyo border by the Military Police Commander. The Commander got into the car and informed Ugaki that since the young officers were upset the Army Minister had asked him to convey that he should decline the offer of forming a cabinet. The reason for young officers' disapproval of Ugaki's candidature was that he had participated in the 1931 Manchurian plot. In May 1936 regulations were revised and only active duty officers could be appointed as army and navy ministers. The prime ministers could no more appoint retired officers.

The importance of the political parties lay in the fact that they represented the masses in the lower house of the Diet and their consent to the policies meant approval of the public. In October 1940 the parties were replaced by Taisei Yokusan Kai (Imperial Assistance Association). The parties joined this association and pledged to build up public opinion favourable to the national policies. The role of the political parties in the decision-making had now reached to the lowest level.

10.10 THE WAR AND ECONOMIC POLICIES

After the outbreak of war with China in 1937 Japan's involvement in that country grew deeper. Hostilities spread in various parts of China and Japan had to incur enormous losses both in terms of men and money. The developments on the continent had an impact on the policies at home. For example, the military further geared to push forward measures which would prepare the country for a much bigger war. Similarly government control over the economy also increased further. Now there was more emphasis on the armament and heavy industries. Soon after Konoe Fumimaro became Prime Minister in June 1937 steps were taken to bring under government control civil aviation and distribution of fuel. A cabinet Planning Board was established to coordinate the economic

policies. It was also decided that Liaison Conferences to be held between the Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers and War and Navy Ministers would take all the important decisions. Since the other cabinet ministers were not participant in these deliberations they remained ignorant about the decisions.

In 1938 an Asia Development Board was created which was entrusted with the task of conducting matters related with China. This Board in 1942 was absorbed in the greater East Asia Ministry created in the same year. The Mobilization Law passed by the Diet in 1938 strengthened the military's authority over labour, raw materials etc. Industries which contributed to the expansion of the war machinery were encouraged. In Manchukuo too, where the military was in full control, all efforts were directed towards the development of coal, iron and steel industries and into automobile and aircraft plants.

10.11 THE WAR AND MILITARY BEHAVIOUR

As the war progressed, Japan from mid 1942 to mid 1944 tried to develop and expand its empire and exploit it economically. Japan, in November 1941, envisaged a plan of turning the whole of East Asia into a greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere with Japan, China and Manchukuo as its industrial bases. Though the idea of the co-prosperity sphere was to "liberate" Asia from the control of the Western countries, Japan's main aim was to replace the Europeans in the region.

The Imperial Rule Assistance Association in March, 1941 published the "Basic Concepts of the greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere" which clearly stated: "Although we use the expression Asian Cooperation this by no means ignores the fact that Japan was created by the gods or posits an automatic racial equality." By this was meant that some Asians were more equal than others.

On 7 December 1941 Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and achieved a quick victory over the United States. After this, Japan rapidly established its rule in South East Asia and the Pacific.

The behaviour of the military towards the countries which Japan occupied in the course of war was far from benevolent. Atrocities committed by the Japanese soldiers in these areas have gone down in recent history as a horrifying example in brutality, loot, rape and murder. During its long rule over Korea and Taiwan, Japan treated the people of these countries as second rate citizens. A strict assimilation policy was enforced compelling people to learn Japanese and adopt Japanese names. As the war progressed and Japan needed a larger fighting force and labour, Koreans were brought to Japan for working in factories. Special laws were promulgated which permitted them to join the Japanese military. Other South East Asian countries like Malaya, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, and French Indo-China resented Japanese rule more than the European rulers. This resentment emerged because of the Japanese feeling of racial superiority and disregard for local customs and people, a curtailment of political rights, and destruction of their economy which was changed in accordance to the requirements of Japan.

Some countries like Indonesia, Burma and French Indo-China had initially welcomed the Japanese as their "liberators". They looked up to Japan for it was the only Asian country to defeat a European power as the memories of 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese war were still there. However, it was not long before they started hating the Japanese and the military rule imposed on them. Soon there emerged widespread and organized opposition to Japan in these countries.

10.12 LET SUM UP

In this unit, you have learnt the basic features of the Fascist and Nazi movement and the state, the role of war in preparing the conditions for the emergence of fascism and the basic ideological strands that contributed to Fascism of Nazism and its organisational styles. We should understand fascism as distinct from the conservative right-wing movements; it should be viewed as a radical attempt from a rightist perspective to restructure society and its institutions. Extreme nationalism bordering on imperial designs to obtain colonies, complete subordination

Notes

of institutions like the judiciary, the press, labour-organisation and concentrations of all executive, legislative and judicial powers in the hands of dictators, and deep rooted hostility to democratic rights were some of the key elements of Fascist or Nazi politics. However, there were subtle variations within the fascist practices due to local specific conditions. Fascism was not a homogenous movement.

Moreover, coercive-machinery of the state was used to eliminate all political oppositions; fascist states also used certain measures to maintain legitimacy of dictatorial regimes, even if this legitimacy was based on chauvinistic and popular racial feelings.

The roots of the authority and the power which the military wielded after 1930 in Japan were in fact itself based in the constitution. In reality even the Meiji leaders known to be "liberal" were quite conservative and were not prepared to extend power to the people beyond a certain limit. Hence, it is not surprising that in the democratic political system set up in 1889 the power of the representatives of the people was limited. We have seen how the military could topple cabinets and assert its authority. The ground for the rise of Militarism had been there since the beginning. Even in post World War I period Meiji leaders expounded and implemented an expansionist policy abroad. At home the media was controlled by enforcing a series of regulations and no dissent was tolerated beyond a point. However, the presence of the elder statesmen had been able to control the military.

After World War-I the political parties were given an opportunity to resolve the economic crisis and bring about political stability at home. But as far as the military was concerned the political parties were a failure. The military detested the political parties which were seen as a hindrance in the development of the armed forces. The nationalist sentiments were used to justify a policy of expansion and military rule. Certain political associations and the education policy played a vital role in fostering such sentiments among the people. Though there were factions within the military but the infighting in no way weakened the military's control over politics and administration. Economic resources

were diverted to create a war machine which was dismantled only after the defeat of Japan in the Second World War.

10.13 KEY WORDS

Authoritarianism: A kind of dictatorship.

Manchukuo: The Japanese after establishing their control in Manchuria renamed it as Manchukuo.

Militarism: Militarism denotes the predominant role played by the military in the administration of the country and its external affairs.

Patriotic Societies: Patriotic societies were formed to promote ideas of nationalism. Among other things they advocated policies of expansionism.

Ultra-Nationalism: Extreme patriotic feeling or policies of national independence.

Militia: A semi-military organisation.

Mobilisation: preparing people for action around a particular idea.

Social-Darwinism: application of Darwin's ideas to the development of society, a belief that people in society compete for survival and only superior individuals, groups and races succeed.

Syndicalism: A belief in the self-emancipation of the producer through regulation at the factory level by workers' syndicates or associations.

10.14 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1) Mention the factions in the Japanese military. What were their approaches?
- 2) Describe the concept of Fascism.
- 3) What factors led to the growth of Militarism in Japan?

10.15 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

- Heywood, A., *Key Concepts in Politics*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.
- Laqueur, W. (ed), *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979.

Goldhagen, D.J., *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York: Random House, 1996.

Hayes, P., *Fascism*, Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1973.

Weber, E., *Varieties of Fascism*, Van-vest Rand Rainhold, 1964.

10.16 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1) Fascism has been interpreted in multiple ways. A favourite Marxist position is to explain it as a violent, dictatorial instrument of monopoly finance capital, which emerged in the form of brutal attack on workers' rights in a period of intensification of class struggle and acute crisis in the capitalist economy. Another interpretation views fascism as the product of cultural and moral breakdown in the aftermath of brutality and savagery of World War I.

2) Fascism is a type of Authoritarian regime that prioritises nationalism and corporatism. Authoritarianism is the belief that the state has the right to control the people within it. To ask the difference between Authoritarianism and Fascism is the difference between a fruit and an apple.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Despite the dictatorial rule, fascism made use of certain consent-building experiments. It showed for the organisation of leisure time for the working people. It ran a huge network of local clubs and recreational facilities with libraries, bars, billiard halls and sport grounds. The fascist state also introduced some welfare schemes for the workers in the 1930s. Family allowances were given in 1934, largely to compensate for the loss of income resulting from the imposition of a forty-hour week. Insurance against sickness and accident was incorporated into wage agreements. All such measures were meant to establish legitimacy of the state that had abolished civil liberties and democratic rights. Compared

to Italy, German labour was more tightly regimented under the Nazi regime.

Check Your Progress 3

1) The main characteristics of Fascism are aggressive nationalism based on the innate superiority of a stock of people, a highly regimented authoritarian political state, and this state is symbolized by a single leader. By Militarism, we mean a state where the military plays a predominant role in the administration of the country, military is the chief formulator of the economic and political policies, and under military dominance an aggressive and expansionist policy is pursued in foreign relations. Hence in relation to Japan it would be more appropriate to say that the state was governed by militarism.

2) The military was displeased with the performance of the political parties which had formed the government since the end of the First World War. The military objected to the attitude of the political parties who resisted increase in the military's budget and expansion of its divisions. The military was also unhappy with the China policy of the political parties. The 4th February 1922, bilateral agreement between Japan and China restored the sovereignty of Shantung province to China and Japanese economic privileges in the region were ratified. Since then the China policy was aimed to mainly achieve economic goals instead of military expansion.

Check Your Progress 4

1) Japan had successfully used education as an effective tool to inculcate nationalism in the minds of the people. The educational system, founded during the Meiji period, was inspired by the German system. Japanese, like the Germans, believed that "battles can be won in the classrooms." As a result of such feelings moral studies were given top priority in the school curriculum. The curriculum of the normal school opened for the training of teachers was also so planned that it would prepare them to be an ideal example to the students in obedience, devotion, and love for the country, loyalty and reverence for the Emperor. A retired military officer was also employed to instil in them discipline of both mind and body.

UNIT -11 - WORLD WAR II: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

STRUCTURE

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Introduction

11.2 Causes and Outbreak of World War II

11.2.1 Treaty of Versailles

11.2.2 Failure of Collective Security System—League of Nations

11.2.3 Failure of Disarmament

11.2.4 World Economic Crisis

11.2.5 Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

11.2.6 The Problem of National Minorities

11.2.7 Appeasement by Britain and France

11.2.8 German Attack on Poland

11.3 The War Begins

11.4 USA and USSR become Allies

11.5 The Nature of Mobilisation in the World War II

11.6 Consequences of World War II

11.6.1 Defeat of Italy and Germany

11.6.2 Defeat of Japan

11.7 Peace-making after the Second World War

11.7.1 The Potsdam Conference

11.7.2 Treaties of Peace

11.7.2.1 Austria

11.7.2.2 Japan

11.7.2.3 Germany

11.8 Emergence of Super Powers

11.8.1 The United States became a Nuclear Power

11.8.2 Soviet Union's Challenge to the United States

11.9 Let sum up

11.10 Keyword

11.11 Questions for Review

11.12 Suggested readings and references

11.13 Answers To Check Your Progress

11.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit discusses World War II that started in September 1939 and ended only in August 1945 after the drop of two atom bombs by the United States of America on Japan. By studying through this unit you should be able to identify causes for World War II; describe how World War II began and how USA and USSR became allies; discuss the outcome of the peace treaties signed at the conclusion of the war and understand the emergence of USA and USSR as Super Powers.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

World War-II began in 1939 with German aggression on Poland on September 1. Earlier, two erstwhile enemies namely Germany and Soviet Union had signed a non-aggression pact making way for Polish partition between two of them. All efforts to reach an understanding between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Britain and France on the other had proved fruitless. In fact, secret negotiations were being simultaneously carried on between the Soviet Union and Germany and also between Britain and Germany. Britain and France took Soviet Union for granted and did not bother to conclude a military alliance with the latter. This paved the way for Soviet-German non-aggression pact and German attack on Poland.

A few months before the outbreak of World War II, both Britain and France have given guarantees to Poland assuring that in case of an aggression on it, they would provide her all possible assistance. When all attempts to avoid war and protect Poland had failed and Germany invaded Poland, Britain and France declared a war on Germany on September 3, 1939. Soon afterwards, many other countries too declared war on Germany. Japan had launched aggression against China, but did not declare war either on the Soviet Union or, for some time, on the USA;

Italy remained neutral in the war for some time, but finally joined the war on the side of Germany in June 1940. After Germany had won decisive victories against several countries in Europe, it waged a war against the Soviet Union also on June 22, 1941. This brought USSR into the Allied Camp. With the Japanese bombardment of Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941 the United States finally entered the war. The War was fought between the Allies (Britain, France, Soviet Union, USA and their friends) on the one side and the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) on the other.

The War ended in the unconditional surrender of Italy, Germany and Japan in that order. In this unit you will read about the circumstances under which World War II broke out and the factors responsible for the war. You will also read about the consequences of this most destructive war in the history of the world. Military activities and details of various battles are not our concern in this Unit. We will conclude the unit with a reference to the attempts made after the war for the conclusion of the peace treaties with the defeated powers. We will also discuss how some of the erstwhile big powers lost their power, and how the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the two Super Powers.

11.2 CAUSES AND OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR II

You have read about World War II that broke out in September 1939 after German attack on Poland, and consequent declaration of war by Britain and France against Germany. This gives the impression that the war was caused by the Polish dispute. This is partly true. Polish problem was indeed the immediate cause of the war, but there were many other reasons that created the situation in which war became unavoidable. Let us briefly discuss all the distant as well as immediate causes of the War.

11.2.1 Treaty Of Versailles

An attempt was made in Paris Peace Conference, held after the First World War, in 1919 to establish an ideal world order based on justice,

peace and disarmament. But, what finally emerged in the shape of treaty of Versailles was a dictated treaty of peace imposed upon Germany. The victor participants lacked sincerity of purpose. France was out to settle an old score—its 1871 defeat and humiliation at the hands of Germany. Normal courtesies expected by the representatives of a sovereign country were not extended to Germany. The peace conference had begun in January 1919. The treaty of peace was drafted by Allies without any negotiation with the defeated Germany. On May 7, 1919 Germany was given the draft treaty for its suggestions to be given in writing within three weeks. The announcement of terms of the treaty resulted in a fierce outburst of resentment in Germany. Germany denied that it alone was responsible for the war. Germany raised many objections and suggested modifications but, except for one modification, all the objections were brushed aside and finally, Germany was made to sign the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919. Germans called it a "diktat", and could not bear this insult and humiliation.

Germany was deprived of all her overseas colonies, and even in Europe her size stood substantially reduced. Poland, France, Belgium had others gained at her cost. Her army and navy were severely curtailed. She was told not to have any air force. Germany was declared guilty of war crimes and made to promise to pay a massive amount of reparation to the victors. Treaty of Versailles mutilated and humiliated Germany. Twenty years later, it was the turn of Germany to take revenge. Hitler had come on the centre stage, led his proud people to avenge their humiliation and thus paved the way for the Second World War.

11.2.2 Failure Of Collective Security System—

League Of Nations

Collective security system was a noteworthy ideal the world leaders had pledged at the end of the First World War. Providing security collectively to the victim of an international aggression was its aim. Thus, Covenant of the League of Nations provided that in case of an aggression, members of the League, by their collective action, would compel the aggressor to withdraw. This collective action could either be in the form of economic

sanctions against the aggressor, or military support to the victim of aggression or both.

During the inter-war years it was, however, proved that the League was an ineffective organisation in respect of a big power if the latter decided to wage a war against, or annex, a small country. In 1931, Japan committed an aggression against China and by early 1932, managed to conquer Manchuria province of that country. Japan very cleverly kept on telling the League that her action in Manchuria was in self-defence i.e. (protecting life and property of the Japanese in Manchuria, and only a police action not aggression). Japan, a permanent member of the League, forged ahead to establish a puppet Manchukuo regime in Manchuria. When the League asked member nations not to recognise Manchukuo, Japan left the League but retained control on the conquered territory. Later, in 1935 Italy waged a war against Abyssinia, defeated her, and in May 1936 formally annexed that country into Italian Empire. The League tried to enforce collective security system, declared Italy an aggressor and clamped economic sanctions. All this was of no avail as no military action was taken against Italy who was also a big power and permanent member of the League Council. Similarly, no action was taken by a weak League of Nations against Germany when she repudiated the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty (1935) and the freely negotiated Locarno Pact militarised Rhineland (1936), when annexed Austria (1938) and dismembered Czechoslovakia (1938-39). Thus, failure of the collective security system turned out to be a major cause of the World War II.

11.2.3 Failure of Disarmament

It was agreed at the Paris Peace Conference that world peace could be ensured only if nations reduced their armaments to a point consistent with their domestic safety or defence. That means all weapons of offensive nature were to be destroyed. The task of preparing a plan for reduction of armaments was entrusted to the League of Nations. The League appointed Temporary Mixed Commission in 1920 which however could not do any substantial work because France insisted on security before disarmament. In 1925 Preparatory Commission was instituted. Due to

divergent views of nations that mattered, it could not identify offensive weapons. Finally, without much preparatory work a Disarmament Conference met at Geneva in February 1932. Once again mutual distrust and suspicion led to the failure of Conference, after protracted negotiations. Germany had been disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles. Victorious nations were to disarm later. They, however, never really wanted to disarm. Therefore, in October 1933 Germany declared that she was leaving both the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. Later in 1935 Germany formally declared that she was no more bound by the military or disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Other countries were already in possession of large quantities of armaments and big armed forces. German decision heralded a massive armament race which led to an armed conflict. The failure of disarmament became yet another major cause of Second World War.

11.2.4 World Economic Crisis

World economic crisis began in 1929 with sudden stoppage of loans by the American financial houses to the European countries. Many of them, particularly Germany, were making rapid industrial progress mostly with the borrowed American money. The crisis had its severe impact during 1930-32. It adversely affected economies of most countries either directly or indirectly. Germany proved to be the worst affected country where nearly 700,000 people were rendered jobless. It was forced to declare that it would not make any more payment of reparation. Out of the economic crisis of Germany emerged Nazi dictatorship of Adolf Hitler. He became Chancellor of Germany in 1933, but soon destroyed democracy and established his dictatorship. Meanwhile, even England had to take some harsh measures like abandoning the gold standard. Germany, Japan and Italy took advantage of this economic crisis and separately embarked upon aggressive designs. They set up their Fascist Bloc which largely became responsible for the Second World War.

11.2.5 Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

On the eve of the First World War, Europe was divided into two hostile camps. The same process was once again repeated with the formation of an alliance of Germany, Japan and Italy. It was concluded through the Anti-Comintern pact during 1936-37. This combination of Fascist powers generally called Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was aimed at imperialist expansion. They glorified war, and openly denounced peaceful settlement of disputes. They bullied western countries and victimised weaker nations like China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Poland. Their war-like acts and aggressions though noticed yet went unpunished. Alarmed at the conduct of Axis powers, England and France came closer to each other and an unsuccessful attempt was made at the formation of an Anglo-French-Soviet Front. Although France and Soviet Union had an alliance, yet in their desire to appease Hitler, France and England ignored Soviet Union and when Stalin wanted a military pact between three non-Fascist powers they took it easy. Soviet Union became suspicious and surprised the world by signing the non-aggression pact with Germany. This directly cleared the way for German attack on Poland which led to the outbreak of the Second World War. While Soviet Union also invaded Poland, England and France declared war on Germany.

11.2.6 The Problem Of National Minorities

Peace settlement after the First World War had resulted in the formation of new nation states in Europe, with large national minorities left behind uncared for. President Wilson of the United States had advocated the principle of self-determination. But on account of various strategic considerations this principle could not be properly implemented. Thus, for example, large German minorities found themselves in the company of non Germans in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

There were Russian minorities in Poland and Rumania; and even after the Minority Treaties were concluded after the Paris Conference, about 750,000 Germans were under foreign rule. Hitler exploited the situation and in the name of denial of rights to German minorities in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and prepared for aggression. He annexed Austria, destroyed and dismembered Czechoslovakia and finally

invaded Poland. Thus, the problem of minorities became an important issue and a major excuse for the war.

11.2.7 Appeasement By Britain And France

Foreign Policy based on appeasement of Nazi-Fascist dictators turned out to be a major cause for the Second World War. After the First World War there appeared a rift in the policies of Britain and France. Balance of power had always been the cornerstone of the British foreign policy. Britain feared that a very powerful France would disturb the balance of power in Europe. Hence, it helped Germany against France in the inter-war years. Once Hitler came to power in Germany and Italy became an ally of the Nazi dictator, Britain quickly moved closer to France who badly needed British assistance against a hostile Germany. After 1933, French foreign policy virtually became an extension of British foreign policy. Britain was worried about growing influence of Communism. Not only the Soviet Union had to be effectively challenged, but so-called popular Fronts in France and Spain had also to be destroyed. With this objective in view, Britain adopted the policy of appeasement towards Hitler and Mussolini. France soon followed suit. Appeasement was started by Baldwin but vigorously pursued by Neville Chamberlain in 1938. Anglo-French desire to help Mussolini during the Abyssinian War, while maintaining support of League efforts, their virtual surrender to Hitler at the Munich Conference, and their inability to protect weaker nations like Austria and Albania were clear evidence of Anglo-French weakness and this prepared the ground for the War.

11.2.8 German Attack On Poland

The apparent and immediate cause of the war was German attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. Earlier, when all attempts at Anglo-French alliance with the Soviet Union had failed, Hitler entered into a non-aggression pact with Stalin. This was most unexpected, as for several years, only hatred had existed between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Now, keen to partition off Poland between themselves, Germany and Soviet Union signed the pact not to wage war against each other. Yet, as

events turned out, the pact was called by its critics as "simple aggression pact against Poland". In a secret pact, which emerged only in 1945, the two countries had resolved to divide Eastern Europe into their spheres on September 1, 1939. As you know England and France and already assured Poland of their help in case of an invasion. They kept their word and declared war on Germany. While Germany invaded Poland in the west, Soviet troops moved into Poland from the east on September 17-18, 1939. Poland was divided between Germany and Soviet Union by the Soviet-German Frontier and Friendship treaty of 28 September 1939. Meanwhile, many other countries had also declared war on Germany, though these were symbolic declarations as even France and Britain were still busy making preparations for war, while Poland was being destroyed.

11.3 THE WAR BEGINS

Poland, as we have seen above, became the immediate cause of the War. On March 23, 1939 German troops had quietly occupied Memel (a German city under Lithuanian sovereignty) after Hitler had asked Lithuania to surrender it. On the same day German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop called Polish Ambassador and dictated to him terms that Germany would like to impose upon Poland. He demanded that Danzig (which had already been Nazified) should be returned to Germany, and an east-west highway and rail-link across the Polish Corridor may be allowed so that East Prussia could be directly linked with Germany. This virtually meant a corridor across a corridor. Hitler, however, was calculating repeat of another Munich mistake by Britain which did not take place. Prime Minister Chamberlain announced unequivocally British guarantees to Poland.

Later, when Italy invaded and annexed Albania (7 April), Britain gave similar guarantees to Greece and Rumania. France followed Britain in announcing conscription. Hitler retaliated on the next day and repudiated the Polish-German non-aggression pact of 1934 and Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935. The Anti-Comintern Pact was signed by Germany and Japan in November 1936 and, a year later, Italy too joined. Thus,

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis represented three countries determination to liquidate world communism. It was, in fact, an alliance against the Soviet Union.

By August 1939 Hitler was prepared to settle the Polish issue on his own terms. However, he was on the lookout for a plausible pretext. He got the arms of (anotherwise determined) Britain diplomatically twisted when Hitler agreed to have direct negotiations with Poland on Danzign issue. Hitler asked Britain, through its Ambassador in Berlin on August 29, 1939 to arrange a Polish delegation, so as to reach Berlin the next day, fully empowered to negotiate and conclude agreement with the Germans. This was most unusual demand. Normally, international negotiations take a lot of time to begin. In any case, formal proposals are first sent through diplomatic means before inviting of foreign delegation. It is clear that Hitler had no desire for peaceful solution. Since a Polish delegation could not obviously arrive on August 30, Germany closed all doors for negotiation. This gave Hitler the much awaited pretext for the planned invasion of Poland. The war broke out early in the morning of September 1, 1939 when German troops invaded Poland. England and France declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. On 18 September Soviet Union also invaded Poland, but neither Italy nor the United States entered the war for some time. Meanwhile England and other allies were already on war, yet attempts were still on for some solution. But Germany was determined for a full-fledged war.

11.4 USA AND USSR BECOME ALLIES

When the war began, Germany and Italy were political allies, but Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact disappointed Mussolini. Italy did not enter the war till June 1940. Then, as France was on the verge of defeat and surrender, Italy joined the war on the side of Germany against France and the Allies. Soviet Union did not join the war, but was helping Germany by invading Poland. She later attacked Finland and was expelled from the membership League of Nations. Stalin continued to trust Hitler until the Nazi dictator had defeated most European neighbours and attacked Soviet

Notes

Union on 22 June 1941. Meanwhile, Stalin had coerced three Baltic Nations, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, to join the Soviet Union as its Union Republics. They lost their independence as Stalin told their leaders that if they refused to join USSR, they would be ruined by Germany. Soviet Union had also dictated terms to Rumania and recovered Bessarabia and Bukovina from it. Thus, by mid-1941 Soviet Union was busy collecting war gains without being in the war.

Hitler had secured French surrender in June 1940. But Hitler was not so lucky where Spain was concerned. General Franco keeps his country out of war. Since it was being fought by Hitler in association with Stalin, Spain remained neutral throughout the war. Public opinion in the United States was overwhelmingly opposed to being drawn into the war. In 1937, US Congress had passed the Neutrality Act which also prohibited sale of armaments in a future war. When the war actually broke out and Germany started bombing and destroying western democracies, Americans began weakening their neutrality stance. Cash and Carry Act was passed in November 1939, permitting countries at war to buy American weapons provided they paid cash and carried them in their own ships. When the war reached a crucial stage, Lend-Lease Act was passed in March 1941. It allowed the President to sell, exchange, lend or otherwise dispose of any defence article. Thus, US began supplying armaments to friendly countries such as Britain and China. Three months later when Soviet Union was attacked by Germany she was also covered by the Lend-Lease Act.

The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact signed in 1939 had been designed by Hitler to keep Soviet Union in the dark about his actual intentions. As soon as Germany had defeated her enemies on the European continent, it began preparing for invasion of the Soviet Union itself. But, Stalin remained convinced that Hitler would not attack Soviet Union. Everyone had warned Stalin of Nazi attack - Churchill, American Embassy and Stalin's own men in Tokyo. But Stalin refused to listen till 22 June 1941 when Germany actually launched the attack on Soviet Union. Stalin was stunned at this and Soviet Union sought allied assistance. Britain accepted Soviet Union into the Allied camp. In July,

London and Moscow signed a military pact. When Soviet Union was facing a devastating war, United States was forced to enter the war in December 1941, when Japan attacked its naval base in Pearl Harbour. American relations with Japan were never cordial. Japanese assets in America were already frozen. In August 1941 the United States had announced that any Japanese action against Thailand would cause her grave concern. Unsuccessful attempts were made for a meeting between us President Roosevelt and Japanese Prime Minister Kono in September. In October Kono resigned and General Tojo became the Prime Minister of Japan. He openly encouraged conflict.

In November, Britain had promised to declare war on Japan if United States became involved in a war with that country. Tension was building up rapidly and war appeared imminent. On 6 December 1941 President Roosevelt made a personal request to the Japanese Emperor for help in maintaining peace. Rather than peace, America got Japanese bombardment next day. On December 7, 1941 early in the morning large American naval fleet based at Pearl Harbour was heavily bombed by the Japanese. A few hours later, Japan declared war "on the United States of America and the British Empire". On December 11, both Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. The war thus became global.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Describe any two major causes of the Second World War.

2) Sum up the outbreak of World War II.

11.5 The Nature of Mobilisation in the World War II

The character of industrial mobilisation changed remarkably during the World War II. Instead of the production of a few key items, as in the First World War, the second global conflict drew on virtually every phase of industry. The new engines of war tanks, aircrafts, radar etc. were highly complex and delicate. It required an elaborate system of mass production of several million items according to schedules and priorities which went on shifting with new technical developments and the changing emphasis of war strategy. This could be planned only by states at a high level of economic development. All the world powers were spending huge sums on the military during 1933-38. Germany and Soviet Union spent 2,868 million and 2,808 million respectively. Japan (with 1,266 million), UK (1,200 million) and USA (1,175 million) were not far behind. However, the demarcation between 'military' and 'non-military' forms of investment is quite ambiguous in an epoch of total war. When war came, all major combatants channelled their production capacities into the manufacture of goods for sustenance of war. The combined Allied output of munitions at the end of 1944 was 180,000 million.

The Central Powers produced 100,000 million worth of munitions. In five war years, USA economy produced 300,000 military aircraft and 86,700 tanks. Germany produced 44,857 tanks and assault guns in the same period and also produced 111,767 aircraft during 1934-44. Britain produced 123,819 military aircraft between September 1934 and June 1945. In the winter of 1943, one-third of world production was for war purposes. It became necessary for the entire economy and civilian life to achieve these military targets. Since modern warfare involves all citizens and mobilizes most of them, it is waged with armaments which require a diversion of the entire economy to produce them, and which are used in inconceivable quantities. To destroy factories or people who worked in them became 'legitimate'. Defeat in workshop and homestead could lead to defeat in the field. Mass bombing of civilians in cities became the next logical step in the brutal logic of military strategy.

A high level of armed mobilisation, which hovered around 20% for most powers during the Second World War and which lasted for a few years, produced a kind of social revolution in the employment of women outside the household, temporarily in the World War I and permanently in the World War II. Only Germany avoided this integration of women in the labour market for ideological reasons, as the Nazi State did not consider women worthy of employment outside their houses.

However, German industrial war machine had an army of about 15 million slave labourers recruited from the vanquished countries. Another important aspect of war was that it was waged as a zero-sum game, i.e., as a war which could only be totally won or totally lost. The earlier wars were fought for specific and limited objectives; world wars were waged for unlimited ends. In the Second World War, “unconditional surrender” necessitated the use of all productive resources. The British economy for instance, despite the concentration of resources on arms production, was unable to cover its own demands for armaments and depended heavily on American deliveries which prided itself as being the 'arsenal of democracy'. The USA removed all restrictions on Allied armament contracts including those of immediate payment through the lend-lease agreements.

11.6 CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

Since we are dealing with World War II as one unit, we may very briefly refer here to the collapse and defeat of the Axis powers-Italy, Germany and Japan. Details of battles and victories and defeats are not our concern in this unit. But we may mention in brief how the three Axis Powers were defeated and the Allies finally emerged Victories.

11.6.1 Defeat Of Italy And Germany

The two European Fascist Powers had conquered most of the countries on the Continent. Britain was under constant attack, and large parts of the Soviet Union including the three Baltic Republics had been overrun by the Germans. In 1943 the Allies decided to launch offensive against the

Notes

Axis by liquidating Italian Empire in Africa. This objective was achieved by May 1943. The Italians were disturbed and Fascist structure gave signs of cracking. The Allies decided on "Operation Husky" to start Italian invasion through Sicily. It was not an all-out effort because the idea was to use Italy as a base to be able to bomb Germany and the Balkans. In July 1943, following heavy air attacks, large number of Italians surrendered in Sicily. Germans could not defend the island. A few days after first attack on Sicily, Mussolini visited Hitler and asked for more German assistance, but was turned down. Mussolini summoned a meeting of Fascist Grand Council which asked the King to take direct command. Only July 25, 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed Mussolini and appointed Marshal Badoglio to head new government. Mussolini was arrested. Italy finally surrendered unconditionally on September 3, 1943. On the same day, however, Germans entered Rome and kept it under their occupation for several months. Allies could capture Rome only on June 4, 1944.

The Allies decided to defeat Germany by opening two fronts against her. From the east, Soviet Union was pushing her out, in the West England, America and their Allies launched attack at Normandy to liberate France. By March 1944, the Axis forces were expelled from most of Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union. Soviet soil was cleared of German armies before the year ended. West Front against Germany was opened on June 6, 1944. It began from English Channel, and for this purpose 150,000 American soldiers were transported every month.

Allied forces liberated France and entered Germany on September 11, 1944--ninetyseven days after their invasion. Immediately afterwards Hitler's air force began massive bombardment of London which continued till early 1945. As Germans began to be defeated, conspiracies were hatched to eliminate Hitler. The final assault on Germany was planned at Yalta Conference in February 1945. All round offensive was begun against Germany by the British, Canadian, French and the Americans. Meanwhile, the Soviet Offensive was continuing unabated. The fighting was most fierce at the German Chancellery in whose underground defences Hitler had set up his last headquarters. When

everything was lost, the Nazi dictator, who was once dreaming of ruling over the entire world, committed suicide on April 30, 1945. Hitler had nominated Dognitz as his successor, but he could do nothing to save the country. On May 5, 1945 German commanders in North East Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark surrendered unconditionally. Nazi forces in Austria surrendered next day. Finally on May 7, Dognitz Government (of Germany) surrendered unconditionally "all land, sea and air forces of the Reich". The war in Europe was over on May 8, 1945.

11.6.2 Defeat Of Japan

The Allies were fighting hard for victory against Japan in the Far East. Hence the main responsibility fell on the United States, who was assisted by Britain, China, the Netherlands, Australia and New Zealand. Allied invasion of Japan was organised with China as the base. MacArthur directed these operations. Two allied campaigns were launched in the autumn of 1944. The one under Lord Mountbatten was aimed at reconquest of Burma. The other, under Gen. MacArthur involved liberation of Philippine Islands. Both the missions were completed by June 1945. Details of these operations are not our concern here. The Potsdam Conference, which was meeting to decide the future of the defeated Germany and other related issues gave a call to Japan in July 1945 to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces.....the alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction". Since the Soviet Union was not yet at war with Japan, she did not sign this declaration. The ultimatum was ignored by the Japanese who continued to fight. At this stage America decided to use the atom bomb and secure Japan's unconditional surrender. On August 6, 1945 American Air force dropped the first ever atom bomb on the important Japanese city Hiroshima and wiped out more than half of the target area. Two days later (August 8), the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and began offensive in Manchuria and Southern Sakhalin (both were then under Japanese control). Progress of the Soviet troops was swift. On August 9, 1945 a second atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, unleashing unprecedented destruction. The next day, Japan sued for peace. Fighting

stopped but surrender documents were signed only on September 2, 1945 on board the US battleship Missouri. The Second World War finally ended with Japan coming under the American occupation. The consequences of the war, thus, were the total defeat of the three Axis powers and victory of the Allies. This also meant Victory of democracy and defeat of Fascism and dictatorship.

Check Your Progress 2

1) How did the Nazi dictatorship ended in Germany

2) Trace the events leading to unconditional surrender of Japan.

11.7 PEACE-MAKING AFTER SECOND WORLD WAR

The conclusion of peace treaties after the Second World War proved to be a very difficult task. After two years of the termination of hostilities, treaties were concluded only with five of the defeated powers. They were Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The treaty of peace with Austria could be concluded only in 1955 and with Japan in 1952. Germany could not be reunited. It remained divided between pro-west Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and Democratic German Republic under the influence of the Soviet Union. Since Germany was not reunited no treaty with Germany as such was ever concluded. Two Germanys were finally united in 1990 into one Germany. We shall briefly deal with the Potsdam Conference and then the peace treaties concluded with other defeated powers.

11.7.1 The Potsdam Conference

The Potsdam (Berlin) Conference was held during July-August 1945. Germany had unconditionally surrendered to the allies. Several decisions had been taken at different war-time conferences regarding the future of Germany and of other east European countries. A formal arrangement had now to be made in the light of these decisions. The Potsdam Conference was attended by Stalin, Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek and the US President Harry Truman. They were assisted by high powered delegations.

The Conference took important decisions regarding the future set up in Germany pending the conclusion of a formal treaty of peace. Preparations were also begun for the signing of peace treaties to be concluded with other defeated powers. Japan was yet to be defeated.

A number of guiding principles were drawn that were to be the bases of peace treaty with Germany. These included 10 political principles, 9 economic principles, 10 principles to regulate the determination of reparation, 6 principles to govern the division of the German navy, and 5 principles of the distribution of the German merchant naval ships. A committee comprising the representatives of four big powers for military control of German Zones was set up. It was also decided that Germany would be disarmed, Nazi organisation and the Nazi laws would be liquidated. The war criminals were to be tried and severely punished. Finally, a democratic government would be established in Germany and rights and liberties of the people would be restored. - Pending the final demarcation of the western borders of Poland, South-eastern Prussia and the areas to the east Rivers Oder and Neisse would constitute the western parts of that country. It was also agreed that as soon as possible, free and fair democratic elections would be held in Poland. Potsdam Conference decided that the Allied forces would be immediately withdrawn from Iran. Tangier was to be declared an international area. No reparation was to be taken from Austria.

The conference took decisions regarding the bases of surrender by Japan. Imperialistic elements would be eliminated and Japan would be disarmed. The war criminals of Japan would be punished. Immediately after her surrender Allied Military Control would be established in Japan and eventually a democratic government would be set up. The sovereignty of

Japan would be limited to her four major and a few smaller islands. All foreign territories occupied by Japan before or during the Second World War would be liberated and transferred to the countries where they lawfully belonged.

The conditions spelt out at the Potsdam Conference for the Japanese surrender were not accepted by that country. The United States of America, without taking the Soviet Union into confidence, dropped atom bombs on two of the Japanese cities early in August 1945 compelling her to surrender unconditionally on August 10, 1945. Thus, the Second World War came to an end. The fact that the United States developed and used the atom bomb without the knowledge of the Soviet Union became one of the causes that gave birth to the cold war immediately after the hostilities ended the Second World War.

11.7.2 Treaties Of Peace

Unlike the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, only a Foreign Ministers meeting took place in London from September 11 to October 3, 1945. By that time serious differences had developed between the western powers on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. Very little progress could be made in the London conference, nor could any progress be achieved in the subsequent three meetings. The draft-treaties were prepared in these meetings, to be concluded with five powers—Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Thereafter, a 12-nation Paris Conference was held from July 29 to October 15, 1946. This was followed by other meetings of the Foreign Ministers Committee and the treaties were finally approved by the Committee at New York on December 12, 1946. Finally, these treaties were signed by the Allies on the one side and the five above mentioned defeated powers on the other. Separate treaties were concluded with each of them.

The main provisions of these peace treaties may be briefly mentioned here. The Treaty concluded with Italy deprived her of a number of territories. France, Greece and Yugoslavia gained territories at the cost of Italy. Trieste became an independent port under the charge of a governor appointed by the Security Council of the United Nations. Albania and Ethiopia regained their independence. Once again they became sovereign

states. Italy was deprived of the colonies of Lybia, Somaliland and Eritrea. Italian defence forces were considerably reduced and she was required to pay big amount of money as reparation within seven years. The Rumania Treaty provided for transfer of the provinces of Bessarabia, and Bukovina from Roumania to the Soviet Union and Doubruja to Bulgaria. She was to pay reparation to the Soviet Union and limits were imposed on the strength of its military forces.

Hungary was made to return to Czechoslovakia some of the villages situated to the south of River Danube which she had occupied in 1938. The Province of Transylvania was returned by Hungary to Roumania. She was also required to pay reparation and was disarmed. Bulgaria did not lose any territory. It actually gained the territory of Doubruja from Roumania. But like others, Bulgaria was also asked to pay reparation and her armed forces were curtailed. Finland was deprived of several small territories which all went to the Soviet Union. The area of Salla, the province of Petsamo and the Naval Base of Porkkala Udd were given by her to the Soviet Union. Like other defeated powers, reparation was imposed upon Finland also. Its armed forces were considerably curtailed and limited. These five treaties gave maximum advantage to the Soviet Union. Another country who gained sufficient territory, power and prestige was Yugoslavia who became the most powerful nation in the Balkans and a rival of Italy.

11.7.2.1 Austria

Austria had been occupied by the German army in 1938 and ever since continued as an occupied part of defeated Germany. Austria was treated as a "liberated territory". The Moscow Conference of 1943 had pledged to create a sovereign state of Austria. But, soon after the war, serious differences developed among the Allies. Soviet Union wanted to impose severe economic restrictions on Austria. This was not acceptable to the western powers. The deadlock remained for nearly 10 years. Finally, Austria agreed to declare itself a "neutral" country and to pay some compensation to the Soviet Union. Thereupon, the Soviet Union agreed to separate the Austrian question from the problem of Germany. A

peace treaty was signed by Austria on May 15, 1955 whereby it became a "neutral" country.

11.7.2.2 Japan

The cold war and differences between the United States and the Soviet Union delayed the conclusion of peace treaty with Japan. But, unlike Germany and Austria, Japan was under occupation of only the American forces. After the Japanese surrender on August 10 1945, an interim military administration had been set up by the Americans. The entire authority was vested in the hands of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. General MacArthur was appointed as a Supreme Commander and Japanese Administrator. A meeting to draw up a peace treaty was convened by the United States at San Francisco in 1951. The meeting was attended by 52 countries comprising of Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but India and Burma refused to attend it. Some of the proposed terms of peace were not acceptable to India. Even the Soviet Union found it impossible to sign the draft treaty. The treaty drafted under US influence was signed with Japan by 49 countries, on April 28, 1952. A separate peace treaty was signed by India with Japan in June 1952. The Peace Treaty signed by Japan with the United States and 48 other countries had 27 articles. It recognised the independence of Korea. It may be remembered that Korea had been divided after the war between North Korea (Communist) and South Korea (Liberal Democracy). Japan surrendered her rights over the Islands of Formosa, Sakhalin and Kurile. The Islands of Bonin and Ryukyu (Okinawa) were placed under the American Trusteeship. The Japanese sovereignty was limited to her four principal and a few small Islands. Secondly, Japan agreed to give up all her rights to China. Thirdly, Japan accepted responsibility for the war and liability to pay preparation but in view of economic conditions, it was exempted from the payment of reparation. This was done because the Treaty was concluded much after the heat of the war had subsided and because it was now a close ally of the United States. Lastly, it was agreed in principle that the foreign armed forces would be withdrawn from Japan. Nevertheless, in the event of a

bilateral agreement between Japan and the United States the American forces could continue to stay-but under a new and voluntary agreement. No limit was imposed on Japan in regard to her armaments.

11.7.2.3 Germany

We have said that Germany was divided into four occupation zones immediately after its surrender. The western powers alleged that, in violation of the understanding earlier reached, Soviet Union was converting its zone of Eastern Germany into a communist state. This hampered not only the unification of Germany but also conclusion of a peace treaty. Nevertheless, both Soviet Union and the Western Powers took a number of unilateral decisions regarding Germany. The first such decision was taken by Britain, and the United States who merged their zones into one on January 1, 1947. Later, France also allowed the merger of her zone with the Unified western zone. Subsequently the three powers decided to set up a free, independent and democratic government in West Germany. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), comprising erstwhile western zones, was formally established on September 21, 1949. The Western Powers formally terminated the 'state of war' with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1951.

Soon after the setting up of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Union proceeded to create an independent state of East Germany. It was designated as the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and was organised on the Socialist pattern of the USSR. Full sovereignty was granted to the GDR by the Soviet Union by a treaty concluded between them in September 1955-one year after the sovereignty of West Germany was recognised by the western powers. Thus, Germany remained divided into two hostile countries till 1990-one was aligned with the west and had capitalist order and had made very rapid industrial progress, and the other was aligned to the Soviet Union and had her economy based on socialism and her political system patterned on the Soviet Union. The two Germanys i.e. West Germany and East Germany began process of

unification in 1989. The United Germany was born only in October 1990.

11.8 EMERGENCE OF SUPER POWERS

The concept of Super Power developed only after the Second World War when some of the erstwhile big powers were overtaken in respect of power (capacity to influence the minds and actions of other states) by two countries, namely the United States of America and the Soviet Union. On the eve of the Second World War, British Empire, France, Italy and Japan were among the recognised big powers. When the war ended not only Germany but Italy and Japan were also defeated. As we have seen above, Germany was occupied by four powers and Japan was ruined after the atom bomb attacks. The defeated countries became militarily weak, politically insignificant and economically impoverished. Among the victors, Britain had become so weak that by 1947 it was unable to maintain her troops even in Greece and Turkey for their defence against communism. British Empire could not be sustained. Once India became independent in 1947, the process of decolonisation was accelerated. Britain was still recognised as a big power and occupied a permanent seat in the U.N. Security Council, but its strength had considerably diminished.

France had been a victim of German occupation until a second front was opened and it was liberated in August, 1944. Although France emerged victorious, and was given a permanent seat in the Security Council, yet for several years after the war, it was far from being a powerful nation. That left only two of the principal victors i.e. the United States and the Soviet Union who gained in military power and political status. Thus, an important consequence of the Second World War was the emergence of these two victors as Super Powers. Even after Britain, France and China became nuclear powers they could not challenge the Super Power status of USA and USSR.

11.8.1 The United States Became A Nuclear Power

Towards the end of the war there was just one country which possessed the potential that no other state had. In July 1945, the Americans exploded, experimentally, the first nuclear device in the history of mankind. In August, they dropped two atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki which broke the resistance of Japan and brought about her unconditional surrender. The World was shocked, and the Soviet Union was disgusted because when the two were allies in the war, the United States gave no indication of the fact that she was developing an atom bomb. Even when the US decided to use the atom bomb in Japan, the other Allies were kept in the dark till the actual use of it. Japan surrendered unconditionally and the consequent American victory deprived the USSR of "all but a token share in the post-war settlement in the Far East." The Soviet Union was an inferior and weak power for next five years till she developed her own nuclear device in 1949. The Soviet position was quite insecure because the Cold War had begun, for which the West was openly blaming the USSR.

In the growing intensity of the Cold War, nobody knew whether America had a third bomb or not. If the US had a third bomb, or if she could produce one in a short period of time, the Americans could drop it on Moscow and ruin the Soviet Union. This created a strange situation, and as Peter Calvocoressi says, "The USSR no less than the most trivial state, was at the mercy of the Americans if they should be willing to do to Moscow and Leningrad what they had done to Hiroshima and Nagasaki". The Americans perhaps never intended to do any such thing, but it certainly made her more powerful than anyone else. She was the 'Supreme Power' for at least five years. Besides its nuclear weapons, what had helped America become a Super Power was the fact that no battle ever took place on her territory throughout the period of war. After the Pearl Harbour, Americans were engaged in an unprecedented war, but the civilian lives and property were left untouched. This gave an added advantage to the Americans because their other Allies in the war had suffered heavy civilian losses also. Britain was heavily bombarded, France was under occupation for four years and the Soviet Union had

been target of German invasion till the second front was opened against her.

Until the Soviet Union, experimented her nuclear device in 1949, America had the monopoly of nuclear power. Even after 1949, the United States continued to have considerable technological leadership over the USSR both in military and political spheres till 1953. America had world's strongest Air force and a leading Navy. The United States and USSR both had about 12 million men each in armed force by the end of the war.

11.8.2 Soviet Union's Challenge to the United States

The power base of the Soviet Union was not comparable to that of the United States. The USSR had succeeded in establishing communist regimes in Poland and several other East European countries, which were liberated by its army from the Nazi control. But it did not possess nuclear weapons until testing of first such device in 1949. The USSR had suffered enormous losses during the war. Not only its troops were killed and wounded in large numbers but it had suffered civilian losses also. The Soviet population was reduced by about 20 million people. While steel production in America had increased by 50 percent during the war, Soviet Steel production had been cut by half.

Similar was the situation in agriculture and industry. For example, while the US was producing seven million cars a year, the Soviet production was limited to 65,000 cars a year. In spite of differences in economic situation of the US and the USSR, the Soviet Union had become number two world power at the end of Second World War. Soviet influence was firmly established in several strategic areas. As Geir Lundestad says, "the country increased its territory considerably: the Baltic countries, Eastern Karelia, and Petsamo, the eastern parts of pre-war Poland and the northern part of East Prussia, Carpathian, Ukraine, Bessarabia, and northern Bukovina, Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands".

The Soviet Union became a nuclear power in 1949, although until 1953, the US maintained clear superiority in areas like delivery system. But, once the USSR became a nuclear weapon state her status improved and

she was recognised as a Super Power. The communist revolution in China in 1949 and signing of a 30 year treaty between two communist giants gave a shot in the arm to the Soviet Union. Immediately after the Second World War, Soviet Union had made an all out effort to overtake the United States in science and technology. It subordinated everything including post-war reconstruction to catching up with the Americans in military technology. Once Soviet Union developed its nuclear power, it became a rival of the United States and the two came to be recognised as the Super Powers. Both led a powerblock each. After the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union faced each other directly in different parts of the world. According to Lundestad, "They were the two main actors in the international area; the geographic distance separating them was gone, but the political distance would soon be greater than it had ever been".

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Describe emergence of the United States as most powerful nation after the Second World War.

11.9 LET SUM UP

World War II broke out when Nazi Germany invaded Poland on 1st September, 1939. Two days later, England and France declared war on Germany. Earlier two arch rivals, Germany and Soviet Union had concluded a Non-Aggression Pact. Critics called it a pact to divide Poland between the two countries. Major causes of the Second World War were the Treaty of Versailles which ended the First World War, humiliated Germany and was regarded by Germans as a 'diktat', and unjust; failure of disarmament which was thought to be sure guarantee of avoiding war; the world economic crisis which encouraged military and aggressive actions in countries like Japan; the creation of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, an

Notes

alliance of three fascist powers determined to destroy existing world order; problem of dissatisfaction of minorities; the policy of appeasement pursued by Britain and supported by France to win over the Fascist and Nazi dictators; and finally German attack on Poland that became the immediate cause of the war.

The begin with, a number of countries joined the war on the side of Britain and her allies, but America kept out of it till outstanding disputes led Japan to attack Pearlharbour which forced the United States entry into War as an Ally in December 1941. Soviet Union had invaded Poland and Finland and was expelled from League of Nations. But, ignoring the Non-Aggression Pact, Germany attacked Soviet Union in June 1941. Soviet Union immediately aligned itself with Britain. Meanwhile, Italy had entered the War in June 1940 by declaring War on France and siding with Germany.

The Axis suffered their first setback when Italy was attacked in 1943. Mussolini was dismissed by the king and later Italy surrendered unconditionally, although for sometime Rome was occupied by Germans. Soviet Union was fighting against Germany to liberate Eastern Europe. After a second front was opened by UK and USA, Germany not only lost France but was forced to surrender in May 1945. Japan continued to fight in the Pacific till two atom bombs were dropped by American in August 1945 forcing Japan to surrender. Thus the War ended with the defeat of the three fascist powers; and victory of the Allies.

Peace-making efforts after the war proved to be a very difficult task. The Allies had convened the Potsdam Conference (1945) for drawing up peace treaty with Germany. No peace treaty could be concluded with any of the defeated countries immediately after the war. But after prolonged diplomatic activities, peace treaties were concluded with Italy, Rumania, Hungary and Finland; and later with Austria and Japan.

Germany remained occupied for several years and naturally no peace treaty could be concluded for several years.

The most significant outcome of the war was the partition of Germany into four occupation zones. Later three Western Zones became one sovereign country, and in the east a Soviet-backed government was

established. As east European countries were liberated by the Soviet army, they were given communist governments. The cold war began between two power blocs into which the world was divided. The United States was lucky that no battle was fought on her territory and her civilian losses were negligible. It was the first country to develop and use the atom bomb. Soviet Union acquired this power five years later. As other big Powers had lost much of their capability, the US and USSR emerged as Super Powers and led the two power blocs.

11.10 KEY WORDS

Reparation: The fine imposed on defeated countries to compensate for the damage done to civilian population and property.

Sanctions: Coercive measures taken against an aggressor or a country defying international law; sanctions may be economic or military.

Axis: Term used for three Fascist Powers viz. Germany, Italy and Japan who had come together on the eve of the Second World War.

Non-Aggression Pact: An agreement binding two countries not to wage war against each other for a specific period of time.

Cold War: A situation of acute tension between two power blocs; but no weapons were used against each other.

11.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1) How USA and USSR became the super powers of the world?
- 2) How Policy of Appeasement facilitated World War II?
- 3) The failure of Collective Security formed the significant cause for the outbreak of World War II. Elaborate.
- 4) What are the consequences of World War II?

11.12 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

Langsam, W.C. and Mitchell, *The World Since 1919*, New York, The Macmillan Publishing Co.

Albrecht Carrie, *A Diplomatic History of Europe, since the Congress of Vienna*, New York, Harper and Row.

Johnson, Paul, *A History of Modern World from 1917 to the 1980s*, London, Weidenfield and Nicolson.

Dhar, S.N., *International Relations and World Politics since 1919*, New Delhi, Kalyani Publisher

11.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1) A. Treaty of Versailles

The treaty of peace was drafted by Allies without any negotiation with the defeated Germany. The announcement of terms of the treaty resulted in a fierce outburst of resentment in Germany. Germany denied that it alone was responsible for the war. Germans called it a "diktat", and could not bear this insult and humiliation.

B. Failure of Collective Security System

During the inter-war years it was, however, proved that the League was an ineffective organisation in respect of a big power if the latter decided to wage a war against, or annex, a small country. In 1931, Japan committed an aggression against China and by early 1932, managed to conquer Manchuria. Later, in 1935 Italy waged a war against Abyssinia, defeated her, and in May 1936 formally annexed that country into Italian Empire. Similarly, no action was taken by a weak League of Nations against Germany when she repudiated the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty (1919) and the freely negotiated Locarno Pact militarised Rhineland (1925), when annexed Austria (1938) and dismembered Czechoslovakia (1938-39). Thus, failure of the collective security system turned out to be a major cause of the World War II.

2) On March 23, 1939 German troops had quietly occupied Memel (a German city under Lithuanian sovereignty) after Hitler had asked Lithuania to surrender it. Poland became the immediate cause of the War. England and France declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. On 18 September Soviet Union also invaded Poland, but neither Italy nor the

United States entered the war for some time. Meanwhile England and other allies were already on war, yet attempts were still on for some solution. But Germany was determined for a full-fledged war.

Check Your Progress 2

1) The Allies decided to defeat Germany by opening two fronts against her. From the east, Soviet Union was pushing her out, in the West England, America and their Allies launched attack at Normandy to liberate France. By March 1944, the Axis forces were expelled from most of Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union. Soviet soil was cleared of German armies before the year ended. West Front against Germany was opened on June 6, 1944. It began from English Channel, and for this purpose 150,000 American soldiers were transported every month. Allied forces liberated France and entered Germany on September 11, 1944--ninetyseven days after their invasion. When everything was lost, the Nazi dictator, who was once dreaming of ruling over the entire world, committed suicide on April 30, 1945.

2) Allied invasion of Japan was organised with China as the base. The Potsdam Conference, which was meeting to decide the future of the defeated Germany and other related issues gave a call to Japan in July 1945 to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces. The ultimatum was ignored by the Japanese who continued to fight. At this stage America decided to use the atom bomb and secure Japan's unconditional surrender. On August 6, 1945 American Air force dropped the first ever atom bomb on the important Japanese city Hiroshima and wiped out more than half of the target area. Two days later (August 8), the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and began offensive in Manchuria and Southern Sakhalin (both were then under Japanese control). Progress of the Soviet troops was swift. On August 9, 1945 a second atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, unleashing unprecedented destruction. The next day, Japan sued for peace.

Check Your Progress 3

1) Besides its nuclear weapons, what had helped America become a Super Power was the fact that no battle ever took place on her territory throughout the period of war. After the Pearl Harbour, Americans were

Notes

engaged in an unprecedented war, but the civilian lives and property were left untouched. This gave an added advantage to the Americans because their other Allies in the war had suffered heavy civilian losses also. Britain was heavily bombarded, France was under occupation for four years and the Soviet Union had been target of German invasion till the second front was opened against her. Until the Soviet Union, experimented her nuclear device in 1949, America had the monopoly of nuclear power. Even after 1949, the United States continued to have considerable technological leadership over the USSR both in military and political spheres till 1953.

.

UNIT - 12 - DECOLONIZATION

STRUCTURE

12.0 Objectives

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Types of Decolonization

12.3 Approaches

12.3.1 The Nationalist Approach

12.3.2 International Context Approach

12.3.3 Domestic Constraints Approach

12.4 The Era of Decolonization

12.5 France and Britain

12.6 Indian Independence: A Case Study of Decolonization

12.7 Let sum up

12.8 Keyword

12.9 Questions For Review

12.10 Suggested Readings And References

12.11 Answer to check your progress

12.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit we will study the decolonialization of various Asian and African Countries in last half of 20th century. In this way, the European powers were deprived of their status and grandeur, which ultimately led to the rise of the Third World countries as a powerful block in world politics.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

This Unit discusses that important phase of the 20th Century when the erstwhile empires gave way to the emergence of new nation-states or led to the independence of former colonies. This era is often called decolonization. This Unit will discuss the broad scope of the term with respect to various theoretical approaches, its historical manifestations and

two case studies of France and Britain, the two erstwhile imperial powers whose distinct approach to decolonization led to different historical trajectories. Lastly, the case of Indian decolonization is discussed.

Decolonization or struggle for independence? In the historiography of national liberation the terms represent two opposite poles of interpretation. The first one suggests a process of disentanglement by the imperial power, as it were, in the manner of a kite flyer pulling back the thread of the kite when the kite is tangled. The second interpretation highlights the proactive process wherein colonial power is whittled away, eroded by the action of mass nationalism. The term decolonization is used here in the second sense, as co-terminous with the colonial peoples' struggle for achievement of independence.

The term decolonization is believed to have been coined in 1932 by an expatriate German scholar Moritz Julius Bonn for his section on Imperialism in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. A recent study (Springhall, 2001) has defined decolonization as the surrender of external political sovereignty over colonized non-European peoples plus the emergence of independent territories where once the West had ruled, or the process of transfer of power from empire to nation state.

12.2 TYPES OF DECOLONIZATION

There are broadly four types of decolonization:

- 1) self government for white settler colonies as it happened in Canada and Australia
- 2) formal end to empire followed by independent rule as in India
- 3) formal empire replaced by informal empire or neo-colonialism as in Latin America
- 4) mere change of imperial masters — in Indo-China when the French reluctantly left, the US moved in.

In this Unit we shall focus on the second type, which was the most significant and the representative pattern of decolonization.

12.3 APPROACHES

The explanations of decolonization have been classified as follows:

- a) The Nationalist Approach
- b) International Context Approach
- c) Domestic Constraints Approach

12.3.1 The Nationalist Approach

In the nationalist view indigenous resistance and anti imperialist struggle led to independence. According to D.A. Low, the primary factor behind the end of empire was anti-imperialist movements — the metropolitan response only influenced the nature of this confrontation, not the outcome.

According to the nationalist approach the resistance movements of the colonial peoples determined the pace of decolonization. Colonial rule became unviable once the groups which sustained it withdrew support, often under nationalist pressure or influence. The British imperialists presented the unravelling of empire as an orderly and rational process but the messy reality was much less consistent and unavoidable, as John Darwin has pointed out. In short, far from a planned withdrawal from empire, there was their irreversible erosion of position as imperial powers struggled to retain power by one means or another, conciliation or repression.

For example, in India, from the 1930s onwards, there was a swing of the pendulum from repression to conciliation. This had demoralizing consequences for the officials who had to implement both poles of policy. The same set of colonial officials who put the nationalist leaders in jail during the civil disobedience movement in 1930-34 had to serve under them during the period of formation of provincial ministries of 1937-39. The same dilemma racked officialdom in 1942 and 1946 - officials were demoralized as they feared that the leaders they had given harsh punishment to in the War years, and particularly to contain the 1942 revolt, would soon be their political masters in the provinces in 1946. Whatever some of the metropolitan-centred accounts may suggest, the growth and development of a vigorous nationalism was almost invariably the principal propellant of sustained progress towards the ending of colonial rule.

12.3.2 International Context Approach

According to the approach highlighting the international context of decolonization, empires could not survive in the new world order after the Second World War. As John Darwin put it, in the Cold War era “colonial empires appeared as quaint survivors of a pre-war age, to be quickly dismantled lest they be knocked to pieces in the turbulent wake of the superpowers.” The changed international climate was reflected in the Atlantic Charter issued by the Allies during the War which called for the independence of colonial peoples. The United Nations General Assembly went a step further in 1960 in its Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It sharply condemned colonial rule as a denial of fundamental human rights in contravention of the UN Charter.

The myth of European invincibility was shattered by the Japanese takeover of South East Asia during World War II, especially the British desertion of Singapore in 1942. Yet decolonization was not the inevitable result of World War II – though its pace quickened. This international approach attributes the end of empires to the opposition of the US and USSR to ‘old style imperialism’. The US and USSR had nothing to gain from the older imperial powers, such as Britain and France, retaining their colonies. They had everything to gain from the end of empire as this enabled these two emerging superpowers to establish their influence over the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa.

For example, US neo colonialism replaced France in Indo-China, Japan in Korea and Britain in Pakistan, one of the two successor states of British India. The USSR treated Eastern Europe, Cuba and Mozambique, among others, as little more than ‘colonies’. Western Cold Warriors were quick to dub this as ‘socialist imperialism’, much to the chagrin of self-respecting socialists, for whom the very word imperialism was anathema.

12.3.3 Domestic Constraints Approach

The metropolitan or domestic constraints approach focuses on how the colony became too big a burden on the mother country. From being the proverbial goose which laid golden eggs a time came when it was not worth expending money and men on it. British colonialism, it is argued

by Holland, 'became dysfunctional to the operational necessities of the metropole'.

In this explanation the end of empire is seen as a political choice made under pressure of domestic constraints and calculations of national interest. The mother country's will to rule slackened once empire became too much of a nuisance, financially, militarily and in international relations. Historians John Gallagher and other scholars in the imperialist tradition argued that British imperial interests in India were declining, that India no longer fulfilled its role in the maintenance of imperial interests in the fields of either defence or commerce or finance and that, in fact, over the years it had become a liability for the British. Gallagher and Anil Seal argued that during the Second World War Britain footed the bill for India's defence requirements.

Aditya Mukherjee has conclusively contradicted this view and demonstrated that British imperial control intensified considerably during the war and the economic exploitation of India increased manifold, "the colony, far from ceasing to pay, was subjected to a greater and most blatant appropriation of surplus through currency manipulations, forced loans, large military expenditures and numerous other unilateral transfers."

B.R. Tomlinson is critical of this theory which sees decolonization only as a technique by which formal empire became informal in the interests of maximizing advantages to Britain. He concedes that there was an Indian angle to the end of empire, apart from changes in the metropolitan and world economies, but the Indian factor in his view was not nationalist pressure, but discontent with the ever-increasing financial burdens imposed by the colonial government on its subjects.

The end of the Second World War found Britain in a severe economic crisis and a war-weary British populace wished to get rid of empire as quickly and painlessly as possible. This theme of getting rid of empire is suggested by the very title of R.J. Moore's book on Attlee and India – *Escape from Empire*. Another factor was the post-war expansion of the welfare state. Decolonization gathered pace once social reform became a priority and empire began to be perceived as a drain on resources.

Politicians who were in favour of withdrawing from empire became the flavour of the day. It was no accident that the British public elected the Labour Party to office in 1945 despite Churchill, a Conservative Party prime minister, having just won the war for them. The new understanding was that the Labour Party was suitable for national reconstruction, which was the need of the hour. Another domestic constraint was that suppressing colonial revolts, be it in Palestine, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus or Aden, was no longer viable. This was the argument given by Prime Minister Attlee against reassertion of authority in India in 1946: “In the event of a breakdown of the administration or a general alignment of the political parties against us are we prepared to go back on our policy and seek to re-establish British rule as against the political parties and maintain it for 18 years? The answer must clearly be no because a) In view of our commitments all over the world we have not the military force to hold India against a widespread guerrilla movement or to re-conquer India. b) If we had, public opinion in our Party would not stand for it. c) It is doubtful if we could keep the Indian troops loyal. It is doubtful if our own troops would be prepared to act. d) We should have world opinion against us and be placed in an impossible position at UNO. e) We have not now the administrative machine to carry out such a policy either British or Indian.” (Attlee’s note, c. 13 November 1946, cited in Sucheta Mahajan, *Independence and Partition*, p.162)

The argument, that the costs of coercion became too high, clearly has no basis. One can show that very high costs were indeed tolerated. Thus there are many problems with the Domestic Constraints Approach. One major problem, of course, is that it looks for the causes of decolonization, not in the colony but in the metropolis. A direct example of this approach is the assertion made by historian David Potter: an explanation for the end of colonialism is unlikely to be found within the boundaries of the subject country. Historians have so far been unable to account satisfactorily for political events like the end of colonialism because, quite simply, they have not been looking in the right place.

This is overly eurocentric. This approach refuses to acknowledge the powerful political initiatives taken in the colonies and explains independence (in other words decolonization) merely as an internal political arrangement within the metropolitan countries.

Check Your Progress 1

1) What are the types of decolonialization?

2) Elaborate Domestic Constraint Approach.

12.4 THE ERA OF DECOLONIZATION

The twentieth century was the era of decolonization. At the end of the twentieth century the world was no longer euro-centric. The twentieth century had seen the decline and fall of Europe, which had been the centre of power, wealth and western civilization at the beginning of the century. In the first decade of the twentieth century the nationalists posed a challenge in Asia and Africa. They were encouraged by the ability of Japan, a small Asian country, to inflict a crushing defeat on Russia, a European power, in 1905. Some of the well known leaders of the national movements were Sun Yat Sen in China, Arabi Pasha in Egypt and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in India. These movements were led, in this stage, by middle class English educated elites whose demand for a say in the running of their countries was changing into a demand for independence. The First World War further fuelled nationalist discontent. The War effort had meant increased exploitation of colonies for raw materials, manpower and taxes and nationalists naturally questioned why the colonies should bear this burden. In 1919 when a new international order was emerging in Europe the national movements in the colonies underwent a transformation in a mass direction. In India this change was wrought

Notes

by Gandhi; China had the May 4th Movement; in Turkey Kemal Atatürk rose to power; and in Indonesia the national movement reached a membership of 2.5 million. This phase also saw the deepening and spread of movements in Philippines, Burma and Ceylon.

Differences emerged between the old imperial powers like Great Britain and the newer ones like the US and Japan, on whether the old order should continue at all, and if so in what form? This stance of the newer world powers encouraged nationalists greatly. The old imperial powers were undergoing a decline in their position. Britain's position as the global power par excellence was challenged by other powers from the late nineteenth century onwards. By the beginning of the twentieth century Britain lost her commercial pre-eminence.

But decline in imperial power did not mean collapse of empire as the interest of imperial powers in their colonies did not wane. In fact empire had to be maintained at any cost, including severe repression, such as the brutal gunning down of innocent men, women and children in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in India in 1919.

In the years after the Russian Revolution the process of colonial emancipation and decolonization went much further. In the non-western world countries either went through revolution or the prophylactic decolonization by empires doomed in an era of world revolution. Revolution, then, did change the world if not quite in the way Lenin expected. Anti-imperialist activity was fuelled because of the world wide Depression of 1929.

Sharpening of conflict as in Egypt and India and victory of Republican ultras under De Valera in the Irish elections of 1932 were belated anti-colonial reactions to the economic breakdown. In the economic sphere, the Depression furthered the trend to set up local production, which had begun after the First World War when imperial powers made their colonies industrially self-sufficient. Japan had encouraged limited industrialization in Korea and Manchuria and Britain in India. Bipan Chandra has described the impact of the Depression as the loosening of links between the colony and the metropolis, which encouraged independent capitalist growth in the colony.

World War II showed up Great Britain as a second fiddle to the US in the Anglo-American alliance. After 1945 the US and Russia became the two superpowers. Where earlier London held this position, now the world was no longer its oyster, to use Paul Kennedy's evocative phrase. As a US official put it, it is now our turn to bat in Asia. As the Russians were equally keen to have a global role, a bipolar world emerged. Britain had been one of the big three in the war. But for her, victory in the war did not bring with it consolidation of power. The war had overstrained the British economy vastly and it needed American help to keep going. The US propped up her economy with the Lend Lease offer. But it was some years before the British withdrew from India and later Palestine and even then this was presented as preserving more important areas of imperial interests elsewhere. Outwardly Britain remained a big power, second only to the US. In the third world the Second World War had caused great upheavals, political and economic. Within years of the end of the War many colonies gained independence, but often after protracted disagreement, encouraged by the imperial power, on the contentious issue of distribution of power, leading to partition and civil war. Various areas of troublesome conflict in the 1970s and 80s, Middle East, Cyprus, South Africa, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, were legacies of British decolonization. In India the imperial power delayed in handing over power on the specious ground that it must await agreement between the communities on how power was to be transferred. Specious in retrospect because when they left, they left any which way. Gandhi appealed to them to leave India, to anarchy if need be. He understood that agreement could not be brokered by a partisan broker. Once the colonial power left, he believed, the two communities would, like siblings dividing ancestral property, agree or agree to disagree. At worst, civil war would result but even that fire would be purifying. Given that the much celebrated agreed solution left at least 200,000 dead, perhaps Gandhi could have been tried out.

12.5 FRANCE AND BRITAIN

Was there decolonization or were there as many de-colonizations as there are colonial powers or even colonies? As we have seen, though there is a

Notes

wider pattern of decolonization – it was generally a mid twentieth century phenomenon under the impact of the national liberation movements – there are also significant differences between, for example, French and British decolonization. For example, if the British maintained strategic, political and cultural interest in its erstwhile colonies through the Commonwealth; cultural integration was the mode of association preferred by the French. The French had no mechanism like the British Commonwealth to ease the transition of colonies to independence. Assimilation remained the imperial ideal. The French Union was federal only in name and the National Assembly continued to be sovereign. If we look at British and French India, a difference that strikes one is the long and protracted negotiations for transfer of power in French India in contrast to the way the British quit India. Seven long years after the achievement of Indian independence from British colonial rule the de facto transfer of power in the French Indian enclaves took place in 1954. This was linked to the political developments in Indo-China, considered to be one of the more important areas under French imperial control. However, much water was to flow under the bridge and eight years lapsed before the French Indian enclaves achieved de jure independence from French colonial rule in 1962. This time around the association was with the political developments in Algeria, a colony crucial for France. The milestones of 1954 and 1962 were the culmination of a long and protracted struggle for independence waged by the nationalists in the French colonial enclaves in India.

A study of British and French colonialism in a comparative perspective in the specific context of decolonization is extremely revealing. Whereas the liberation of India from British colonial rule set off a chain reaction of independence in other British colonies, such as Burma and Ceylon, France continued to cling to its colonial possessions. It had the second largest colonial empire in the world and was keen to keep Indo-China and Algeria and Morocco even if others saw this as beyond their means. It did not even give up its five colonial enclaves in India with grace, perhaps because of their strategic link with Indo-China. In this, there was a parallel with His Majesty's Government's short-lived attempt to retain

the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as a vital link on the Suez-Singapore route.

France refused to see the writing on the wall in Indo-China. Following an armed revolt in 1930 and peasant revolts led by communists in 1930-31, the French executed nearly 700 nationalist and communist leaders. They made it plain, by the use of repression, that Vietnamese ambitions of independence would not be tolerated. By 1945 there were popular revolts against the French in many parts of Vietnam, which then came under communist control, with the help of the quite remarkable Vietnamese guerrilla army. The French were conclusively defeated in the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

In contrast, the British were interested in preserving their empire in India but when a non-violent mass agitation fashioned by Gandhi steadily eroded their power, they saw that they did not have the wherewithal to maintain rule and preferred a graceful withdrawal to a messy holding on. Indian independence in 1947 was followed by independence in Burma in 1948 and Ceylon in the same year. Malaya gained independence nine years later. In Africa the British were willing to grant independence except where there were large numbers of white settlers as in South Africa and Kenya. Ghana gained independence under Kwame Nkrumah in 1957. Togo, Cameroon, Somalia and Nigeria became independent in 1960. In 1964 all seven British East and Central African colonies, Somaliland, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia became independent. Botswana and Swaziland followed in 1966. Britain was not willing to hand over power in Kenya because of white settlers there and hence got embroiled in suppressing a protracted and violent revolt, such as the Mau Mau.

The French colonies of Morocco and Tunisia gained independence in 1956. In contrast, independence was completely ruled out for Algeria as it was seen as an integral part of France. This short-sighted policy was to lead to a bloody war, as in Vietnam. In Africa local autonomy was granted in 1956 but the colonies were placed in a union, termed the French Community, strictly controlled by France. Eight colonies in French West Africa, four in French Equatorial Africa and Madagascar

Notes

gained independence in 1960. Thus there were three different policies followed by the French in Africa.

In the words of Immanuel Wallerstein, “as a result of their special framework of thinking concerning the colonies, the British were the first to begin the process of decolonization.” They accepted national independence as a legitimate objective. They were anxious to avoid a repetition of what happened in America in their other settler colonies, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In Africa local people were given representation in legislative bodies. Once India became part of the Commonwealth, which was earlier White, the road was clear for Africa. “Thus, the pace of constitutional development in British non-settler Africa was rapid and marked by a minimum of violence and antagonism.” In contrast to the British acceptance of national independence as a legitimate objective, the French did not believe in the legitimacy of nationalism for colonial subjects “the French concept of constitutional advance was to draw colonies closer to France, not push them farther away.” This policy was reconsidered only after the Second World War. French Africans were elected to legislative bodies in France. The British associated Africans with local bodies whereas the French associated Africans with French bodies. African political parties were extensions of metropolitan parties or attached themselves to French parties. At the end of World War II French colonies started on a radically different path of development from that of the British colonies. Yet fifteen years later they had arrived at the same point as the British – viz., national independence. What had happened to make the French pattern conform to the British pattern?

There were two factors that influenced a change in the French pattern of constitutional development. The first was the events in Ghana; the second was the developments in North Africa and Indo-China. Tunisia and Morocco became restive, as did Togo and the Cameroons. After their defeat in Indo-China in 1954 the French took decisive steps towards independence of Algeria, l’Afrique noire and Madagascar. The difference between the British and the French was that one long accepted the path to independence while the other did it late and with the greatest

difficulty. But these were not the only differences. The British sought to maintain influence in their colonies after the end of empire by encouraging their ex-colonies to follow the Westminster model of parliamentary government with its multi party system. The French did not care what form of government was adopted; their concern was with cultural rather than political influence.

The British and French differed in their approach to larger political federations. The French opposed federations in French West and Equatorial Africa as the nationalists were behind them whereas the British worked towards federations as they would be useful in the post-independence situation. However, as the overall trend was towards unitary structures within states, differences in British and French attitudes eventually made little difference.

There were differences between the British and French perceptions of the role of the civil service. In Britain civil servants were nonpartisan whereas in France junior civil servants were political. However, this made little difference after independence.

Not all agree with the view of the particularity of the British style of transfer of power, that it was planned, phased and orderly. It is pointed out that in practice transfer of power in many British colonies was patchy, disorderly, reluctant and enforced. A middle view is that they were pushed along the path of self-government. In the words of Dennis Austin, "it was a peculiar and distinctive feature of British colonial rule to have always contemplated its end: the colonial governments went (we might romantically say) consentingly to their fate, but they had also to be pushed in that direction and they were pushed primarily by local events within the colonial territories which obliged the Colonial Office and local colonial governments alike to introduce reforms at a pace which, in the post-war years, began to quicken beyond all earlier calculations."

In sharp contrast, independence was dismissed as impossible at the French African Conference in Brazzaville in Algeria in 1944: The aims of the civilizing labours of France in the colonies exclude all possibilities of development outside of the French imperial system; the eventual formation even in the distant future of 'self-governments' in the colonies

must be dismissed [and the empire was to be conducted] in the Roman not the Anglo-Saxon sense.

Yet, the outcome of these very different policies of the British and French was the same. Widespread economic and political discontent in Africa led to the uniform collapse of empire across British and French colonies. This seriously questions the view that French and British Africa were poles apart. Under pressure from a continent-wide 'wind of change', in the words of the British Prime Minister, Macmillan, colonial empires collapsed in Africa between 1957 and 1964 like "the proverbial row of dominoes", in the words of D.A. Low. Also, it is very interesting that General de Gaulle's explanation of decolonization is a general systemic one which does not distinguish between British and French patterns: The relative weakening of England and France, the defeat of Italy and the subordination of Holland and Belgium to the designs of the United States; the effect produced on the Asians and Africans by the battles fought on their soil for which the colonizers needed their support; the dissemination of doctrines which, whether liberal or socialist, equally demanded the emancipation of races and individuals; and the wave of envious longing aroused among these deprived masses by the spectacle of the modern economy – as a result of all these factors the world was faced with an upheaval as profound, though in the opposite direction, as that which has unleashed the discoveries and conquests of the power of old Europe.

Check Your Progress 2

1) What were the differences between France and England towards decolonization?

12.6 INDIAN INDEPENDENCE: A CASE STUDY OF DECOLONIZATION

India selects itself as a case study. It was the classic colony. Its mass movement was the greatest the world has seen. Indian independence had

an amazing demonstration effect. The achievement of independence in India triggered off a wave of similar developments across Africa and Asia.

When did the realization dawn upon the imperial power that the end of the fabled empire, on which the sun never set, is near? At the end of the War, when the British authorities in India evaluated their position in the context of the post-1942 situation, it was clear to them that the hegemonic foundations of their rule were fast crumbling. Even erstwhile loyalists were deserting and the Indian Civil Service (ICS) was reaching a breaking point. The general consent of the people to British rule had diminished and the open, military repression of the 1942 movement had contributed greatly to this. Even liberal opinion in the country had shifted, slowly but steadily, away from the British and towards the nationalist forces.

The Civil Service was deemed to be at breaking point by the end of 1943. The problem of declining recruitment, which had plagued the ICS ever since the end of the First World War, had reached alarming proportions by the Second World War. By 1939, its British and Indian members had achieved parity. Overall recruitment was first cut in order to maintain this balance and then stopped in 1943. By August 1945, the number of British officials was down to 522 and Indian officials up to 524. Besides, the men coming in were no longer Oxbridge graduates from upper class families, many of whose fathers and uncles were 'old India hands' and who believed in the destiny of the British nation to govern the 'child people' of India. The new officials were increasingly grammar school and polytechnic boys for whom serving the Raj was a career, not a mission.

However, the main factor in the debilitation of the ICS was not manpower shortage but the slow, invidious decline of its prestige and authority. Here the erosion of authority had been taking place over the years, when the rising nationalist forces had been sought to be contained by a policy of conciliation mixed with repression. But the strategy of the national movement, of a multifaceted struggle combining nonviolent mass movements with working of constitutional reforms, proved to be

more than a match for them. When non-violent movements were met with repression, the naked force behind the government stood exposed, offending the sensibility of the government's supporters; whereas if government did not clamp down on 'sedition', or effected a truce [as in 1931 when the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed] or conceded provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, British government was seen to be too weak to wield control and its authority and prestige were undermined.

The impact of the nationalist movement on the bureaucracy was not only indirect, through weakening morale under pressure from mass movements and ministries. The permeation of nationalist sentiment among the Indian element of the services, especially the subordinate services and even the police, directly affected their loyalty and reliability. Even earlier, during the provincial ministries of 1937-39, the tendency of Indian officials to look up to the Congress was apparent, but, by 1945, the Indian services were assertively nationalist. For example, railway officials in east U.P. decorated their stations in honour of Nehru and Pant and in one instance detained a goods train for three hours to enable Nehru to make a speech and then travel by it. In the Central Provinces the clerical staff voted for the Congress at the elections and more interestingly, wanted this to be known. The British, of course, preferred to see their feelings as merely the tendency of the natives to worship the rising and not the setting sun.

By 1945, nationalist feeling had reached the army, which was otherwise, too, in a state of flux. Politicized elements had entered the army, especially the technical services, under the new recruitment policy, which was liberalized because the carefully selected men of the 'martial races' did not suffice. The soldiers who fought in Europe and South East Asia and liberated countries from fascist control, returned home with new ideas. When the issue of the Indian National Army (INA) prisoners came up, the army authorities discovered that army opinion was not clamouring for punishment, as initially expected, but predominantly in favour of leniency. The Commander-in-Chief's opinion had changed by February

1946, when he stated that “any Indian officer worth his salt is a nationalist”.

It was increasingly clear to the British that the old basis of British rule would not continue for long, and a new structure would have to be devised, if rule was to continue. Later, in mid-1946, many officials, including the Viceroy, were to argue that in the face of such an eventuality the whole nature of British rule could be transformed to one of strong, autocratic authority, replenished by new officials, which could then maintain British rule for 15-20 years. Even then, their argument was turned down, but in early 1946 this option was not even proposed.

In late 1945, when the British saw the imminence of collapse, they sought to avert it by offering constitutional concessions. They could not take the risk of the concessions being rejected, for, if that happened, a mass movement would follow which they might not be able to contain. With the need being to avoid a contingency of negotiations breaking down, the concessions had to be of substance, which largely met the demand of the Congress. And so, faced with the Congress demand of Quit India and with the large majority of people affirming it, the Cabinet Mission went out from England in 1946 to negotiate the setting up of a national government and set into motion the machinery for transfer of power. It was not an empty gesture like the Cripps Mission in 1942; they intended to stay till they succeeded in securing some agreement. The reality was that they could not afford failure, for failure would lead to a humiliating surrender before a mass movement or would necessitate a basic change in the character of British rule from semi-hegemonic to repressive and autocratic. The first was obviously to be avoided at all costs; the second was also not likely to appeal either to the Labour Government that was in power or to British and American public opinion, which was still conditioned by the pro-democratic and anti-Fascist euphoria of the War years. As a result the outcome was somewhat contradictory. Although the British expressed a political wish to transfer power to a United India, they actually ended up partitioning India into two countries. Though it was meant to be a smooth, peaceful transfer of power from British to Indian (and Pakistani) hands legitimized by an

Act of British Parliament, a turned out to be a violent and brutal process leaving millions of people dead and homeless.

12.7 LET SUM UP

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the collapse of colonialism. Between 1945 and 1965 over fifty de-colonisations took place in Asia and Africa and a handful more ten years later. The 1970s freed another clutch, notably Portuguese Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. Zimbabwe was freed as late as the 1980s.

It is a paradox that the end of empire changed the world as much as the establishment of empire did. The end of Empire deprived Europe of status and grandeur. Europeans lost freedom of movement and economic activity given by empire. The foremost imperial power, Britain, became a second rate power. The third world comprising the countries which emerged from colonialism became a powerful force in world politics. In the words of historian Eric Hobsbawm, “the huge colonial empires built up before and during the Age of Empire, were shaken and crumbled into dust. The entire history of modern imperialism, so firm and self confident when Queen Victoria of Great Britain died, had lasted no longer than a single lifetime.”

12.8 KEYWORDS

- 1) **Metropole:** The parent State of a colony.
- 2) **Eurocentric:** focusing on European culture or history to the exclusion of a wider view of the world; implicitly regarding European culture as pre-eminent.
- 3) **Decolonialization:** the action or process of a state withdrawing from a former colony, leaving it independent.
- 4) **De Jure:** according to rightful entitlement or claim; by right.
- 5) **INA:** The Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj) was an armed force formed by Indian nationalist Rash Behari Bose in 1942 in Southeast Asia during World War II. Its aim was to secure Indian independence from British rule.

12.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1) What do we broadly understand by decolonization? What are the different theoretical models to understand it?
- 2) Discuss the historical context within which decolonization of different countries took different paths? How would you categorize India in this context?
- 3) How did de-colonization towards France and Britain lead to different or similar historical results?

12.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

- Arnold, David, *The Age of Discovery: 1400-1600*, London, 1983.
- Black, Jeremy, *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas of Warfare: Renaissance to Revolution, 1492-1792*, Cambridge, 1996.
- Black, Jeremy, *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas: Warfare Renaissance to Revolution, 1492-1792* Cambridge, 1996.
- Black, Jeremy, *Europe and the World: 1650-1830*, London, 2002.
- Chamberlain, M.E., *Decolonisation*, Oxford, 1985.
- Chandra, Bipan, *et. al.*, *India's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi, 1988.
- Chandra, Bipan, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, Delhi, 1979.
- Cohen, B.J., *The Question of Imperialism*, New York, 1974.
- Crosby, Alfred W., *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, Cambridge, 1986.
- Doyle, Michael W., *Empires*, London, 1986
- Fieldhouse, D.K., *Colonialism, 1870-1945, An Introduction*, London, 1981.
- Fieldhouse, D.K., *The Colonial Empires: a comparative survey from the eighteenth century*, Macmillan, 1982, Second edition.
- Gallagher, John, *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire*, Cambridge, 1982. Geoffrey Parker (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare: The Triumph of the West*, Cambridge, 1995.

Gifford, P. and Louis, W.R., *The Transfer of Power in Africa: Decolonisation, 1940-60*, London, 1982.

Grimal, Henri, *Decolonisation: the British, French, Dutch and Belgian Empires*, London, 1978.

12.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1) Types of Decolonialization: a) self government for white settler colonies as it happened in Canada and Australia. b) formal end to empire followed by independent rule as in India c) formal empire replaced by informal empire or neo-colonialism as in Latin America d) mere change of imperial masters — in Indo-China when the French reluctantly left, the US moved in.

2) The metropolitan or domestic constraints approach focuses on how the colony became too big a burden on the mother country. From being the proverbial goose which laid golden eggs a time came when it was not worth expending money and men on it. In this explanation the end of empire is seen as a political choice made under pressure of domestic constraints and calculations of national interest. The mother country's will to rule slackened once empire became too much of a nuisance, financially, militarily and in international relations.

Check Your Progress 2

1) The British maintained strategic, political and cultural interest in its erstwhile colonies through the Commonwealth; cultural integration was the mode of association preferred by the French. The French had no mechanism like the British Commonwealth to ease the transition of colonies to independence. Assimilation remained the imperial ideal. The French Union was federal only in name and the National Assembly continued to be sovereign. If we look at British and French India, a difference that strikes one is the long and protracted negotiations for transfer of power in French India in contrast to the way the British quit India.

UNIT -13 - FORMATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND WAR WITH JAPAN

STRUCTURE

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 The Birth of Marxism in China
 - 13.2.1 The International Context
 - 13.2.2 The Political Climate
 - 13.2.3 The Social and Political Milieu
- 13.3 Communist Party: 1921
- 13.4 CPC: War with Japan
 - 13.4.1 The Background: The Long March
 - 13.4.2 The Yen-an Strategy
 - 13.4.3 Japanese Aggression
 - 13.4.4 International Situation
 - 13.4.5 Economic Factors
 - 13.4.6 Social and Political Resistance to Japan
 - 13.4.7 The United Front in Practice
 - 13.4.8 The Yen-an Base: A Form of Resistance
 - 13.4.9 The Red Bases: A New Type of Society
 - 13.4.10 The Final Phase
- 13.5 Let sum up
- 13.6 Keyword
- 13.7 Questions For Review
- 13.8 Suggested Readings And References
- 13.9 Answers To Check Your Progress

13.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit deals with the emergence of the Communist Party in China (CPC) and the war between Japan & China. Afterreading this Unit you

will be able to know about the early ideas and activities of the CPC; comprehend the political and social milieu under which the CPC functioned; know about the incidents related with the Long March of the Communists; understand the resistance offered by the Communists to Japanese aggression; know about various tactics adopted by the Communists in forming the Second United Front; and learn how the Communists governed the areas under their control.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The Chinese Revolution, like the Indian National Movement for independence was a long fought struggle in which thousands laid down their lives. The twin aims of the Revolution (achieved in 1849) were: i) To free their country from imperialist control, and ii) The emancipation of the Chinese people from their own ruling classes.

The successful accomplishment of the Revolution led to the crumbling of the entire old world and the building of a new economic, social and political order. An order which was considered more just and in the interests of the people. Though the fight against old ideas had to continue even later in the post-revolutionary China, the Revolution did bring about a transformation in the mental makeup of the Chinese people.

In this varied transformation the Chinese Communist Party played a very significant role. It has to be noted here that in just 28 years after the formation of CPC in 1921, the communists made their revolution and had formed the government. The most well-known of its leaders were Mao Tse Tung, Chu Teh, Chen Tu-Hsiu, Liu Shao Chi, Chou-enlai and Hsiang Ching-yi-one of the first female Marxists in China. But apart from them there were thousands of other active party members who formed the backbone of the Party structure and came from among the workers and peasants of China. It is important to comprehend the ideas and the role of the Communist Party of China in the revolutionary movement.

This Unit takes into account the social and political milieu within which coexisting ideas emerged and grew; the beginning of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC); their early ideas and attempts at organizing the working people of China. The Unit also discusses the influence of CPC

among the educated sections, the intellectuals and students. It also assesses its contribution in radicalizing the Chinese people; contributing to their forms of protest; and shaping the nature of the revolutionary movement till 1923. The 1923 wave of repression against the working class marks the end of the first phase in the history of the CPC. The reasons for this major defeat of the CPC have also been dealt with.

The period of the war with Japan was also the period of the Second United Front. As was the case with the first one, it was shaped by international circumstances as well as due to the dynamics of political experiences in China. You will wonder, that if the First United Front had failed, then why this Second United Front in the war against Japan! We have been seeing that the social and political programmes of the CPC and the KMT were different and opposed to each other. Therefore, there had to be some special circumstances that should have made the CCP consider the fight with Japan as its first priority and to even make another United Front with the KMT for this purpose.

13.2 THE BIRTH OF MARXISM IN CHINA

Marxism did not grow overnight in China. The Chinese intelligentsia travelled a long way of intense debate over the issues of nationalism, liberalism, democracy and the larger interests of the Chinese working people, before intellectual activity and political practice began to be shaped by Marxism. It was only after intense struggle that the Chinese Marxists were able to establish an inseparable link between their own goals of a Socialist future and the movements of the working people in China.

13.2.1 The International Context

The international context, in which the Chinese revolutionary movement developed, contributed to the spread and acceptance of Marxist ideas in China. Discontent that arose from the colonization of Chinese economy had taken various forms at different intervals of time. In all such societies which sought to overcome their 'backwardness' vis-a-vis the more advanced West, for example, India, Russia, and later Latin America and

Notes

the African countries-there was an intense intellectual debate. This was over whether to catch up with the West by rejecting the backward features or by fighting the West which was oppressing them. The West, could be thus seen as 'corrupt' by a renewal of the best features of their own societies. In China too, the debate revolved around these two themes. The Marxists in China stood for fighting Western and Japanese imperialism by building a new modern China. They thus synthesised and accepted what was in the interest of the large sections of the Chinese people from both arguments. Two international developments contributed to the receptiveness of their arguments in China.

Two international developments contributed to the receptiveness of their arguments in China. i) The Shantung Resolution at the Paris Peace Conference by which Germany's rights and privileges over Shantung were transferred to Japan instead of being restored to China, created a massive disillusionment in China with the West. The 'democracy' of the West began to sound hollow and false. This sentiment clearly took a turn against Western imperialism. Lenin's theory of Imperialism and Revolution seemed valid to the Chinese intelligentsia..

ii) The success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia equally attracted the attention of the Chinese intelligentsia. Russia became a prime and concrete example of a backward country overthrowing their old system as well as defeating Western imperialism. Marxism showed itself successful as a practical guide to political action and provided the Chinese intelligentsia with a philosophy by which it became possible to reject "both the traditions of the Chinese past and the Western domination of the present." Marxism, henceforth, became a powerful current in the Chinese national liberation movement.

On July 15 1919 came the declaration of the new Bolshevik government addressed to the Chinese people and to the government of China, (North and South) by which it gave up all the privileges and interests enjoyed by the Old Russian Tsarist government in China without any compensation. This was in striking contrast to the Shantung declaration and the Twenty-One Demands. In China, as in India and other colonized countries, there, thus, emerged a sentiment of support for Soviet Russia as opposed to

Western Imperialism, and the recognition of an identity of interests between national liberation movements in the East and the Socialist struggles of the West. This was precisely what Lenin and the Chinese Marxists like Chen Tu-siu had been advocating.

13.2.2 The Political Climate

The May 4th movement of 1919 was an important landmark in the transformation of the political climate in China in the direction of Marxism. Chen Tu-Hsiu and Li-Chao, the founders of the CPC, were also leaders of the May 4th movement. For about fifty years the leadership of CPC came from the May 4th generation, most notable among them being Chou en-lai and Mao Tse-tung. A very large number of the rank and file membership also had their first revolutionary political experience in this movement.

Anti-Confucianism, the spread of new education, the tremendous growth of the press and literature in the language of the people, publishing houses, medicine and the modern courts played a significant role in becoming the vehicles of modern ideas during the May 4th movement. But it was its fundamental critique of all that was oppressive in the Chinese social system, as well as its positive espousal of science, democracy and anti-imperialism that was completely appropriated by the Marxists in China. This entire heritage was combined with the ideas of socialism to give the working people a stake in the movements for these new ideas. Some translations of the Marxists texts, such as the Communist Manifesto, Engel's *Origin of Family; Private Property and State; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* had already been made prior to 1919. Those who knew either Japanese or some Western language had read much more and there was a vague sympathy for socialism in some intellectual circles. But it was the incorporation of the reactions to the Western post-war settlements and the Russian Revolution that the May 4th movement itself assumed a direction from which the Marxists could take off and spread their ideas rapidly in 1919 and 1920. The close and active association of the intelligentsia with the workers during the May 4th Movement had also contributed to the spread of Marxist influence.

A number of study societies devoted to the study of socialism were formed in the Peking University. New magazines greatly influenced by the Russian revolution and the Bolshevik critique of imperialism, appeared on the scene. China's first general strike took place in 1919 during the course of the May 4th Movement. In the entire strike wave of the 1919-21 the intelligentsia participated along with the workers. In May 1920, the New Youth, the leading magazine of the left wing intellectuals devoted an entire issue to the discussion of labour problems. The May Day celebrations were attended by professors, students and workers. The next step was to give this interaction an organizational shape. This happened with the formation of the CPC in 1921.

13.2.3 The Social And Political Milieu

The social milieu within which Marxism emerged was the terrible living condition that prevailed among the working people from one end of China to another. In the countryside, poverty, abuse, and early death were the only prospects for half a billion people. It was a society in which people were forced to sell their children, eat grass and bark in bad times, and pay rent and taxes far beyond their means.

All this went on, while a tiny elite lived a luxurious life. The rapid commercialization of parts of rural China and monetization (emergence of market and money economy) integrated the rural economy into the world capitalist economy. But, it also led to an intensification of the oppression of the peasantry. The grain merchants, moneylenders and administrative officials all came from among the landlords and dominated the entire rural economy.

A Chinese peasant's existence in the early 20th century was far more precarious than in the eighteenth century as all studies on rural China show. The peasant's standard of living declined during the modern era. Population growth put greater pressure on the land. The fall in grain prices and the increasing concentration of landownership was turning more peasants into rural wage workers, while widespread unemployment was leading to a fall in wages. For the peasant, ravaged by poverty,

oppression and wars, there was no way out of the rural crisis except a radical transformation of the existing social order.

The agrarian question or the peasant-land question became an important social issue in the 1920s. There were increasing attacks on landlordism. The upheavals of the early 20th century had begun to undermine the landlord's dominant position. Rural China was becoming an increasingly fertile ground for the growth of revolutionary upheavals. It was the task of the left intelligentsia to integrate the rural revolutionaries into their scheme of revolution. Moreover, the peasantry constituted numerically the major portion of Chinese society. Hence, it was evident that without a transformation in the lives and consciousness of the peasantry there could be no modern development in China. In 1921, however, the political horizon of the peasantry was still extremely limited. On the other hand, the CPC was also yet to realise the full potential of the peasant upheavals. This it did only after 1925. From then on the communist movement in China drew its major strength from peasants.

The working class, though numerically a very small force in China, became politicised because the big industrial areas where it was concentrated were also the main political centres of China. Its experience of struggle for higher wages and other demands related to its daily life also brought home to it the identity of interests between the political authorities and the factory owners. The working class was, therefore, brought into direct conflict with the political authority.

Their strikes were met with brute force by the police which was the direct arm of the state. A major section of the workers was employed in foreign factories. This brought them into direct opposition to the forces of Imperialism. Therefore, the complexities of the nationalist struggle against Imperialism and the struggle for social emancipation of the working people from the Chinese ruling classes were confronted by them even in the early stages of the labour movement in China.

The construction of large factories in the early stage of industrialisation itself led to a concentration of large numbers of workers in one factory in opposition to a factory owner. This made it possible for the workers to

share grievances, have solidarity and led to the emergence of class consciousness at an early stage.

The political milieu in the urban areas, created by the May 4th Movement, the growth of the press, public meetings, the expansion with all this of the audience for new culture ideas and literature, and above all participation in the events of 1919-1921 were of immense significance in opening for the workers a whole new world. In May 1919 the Peking teachers, with their salaries unpaid for months and hard hit by prices, went on strike along with the workers. In 1920 the workers widely participated in the anti-Japanese boycott. There were by 1921, 28,000 literate workers who returned from France after the war. They helped to radicalise the May 4th Movement. The Communist groups and these workers found themselves as natural allies in the given situation. This alliance culminated in the formation of CPC, a working class party, in China.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Mention the international developments that contributed to the receptiveness of Communists ideas in China.

2) What was the political climate in China during 1919-20?

13.3 COMMUNIST PARTY: 1921

The study groups formed during the May 4th Movement were the first attempts to spread Marxist ideas on an organized basis among the Chinese intellectuals. From the summer of 1920 Communist Political organization began to be set up in different parts of China, the first being found in Shanghai, Chen Tu-Hsin has founded the Shanghai group and he brought out its official organ 'New Youth'. It established contacts with the Communist International and Gregor Vointinsky, a Russian

communist, came as an envoy to China. In April 1921, a Chinese Comintern office was opened in Irkutsk.

In autumn 1920, communist groups were formed under the leadership of Li Ta Chao in Peking and soon they were formed in other cities. From August 1920 the Shanghai group published a weekly called 'The World of Labour' and by January 1921, 23 issues had been brought out. From Peking, Li Ta Chao brought out 'The Voice of Labourer' and in Canton the group published 'The Workers', and 'Women at Work'. All these papers featured discussions on Marxist theory and problems of the Chinese working class. Chou-en-lai and Mao Tse Tung organized study groups in Hunan. A number of Chinese communists were also active in France. All these activities helped to bring around the communists more and more intellectuals, and students.

A meeting of these groups took place in July 1921 at a girl's boarding school in Shanghai, in hiding from the police. The police, however, got wind of it and the venue was shifted on board a pleasure boat at the tourist centre in Chekiang. This came to be known as the First Congress of the CPC. Twelve delegates were present, representing 57 members of seven different groups. There was also a delegate from the Communist International. Here it was decided to form the CPC. Chen Tu-hsun and Li Ta-Chao, who could not make it to the Congress because of strict police repression of communist groups, were declared the co-founders of the party. Chen Tu-hsun was the first Secretary-general of the Party. Thus, the international developments, a growing workers movement, the growing radicalization of the political milieu and the development of the idea of a revolution and a revolutionary party to lead it culminated in the formation of the CPC. This introduced a totally new element in the political scenario of China.

13.4 CPC: WAR WITH JAPAN

The period of the war with Japan was also the period of the Second United Front. As was the case with the first one, it was shaped by international circumstances as well as due to the dynamics of political experiences in China. You will wonder, that if the First United Front had

failed, then why this Second United Front in the war against Japan! We have been seeing that the social and political programmes of the CPC and the KMT were different and opposed to each other. Therefore, there had to be some special circumstances that should have made the CPC consider the fight with Japan as its first priority and to even make another United Front with the KMT for this purpose.

Such special circumstances were there in the international as well as the national situation. In this section, we will mention them and at the same time try to understand the role of the CPC in the war against Japan. This section also takes into account the nature of this war against Japan. What this meant for the relationship of the CPC with the KMT as well as with the workers and peasants of China is also discussed.

The Second United Front was successful from the point of view of the Communists in China. This was because it created the ground for a successful revolution, unification and independence of China. There emerged a correlation of social and political forces in which the working class and the peasantry became the leading actors and Communists the dominant political force in the Chinese revolutionary movement. All these aspects have been discussed in the Unit along with the international scenario. The latter was an integral portion of the relationship between the CPC and the KMT and their war against Japan. This was because the decision to form broad popular fronts in order to isolate the most reactionary imperialist forces was not a strategy specific to China. It was adopted in all countries seeking national liberation or fighting against German fascism. Japan, who took over almost the whole of China at this time, was also on the side of Germany, while England and France were not. So the United Front formed for the Second time in China, was directed against Japan. While discussing the various aspects of the Chinese revolutionary struggle, this section emphasises that the interests of all those fighting against oppression the world over are linked and inseparable. Similarly the unity of purpose and action leads to greater success in a struggle for better life. After reading this section you will be able to appreciate how participation in the worldwide struggle against Fascism advanced

the interests of the Chinese revolutionary movement, and also that of the workers and peasants of China who formed the main component in this revolutionary movement.

13.4.1 Background: The Long March

The Long March began as the Communists were forced to abandon their Kiangsi base. Thousands of peasants had been killed by the KMT forces in the daily bombing and machine gunning from the air. Whole areas were depopulated by forced mass migrations or mass executions. The Red Army itself suffered over 60,000 casualties. However, thousands of peasant supporters fought till their last to enable the main section of the army to get away. The heroism of these Red supporters has been commemorated by the CPC.

The retreating members of the Long March not only had the main army but thousands of poor peasants also went along. In fact, it had old and young men, women, children, Communists and non-Communists. Their meagre weapons andammunitions that they could not carry with them in this long distance had to be buried along the way. This was done with a hope that someday, in better circumstances, they might be used in the continuing struggle. Almost half the men and material belongings were lost on the way.

The March was a remarkable feat for the defeated and bedraggled army. They had to fight all along the way against the vagaries of nature as well as armed adversaries of the KMT and the warlords. In the mammoth undertaking they trudged through eleven provinces, over remote regions, crossing eighteen mountain chains and twentyfour large rivers. This great March began on October 16, 1934 and ended only in 1937 in the arid, steel slopes of Yen-an, covering a distance of around 8,000 miles. Fewer than 30,000 completed the entire journey. Of the women no more than thirty survived. Among those who perished was Mao's wife. But those who reached Shensi in the Yen-an region constituted the hardcore of reliable and disciplined force that was supposed to build the future Chinese Soviet Republic. Among them were also Mao, Chu Teh, Lin Piao and Chou en Lai.

Notes

The Long March forms one of the great and most heroic tasks in Chinese history. It may not seem much of a feat when written about in a few pages. But you will recognize its immense achievement if you let yourself imagine the sight of thousands of people marching together, without much ammunition to defend themselves, with even less food and medicines except those procured through supporters in the remote areas they passed through. As you may visualize, it may not have been at all easy to look after the needs of thousands of people, hundreds old and sick, through the tough, relentless terrain. Along with Mao, many others lost their near and dear ones. The only thing that carried them through was an indomitable political will and strength derived from the rightness of the cause they were fighting for. They knew they were fighting for a new China—a China which would ensure a better quality of life for the millions of poor and deprived.

When the Long March began Chiang Kai Shek seemed to be in control of China. Yet this retreat of the Communists from Kiangsi and other Red bases in southern China proved to be a crucial event in the Communists path to eventual victory. At the end of their long and difficult journey they were at last able to establish a really firm base against the KMT military forces. The basic aim to save the revolution was thus achieved, though at a heavy price for the loss of thousands of their cadres.

Three factors connected with the Long March helped in keeping the Communist revolution alive:

i) The Long March itself contributed to the growing reputation of the Communists and the Peoples Liberation Army as just, courageous, and truly nationalist. The KMT continued to claim that the Communists had been defeated for good, and their control over the press and public opinion prevented most people from knowing what was really happening in the remote regions of China. Yet, the journalistic pieces of Snow and Smedley got through to the Western world and democratic forces all over the world contributed with medicines and money for setting up of medical units in the remote regions. Although this help was but a small drop in the ocean, more significant was their enhanced prestige in China itself. The

Long March became the theme for songs and legends, and Communists, the accepted leaders of the new awakening in China.

ii) The Long March also led to a new cohesion within the Communist movement in China. Mao's leadership of the Party was consolidated. All along the March, when it was not possible to move further due to enemy areas, the frequent waits were utilised for political education and political meetings of the leadership. The existing differences among them were thoroughly ironed out in the light of the experience of the immediate realities.

iii) The most important gain for the Communists was, however, the human and physical experience that the Long March gave to the thousands of cadres. It was in itself a training ground for hard physical training and political education. It brought them into contact with new regions and the different people of China.

Thus when the Communists established their firm base in North Shensi, Yen-an, they had already disseminated their ideas among a very large section of people on the way, learnt an equal amount about the Chinese peasantry, its attitudes and habits, and were politically far wiser and experienced than at the Hunan or Kiangsi stage. In short, the Long March experience prepared them for their final assault against the enemies, and their eventual victory. On the other hand, the very different behaviour of the Peoples Liberation Army as compared to the KMT military forces, and their experience of this army as their own, meant eventually the acceptance of the Communists as their leaders by the Chinese people as a whole. Along the way they were, therefore, able to enlist a lot of Red supporters and partisans--even new recruits for their main army. After all the poor people of all the areas of China were oppressed by the warlords and the KMT.

13.4.2 The Yen-an Strategy

Yen-an was chosen as the new base by the Communists for reasons very similar to why Kiangsi had earlier been chosen by them. As Edgar Snow pointed out, "Yen-an was ideally suited for defence". Cradle in bound of high, rock-ribbed hills, its stout walls crawl up to the very tops. As

earlier, the liberated zones were founded on armed struggle, changes in landownership based on peasant interests, guerrilla warfare at local levels, and location of bases in areas inaccessible to government troops. But the chief enemy for the Communists at this stage was no longer the KMT. The main enemies were now the Japanese

In practical terms this meant that many more people from the previously considered hostile sections could now be brought into the field of the anti-Japanese struggle. In contrast to the earlier Chinese Soviet Republics therefore, the social base of their new areas of control was now greatly expanded.

A strategy of social transformation that would ensure an enlarged social base was absolutely necessary at this stage. This was in view of the fact that the CPC no longer faced a divided, corrupt adversary. The disciplined, armed might of Japanese imperialism was a different thing altogether from the KMT dependent on various warlords at odds with each other. The civil war in China was no longer between a KMT trying to unify if not social transformation and some warlords equally interested in independent means of control. The complexity of their conflicts lending a special dimension to the war between the KMT and the workers and peasants of China no longer held true in the changed political context. The Yen'an strategy was, therefore at once a strategy of United Front against Japanese imperialism, as well as of social transformation that would give the CPC a far wider social base than during the Kiangsi period. In fact, these two aspects of their strategy were interlinked and integral to each other.

13.4.3 Japanese Aggression

The Capitalist world, in spite of the international settlements made at the end of World War-1 was in an unprecedented economic crisis by 1929. This worsened in the next three years. These countries, particularly Japan and Germany who had not gained then, were very badly hit. There was an urge for a "new" division of the world. Japanese imperialism saw an aggressive war as the only way out. Against the clauses of the Nine-Power Treaty, the Japanese sought to drive the European powers and the

U.S. out of China, and to turn China into their own colony in much the same way as India was a British colony. They had already launched their first attack on Sept 18, 1931. By January 1933 they had penetrated into the whole of the North China plain, by 1935 they had occupied inner Mongolia, and by 1937 they were the paramount power in China. Using a minor incident at the Marco Polo Bridge (to the south of Peking) at this time, Japan invaded all of China without actually declaring war.

The devastation caused by Japanese brutality was shattering. For example, when the Nanking government fell; 300,000 people were massacred. In the Yangtze region, refugees were subjected to a rain of machine-gun firing. The massive loss of life and economy was similar in other parts of China.

Too preoccupied with their own war with Germany, more of an immediate threat to them, the European powers did not intervene. The U.S. remained neutral until the attack on Pearl Harbour by Japan in 1941. The Chinese government too, on its part, in keeping with its compromising policy towards the Western powers, did not declare war on Japan till the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbour and the fall of Hong Kong and Singapore. The Japanese had, therefore, almost a free run of the place. Incompetence on the part of Chinese authorities led to irrational loss of additional lives. A panic led them to set fire to Changsha, the capital of Hienan, where 800,000 refugees died in addition to inhabitants. Attempting to check the Japanese advance, they burst the dams of the Yellow River, killing thousands. The fight against Japanese aggression, therefore, became a matter of survival for China, and for this reason, the primary task for the Communists at this political juncture in China's history.

13.4.4 International Situation

For this task the broadest possible front had to be forged not only within China, but also with the other countries fighting Japan. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 led to the formation of a broad international front against Germany, Italy and Japan—the fascist powers. This broad front consisted of England, France, Soviet Union and after

1941, the U.S. They called themselves the Allied forces. The social forces of national liberation too joined this broad front. For India the choice was not so simple, as she was ruled by Britain. But for China the choice was simple and straightforward because the Allies fought Japan. Yet, for the CPC a larger question was at stake. The popular fronts against Germany, Italy and Japan also represented a fight for the survival of democracy and the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, both of which the CPC considered as necessary conditions for their own success. Thus the victory of Fascism would mean a setback and defeat for China at the hands of Japan, while their defeat would mean an independent China. In short, they perceived the world political situation and their role and place in it in very much the same way as Indian leaders did. It is not a coincidence that the process of decolonization, the Indian independence and the Chinese Revolution followed the defeat of the Fascist powers in the Second World War.

The formation of this International United Front of which CPC and the KMT in China became a part, was a long and painful process. The Japanese aggression in China began in 1931, assuming serious proportions by 1934. The Western powers till this time saw their interests as primarily opposed to the Soviet Union. Within China too they had their own economic investments and areas of control. Therefore, it was only when Japan began easing them out in China, and Germany in Europe and other parts of the world that they actually began to seriously oppose Germany and Japan. U.S., as mentioned earlier, joined the war only in 1941. By then a united resistance movement against Japan had already developed in China.

13.4.5 Economic Factors

The emerging conflicts between Japan and the European powers and the U.S. had their basis in their economic rivalries in China. Imperialist control over Chinese economy was complete in all sectors of economy. In 1937, 90.7 per cent of China's railway investment was foreign. 55.7 per cent of China's coal output, 18.9 per cent of the total tonnage of the vessels plying the Yangtse River and 55 per cent of the electricity

production were in foreign hands. All the iron production was with the Japanese. In 1936, 46.2 per cent of China's spindles and 56.4 per cent of her looms were owned by foreign capital. The foreign banks also enjoyed the privileges of issuing bank notes controlling the customs duty and salt tax. These imperialist investments were squeezed from China itself, as was the case in India.

But as compared with the 1930 figure, the British total investments in 1936 remained stagnant, the American increased by 20 per cent although its entire amount was not much. The Japanese investment in this period was increased by 48 per cent accounting for half of the gross sum of foreign investments in China. In the North East particularly, Japan monopolized the market and the land, the factories, mines, industrial raw materials, communications and transport. As a result China's industrialists and merchants had great losses in foreign trade and in the international market, as well as industrial profits within China. The three biggest textile centres in China were controlled by Japan.

All these figures tell the very plain story of how the possibilities of enlarging the social base of the national revolutionary movement were created during this period, and also why it became logical and necessary to make Japan its primary target.

13.4.6 Social And Political Resistance To Japan

The resistance to Japanese aggression began immediately. The Kiangsi Soviets declared war on Japan in 1932 as a protest against the invasion of Manchuria, although this was nothing more than a token resistance. But in the cities there was overwhelming assertion of public opinion against the Japanese. The intelligentsia played a leading role in activating public opinion and organizing boycott of Japanese goods. The student movement came to be identified with the national resistance movement. In the autumn of 1931, some 15,000 high schools and university students held military exercises in the streets of the capital and staged daily demonstrations to stop negotiations and force the government to declare war on Japan. The CPC, recognizing the great potential of these movements sent out an appeal to the whole country to join the

Notes

Communists in fighting Japan. This was in August 1935 even before the Long March had been completed and before they reached their base in Yanan. The strategy of the Chinese United Front, similar to the anti-Fascist United Front in Europe, was already born. However, it took some more time to formulate, and even more time to implement.

Although the KMT government did not officially declare war on Japan till 1941 and continued to regard the communists as its main enemy, yet it was forced to realize even in 1935 the growing anti-Japanese sentiments among the Chinese people. Students, intellectuals, professionals as well as the working people—particularly in the east, were very vocal. The Japanese offensive in China provoked a mass students uprising known today as December Ninth Movement (1935). The largest demonstrations Peking has ever seen were organized. They played an important role in preventing the Japanese from carrying out their plan to detach the five Northern provinces from the rest of China. A boycott movement against Japanese goods was launched by the merchants and coolies in many towns.

Finally, in May 1936 at the initiative of the students, was formed the Pan-China Federation of Association for National Salvation. It soon became the organizing centre for a powerful nationalist movement. This prestigious association, with various well-known lawyers, journalists and professors as its directors, called for an end to civil war and united resistance to Japan. In effect, this meant the endorsement of the CPC and Comintern appeal for a new United Front. In the cities of the East, the Federation cooperated with the Communists.

These organizations and movements were as much a protest against the Chinese government's policies of compromise and lack of resistance, as against the Japanese. It was in this political context that the much celebrated and significant 'Sian Incident' took place. On December 12, 1936, Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped by one of his generals while on a visit to Sian. Chinese troops were not happy fighting with the Chinese people, even if they happened to be Communists. They presented him with 'Eight Demands':

- 1) Reorganize the Nanking Government and admit all parties to share the joint responsibility of national salvation.
- 2) End all civil war immediately and adopt the policy of armed resistance against Japan.
- 3) Release the leaders of the resistance movement in Shanghai.
- 4) Pardon all political prisoners.
- 5) Guarantee the people liberty of assembly.
- 6) Safeguard the people's rights of patriotic organization and political liberty.
- 7) Put into effect the will of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.
- 8) Immediately convene a National Salvation Conference.

This programme implied in practice a united front of all the Chinese against Japan; an end to the persecution of the Communists; and drastic political reforms. The compromising policy of the KMT had made the people realise the necessity of democracy and a political system responsive to their aspirations. The link between nationalism and revolution had been forged in the minds of the Chinese people. It was realised that without political reform and the liberty to express and organize the political will of the people there could be no united resistance to Japan. The Chinese nation was inseparable from an assertion of independent political will and social transformation.

The expression of public opinion from 1931 to 1937 played a very significant role in establishing this link in the minds and political practices of the Chinese people. The cities, which, during the Kiangsi period had not seen political activity of the masses, became once more linked with the Chinese revolutionary movement. The centre of gravity of the struggle shifted from the South, where the Kiangsi and other Red areas had been during that period, to the North, the area of Japanese aggression and occupation.

The programme represented by the 'Eight Demands' as well as the Federation of Association of National Salvation were in keeping with the immediate demands of the CPC. The Chinese Red Army, the Soviet Government and the CPC immediately offered their support to this programme. The CPC once again made a formal appeal to the KMT on

July 15, 1937, to join the United Front of the people against Japan. Chiang Kai Shek was released. He, on his part, under pressure from the political developments of the preceding six years, was forced to accept the legality of the CPC, agree to end the persecution of the Communists, and work in co-operation with them. He also promised some political reforms. In this way, the formation of the Second United Front brought about a re-alignment of social and political forces in China.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Discuss the significance of the Long March.

2) Why did the CPC forge the second United Front?

13.4.7 The United Front In Practice

The United Front of the CPC and the KMT against Japan did not function smoothly at all times. In practical terms it also meant that the Communists had to give up their idea of overthrowing the KMT by force as long as the Japanese remained on China's soil. This was an issue beset with many practical difficulties and social tensions because the KMT's social policies had not been modified during the United Front, even as the CPC modified its own. Secondly, even as the Communists raised their own armed forces, they were also counted as part of the National Army. They became part of the "Eight Marching Army" and the "New Fourth Army" which also had KMT commanding officers.

To begin with, Chiang Kai Shek did take a stand against the Japanese. On August 13 1937, he put his best troops into action against the Japanese marine garrison in Shanghai. The Japanese realised that they were confronted by the might of the entire Chinese people, and went in for full mobilization of their own resources. As a result Chinese casualties mounted to thousands. The Chinese just did not have the same

kind of equipment. But every inch of the soil was fought over by the Chinese. This resistance at Shanghai was futile in a military sense, but in a political sense the demonstration of courage and heroism was significant. The tales of the battle, carried to other areas, kindled a spreading bonfire of patriotic feelings.

As pointed out by those who reported on this battle, "the winter of 1937-38 worked a miracle in China." The seat of government, after the defeat of Nanking, was shifted to Hankow. There was complete unity of purpose. All of China was on the move. Warlord armies from the South and South-west marched to join the battle. The Communist partisans fought bravely against the Japanese. In Hankow the government and the Communists sat together to formulate the plans for the prosecution of the war. Another unit of the Communist Army was created. In April 1938, for the first time in the history of Japan, her armies suffered a defeat in China.

This was, however, just one battle. Thereafter, one place after another in China fell before the economic and military superiority of the Japanese. Everything that counted for them came into their lap: the great ports, the industrial and commercial centres, the mouths of the three main rivers and the capital. The KMT and the Communists responded to this differently. As a result, by 1938 there emerged two differing perceptions of the strategy for fighting Japan-- immobility and peoples' war. As Chiang Kai Shek now saw it, there was nothing else to do but hold out till international assistance came. But this was not to come from the Western powers till 1941, as pointed out earlier. For all practical purposes this meant a suspension of struggle. The Communists, on the other hand, resolved to continue the struggle from their Red bases in Yen-an.

By 1938 it also became obvious to Chiang Kai Shek that because the Communists were more effectively organizing the people for guerrilla warfare against the Japanese they were winning the loyalty of the people. The strains within the United Front became more acute and Chiang again resorted to his earlier policy of blockage of Red areas. In spring 1939 his troops moved against the Communists in Hunan, then Hubei and Hebei. In November, they partially dismantled the southern part of the Yen-an

base. In January 1941 the Communist headquarters were attacked, and many of their leaders captured or killed.

The financial aid to China in the form of 500 million US dollars came to the KMT in 1941. Chiang Kai Shek was by now, however, more concerned with fighting the Communists. Meanwhile, in early 1944 the Japanese began another offensive. In Hunan they defeated the KMT forces within a matter of weeks. In their further victories to the southwest, they also destroyed the remaining American bases. Even at this stage he failed to adopt the Communist policy of people's guerrilla warfare. In fact the KMT resistance to the Japanese had collapsed in 1938 itself.

13.4.8 The Yen-an Base: A Form Of Resistance

The Communist programme for resisting Japan was put forward in Mao Tse Tung's article published on July 23, 1937. It was entitled "The Policies, Measures and Perspectives of Combating Japanese Invasion." In this he pointed out that the Communist's policy was one of the absolute resistance and its special feature was a reliance on the masses for this resistance. The mobilization of the people was of utmost importance for, as the Communists understood it, war was not an end in itself. It was a means towards building up a new China of freedom and equality. Therefore, apart from carrying on independent guerrilla warfare, it was seen as necessary to establish anti-Japanese bases behind the enemy's lines.

In the first stage of the war, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army of the Communists waged extensive warfare and established a number of anti-Japanese bases in North and Central China. From the winter of 1938 to the end of 1940 these bases kept growing. Anti-Japanese democratic governments were set up in these bases. The Communists' decision to send the forces behind the enemy lines were not the only way that these bases originated. Other fighting groups appeared spontaneously behind the Japanese lines like the peasant self-defence groups, autonomous guerrillas, groups of students, and even KMT dissidents. The two kinds of efforts complemented each other. This kind of warfare, culminating in the establishment of various Red bases, meant

that the distinction between the military and the civilians was eliminated. The military organizations ranged from the regular army to the regional militants and village defence groups, and even peasants who occasionally participated in military action without giving up agricultural work.

The support of the peasant population was crucial in providing new recruits, giving information, and providing transportation, provisions and other help during emergencies.

The distinction between the military and political spheres was also eliminated because these Red areas, even as they became areas controlled by the Chinese as opposed to the Japanese, were also areas where a new and free China was being built at the initiative of the Chinese people.

This had become possible because the people themselves were waging a war.

Once Chiang Kai Shek suspended the KMT struggle, the pressure of the Japanese aggression fell entirely on the Communists and the Red bases.

The Japanese pursued a relentless policy of destroying harvests and homes. But the severity of the Japanese atrocities further increased the support for the communists, as the Red bases became their only refuge against the Japanese. The governments of the nations opposed to Japan favoured the KMT in China. Therefore, the American aid or international pressure on Japan towards the end of the war worked towards the advantage of the KMT. Communists were regarded by them as enemies. The Red bases, in this context of complete isolation, survived solely on the strength of the working people of China. Without these Red bases there would have been no uncompromising struggle against the Japanese and no free and united China.

13.4.9 The Red Bases: A New Type Of Society

Spread out over about eighteen bases, the entire experiment with social transformation in these Red areas has come to be known as the Yen-an strategy or the Yen-an model. The whole idea behind the Yen-an strategy was that, "If you take a peasant who has been swindled, beaten and kicked about for all his working days, and you treat him like a man, ask his opinion, let him vote for a local government, let him constitute a

part of the police force in his own area, decide on his own taxes, the peasant becomes a man who has something to fight for. He will fight to preserve it against any enemy, Japanese or Chinese”.

This is precisely what the Communists did in the Red areas. The blueprint for these new bases can be seen in Mao Tse Tung's pamphlet, 'On New Democracy', written in 1940, even as the first experiments were already underway. To begin with, in keeping with the policy of the United Front of the entire Chinese people against the Japanese and their landlord collaborators in China, the land policy was correspondingly modified. The land confiscation policy was substituted by a more moderate programme of rent reduction. Land rents were reduced by 25 per cent. By this the Communists won over the majority of the peasants--rich, middle and poor--who were tenants on the land they cultivated. The second aspect of their policy, a decrease in usury or interest rate which was fixed at 10 per cent a year, won them further support. The third aspect, a progressive taxation policy, which meant that the richer landlords paid more taxes than the poor, was also a welcome change for the peasantry burdened until then with high taxes totally disproportionate to their income. Since there were fewer large landowners in North China, i.e. in the Yen-an region than in South or Central China, their giving up of land confiscation did not entail letting the landlords remain strong and powerful.

Related to these reforms were measures to increase production. It was felt that if people's living standards are to improve then production must also be made to increase. The Party, government and army directed their best efforts towards helping the people raise their production. During the anti-Japanese war, two production campaigns were undertaken by the troops and government bodies in the Shensi-Kansu-border region. The first (in 1938)-aimed chiefly at the improvement of living conditions, the second (in 1941) at self support. The extensive production campaign in the base areas behind the enemy lines was started in 1942. By 1943 it had become a widespread movement. In the liberated areas this campaign was extremely successful. The area under production and the grain output increased tremendously.

As a way of increasing production and improving the method of production organization, as well as introducing new forms of political education, peasants were organized into mutual aid teams and co-operatives. The principle involved in this cooperation was voluntary work and mutual benefit. Thus peasants began to experience new forms of interaction with each other through common labour and rotation of equipment. The methods followed were flexible and in keeping with local condition. The size of co-operative units varied widely and the production unit was formed at the level of a village, or part of a village as convenient and desired by the local population rather than on the basis of an administrative unit. The income, a very crucial matter naturally, was worked out on the basis of labour put in and the amount of investment in land. Thus the more a peasant put in, the more he got. In this way, the system of co-operative avoided the pitfalls of heartburning or conflict within the peasantry at this crucial political juncture, while having the merit of introducing collective effort even on the basis of individual peasant economy. It gave sufficient incentive to the peasant to co-operate without however, challenging his rights over his land. These experiments represented therefore new forms of popular co-operation and new organizational structures in the economic life of the peasantry at the village level.

In the area of crafts also, efforts were made to develop industrial co-operatives at the village level itself. They produced their own agricultural equipment, textiles, paper etc. Oil refining, iron smelting, machine building and repairing war materials, textiles, apart from breeding of livestock, etc. continued to be carried out throughout the war.

To fight the enemy on the economic front controls were imposed on trade with the enemy occupied areas. The export of grain, cotton, iron and leather was prohibited, while the import of salt, matches, cloth, electric appliances, military equipment and other things needed was encouraged.

These efforts on the economic front successfully counteracted the devastation, plunder and blockade by the Japanese. It helped to protect the resources of the base areas, promoted a degree of economic self-

Notes

reliance, considerably enabled the reduction of grain taken from the local population as levy and helped create a strong basis for the new experiments later followed by the Communist regime, These changes in economic organization also served as a sound foundation for creating the framework of a new democracy. In the Red Areas, political power at local level was shared by the state, the party, the mass organizations of the people and the Peoples' Liberation Army. The state was in charge of the principal public services such as finance, production, education and general administration. The state itself was a decentralised one. The officials of the state were actively associated with production. Mao Tse Tung himself raised tomatoes and tobacco leaves around his cave between the work sessions of the leadership organizations. The party's work was that of co-ordination and political mobilization of the people for building the new democratic structure. The mass organizations of the youth, the women, and peasants and workers' played a significant role in raising the political consciousness of the people, apart from supervising production. The army, as we have already mentioned, did a large number of other political tasks apart from fighting. This whole experiment as known as one of "mass line", because of the policies followed as well as the initiative of the people involved in various activities.

The basis of the new democratic political structure was universal, with free elections at all levels-village, district, and region. Everyone over eighteen years could participate in the elections to all the bodies. But it was ensured that of those elected 1/3rd should be Communists, 1/3rd independent left members and 1/3rd liberals and democrats--sometimes even KMT members. In this way, the United Front was given a political participatory dimension, giving representation to an alliance of the working poor and middle peasants, the petty bourgeoisie intellectuals and also the "national capitalists". In short, all those opposed to Japanese imperialism and feudalism were welcome in the Second United Front against Japan.

Apart from the electoral procedure and representation, democracy was given a far deeper dimension by ensuring the participation of all the

members in the economic decisions of the co-operatives, in the village self-defence militias and in the implementation of the new land policy. Democracy itself began to acquire a higher connection than simple individual self-expression. It became the means for organizing the most effective forms for the common struggle against the Japanese. Almost the entire population of the base areas backed the new democratic regime though it was involved in the anti-Japanese war in various ways. Since these bases were in rural areas, the peasants naturally constituted the primary social base of the new regime, although representation of workers, intellectuals and national capitalists ensured a policy framework for broader themes than only land reform. Special effort was made to mobilize women. The women's associations in keeping with the new policy framework and the demands of their times, did not merely confine themselves to issues such as forced marriages, subordination to parents, in-laws and husband or demands for political and social equality. They played a significant role in mobilizing women for agricultural work and participation in cooperatives. Although only 8 per cent of those elected to the local committees' for political leadership were women, yet a beginning had been made.

13.4.10 The Final Phase

In 1941 a critical point was reached. In the liberated Red areas, a new kind of social and political life had been created and support of the entire population gained. But at this time the Japanese offensive also became harsher and the blockade against the Red areas became complete. The break with the KMT was equally complete. The Japanese followed a policy of "Kill all, plunder all." This was an extremely hard year for the Communists. After the bombing of the Pearl Harbour in 1941, the Americans and the British increased their pressure on Japan in China. But they pushed for their own interests. The Communists were, however, not in favour of replacing the Japanese with Americans and the British. The KMT on the other hand had not opposed them. Therefore the entry of the Americans and the British into the war situation in China helped

Notes

only the KMT, which was equally opposed to the Communists by 1941. The pressure on liberated zones therefore only increased after 1941. From 1941 to 1943 the Japanese built enormous structure around their occupied zones and at the edge of the liberated Red areas. As a result of this renewed offensive thousands of people were massacred; harvests and villages destroyed. The population in Red areas was severely decimated with the regular army reduced to mere 300,000 men in 1942.

The tide could be made to turn only in 1944. The peasant militia was expanded and the final desperate struggle ensued. In 1944 and especially in 1945 the struggle was expanded. Communist bases were enlarged in Shantung and Shensi, Jiangsu, the borders of Hunan, Hubei and Henan. The anti-Japanese movement in the enemy occupied cities and villages became more widespread and intensive. The puppet government set up in the enemy territories in North, Central and South China, where also the worst plunder had taken place, were overthrown in many areas. By April 1945, the Peoples' Army had expanded to 910,000 men, the militia to 2,200,000, and the self-defence corps to 10,000,000 men. Nineteen liberated areas had been established covering an area of 950,000 square kilometres, inhabited by a population of 95,500,000. The liberated areas occupied very important strategic positions. Most of the Japanese occupied major cities, communication lines and coastal lines were surrounded by the peoples' troops.

Meanwhile the protocol for Germany's surrender was signed on May 7, 1945. The complete defeat of Germany and her unconditional surrender placed Japan in a position of utter political and military isolation, though it continued with her aggression in China. On August 14, 1945, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed. This treaty meant that both countries should co-operate with the other allied countries in fighting Japan until her final defeat. On August 8, 1945, Soviet Union had declared war on Japan.

Following this the Red army also launched a new counter offensive against Japan. Within two months from August 11, 1945 to October 10, 1945, the Peoples' Liberation Army liberated 315,000 square kilometres

of territory with a population of 18,712,000 and recovered 190 cities.

The liberated areas were thus further expanded.

The atomic bomb dropped by the U.S. at Hiroshima forced Japan to surrender on September 2, 1945. The longdrawn, heroic struggle of the Chinese people against Japan ended with this. So many thousands had sacrificed their lives, their livelihood and their customary way of life for their country's liberation on new lines. The liberation from the external enemy was achieved. The new life created in the liberated zones which had enabled them to win the war had yet to be defended against the KMT and its allies. This was to be dealt in the next phase of struggle i.e. the Chinese Revolution.

13.5 LET SUM UP

The Chinese Communist Party founded in 1921, played a very significant role ingiving a new ideology to the people of China. The May 4thMovement can beconsidered as the first attempt to spread Marxist ideas on an organized scale. Following the May 4thMovement was the spread of the press, increase in publicmeetings, new literature etc. that contributed to the growth of new ideas. The CPCwas responsible for the increase in the political consciousness of the working class.The first phase of the CPC and the working class came to a halt due to a wave ofrepression. The Long March was a great experience for the Communists. In spite of a retreatthey were able to ultimately consolidate their position and increase support amongthe people. Once the Japanese aggression of China started the Communists offeredimmediate resistance. Though a United Front was forged with the KMT, the Communists continued to carry their revolutionary policies and reforms in theirareas of influence. A new society was created in the Red bases which practicallytransformed all spheres of fife. The Peoples' Liberation Army and other Communistorganizations played a vital role in opposing the Japanese.

13.6 KEY WORDS

Coalescence: Coming together in forming one whole

Egalitarian: Relating to the principles of equal rights for all persons

Espousal: Supporting the cause

Milieu: Social surroundings

Upheaval: Drastic social change

Blueprint: A plan; framework

National capitalists: Those capitalists who supported war against Japan.

Protocol: A diplomatic draft of a treaty signed between the nations.

13.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1) Mention the efforts made by the Communists to mobilize women.

2) Discuss the functioning of the Red bases.

13.8 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (Third Edition) New Delhi, 1983.

Jean Chesneaux Et. al., *China from the 1911 Revolution to Liberation*, New Delhi, 1986

Hu Sheng, *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*, Beijing, 1985.

13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1) The Shantung Resolution at the Paris Peace Conference by which Germany's rights and privileges over Shantung were transferred to Japan instead of being restored to China, created a massive disillusionment in China with the West. Second, the success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia equally attracted the attention of the Chinese intelligentsia. Russia

became a prime and concrete example of a backward country overthrowing their old system as well as defeating Western imperialism. Marxism showed itself successful as a practical guide to political action and provided the Chinese intelligentsia with a philosophy by which it became possible to reject both the traditions of the Chinese past and the Western domination of the present. Marxism, henceforth, became a powerful current in the Chinese national liberation movement.

2) The May 4th movement of 1919 was an important landmark in the transformation of the political climate in China in the direction of Marxism. Chen Tu-Hsiu and Li-Chao, the founders of the CPC, were also leaders of the May 4th movement. For about fifty years the leadership of CPC came from the May 4th generation, most notable among them being Chou en-lai and Mao Tse-tung. A very large number of the rank and file membership also had their first revolutionary political experience in this movement.

Check Your Progress 2

1) The Long March itself contributed to the growing reputation of the Communists and the Peoples Liberation Army as just, courageous, and truly nationalist. The Long March also led to a new cohesion within the Communist movement in China. The most important gain for the Communists was, however, the human and physical experience that the Long March gave to the thousands of cadres. It was in itself a training ground for hard physical training and political education. It brought them into contact with new regions and the different people of China.

2) The United Front was forged between CPC and KMT to counter and overthrow Japanese imperialism from Chinese soil. The United Front of the CPC and the KMT against Japan did not function smoothly at all times. In practical terms it also meant that the Communists had to give up their idea of overthrowing the KMT by force as long as the Japanese remained on China's soil. This was an issue beset with many practical difficulties and social tensions because the KMT's social policies had not been modified during the United Front, even as the CPC modified its own.

UNIT - 14-THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

STRUCTURE

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Some Observations
- 14.3 Post-war Situation and Political Forces in China
- 14.4 Outbreak of the Civil War
- 14.5 KMT Offensives and their Defeat: 1946-1947
- 14.6 Communist Victories (1948-49)
- 14.7 Difficulties for the New Regime
- 14.8 New Regime: Economic, Political and Social Framework
 - 14.8.1 Land Reforms
 - 14.8.2 Industry
 - 14.8.3 Social Change
- 14.9 Significance of the Chinese Revolution
- 14.10 Let sum up
- 14.11 Keyword
- 14.12 Questions for Review
- 14.13 Suggested Readings And References.
- 14.14 Answers To Check Your Progress

14.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit you will be able to identify the political forces active in China after the Second World War, learn about the civil war in India, know the reasons for the defeat of KMT, identify the difficulties faced by the Communist regime, understand the economic, political and social framework of the new regime, and assess the significance of the Chinese Revolution.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

This Unit deals with the period between from 1945 to 1949. That is from the date of the surrender of Japan up to the period when foundation of the Peoples' Republic of China was formally proclaimed. These four years marked a period of civil war between the forces of the Kuomintang and the Communists. The civil war ended with the victory of the Communists and a new regime based on people's democracy was thus established in China. After taking into account these aspects the Unit also discusses the difficulties faced by the new regime and the economic, social and political framework adopted thereby

14.2 SOME OBSERVATIONS

In a period of less than four years the KMT or the Nationalist government based at Nanking gradually but surely collapsed. It lost out not only in the military battles and in its inability to bring about an economic reconstruction of China in the postwar years, but also because of its refusal to usher in any political or social changes. Thousands of Chinese people had already experienced a new quality of life in the liberated areas during the Kiangsi and the Yen-an periods. They were now not willing to accept a reversal to the old oppressive order under the KMT. The inability of the KMT to meet their aspirations was, therefore, as much a cause for the KMT's defeat. As Lenin once pointed out, 'great upheavals occur in history only when very large sections of people no longer want to continue living in the old way, and when a sizeable section that has a stake in the old ways is no longer able to continue with the old ways.' Precisely such a great historical juncture arrived in China in the year 1945 to 1949.

But the civil war which ensued after the Japanese defeat and the triumph of Chinese nationalism was not simply a war to decide who would be China's future rulers. It was also a war to decide the future of millions of Chinese people i.e. what their politics, society and everyday lives would be like. Therefore, what is significant for us to understand about this period is not only why the KMT lost, but also why and how the Chinese Communists won. In short, we must be able to see not only what the

Notes

Chinese people fought against, but also what they fought for. The positive alternative that the Communists offered was a blueprint for a society which was characterized by a far greater democracy and social justice than they had ever known or had known only for the brief periods i.e. till the 'liberated' zones lasted.

It is equally important to understand that in fighting alongside the Communists the Chinese people were fighting for themselves. What was taking place, in fact, was not simply a civil war or a military conflict. It was a revolutionary process, by participating in which, the Chinese people were transforming themselves as much as they were transforming Chinese society and all that it stood for. In subsequent sections we will underline these social processes in order to have an understanding of the Chinese Revolution. Moreover the revolution involves not only a change in the government but also involves the overthrow of an entire social order and its replacement by another---a more progressive one.

Therefore, it becomes important to study the revolutionary processes of this period from the point of view of the change in the correlation of social and political forces in China. Similarly some understanding of the content of the movement for peoples' democracy is also necessary.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was not a socialist revolution of the kind that the Russian Revolution of 1917 was. The Chinese's

Communists themselves saw the 1949 victory as the outcome of the entire national movement, victory of peasant struggles, and restoration of unity in a country which for so many years had been torn apart by conflicting forces. They called it a peoples' democratic revolution which brought to political power the Communists who stood for socialism.

On 1st October, 1949, Mao Tse Tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China proclaimed the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China. The actual victory of the Red Army is however not so easy to date. Parts of the North had been liberated since 1936 where as parts of southern China were not liberated until -1950. The 1949 victory, therefore, stands for the whole span of time from 1945 to 1951 during which the Peoples' government slowly consolidated its control over all of China. But 1st October 1949 has great symbolic significance. On that day the people of

China claimed power over their own fate. In rapid succession laws were passed ending the oppressive traditional practices. It was a freedom for everyone who had suffered under the whole system. These laws, together with the Constitution became the basis of organization and government in the New China.

14.3 POST-WAR SITUATION AND POLITICAL FORCES IN CHINA

The outcome of the World War II was a great disappointment to the imperialist powers. This was because in spite of the defeat of Italy, Germany and Japan, the victorious powers, Britain, France and the U.S. could not hold on to their privileges in the colonies. In fact, the Soviet victory and the emergence of the Peoples' Democracies in Eastern Europe along with strong national movements set the grounds for a systematic process of decolonization of Asia

In China, not only Japan but the European powers too were forced to withdraw. The emergence of a Communist Movement in a strong socialist camp at the end of World War II, in fact, changed the whole balance of political forces at the international level. Socialism and national liberation movements were gaining ground. The post-war international situation was, therefore, in favour of the Chinese people in their struggle against the foreign powers and those forces in China which collaborated with the foreign powers.

This international climate was of great advantage to the Chinese communists in spite of the fact that in the immediate aftermath of the Japanese surrender the internal balance of forces seemed to weigh heavily in favour of the KMT. The areas considered as the liberated Red zones had expanded during the course of the anti-Japanese struggle. But at the end of 1945, the KMT still controlled the major portions of the territory. All the international powers in 1945 gave legitimate recognition to KMTs' position. The Chinese Communists were yet to win acknowledgment among the world powers that they enjoyed considerable support among the Chinese people.

Notes

The KMT was far ahead of the Communists in terms of financial resources, military equipment, control over administration and the means of communication, as well as print media and co-operation from the dominant sections of Chinese society. Yet, one could not write off the Chinese Communists. This comes out clearly from the reports of various war correspondents of that period. In fact, the situation was somewhat similar to that of Russia in February 1917 when there was a kind of "dual power" between two organs of power—one that held the reins of power and the other which drew its strength from popular support. The social processes which the land policy and the experiment with democratic government had initiated in the liberated areas during the Kiangsi and the Yen-an periods had created a substantial popular base for the Communists. It had created the potential for a keen tussle for political power, the outcome of which could not be predetermined in spite of the singular advantages which the KMT possessed in 1945.

It is not that the Chinese peasantry did not have any complaints or criticisms of the Soviet system of government in the liberated areas, or that the Chinese people in the cities had a positive preference for a socialist future. But they definitely preferred their experience with the Communists to that with the KMT. The peasantry particularly referred to the Kiangsi and the Yen-an Soviets as "our government" and preferred them to what they called the "old days". Another thing that suggests the Communists' Popular base is the fact that in the liberated areas the policing and guarding was done almost entirely by the peasant organizations alone. Local defence was shared by the village revolutionary defence corps, peasant guards and partisans.

On the other side, in the areas under KMT control there was a generalised lack of morale and widespread discouragement. The governmental and military structure was gradually becoming permeated from top to bottom by corruption. The authority of the Central Government was weakening in the areas away from the larger cities. It was becoming difficult for the government to collect enough food for its large army and bureaucracy. Peasants in the KMT areas expressed extreme resentment at the forced conscription, tax collection and other

arbitrary impositions which continued after the end of war. The salaried classes suffered from the inflation resulting from the economic crisis. The intellectuals were dissatisfied. The political control and repression led to lack of intellectual vigour and leadership.

This contrasting picture between the Red areas and the KMT areas forms the immediate background and the social context within which the struggle between the KMT and the Communists took place. The success of the national-liberation struggle with the defeat of the Japanese, led to a transformation of the internal contradictions in China. The contradiction between China and Japan gave way to that between the broad masses of the Chinese people represented by the Communist Party on the one hand, and the big landlord class and big bourgeoisie represented by the KMT and aided by the U.S. on the other. This became the principal contradiction of Chinese social and political life - the main factor dominating the domestic situation.

Having won a victory over the Japanese forces, the Chinese people now saw freedom from their internal oppressors as their main task.

Political democracy and social emancipation became the primary issues in China. As the Civil War progressed, the KMT became the main hurdle to the realizations of these aspirations. The number of people involved in the struggle also increased rapidly as the Civil War took its course. The quality of life in the areas under the control of the two political groupings rather than the size of the areas under their control became the decisive factor in changing the political correlation of forces in favour of the

14.4 OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

What immediately followed the Japanese surrender in China was a scramble for men, territory, property and military equipment. The Supreme Chief of Staff of the Chinese army that had fought the Japanese sent a memorandum to the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in China instructing him to surrender his 1,090,000 troops and equipment only to the Chinese commanders of the war zones. Since all the commanders were KMT officers, this memorandum effectively deprived the Communists, who had fought as equal partners against the Japanese,

Notes

the right to accept the surrender of any Japanese units. At the same time Chiang Kai Shek telegraphed all the units of the Communist Eighth Route Army to stay where they were pending further orders and forbade them to take over the enemy's (Japanese)

The Communists saw through this strategy of the KMT an attempt to emerge as the sole political power in China. Mao Tse Tung immediately ordered the Red Army units to march towards Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, north and south Shensi and to make all efforts to attack the enemy troops and be prepared to accept their surrender. This Red Army did under the command of Chu Teh. The KMT government branded the Communists as 'enemy of the people' and Mao in turn accused KMT of having declared civil war against the Chinese people.

Immediate conflict arose over Manchuria which the Communists were able to occupy. This was in spite of the fact that the KMT forces at this time totalled about 3 million, while the Communists had less than one million. The Americans tried to mediate between the two forces because they perceived that a civil war in China could only go against their interests. General George C. Marshall was sent by President Truman to arrange for peace. Chiang Kai Shek refused anything short of complete control over Manchuria where the Communists now held sway. This the Communists obviously could not agree to. By the spring of 1946 all possibilities for successful negotiations ended and a full-fledged civil war became inevitable.

Meanwhile inflation and rising prices in the KMT areas threatened a situation where civil war would be carried into the KMT areas themselves. On the other hand, in the liberated zones, the Communist leaders launched a 'movement against the traitors. For example the landlords who had sided with the Japanese were denounced in village assemblies. In 1946, on the basis of an earlier directive, a mass movement was launched for the reduction of rent and interest rates, apart from abolishing all prior debts of the poor and middle peasants. In May 1946, the slogan of "land belongs to the tiller" was popularised.

Landlords also had to pay heavy taxes. In this way developments in both the KMT areas and the liberated zones contributed towards making class

struggle (through the agrarian revolution) an important dimension of the civil war even before the negotiations had failed. The Chinese people, although sick of the years of war, became prepared for another war. This time it was for the protection of their own rights over land and livelihood.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Discuss the position of the political forces in China in the post-World War-II period.

2) Discuss outbreak of civil war.

14.5 KMT OFFENSIVE AND THEIR DEFEAT: 1946- 1947

In June 1946, the KMT with its strength of two million men attacked the large Communist bases in North and Central China. They pushed back the Communist forces from the central plain and the lower Yangtze region. By March 1947 they had seized Yen-an, which had been the base of the Communists after the Long March. But these victories were deceptive. Still mustering their forces and avoiding a showdown; the Communists had not yet begun to go on the offensive. They did not try to defend their territory also. They concentrated instead on disengaging their forces and gathering them together for mobile defence and guerrilla warfare from their positions of defence. They, thus, did not lose their forces. The KMT, on the other hand, in order to retain the lost Communist territory, was forced to base a large part of its forces in this territory. There was no other way it could have retained control over a hostile population which favoured the Communists who had given them a new life. The Communists were, thus able to choose their area of combat

Notes

according to their own resources, and also to concentrate their entire forces in those areas where the KMT was weak.

In the spring of 1947 the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), under Lin Piao's command, carried out a series of offensives which left the city bound KMT forces dazed and confused. Except for the cities, Manchuria was firmly, won by the Communists. In February 1947, the Central Committee of the CPC called for the overthrow of the KMT Nationalist government. By the end of 1947 the Communists were able to regain control over Hebei, Shantung and Shansi areas. They defeated 56 KMT brigades by February 1947, 90 in May 1947 and 97 in September 1947. This amounted to the defeat of nearly 1/4 of the KMT army.

Simultaneously with this military crisis of the KMT, there broke out an economic crisis in the KMT controlled areas caused by the collaboration between the KMT and the United States. After the Japanese surrender, it was the KMT and not the Communists, to whom the Japanese had surrendered all the industrial equipment, the banking and financial institutions. The total value of these assets was 1,800 million dollars, which was controlled by a small clique of big industrial-capitalists. In fact, the capital owned by the "Four Big Families" in China amounted to 70-80 percent of the total industrial capital of China. Besides the KMT also took over all the fight the Communists, these 'Four Big Families and their collaborators who controlled the KMT, forced the Nationalist government to mortgage the entire Chinese economy to the United States. It suited the Americans very well as they did not mind helping those forces in China which were anti-Communist and could as well provide them a base against the Soviet Union.

During the civil war itself, in November 1946 the KMT signed the Sino-American Treaty of Commerce and Navigation which opened China to American products. By 1947 the United States occupied a decisive role in China's foreign commerce: 51 percent of all imports (as opposed to 22 per cent in 1936 before the Japanese defeat) and 57 per cent of all exports (compared to 19 per cent in 1936). Management and training of personnel in many enterprises was put under American control. The U.S. also put up factories in China and acquired or was given many privileges. They

made use of KMT State organs to evade taxation, monopolise raw material and control the market and transport facilities.

All this meant a virtual colonization of Chinese economy by American capital. It completely stifled and prevented growth of China's national industry and commerce and was against the interests of the large section of Chinese bourgeoisie and entrepreneurs. In terms of the civil war this meant that the Chinese Communists now found a major section of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie in China prepared to collaborate with them. This meant a major re-alignment of social forces in favour of the Communists.

The unprecedented rise in prices further contributed to an acute social and economic crisis in the KMT areas. The price index (100 in 1937) increased to 210 in 1947. The Chinese people were desperate and ready to welcome any change. They also felt that they had sacrificed so much to throw the Japanese out of the country and here was the KMT again selling out to a foreign power i.e. this time the Americans. They saw their newly won independence from foreign rule being systematically eroded and they recognized the Communists as the only consistent fighters.

Popular discontent against the KMT grew among almost all sections of society within and outside the KMT zones. Sometimes this discontent was led by underground Communist cadres. But very often it was spontaneous and created by the KMT policies. In September 1946 the slogan of Communist International "leave China" became popular. There arose a mass movement, whose supporters declared that they would go on agitating until all the American troops withdrew from China.

This movement took different forms of struggle in different areas. For example on December 1, 1947 a stall-keepers struggle broke out in Shanghai. The people had to rely for their necessities on pavement stalls and there were many stall-keepers in Shanghai. But in order to monopolise the market for their big commercial supporters, the KMT government issued orders banning stalls on the pavement. This made it impossible for the stall-keepers to earn their living. Their demand to continue with the stalls was met with extreme brutality. Since Shanghai was the centre of collaboration of the KMT and America, it produced an

Notes

unprecedented reaction among the Chinese people. In another case the rape of a Peking University girl-student by an American soldier was the last straw. Five lakh young people from schools and universities went on strike and organised demonstrations. In May 1947, a "New May Fourth Movement" was proclaimed, protesting against the entire set of KMT policies. This movement was met by repression. Hundreds of young people were wounded and 13,000 arrests were made in just two months. But this only brought the democratic patriotic movement to a higher phase. By the autumn of 1947 the movement had developed into a "movement for the protection of civil rights."

After a long period of inactivity the workers' movement also picked up. In May 1947, riots and strikes broke out in Shanghai protesting against the high cost of living and hunger. "Rice riots" broke out in the cities of the lower Yangtze. The cities, thus again became important areas of struggle against the old forces resisting change. In the countryside, in KMT areas, peasant agitation took the form of demonstrations, riots, refusal to pay taxes and rents and attacks on tax collectors. In Taiwan also, there was resistance to KMT rule.

The government again answered with brutal force. The poet Wen i-tuo, associated with the struggle for democracy, was murdered. In May 1947 strikes, demonstrations and even petitions by more than ten people were banned. There remained no space for peaceful protest and no way out for those who stood midway between the KMT and the Communists except to join the Communists against the repressive and authoritarian KMT government.

The liberated zones were able to retain their freedom from this repression because of the mass support for the Communists among the peasants. The CPC further consolidated its base in these areas through the October 1947 Agrarian Reform Law which called for the confiscation of landlords' land. The rich peasants were to give up only those lands which exceeded the allowed limits. The Agrarian Law aimed at the elimination of the feudal lords as a class, but not at wiping them off as individuals. Clear distinction was made between landlords and rich peasants, big landlords and smaller landlords, between the general landlords and those who

were local bullies. Each category was treated differently within the general framework of the Agrarian law based on the principle of "land to the tiller."

Moreover, these measures were not carried out simply by administrative means from above. The poor and middle peasants formed the backbone of the movement for agrarian changes. Land was distributed in the following way : All the public land and the land owned by the landlords was to be taken over by the local peasant association and, together with the rest of the land in the locality, redistributed equally on a per capita basis. An overall readjustment of landholdings was made so that every person in the locality became the owner of a piece of land roughly equal in terms of size or productivity. Within a year of the law, 100 million peasants in the liberated areas received land. The CPC also led the peasants in a movement for co-operation on a voluntary basis in order to make improved methods of cultivation easier to implement and to increase agricultural production.

Thus, we see that the Communist victories of 1947 were not won by military means alone. The different forms of class struggle in the areas of the KMT and the CPC weakened the KMT and strengthened the CPC support base throughout China. Having obtained land the peasants enthusiastically participated in the civil war on the side of the Communists. The total number of KMT troops was reduced from 4,300,000 at the beginning of the war to 3,700,000 by July 1947, while the PLA grew from 1,200,000 to nearly 2,000,000. There was also as a result, a fundamental change in the war situation. People's revolutionary forces which had fought a defensive battle for the last twenty years in China were, for the first time, in a position to assume the offensive. The PLA penetrated into the KMT areas. Mao Tse Tung referred to this stage as "the turning point in the war."

14.6 COMMUNIST VICTORIES (1948-49)

In spring 1948, the PLA occupied the major cities along the Yellow river. They also reoccupied Yen-an which had been their base during the anti-Japanese war and which they had been forced to abandon in 1946. In

Notes

three major campaigns later the KMT forces were completely defeated: The first of these major campaigns by the PLA was in East China, where, after eight days of continual attack beginning on September 16, 1948, Tsinan, the capital city of Shantung province was liberated from the KMT forces. From September 12 to November 2, 1948 the PLA in North East China conducted a campaign which resulted in the liberation of Shenyang and the entire Northeast China, where the most important industrial cities and the most productive regions of the whole country lay. In the period between November 7, 1948 and January 10, 1949, the PLA liberated all the areas north of the Huai River and brought the greater part of the area south of it under its control. After a campaign lasting from December 5, 1948 to January 31, 1949, another section of the PLA was able to liberate Peking. At this point, Chiang Kai Shek tried to make a show of negotiations, while recouping his forces in the meanwhile. His game soon became clear to the Communists, who launched a new campaign in April 1949 to liberate the entire country. It did not take more than three days to capture Nanking which had been the headquarters of the KMT regime for more than 20 years. The liberation of Nanking marked the end of KMT rule, after which the entire mainland of China was won over. Chiang Kai Shek, with a section of his forces, was forced to retreat to Taiwan. The western provinces, still ruled by their formerly independent warlords, laid down their arms and acknowledged the Communist regime. The Communists emerged as victors of the civil war. The Chinese people for the first time had a government that was their own throughout the country.

As in the earlier phase, the loss of support for the KMT and increased support for the CPC were significant factors in these final victories. The KMT was not able to check price rise and production came to a halt. It lost support from the people. The Communists, on their part, in 1948-1949, tried to win the support of larger sections of people, by adopting a more flexible agrarian policy in the new liberated zones. They tried to be more moderate to begin with. For example the rich peasants were not touched and the middle classes and bourgeoisie were also not alienated through any measures against their interests. The effort was to

emphasise national reconstruction and popular unity of all democratic forces, which also included non- Communist groups who had opposed the KMT. The idea was put forward by MaoTse Tung in his pamphlet, "On the Peoples' Democratic Dictatorship," and was already implemented in the newly liberated zones. Therefore, even as victory was achieved, the conditions had already been created for the establishment of new state structures on the basis of broad political alliances with other democratic groups and a "common programme" representing the aspirations of the Chinese people. On October 1, 1949, the new Peoples Republic of China was formally proclaimed.

14.7 DIFFICULTIES FOR THE NEW REGIME

There were still some drawbacks for the new regime. The world as a whole would not recognize the new regime. The U.S. continued to recognize Chiang Kai Shek, who resumed the leadership of his government in the confines of Taiwan. Other powers hesitated, some making acts of recognition, others holding back. Communist China did not obtain China's seat at the U.N. Except for the Soviet Union which was a socialist country, others adopted a hostile attitude. They saw in the new regime a defeat for the forces supported by imperialism, and a victory for socialism to which they were opposed in principle. They forgot all talk about democracy and disregarded the fact that the new regime enjoyed great popular support. The United States, in fact, did not recognize Communist China for more than twenty years. Other problems faced by the new regime were: the total wreck of the national economy, galloping inflation, disrupted and destroyed communications, no foreign trade, hardly any functional industry, and threat of famine in many areas.

There was very little left of the modern fleet of steamships, also mainly foreign owned, which had conducted the trade and afforded a major line of communications on the Yangtze River. For these reasons many observers believed that the new communist government would not be able to survive long. But it had certain advantages. For example it had the

Notes

support of the vast majority of the Chinese people. They saw the new regime as a new start in the history of their country and in their personal lives. Few knew about Communism, but they were conscious of building a new society. The poorest of the poor felt a new dignity and usefulness in society. The whole country, for the first time in many years, was united and wag at peace. Communications were being restored fast. This was, as many observers pointed out, achieved by unpaid labour. But the masses who worked on the railway restoration were fed and mobilised by PLA and received equal treatment with the soldiers. The towns did not starve in the winter of 1949. Food was transported, by barges and primitive boats, fourteen hundred miles up the Yangtze. The Chinese people survived the economic blockade by the foreign powers, just as Soviet Russia had in 1917. The Army had no more wars to fight: It was set to work in the cities, rebuilding shattered dwellings and public buildings. A new currency was introduced. In the middle of 1951, within two years of victory the inflation was halted and there was some economic stability. It was on the basis of this new stability that the leaders of the CPC tried to put into practice their experience of Kiangsi and Yen-an throughout the country.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Discuss the factors that contributed to the defeat of KMT forces.

2) What was the social base of Communists?

3) Discuss the problems faced by the new regime.

14.8 NEW REGIME: ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FRAMEWORK

In 1948, at Mao's suggestion, one of the May Day slogans proclaimed by the Chinese Communist Party had been: "All democratic parties, peoples' organizations and public personages should quickly call a Political Consultative Conference to discuss and carry out the convening of a People's Congress and the formation of a democratic coalition government." The blueprint for such a government was put forward by Mao in his essay on "the Peoples' Democratic Dictatorship". The political structure envisaged by him allowed for the participation of a very broad section of the Chinese population in the political and economic life of the country. This entire might of the people was to be directed against the power of the landlords and the reactionaries.

As soon as China was proclaimed a Republic with Communist victory, this kind of government was established. It was a coalition of fourteen parties and groups and there were non-Communists both in the government as well as among the deputy heads of states. This political structure was a symbol of the broad support enjoyed by the new regime. In social terms it represented a united front or alliance of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. Mao Tse Tung was made the Chairman of the Peoples' Republic.

14.8.1 Land Reforms

The first major policy to be implemented was that of 'land reform'. This meant that: all land should be as far as possible shared out equally between the villages or district and the former landlords were to retain a small share, equal to that of others and only to them who were prepared to work it themselves. In keeping with the broad base of the new political structure, the agrarian policy was also moderate, and such as to retain the support of the broader sections of the Chinese people in the countryside. As such, it was more moderate than the Civil War policy. It was also a policy geared to promote economic development of the countryside and to re-shape social and economic relations there.

Notes

Thus, the Agrarian Law of 1950, unlike that of 1947, divided the rural lands and goods of landowners without indemnity, but left them in possession of their city properties and business. The rich peasants, again unlike in 1947, were allowed to keep their lands and holdings, consideration being given to their productive capacity and the fact that cities had to be supplied with rice. Besides, these more flexible measures applied only to the new liberated zones, where agrarian reform was being implemented for the first time. In the old liberated zones the 1947 measures remained in effect.

The properties of the landlords were divided among the poor and middle peasants. Tenant farming, with payments both in kind and cash, was abolished. This amounted to 1/4 of the country's agricultural production, which was earlier being handed over to landlords. Forced labour and other feudal services were also abolished. Approximately 300 million peasants benefited from these reforms. They became full owners to their land which they could buy, sell and rent. The rich peasants, however, retained their better quality lands. The Agrarian Reform law also defined the powers of the peasants associations which were set up for carrying out the changes and people's courts were also established to deal with the cases of conflict. With the formation of people's courts and peasants associations, the political power of the landlords was also destroyed. This gave tremendous confidence to the peasants. Mass trials of cruel and oppressive landlords were carried out in all parts of China. A number of landlords were executed after these trials, some sentenced to a period of detention, and some merely made to apologise, depending on their crimes. There were cases of cruelty, and it was a period of great political and psychological trauma for the landlords. But the peasantry had been oppressed for so long and subjected to much cruelty that sometimes people took matters into their own hands, simply overcome by their deep resentment. However, such cases were not the general rule of the day.

Agrarian reform also helped to activate the social life in the villages. Health and literacy campaigns were conducted by peasants associations,

activities by women's groups and those of young people also ensured the participation of all sections in the transformation of the life of the people.

14.8.2 Industry

Industry and its management were in the hands of the national bourgeoisie and the Communists had very little control over it. Therefore, through the 1950 law they concerned themselves primarily with labour unions, price control, distribution of primary materials and state orders. The CCP organized a vast network of unions in factories, city federations, provinces and in the different branches of industry. They represented workers interests in the factories and also carried out literacy campaigns. Private economy was allowed to develop and even make profit under the general guidance of the state. Relentless struggle was carried out against corruption, waste, bribery and other such evils which undermined production. Transportation, finances and commerce were also put in order.

14.8.3 Social Change

The Marriage Law of 1950 was an important landmark in transforming social relationships. Its aim was the establishment of equal rights for women. Through making marriage an institution based on equality and free mutual consent, the position of women was vastly improved. Women played an active role in productive work and in shouldering social responsibilities. They became active citizens of a new China. The Marriage Law was also a law for protection of children.

Female infanticide was strictly forbidden. It was illegal to sell children, which had happened frequently during the famines of 1921, 1931 and 1943. Many women married against their wish asked for divorce and were helped by women's organizations. Prostitution became a crime. The prostitutes were given medical care and emotional support to begin new lives.

The peddlers of opium and other drugs were hunted down; the reduction and cure of opium addicts was organized and public gambling was

outlawed. In confronting all these illegal activities, the new regime defended the principles of human dignity. A central problem faced by the new regime was also the cultural backwardness of the country. As Mao declared, "the serious problem is the education of the peasantry".

Literacy campaigns were organized in the villages, factories and among the poor sections of the cities. The number of students doubled between 1949 and 1952 from 24 to 51 million primary school children, and from 1 million to 24.2 million secondary school students.

These social, political and economic changes were implemented through the creation of an organizational network extending to the most backward areas in the country. The membership of the Chinese Communist Party had grown from about 1 million at the start of the civil war to around 5 million in 1950. Mass organizations linked to the Party grew in all areas of social life: unions, women's organizations, youth groups, professional and intellectual organizations, friendship clubs with Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They were very active and in close touch with the concrete problems found in each social category. In 1952 the women organizations had 76 million members, Democratic Youth Organization 7 million members, Federation of Students had 1,600,000 members, and the union had 6 million members. These organizations helped to link the masses to the important policy measures of the time, give them an active role, and consolidate new thinking and new values through campaigns in the form of public meetings, discussions, posters and huge marches. In this way the social, political and ideological foundations were created for a democratic regime that would enable a gradual transition towards a socialist society.

14.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

In assessing the significance and worldwide impact of the successful Chinese Revolution, we must look at it from a historical perspective. Both in area and population, China in 1949 was the largest country in the world. Its territory extends to 9 million square kilometres and population, according to official statistics was 410 million in 1939. The destruction

of the old order by the successful Chinese revolutionary movement and the establishment of a People's Republic implied, therefore, the transformation of the quality of life of a large chunk of the world's inhabitants. Given this fact, it was a major event not only in the history of China but in the history of mankind.

Generally, it is recognized by students of history that the modern ideas which first emerged in the West have played an important role in transforming the consciousness of people in the more backward societies. Notable among these are the ideas of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Democracy and popular sovereignty. But we should also understand that these ideas cannot find fertile soil in a vacuum. It is ultimately the changes in the backward societies which create the favourable climate for new ideas to take root. This happened also in the case of China.

Secondly, successful revolutions like those of Russia (1917) and China (1949) have also shown that for democracy and equality to be real, there has to be economic equality, freedom from hunger and organization of production in such a way that it benefits those who are the producers of the world's produce and wealth. Democracy, similarly, can have real content of the political structure if it is receptive to the needs of the labouring poor who constitute the majority of the population; if its policies are in the interests of this section, and if they have a real presence in governing themselves. The Chinese Revolution of 1949 laid the foundations of precisely such a society and polity in China. In doing so it inspired those who are fighting for social justice and equality not only in the underdeveloped countries but even in the advanced countries of the West. After the Chinese Revolution it can no longer be said that progressive ideas and practices have emanated only from the West.

We must remember that the Chinese Revolution was also a major act of decolonization. Pre-revolutionary China was a country ruled by almost all the imperialist powers of the world. Its entire wealth and production was organized for the benefit of these powers. The Chinese people lived a life of acute deprivation under the system of treaties forced on China by the Western powers and Japan. They were equally the victims of the worst abuses of feudalism represented by Chinese warlordism. Death from

poverty and hunger was the norm rather than exception for the poorer sections of the peasantry. The Chinese Revolution in destroying the social and economic basis of feudalism in China also destroyed the social base of the imperialist powers on Chinese soil. In their uncompromising struggle against the imperialists, the Chinese revolutionary masses also gave a rebuff to the Western powers. It changed the balances of political forces in favour of socialism and national liberation; it proved an inspiring example to all Asian countries fighting for national independence.

The Chinese revolution in bringing forth the full political potential of the peasantry provided a blueprint for the role of the peasantry in the revolutionary transformation of backward societies. The Communist movement in all backward countries has drawn upon this experience of China. Its concept of a 'peoples' democratic has been incorporated and adapted in the programme of Communist parties in Asian Countries. The Chinese Revolution transformed the entire spectrum of life of the Chinese people-political, social, economic, intellectual and made them major actors on the stage of world history.

14.10 LET SUM UP

After the end of the Second World War, Civil War broke out in China. The KMT under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek directed its attack on the Communists with the U.S. backing. However, the Communists got tremendous support from the people of China. This was because they had adopted pro-people policies and opposed feudal and capitalist exploitation. The Communists emerged victorious in the Civil War. That happened in spite of vast resources with the KMT. The KMT failed to establish a popular mass base because of its reactionary policies. The Communists established a new regime which faced a number of difficulties in the initial stage. However, with extensive land reforms and organized efforts by its cadres, the CPC was able to gradually overcome these difficulties. Seen in its totality the Chinese Revolution had a worldwide impact and its significance was acknowledged by the struggling poor in various countries.

14.11 KEY WORDS

- 1) **Nationalist Government:** The term is used to differentiate the KMT with CPC. The KMT claimed to be a nationalist force where as the CPC stood for a Communist revolution.
- 2) **Liberated Zones:** Areas that came under the control of CPC were termed as liberated zones by the Communists.
- 3) **Communism:** a theory or system of social organization in which all property is owned by the community and each person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs.
- 4) **KMT:** The Kuomintang of China also spelled as Guomindang and often alternatively translated as the Nationalist Party of China or the Chinese Nationalist Party, is a major political party in the Republic of China based in Taipei that was founded in 1911.

14.12 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

- 1) Discuss the major aspects of the land reforms carried under the new regime.
- 2) Discuss the significance of the Chinese Revolution

14.13 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (Third edition) New Delhi, 1983.

Jean Chesneaux Et. al., *China from the 1911 Revolution to Liberation*, New Delhi, 1986.

Hu Sheng, *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*, Beijing, 1985.

14.14 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

Notes

1) In China, not only Japan but the European powers too were forced to withdraw. The emergence of a Communist Movement in a strong socialist camp at the end of World War II, in fact, changed the whole balance of political forces at the international level. Socialism and national liberation movements were gaining ground. The post-war international situation was, therefore, in favour of the Chinese people in their struggle against the foreign powers and those forces in China which collaborated with the foreign powers. This international climate was of great advantage to the Chinese communists in spite of the fact that in the immediate aftermath of the Japanese surrender the internal balance of forces seemed to weigh heavily in favour of the KMT.

2) Immediate conflict arose over Manchuria which the Communists were able to occupy. General George C. Marshall was sent by President Truman to arrange for peace. Chiang Kai Shek refused anything short of complete control over Manchuria where the Communists now held sway. This the Communists obviously could not agree to. By the spring of 1946 all possibilities for successful negotiations ended and a full-fledged civil war became inevitable.

Check Your Progress 2

1) We see that the Communist victories of 1947 were not won by military means alone. The different forms of class struggle in the areas of the KMT and the CPC weakened the KMT and strengthened the CPC support base throughout China. The CPC further consolidated its base in these areas through the October 1947 Agrarian Reform Law which called for the confiscation of landlords' land. The unprecedented rise in prices further contributed to an acute social and economic crisis in the KMT areas. In order to monopolise the market for their big commercial supporters, the KMT government issued orders banning stalls on the pavement. In another case the rape of a Peking University girl-student by an American soldier was the last straw. After a long period of inactivity the workers' movement also picked up. .

2) What was the social base of Communists?

The actions of KMT government completely stifled and prevented the growth of China's national industry and commerce which was against the interests of the large section of Chinese bourgeoisie entrepreneurs. In terms of the civil war this meant that the Chinese Communists now found a major section of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie in China prepared to collaborate with them. This meant a major realignment of social forces in favour of the Communists. The liberated zones were able to retain their freedom from the repression of KMT government because of the mass support for the Communists among the peasants. The CPC further consolidated its base in these areas through the October 1947 Agrarian Reform Law which called for the confiscation of landlords' land, improved methods of cultivation easier to implement and to increase agricultural production. Thus, we see that the Communist victories of 1947 were not won by military means alone.

3) There were still some drawbacks for the new regime. The world as a whole would not recognize the new regime. Except for the Soviet Union which was a socialist country, others adopted a hostile attitude. They saw in the new regime a defeat for the forces supported by imperialism, and a victory for socialism to which they were opposed in principle.

Other problems were the total wreck of the national economy, galloping inflation, disrupted and destroyed communications, no foreign trade, hardly any functional industry, and threat of famine in many areas.