REDRAWAL OF NATIONAL BOUNDARIES AND DECOLONIZATION

The world has been completely transformed during the years since the end of the Second World War in 1945. Its political map has also changed. The influence and the nominations which a few European imperialist powers exercised in the prewar years became things of the past. A large number of nations in Asia and Africa which had been suffering under colonial rule emerged as independent nations.

Together, they have become a major factor in the world. The United States had emerged as the biggest power after the First World War. The Soviet Union also emerged as a mighty power after the Second World War, in spite of the terrible devastation that she suffered during the war. Before the Second World War, the Soviet Union was the only country. In the world which professed socialism. After the war, a number of other countries joined her. The two world wars, fought within a brief period of about 30 years, resulted in the loss of millions of human lives. The danger of a new world war which would destroy human life altogether created a new awareness of the need for establishing lasting peace. Peoples and nations made efforts in this direction by promoting mutual relations based on friendship and cooperation. They also created many new institutions and agencies for the purpose.

However, in spite of these efforts the period after the Second World War has been full of stresses and strains. It has seen many conflicts and wars in which hundreds of thousands of people have been killed even though the world has escaped a large-scale conflagration. Since the late 1980s, further changes have taken place in some parts of the world. Some of the consequences of the Second World War and, in some cases, even of the First World War have been undone during the past five years. During this period, some of the issues which dominated the world and some of the forces and factors which shaped the world for about four decades after the war have become irrelevant.
The ‘threat of communism’ which had been a major factor in determining the policies of many countries since the Russian Revolution and, even more so, after the Second World War is no longer an issue. Communist regimes in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe have collapsed. The Soviet Union has broken up into 15 independent States. Many other changes have taken place the world over and it is possible to think of the period from the late 1980 as the one marking the beginning of a new phase in the history of the world after the Second World War.

During the war, the major Allied nations had held many conferences and had issued declarations stating the principles which would form the bases of peace. The first major declaration had been issued by Britain and USA in 1941. It stated that Britain and the United States would not seek any territory. It also supported the right of every people to have the form of government of their choice. Early in 1942 was issued, as mentioned before, the United Nations Declaration. This Declaration supported the one issued by Britain and USA earlier. Another declaration stated that all the Chinese territories taken by Japan would be restored to her. In 1943, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, leaders of Britain, USA and the Soviet Union, respectively, met at Tehran. They declared their resolve to “banish the scourge and terror of war and to create a world in which all peoples may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences”.

**Yalta Conference**

Early in 1945 when Germany was on the verge of defeat, the heads of the three big nations met at Yalta in the Soviet Union. Here they agreed on a number of issues such as how to deal with Germany and the non-German territories which had been liberated from Germany. The Yalta Conference also took the decision to set up a new organization to replace the League of Nations.
Birth of United Nations

Subsequently, a conference was held at San Francisco, USA, from 25 April 1945. The conference was attended by 50 nations. On 26 June the conference adopted the United Nations Charter under which a new world organization was set up. This was the United Nations Organization which was based on the principle of "the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states." The purposes of the United Nations Organization were to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

To carry out these objectives, six principal organs of the United Nations Organization (now referred to as the United Nations or simply the UN) were created: these were:

1. the General Assembly composed of all the members of the UN;
2. the Security Council composed of five permanent members, viz. the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, and six others to be elected by the General Assembly for a period of two years. The Security Council was made primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and security (The number of non permanent members was subsequently raised from six to ten);
3. the Economic and Social Council of 18 members to promote "respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all"
4. the Trusteeship Council
5. the International Court of Justice
6. the Secretariat with a Secretary General appointed by the General Assembly as its head.

A number of specialized agencies of the UN were also created such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO) (this body had been created after the First World War), etc. It was realized that unless all the permanent members of the Security Council, who were at that time the biggest powers, were agreed, no course
of action for the maintenance of peace and security could be effective. Hence it was provided that any decision of the Security Council must have the support of all five permanent members. The setting up of the United Nations was one of the most important consequences of the Second World War.

The Potsdam Conference

Another major conference of the heads of government of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union was held at Potsdam (near Berlin) from 17 July to 2 August 1945. The declaration issued by this conference mentioned the main aims of the Allies with regard to Germany which had already surrendered Germany had been partitioned into four zones, each under the control of Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union. The declaration stated that the aim of the Allied occupation of Germany was to bring about the complete disarmament of Germany, to destroy the Nazi Party and to prepare conditions for the creation of a democratic Germany. It was also decided to set up an international tribunal to bring to trial persons who had committed crimes against humanity. Decisions were also taken regarding the border between Poland and Germany, and the transfer of the northern part of East Prussia to the Soviet Union and the southern part to Poland. The various conferences held during and after the war influenced the political developments after the war.

EUROPE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR:- REDRAWAL OF BOUNDARIES.

Many countries in Europe had been liberated from German occupation by the Soviet armies. These countries were Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. The Communist parties and other antifascist parties in these countries had played an important role in the struggle against German occupation of these countries. By the end of 1948, the governments of all these countries were dominated by the Communist parties. In Albania and Yugoslavia, the struggle against German occupation had been led by the Communist parties of these countries. In these countries too Communist parties formed the governments.
The establishment of the Communist parties' rule in these countries was a significant development after the Second World War. Up to the Second World War, the only country in Europe, and the world, ruled by a Communist party was the Soviet Union. Now a large number of European countries were ruled by Communist parties. In these countries, other political parties were either not allowed to exist or had only a nominal presence. The political power was exclusively in the hands of the Communist parties. The presence of Soviet troops in these countries ensured the continuance of the Communist parties' monopoly of power. Sometimes, the Soviet troops were used to suppress movements which opposed the domination of Communist parties. Within the Communist parties themselves, differences over policies were not allowed and the power within, the Communist parties became concentrated in a few hands. As in the Soviet Union, dissent even within the ruling parties was not tolerated and many veteran communists were shot or sentenced to long periods of imprisonment after fake trials. Sometimes these countries were branded as 'satellites' of the Soviet Union.

The Communist party of Yugoslavia was the only ruling Communist Party which refused to be dominated by the Soviet Union. But at the same time, the government of Yugoslavia did not allow other political parties to function. Germany Within a little more than four years after the end of the Second World War, certain developments took place which resulted in the division of Germany. The four powers — Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union which were in occupation of four different zones of Germany followed different policies in dealing with the social, economic and political problems in their respective zones.

In the British, French and American zones, the economic development continued on capitalist lines. The two major parties in these zone, were the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party. In 1948, Brain, France and the United States decided to merge the three zones under their control which were in West Germany and form a separate government there. In September 1949 these zones were united and a separate state in West Germany called the Federal Republic of Germany with its capital at Bonn came into being. In East Germany which was under Soviet occupation, the policies pursued were different from those that had been followed in
the western zones. Lands were distributed among peasants and all the major industries were taken over from private hands and made the property of the state.

In 1946 the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in the Soviet zone of Germany merged to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In October 1949, the Soviet zone became a separate state called the German Democratic Republic. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany became the ruling party in the German Democratic Republic. Thus Germany came to be divided into two states, each following its own pattern of social, economic and political development. The division of Germany into two independent states, which lasted for over four decades, was a major consequence of the Second World War. The division of Germany had been a source of tension in Europe and a major factor in the Cold War. East Berlin was the capital of East Germany (German Democratic Republic or GDR) while West Berlin which was located within the GDR territory was treated as a part of West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany or FRG).

In 1961, the GDR authorities built a wall between East and West Berlin to prevent East Germans from going away to West Berlin. The building of the wall became a further source of tension in Europe. The process of ending communist rule in GDR and of the reunification of Germany began in 1989 when the Berlin Wall was opened and political parties which were outside the control of the communist party (called the Socialist Unity Party) were allowed to function. In early 1990 elections were held and a new government came to power. On 3 October 1990, the division of Germany was ended and a unified Germany again emerged.

France and Italy: rise of communism

In other parts of Europe also, important political changes took place. The Communist parties of France and Italy had played an important role in the resistance movements in these countries. They had emerged as powerful parties at the end of the war. In the first government formed in France after the war, the Communist Party of France was represented. However, it quit the government in 1947 because of differences over economic policies and over the question of independence for the countries.
comprising Indochina. The French government was trying to reestablish its rule over Indochina which the Communist Party opposed.

In the Italian government, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party were an important force. In 1946, monarchy was abolished and Italy became a republic. In 1947 the Christian Democratic Party came to power and the Communist Party quit the government. However, even though the Communist and Socialist parties were out of the government in these two countries, they were together a powerful force in the politics of the two countries. For many years, in both these countries, the socialist parties became the ruling parties either alone or in alliance with other parties The Communist parties, however, were almost throughout the period after 1948 kept out of the government.

In recent years, while the Italian Communist Party —it is now called the Democratic Party of the Left—has remained a powerful force, the influence of the French Communist Party has declined.

**Britain: Rise of Labour Party**

In Britain, the elections were held in July 1945. The Conservative Party whose leader Winston Churchill had been the Prime Minister during the war lost and the Labour Party came to power. India won her independence during this period. During the Labour Party’s rule many significant changes took place in the economy of the country. Many important industries such as coal mines and railways were nationalized. Steps were taken to provide social security to the people, and to build a welfare state in Britain. In 1951, the Conservative Party was returned to power and the Labour Party became the ruling party in 1964. Thus, neither of these parties remained in power for long and both of the parties were more or less equally matched. Only in recent years, there seems to have been a decline in the influence of the Labour Party.

The political system in most countries of Western Europe was based on the parliamentary form of government. Their economies had suffered a serious setback,
and it affected their international position. Gradually through their own efforts and with massive American aid, these countries were soon on the way to rebuild their economies. However, the domination that these countries exercised over the world before the First World War and to a lesser extent after that had declined. The period after the Second World War saw the rapid decline of their empires.

**Eastern Europe**

Many changes of great historical importance have taken place in the Soviet Union and in countries of Eastern and Central Europe. The most significant of these has been the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ending of the communist regimes there and in other countries of Europe. In 1956, three years after the death of Stalin, the Communist Party of Soviet Union had denounced the excesses and crimes committed by Stalin. From 1985, many important reforms began to be introduced in the political system of the Soviet Union with a view to promoting political democracy. There was free and open discussion on every issue and curbs on the freedom of thought and expression were lifted.

Reforms in economy were also initiated to end the stagnation that had set in and to improve the living conditions of the people. The importance of these reforms was recognized the world over. The hold of the Communist Party over the political life of the country was loosened and other political parties were allowed to function.

**Fall of USSR**

In the meantime, there was a demand for greater autonomy by the republics which constituted the Soviet Union. Some republics wanted to become independent. Attempts were made to frame a new treaty which would provide greater autonomy to the republics and at the same time preserve the Union. However, in August 1991, there was an attempt to stage a coup by some leaders of the Communist Party. Though the coup collapsed, the Soviet Union began to break up. Many republics declared their independence. On 25 December 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev, who was the President of the Soviet Union during this period and had initiated the reforms mentioned earlier, resigned and the Soviet Union formally ceased to exist. In place of the Soviet Union which had been a major influence on world historical development
for about seven decades, there emerged 15 independent republics. Though the rule of the communist parties has ended in all these republics, many of them are faced with serious political and economic problems. There are also many problems between the republics although 12 of them have formed a loose federation called the Commonwealth of Independent States. Equally important changes have taken place in those countries of Europe which were ruled by communist parties.

There had been outbursts of resentment in some of these countries against Soviet control and against the Soviet supported communist governments since the 1950s. There were occasions when Soviet troops were used to suppress the unrest in these countries. The changes in the Soviet Union affected these countries directly. There were mass upheavals in all these countries in the late 1980s. By 1989, Soviet control over them came to an end. The monopoly of political power enjoyed by the communist parties in these countries was ended. There were free elections and new governments were formed. It is notable that these far reaching changes took place in most countries without the use of violence. In some countries, leaders who had misused their position for personal gain and power were tried and jailed. Many communist parties — no longer ruling parties in their countries — expelled some of their former leaders who had committed excesses when they were in power. In one country, Romania, the Communist Party leader who for about 15 years had been the virtual dictator was executed.

The Warsaw Pact, the military alliance which was headed by the Soviet Union and of which the communist ruled states of Europe were members, was dissolved in 1991.

**Retreat of Socialism**

The collapse of the Soviet Union and of communist governments in Europe has been a major factor in ending the Cold War. It has also been seen as marking the retreat of socialism. It can, however, be said that the system which was built in these countries was only a distorted version of the socialist ideal and that social justice which was fundamental to that ideal has become a part of the consciousness of the people the world over.
The changes in Eastern and Central Europe, as in the former Soviet Union, have not been without problems, both economic and political.

- Czechoslovakia had emerged as a new state after the First World War has broken up into two independent states — the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.
- In unified Germany, there have been many instances of violence by Neo Nazis against immigrants

**Bosnia**

Developments of a tragic nature have taken place in Yugoslavia in recent years. Yugoslavia which had emerged as a state after the First World War was ruled by a communist party since the end of the Second World War. The communist government of Yugoslavia had kept itself free from the Soviet Union almost from the beginning. Yugoslavia was one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. She was a federation of six republics. In four of these republics, the rule of the communist parties came to an end in 1990. By 1992, Yugoslavia broke up into five independent states — the new state of Yugoslavia comprising

1. Serbia and Montenegro,
2. Croatia,
3. Macedonia,
4. Slovenia
5. Bosnia-Herzegovina

However, the problems of Yugoslavia did not end with its breakup. A large party of Bosnia-Herzegovina is under the control of Serbians and Croats. A bloody war has been going on between Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, particularly between the latter two, causing terrible sufferings to the people. While these developments have taken place in one part of Europe, in another, Western, part (including Germany), there had been a move towards European unity. It consists in creating a Europe without borders, with a common currency and unrestricted movement of goods and people and ultimately a political union with a common parliament. Some steps have already been taken in this direction. It may, however,
be remembered that the concept of European unity at present excludes all East European countries and some others.

WEST ASIA & AFRICA: DECOLONIZATION & INDEPENDENCE

WEST ASIA INDEPENDENCE

Syria and Lebanon
As in other parts of Asia, there was an upsurge for freedom in West Asia also immediately after the Second World War. After the war, the French tried to restore their authority over Syria and Lebanon but, in the face of opposition from the people of these countries and the world opinion, they were forced to withdraw. Both Syria and Lebanon became independent by the end of 1946. There was an upsurge in all the Arab countries at this time and the 1950s saw their emergence as independent nations. Some countries which had been nominally free asserted their independence. There were also movements to overthrow the outdated political systems which existed in some countries. All these led to conflicts and, in some cases, prolonged wars between the Arab countries and the imperialist powers. The period saw the growing power of Arab nationalism which led to efforts by the Arab people and governments to come together to face and solve common problems. The Arab League was formed comprising all the Arab states.

However, before many of the Arab countries could gain their independence, a development took place in West Asia which was to become a source of tension and lead to many wars in the years to come. This was the creation of the state of Israel.

Israel
Palestine, as has been mentioned before, had become a British mandate in 1919. The British troops again occupied the country in 1945. Palestine was inhabited by Arabs and Jews. A movement called the Zionist movement claimed that Palestine was the homeland of all the Jews, wherever they may be living, and should be restored to them. The persecution which the Jews in Europe had suffered for centuries had culminated in the Nazi Germany’s policy of exterminating them.
Millions of Jews were killed in Germany and in those countries of Europe which had been occupied by Germany. The terrible tragedy had won them the sympathy and support of the world.

The British in Palestine had permitted some Jews from outside Palestine to settle there. The Zionists had, meanwhile, been campaigning for a Jewish state there. This had complicated the freedom movement in Palestine the majority of whose inhabitants were Arabs. In 1947 the United Nations passed a resolution according to which Palestine was to be divided into an Arab state and a Jewish state. However, in 1948, the British withdrew their troops from Palestine and soon after the state of Israel was proclaimed. This led to a war between the Arab states and Israel. The Arab states were defeated in the war. The creation of Israel became a source of tension in West Asia. The Arab states refused to recognize her as a legitimate state, The policies pursued by the government of Israel further added to the bitterness. About 900,000 Arabs were forced to leave their homes and lands in Palestine and were rendered homeless. They found shelter in various refugee camps in Arab states. Most countries of Asia and Africa condemned the Israeli government's treatment of the Arabs of Palestine and for following racist policies. In 1956, Israel joined Britain and France in invading Egypt. Later there were other wars between Israel and the Arab states as a result of which Israel occupied large parts of the territories of other Arab states. These territories include the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the West Bank. More than a million Palestinians live in the occupied territories. In spite of the resolutions of the United Nations, Israel refuse to vacate Arab territories and restore the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, many of whom live as refugees in various Arab states. In 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed to fight for the establishment of a Palestinian state. It enjoys the status of a member-state of the Non-Aligned Movement. Recently an agreement was signed between the government of Israel and the PLO. Under this agreement, the PLO recognized the state of Israel and the government of Israel agreed to give the Palestinians autonomy in some areas presently under Israeli occupation.
AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE

With the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, almost every part of Africa had been conquered by European imperialist powers by the end of the nineteenth century. After the First World War, the only change that took place there was the transfer of the former German colonies in Africa to the victorious Allied powers. However, the period after the First World War saw, as in Asia, a resurgence of nationalist movements in Africa. After the Second World War, the disintegration of the colonial rule in Africa began. The achievement of independence by North African countries has been mentioned already. The countries of southern Africa began to gain their independence after the mid1950s. Within two decades, almost every country in Africa, with the exception of South Africa and South-West Africa (Namibia), became independent.

The freedom movements in Africa, as in other parts of the world, were the consequence of the growth of nationalism and the increasing resentment against the exploitation and oppression by the colonial countries. The international situation further strengthened these movements. The Second World War had resulted in the general weakening of imperialism. It had also shattered the myth of the invincibility of some major colonial powers in Africa such as France and Belgium which had suffered defeat in Europe during the war. The collapse of colonialism in Asia within a few years after the war also had a tremendous impact on freedom movements in Africa. The question of Africa’s freedom gradually became one of the major issues in the world.

Egypt: Naseer

After the First World War, Egypt had become a British ‘mandate’. However, under the pressure of the nationalist movement, Egypt had been declared independent in 1922, though British troops continued to remain there. After the Second World War, the demand for the withdrawal of British troops gained strength. There were serious clashes between the Egyptians and the British soldiers in which hundreds of Egyptians were killed. The discontent was also directed against the king of Egypt who had been installed by the British. The discontent against the British and the king led to a revolution in 1952 when the Egyptian army under the leadership of Lt.
Colonel Gamal Abdal Naseer and General Muhammad Naguib overthrew the monarchy and declared Egypt a republic. The new Egyptian government demanded the withdrawal of British troops and they were withdrawn in June 1956.

The government of Egypt under the leadership of Col Nasser began the economic reconstruction of the country. Egypt refused to be aligned with the United States and the latter stopped the sale of arms to Egypt. Egypt, however, began to receive military and economic aid from the Soviet Union. In 1956, Egypt announced the nationalization to the Suez Canal which had been under the control of Britain and France. Three months later, Israel, Britain and France, according to a plan, invaded Egypt. The aggression committed against Egypt led to worldwide protests.

The countries of Asia voiced their vehement condemnation of the invasion. There were massive protest demonstrations against the British government inside Britain also. The Soviet Union warned the aggressor countries that unless they withdrew from Egypt, she would send her forces to crush the aggressors. Almost every country in the world, including the United States, denounced Britain, France and Israel in the United Nations. The universal condemnation of aggression led to the withdrawal of British and French forces from Egypt. The ending of aggression strengthened further the unity of Asian and African countries in general and of Arab countries in particular. It also showed the growing strength of the countries which had won their independence only a few years ago. The Suez War also added to the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union as a friend of the peoples who were trying to assert their independence.

Libya: Gaddafi
Libya came under Italian rule in 1911. During the Second World War, some of the most ferocious battles between German and British troops were fought in Libya. At the end of the war, the country was occupied by Britain and France. In 1951, Libya became independent with a monarchical form of government. From 1960 she became one of the largest petroleum producing countries in the world and as a result some sections of Libyan society grew very rich while the majority of the population remained extremely backward. The king did not permit any opposition to his rule.
The United States built one of its strongest air bases on Libyan territory. In 1969, a group of army officers captured power and soon after abolished the monarchy. The new government proclaimed that it would give primacy to the unity and solidarity of the Arab people.

**Algeria**

The 1950s saw the emergence of a number of independent nations in North Africa. However, the independence was preceded by years of struggle against the imperialist countries which wanted to retain their colonial possessions. As in Indochina, the French returned to Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. However, in 1956 Tunisia and Morocco won their independence. The North African country which had to wage the longest and the hardest battle for freedom was Algeria. She had been conquered by France as early as 1830 though it had taken France another four decades to fully establish her rule there. As in Indochina, the struggle against French rule in Algeria had a long history behind it. In 1954 the nationalist organization of the people of Algeria called the FLN (National Liberation Front) gave a call for an armed struggle against the French rule. Armed clashes resulted in thousands of casualties on both sides. By 1958, the Algerian nationalists had organized a large army of their own and proclaimed the formation of a government of the republic of Algeria. The war in Algeria had serious consequences inside France. It created political instability in France.

The Communist Party of France along with many other French leaders had been supporting the cause of Algerian independence. However, many sections in the French army were under the influence of the French settlers in Algeria who were opposed to any negotiations with the Algerian leaders over the question of independence. In 1958, General de Gaulle became the President of France. He conceded the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and opened negotiations with the leaders of the FLN. This policy was opposed by some sections of the French army in Algeria, who revolted against de Gaulle and even made attempts to assassinate him. However, the revolt was suppressed. On 1 July 1962, a referendum was held in Algeria and the people of Algeria voted almost unanimously
for independence. On 4 July 1962 Algeria became an independent republic. The independence of Algeria had been won at the cost of over 140,000 Algerian lives.

Ghana
The first country in southern Africa to gain independence was Ghana. There was a powerful kingdom of Ghana in West Africa during the eighth to the twelfth centuries. The British had conquered a part of this region to which they gave the name Gold Coast. The most prominent leader of the people of the Gold Coast colony was Kwame Nkrumah, who in 1949 had organized the Convention People’s Party. A strong trade union movement had also emerged in Gold Coast.

The Convention People’s Party and the trade unions joined together to demand independence from Britain. However, most of their leaders were arrested and attempts were made to suppress the demand for freedom. After 1950, the British government started introducing certain constitutional reforms. Under pressure from the People’s Party which had won a resounding victory in elections, the British government agreed to the independence of Gold Coast. The new independent state which came into being on 6 March 1957 called itself Ghana, after the name of the old West African kingdom. The part of Togoland which had been under British control also joined Ghana.

Guinea
The next country to achieve her independence was the French colony of Guinea in West Africa. In 1958, while embroiled in the war in Algeria, France held a referendum in her colonies which had been grouped together as French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. The people of Guinea voted for complete independence and Guinea was proclaimed a republic on 2 October 1958. The achievement of independence by Ghana and Guinea gave additional confidence to the freedom movements in other parts of Africa and accelerated the pace of achievement of independence by other nations. The promotion of the cause of African freedom was a major objective of India’s foreign policy from the time India won her independence. India’s struggle for freedom had also been a source of inspiration to African nationalists.
The year 1960 is generally regarded as the Africa Year. In that year, seventeen countries in Africa gained their independence. These included all the French colonies in French West Africa and Equatorial Africa, Nigeria and Congo (formerly Belgian Congo, now called Zaire). Between 1961 and 1964, a number of countries in East and Central Africa also became independent. These were Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Rwanda and Burundi. Sierra Leone, Gambia, Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) and Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) also gained their independence.

**Kenya: Mau Mau rebellion**

The freedom movement in Kenya was led by Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African Union. In 1952, a revolt by peasants had broken out. This is known as the Mau Mau rebellion. It was directed against the seizure of land by the British colonial authorities. To suppress the rebellion, 15,000 Kenyans were killed and about 80,000 sent to concentration camps. Jomo Kenyatta was imprisoned in 1953 on the charge of supporting the Mau Mau rebellion. Having failed to suppress the freedom movement, Britain had to give in and Kenya became independent in 1963.

Many of the newly independent countries of Africa faced serious problems during the years following their independence. The imperialist powers tried their best to maintain their hold over their former colonies by direct intervention and by creating dissensions. In Congo, for instance, Belgium, with the help of some other countries and the mercenaries from various countries, brought about the secession of the rich province of Katanga. On the appeal of Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of Congo, United Nations troops were sent to bring about the withdrawal of foreign troops and mercenaries. However, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated and the country thrown into chaos for a number of years.

**Portuguese Colonies**

Before the end of the 1960s, almost entire Africa, with the exception of Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, and
South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia, had become free. Powerful freedom movements had started in the Portuguese colonies. They had organized their liberation forces and had secured the help of many countries in their struggle for freedom. In April 1974, the Portuguese army, which had been mainly used to suppress the freedom struggles in the colonies, overthrew the 50 year old dictatorship in Portugal with the support of the people.

The communists, socialists and other radical elements in the armed forces and the new government of Portugal were opposed to the continuation of the Portuguese rule in Africa. They entered into negotiations with the freedom movements in the Portuguese colonies and by 1975 all the former Portuguese colonies in Africa became independent. Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) became independent in April 1980.

South Africa: Apartheid

South Africa — Union of South Africa since 1910 and Republic of South Africa since 1961 — has been an independent country in the sense that she was not ruled from another country. The government of South Africa was, however, among the most oppressive regimes in the world in the twentieth century. It was under the exclusive control of the white minority practicing the worst form of racism.

Under the system of apartheid established in South Africa, all people were classified and separated on the basis of race. Each group had to live in a separate area. There were separate schools and universities, separate theaters, separate shopping centers, separate coaches in trains for whites and blacks and others. The teams for sports also were formed on the basis of race. Marriage between persons belonging to different races was a criminal offense. There were restrictions on movement from one, place to another. The best lands in the country were under the control of the whites who had all the economic and Political power. The non-whites had no vote and no say in the governance of the country. The system of apartheid was used to maintain the rule of the white minority over about 80 per cent of the population which comprised black and colored people as well as people of Indian origin. This system,
in the name of separation of the races, denied human rights to the majority of the population. It may be recalled that Mahatma Gandhi had started the fight against racial discrimination in South Africa long before he became a leader of the freedom movement in India. Demonstrators protesting against apartheid laws were massacred at Sharpeville in South Africa, 22 March 1960.

The main organization of the South African people which led the movement for ending the rule of the white minority and establishing a nonracial democratic South Africa was the African National Congress (ANC). It was set up in 1910. The movement against the obnoxious system of apartheid was intensified in the 1950s. The government depended on the use of terror to maintain its rule. There were incidents of massacres of peaceful protesters. In 1960, the African National Congress was banned and most of its leaders were arrested. The ANC then organized its own army to fight against the racist regime. South Africa was increasingly isolated from the rest of the world. India had been from the beginning in the forefront in support of the struggle to dismantle the apartheid regime. She was the first country in the world to sever relations with South Africa and to extend her full support to the people of South Africa. Many other countries followed the suit. The United Nations also condemned the policies of South Africa. In the 1980s some Western countries which had maintained military and economic relations with South Africa also imposed sanctions against her. By the end of the 1980’s, the international isolation of the South Africans was regime.

**Nelson Mandela**

Nelson Mandela From the end of the 1980s, the process of ending the system of apartheid began. The ban on the African National Congress was lifted and its leaders released. Among them was Nelson Mandela who had been in prison for 26 years and had became a symbol of the struggle against apartheid. Many apartheid laws were abolished and negotiations were started between the ANC and the South African government for framing a new constitution which would give all South Africans the right to vote. Elections in which all South Africans for the first time were given the light to vote, was held in April 1994. After these elections, a new non racist and democratic government came to power in South Africa, Nelson Mandela was
elected president of the country. Thus within the last three decades, most of Africa has become independent and the independence of the remaining parts cannot be deferred for long

**Namibia**

The last country in Africa to become independent was Namibia, formerly South West Africa. It was a German colony before the first world war and was handed over to south-Africa as a mandate after the defeat of Germany in WW1. South Africa treated South west Africa as her colony and refused to withdraw from there is spite of the resolutions of the United Nations. The freedom movement there was led by the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) which was formed in 1960. It gained momentum when SWAPO started a war with the help of its guerrilla forces to liberate the country. It was made a member of the Non Aligned Movement. The Non Aligned Movement, the African governments and the United Nations played an important role in the success of the freedom movement in Namibia.

The war in Namibia came to an end in 1989 when South Africa agreed to a plan for the independence of the country. SWAPO won a majority of seats in the elections which were held in November 1989 and on 21 March 1990 Namibia became independent.

**Rest of Africa**

Many African countries have changed their names. The colonial powers had given them names which had little to do with their past history and culture. Some countries and cities had been named after colonial adventurers, for example, Rhodesia, Leopoldville, Stanleyville, etc. The African peoples are trying to overcome the damage caused to them during the colonial rule. Renaming their countries and cities after their original names is a part of their effort to reestablish and assert their independence and national identity. The need to unite in the face of common tasks and for achieving common aims led to the emergence of the unity of all African states. These aims included the safeguarding of their independence and to help the liberation movements in those countries in Africa which were still fighting for their
independence. The most significant step taken in this direction was the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

World after 1990
In spite of the many positive changes that have taken place in recent years, the world in the 1990s is not without tensions and conflicts. While the danger of war involving the use of nuclear weapons has ended, or at least receded, there has been no reduction in the arsenals of weapons of mass destruction. Their very existence is a source of threat to the survival of humankind. Similarly, with the end of the Cold War, whether the world has moved, irreversibly, to a period of detente and, much more importantly, cooperation is still to be seen. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States became the only super power in the world. While the Warsaw Pact has been dissolved, NATO, the military bloc headed by the United States, has continued to exist. There have been misgivings that the present situation would make it possible for the United States, the only super power now, to dictate to others.

The world in the 1990s, with all its problems, is a very different place to live in compared with any preceding age. People the world over have a much greater say in shaping their destiny than ever before. For the first time in human history, the creation of One World has become a possibility in which all peoples would cooperate with one another and would contribute their best to enrich their own lives and of the entire humankind.

ASIAN COUNTRIES: DECOLONIZATION & INDEPENDENCE

The growth of nationalism in Asia and Africa occurred at a rapid pace in 19th century. The period after the Second World War saw the emergence of most countries of Asia and Africa as independent nations. One country after another in these continents became independent. They won their independence through long and hard struggles against colonial powers. To some countries independence came only after long and bitter armed struggle, to others without much bloodshed but not without a long period of strife. Generally, the colonial powers were not willing to give up their hold
on the colonies and left only when they found that it was not possible to maintain their rule any more; During the Second World War, many imperialist countries had been ousted from their colonies, but after the war they tried to reestablish their rule. For some time they succeeded in doing so but were ultimately forced to withdraw.

The achievement of independence was the result primarily of the struggles of the peoples of the colonies. However, the changes in the international climate which followed the Second World War helped the peoples struggling for independence. Imperialism as a whole had been weakened as a result of the war. The economies of many imperialist countries had suffered. Forces within the imperialist countries which were friendly with the peoples struggling for independence also had grown powerful. Freedom and democracy were the major aims for which the Allies had fought against the fascist countries and these aims had been made the basis for arousing peoples all over the world against fascism. The fulfillment of these aims could no longer be confined only to Europe, as had been done after the First World War. In many colonies which fascist countries had occupied by ousting the older colonial powers, the freedom movements had played an important role in the struggle against fascist occupation. For example, Japan had to face the resistance of the freedom movements in the countries of East and South East Asia which she had occupied. It was not easy to restore the rule of the former colonial powers over these countries.

Another major international factor which facilitated the end of imperialism was the emergence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as a major force. These countries were inimical to imperialism and often gave aid and support to the freedom movements in the colonies. Similarly, the movements of socialism which had grown powerful the world over, including in the colonial countries, also supported the movements of freedom in the colonies. The entire international context in which the freedom movements were launched had changed after the Second World War. At the international forums, particularly at the United Nations, the cause of the independence of colonies began to gain popularity. The international opinion was clearly against the continuation of imperialism. Imperialist countries resorted to various means to maintain their rule. They tried to create divisions in the freedom movements. They resorted to the use of terror. In some countries they tried to install
governments which were nominally free but were in fact their puppets. However, most of the freedom movements were able to defeat these methods of disruption.

An important role in the achievement of independence by the countries of Asia and Africa was played by the unity which freedom movements in various countries achieved. The freedom movement in one country supported the freedom movements in other countries. The role of countries which had achieved their independence was very crucial in this regard.

These countries supported the cause of those peoples who were still under colonial rule at the United Nations and other international forums. They also gave active help to the freedom movements. India played a crucial role in promoting the cause of freedom in Asia and Africa. Besides the movements in the colonies for independence, there were also movements in Asian and African countries to oust outdated political systems, to modernize the social and economic systems and to assume control over the resources of one’s country which had remained under foreign control even after freedom. These movements expressed the resolve of the peoples of Asia and Africa to become fully independent as well as to launch programs of rapid social and economic development. Within two decades of the end of the Second World War, the political map of Asia and Africa had been completely changed.

India
Within a few years after the Second World War, a large number of Asian countries became independent, One of the first to win her independence was India. India had, however, been partitioned and along with India, another independent state, Pakistan, also came into being (Pakistan broke up in 1971 when her eastern part —now Bangladesh—became independent). The independence of India was of great importance in the history of freedom movements in Asia and Africa. The policies pursued by the government of independent India under the leadership her first Prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, helped in strengthening the freedom movements in other countries and in hastening the achievement of independence by them.
Burma
Burma, renamed Myanmar recently, achieved her independence from Britain a few months after India became independent. In 1944, the Antifascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL) had been formed in Burma. Its aim was to resist the Japanese invasion of Burma and to win independence for Burma. After the war, the British tried to restore their rule over Burma. This led to the intensification of the movement for freedom. In the course of the struggle, many leaders of the Burmese freedom movement were assassinated. However, Britain was forced to agree to the demand for freedom and Burma became independent on 4 January 1948.

Indonesia
After the defeat of Japan, Sukarno, one of the pioneers of the freedom movement in Indonesia, proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. However, soon after the British troops landed there in order to help the Dutch to restore their rule. The government of independent Indonesia which had been formed by Sukarno resisted the attempt to reestablish colonial rule. There were demands in many countries of the world to put an end to the war which had been started in Indonesia to restore the Dutch rule. In Asian countries, the reaction was particularly intense. The leaders of the Indian freedom movement demanded that Indian soldiers, who had been sent to Indonesia as a part of the British army should be withdrawn. After India became free, she convened a conference of Asian nations in support of Indonesia’s independence. The conference met in New Delhi in January 1949 and called for the complete independence of Indonesia. The resistance of the Indonesian people and the mounting pressure of world opinion and Asian countries compelled Holland to set the leaders of Indonesian people free. On 2 November 1949, Holland recognized the independence of Indonesia.

Chinese Revolution
The unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China which had been built under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen for the complete independence and unification of China. This unity had been broken after the death of Sun Yat-Sen and a civil war started in China between the Kuomintang under the leadership of
Chiang Kai-Shek and the Communist Party of China, whose most important leader was Mao Zedong. After the Japanese invasion of China, the two parties and their armies cooperated for some time to resist the Japanese aggression. However, the conflicts between the two never ceased. The Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-Shek was a party which mainly represented the interests of capitalists and landlords. The Communist Party, on the other hand, was a party of workers and peasants. In the areas under Communist Party’s control, the estates of landlords had been expropriated and the land distributed among the peasants. Because of the policies pursued by the Communist Party, it gradually had won over millions of Chinese people to its side. The Communist Party had also organized a huge army called the People’s Liberation Army (PLA). After the defeat of Japan and the driving out of the Japanese forces from China, the civil war again broke out. The government of the United States gave massive aid to Chiang Kai-Shek, but by 1949 his armies were completely routed.

With the remnants of his troops, Chiang Kai-Shek went to Taiwan (Formosa), an island which had been occupied by Japan after she had defeated China in 1895. On 1st October 1949, the People’s Republic of China was proclaimed and the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong came to power. The victory of the Communist revolution in China was a world shaking event.

The most populous country in the world had come under communist rule. Besides the socialist countries of Europe, there were now two mighty powers in the world — the Soviet Union and China — which were ruled by communist parties. Imperialism was further weakened in Asia as a result of the Chinese revolution. The establishment of the People’s Republic of China was a defeat for the United States. She refused to recognize the government of China for over two decades. According to the United States, the legal government of China was that of Chiang Kai-Shek in Taiwan (Formosa).

Because of the US attitude, the most populous country in the world was denied even membership of the United Nations for over two decades. For many years, friendly relations existed between India and China. Together, the two countries played a very important role in the freedom movements of the peoples of Asia and Africa and in
bringing about the unity of the Asian and African nations. However, towards the end of the 1950s, the foreign policy of the Chinese government began to change. In 1962, China committed aggression against India which dealt a severe blow not only to the friendship between India and China but also to the unity of Asian African nations. China’s relations with the Soviet Union also began to deteriorate. She supported Pakistan against India over various issues. After 1970, her relations with the United States began to improve. She was admitted to the United Nations and is now one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (UNSC). There were many turmoil in the political and economic life of China after the establishment of communist rule there. After the death of Mao Zedong in 1975, many changes have taken place in the economic policies of the country. These are aimed at modernizing the economy. For this, foreign companies and foreign capital have been invited and are playing an important role. Many practices which were at one time considered basic to the concept of socialism have been given up. There have also been changes in China’s foreign policy.

There has been an improvement in China’s relations with India. In the political life of China, however, there has been little change and it continues to be under the exclusive control of the Communist Party. The demand for democracy voiced by students and others some years ago was suppressed. The Korean War Korea, came under Japanese rule in 1910. After Japan’s defeat in the Second World War, she was divided into two zones, the northern zone under Soviet occupation and the southern zone under American occupation, to bring about the surrender of Japanese troops.

The aim was to make Korea an independent state. However, as in the case of Germany in Europe, two different governments in Korea were formed in 1948. Rhee was an anti communist and wanted an alliance with Chiang KaiShek to prevent the spread of communism. Both the states organized their armies and there were frequent clashes between them. In 1948, the Soviet troops withdrew from Korea followed by the American troops who withdrew in 1949. Both the governments of Korea favoured unification of the country but there was no meeting ground between them.
In June 1950 war broke out between North and South Korea. The Chinese revolution had already taken place and the United States feared further expansion of communism in this area. The United States sent troops to support South Korea in the war. Troops from some other countries aligned with the United States also fought in Korea. These troops fought as the troops of the United Nations because the Security Council of the United Nations had passed a resolution condemning North Korea and had asked members of the United Nations to aid South Korea. After the entry of the American forces in the war, the Chinese forces also entered the war and the situation took a very serious turn.

There was a real danger of another world war breaking out, as by this time the Soviet Union also had acquired atomic bombs. However, though the war in Korea raged for three years, it did not turn into a world war. The armistice was signed in 1953 Korea remained divided into two separate states. India played a very important role in bringing the war in Korea to an end. Even though the war was confined to Korea, hundreds of thousands of people were killed, including over 142,000 Americans. The Korean war added to the danger of another world war. It also worsened the tensions in the world and led to the intensification of the Cold War.

Vietnam Partition

One of the most heroic battles for freedom was fought by the people of Vietnam. This country along with Laos and Cambodia comprised Indochina which had come under French colonial rule. After the French government surrendered to Germany, many parts of Indochina were occupied by Japan. The movement for the freedom of Indochina from French rule had started many years earlier. The greatest leader of the people of Vietnam was Ho Chi Minh. He had been engaged in organizing the communist and the nationalist movements in Vietnam since soon after the end of the First World War. The Vietnamese people under Ho Chi Minh’s leadership resisted the Japanese occupation and organized a people’s army called the Viet Minh. By the time the Second World War ended, the Viet Mirth controlled a large part of Vietnam. In August 1945, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed with Ho Chi Minh as President. However, the British troops as well as the troops of Chiang
KaiShek arrived in Vietnam in the pretext of completing the surrender of Japanese troops there. In October 1945, the French troops also arrived with the aim of restoring French rule. In 1946, the French army started fighting against the Viet Minh. They also set up a government with Bao Dal, who had headed the puppet government under Japan earlier, as the ruler. The war between the Viet Minh and France continued for eight years. In 1954, the French forces suffered a severe blow at the hands of the done to Vietnam as a result of the heavy Viet Minh at the fortress of Dien-BienPhu. The French defeat at Dien-ien-Phu has become famous because a people’s army without any sophisticated defeated the army of a powerful imperialist country. The debacle at Dien-Bien-Phu compelled the French government to start negotiations with the government of Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In July 1954 an international conference was held at Geneva. It was agreed to partition Vietnam temporarily into North Vietnam South Vietnam and to hold elections all over Vietnam within two years to unify the country under a single government. Cambodia and Laos, the other two countries of Indo-China were made independent.

**Vietnam War**

With the partition of Vietnam, another phase in the freedom movement in Vietnam began. The government that was established in South Vietnam, with the support of the United States, refused to abide by the decisions of the Geneva conference with regard to the holding of elections and the unification of Vietnam. It came to be increasingly regarded as being under the control of the United States which was opposed to the unification of Vietnam under the leadership of the communist party.

In the early 1960s, uprisings broke out in South Vietnam against the government there. This was followed by the massive military intervention of the United States in Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of American troops were sent there with some of the most advanced weaponry to suppress the popular uprising. The war continued for a number of years. The South Vietnamese people led by the National Liberation Front carried on guerilla warfare. They had the support of North Vietnam. The American troops carried the war into North Vietnam. Incalculable damage was done to Vietnam as a result of the heavy bombings by American forces. The American
troops also used weapons of bacteriological warfare. Vast areas of Vietnam were devastated and hundreds of thousands of people killed, The American forces also suffered heavy casualties.

The United States was almost completely isolated in the world over the war in Vietnam. Besides the opposition to this war by scores of governments, there was a worldwide movement of protest against the U.S. government and of solidarity with the people of Vietnam. The only movement of this kind had emerged in the 1930s in support of the Republican cause in the Spanish Civil War and against Germany and Italy who were actively helping the fascists in Spain. The opposition to the war grew in the United States itself on an unprecedented scale. Thousands of Americans refused to be drafted in the U.S. army and many American soldiers deserted. No other single issue had united millions of people all over the world as the war in Vietnam. However, the U.S government continued the war even though it was clear that she could not win it.

Early in 1975, the war took a decisive turn. The armies of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam swept across the country routing the American supported troops of the government of South Vietnam. In January 1973, the American troops had begun to withdraw from Vietnam. During the war in Vietnam, 58,000 of them had lost their lives. By 30 April 1975, all the American troops had withdrawn and the capital of South Vietnam, Saigon, was liberated. North and South Vietnam were formally united as one country in 1976. The city of Saigon was renamed Ho Chi-Minh City after the great leader of the Vietnamese people who had died a few years earlier in 1969.

The emergence of Vietnam as a united and independent nation is an historic event in the history of the world. A small country had succeeded in winning her independence and unification in the face of the armed opposition of the greatest power in the world. The help given to Vietnam by the socialist countries, the political support extended to her by a large number of Asian and African countries, and the solidarity expressed by the peoples in all parts of the world had helped in bringing victory to the people of
Vietnam. Cambodia: Khmer Rouge The war in Vietnam had also spread to Cambodia in 1970, the government of Prince Narodom Sihanouk was overthrown and a puppet government was installed there. The troops of the USA and South Vietnam had carried the war to Cambodia on the ground that the Vietnamese were receiving their supplies from bases in Cambodia. By the time the United States withdrew from the war in 1975, a party which called itself Khmer Rouge had taken control of Cambodia under the leadership of Pol Pot.

The government of Pol Pot established a regime of terror in Cambodia and started following a policy of genocide against its own people. The estimates of people murdered by the Khmer Rouge vary from one to three million. In 1979, Pol Pot's government was overthrown with the help of Vietnamese troops. However, the war in Cambodia continued as the Khmer Rouge still had some areas under its control inside the country. It also operated from across the border with Thailand. In the meantime, three groups, including the Khmer Rouge and the group led by Narodom Sihanouk, came together in opposition to the government in Cambodia which was supported by Vietnam.

Peace was restored in Cambodia recently.

The United Nations brought the various warring factions together and an agreement was signed under the auspices of the United Nations. The Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Cambodia. In 1993, elections were held and a coalition government was formed. The Khmer Rouge, however, remained outside the government and its troops continued their armed attacks in some parts of the country.

**SRILANKA** - Within a few months of India's independence, Sri Lanka (Ceylon) also became free in February 1948.

**THAILAND** - Thailand had been occupied by Japan and after the defeat of Japan became independent.
PHILIPPINES- During the war, Japan had driven out the American forces from the Philippines. In 1946, the government of the United States agreed to the independence of the Philippines.

MALAYSIA- In Malaya British rule had been reestablished after the war. In 1957, Malaya (now Malaysia) became an independent nation.

COLD WAR

In the course of the nineteenth century, the world effectively passed under the domination of the six imperial powers, what were known as the great powers, USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. World War II resulted in the concentration of leadership in just two powers, the super powers, the USA and the USSR, with the UK, France, Germany, and Japan reduced to second rank. During the epoch of the Cold War, the hierarchy appeared thus: the super powers USA and USSR as leaders; a second level of a vast body of states of unequal resources but none capable of challenging the super powers; and a number of aspirant states and entities, although their number was dwindling through decolonization, but sometimes increasing through movements of secession within existing states.

Russian Power

From the beginning of 1917 Russia experienced a tremendous domestic political and socio-economic upheaval with several factions struggling to gain exclusive power. In October-November 1917 the Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin replaced a coalition of socialists in the Kremlin and immediately sued for peace with Germany. The Bolshevik Revolution affected every aspect of Russian life and also had profound effects on the rest of the world, most immediately in Europe and on international relations. Avowed Bolshevik aims of fostering world revolution aroused acute anxiety in all capitalist societies that lasted over the next seven decades. The ideology of revolution and its accompanying propaganda of workers rights across national borders became an instrument of the Communist Third International, which replaced the Second International in 1920, as well as that of the Soviet Union. At the same
time, Lenin wanted Russia to have normal relations – including credits and trade - with the western powers.

Announcement of a New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921 enabled a commercial agreement with Britain but de jure recognition was not forthcoming from Britain, France or Italy until 1924 and from the US only in 1933. Stalin's assumption of power in 1928 and the means he adopted to ensure his supremacy and implement his policies of economic transformation in the 1930s - were extreme by any definition, and made the Soviet synonymous with 'totalitarianism' in the western lexicon.

**Policy Of Containment**

Origins of the Cold War lay in the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the image of communism as a militant faith determined to produce world revolution. US policies of 'containment' as well as President Reagan's depiction of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" in the 1980s grew out of that mindset.

The supreme power of the US in 1945 was evident in its economy that accounted for about 50 per cent of total world GNP, its superiority, and its technical prowess seen in the detonation of two atomic bombs. Defeated Germany was divided into four occupation zones, as was its capital Berlin situated within the Soviet zone. The occupying powers differed on many subjects including deNazification, reparations, the German-Polish border, currency and economic policies, and transit rights.

Mutually reinforcing fear and suspicion could be seen on the one hand, in Soviet convictions that the US intended to renege on promises made at Yalta and use a rearmed Germany against the USSR, and on the other hand, in American convictions that the Soviet Union intended to control all of Germany and advance into as much of Europe and the rest of the world as possible. To forestall such an eventually through a policy of 'containment' of communism became the prime foreign policy objective of the US.

In March 1947 President Truman announced a 'doctrine' for opposing communism. All Latin American countries committed themselves to joint defense against internal
Cold War: Manifestations

Confrontation between these two military alliances armed with increasingly sophisticated conventional and nuclear weapons was the central feature of the Cold War. Though both sides probably overestimated the aggressive intentions of the other, fear of their capabilities spurred an arms race and sharpened the sense of danger of imminent nuclear conflict over several decades, especially at times of crisis such as over Berlin in 1948 and 1961, the Hungarian nationalist uprising of 1956, the Taiwan Straits in 1958, or the Cuban Missile crisis of 1962.

Gradually, however, nuclear weapons came to be seen as non-usable and territorial status quo in Europe was accepted by both sides, even when challenged by internal events such as the 'Prague Spring' of 1968. A European détente was initiated and in 1975 all the European states along with Canada, the US, and the USSR came together in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) affirming the status quo as well the need to protect human rights.

The Cold War came to Asia first when the proclamation of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949 was interpreted as a grievous 'loss' in the US. In June 1950 the partitioned peninsular nation of Korea erupted in war and the US led United Nations forces against communist North Korea forces assisted by PRC 'volunteers'. The Korean War ended in a stalemate and an armed armistice in 1953 that created a demilitarized zone along the 38th parallel. Communist North Korea, in alliance with neighboring PRC, seemed to freeze in time even as substantial US forces were stationed in South Korea and remain there.

The Eisenhower Administration in the US deployed its Seventh Fleet to neutralize the Taiwan Straits and prevent open conflict between the PRC and ROC. The US
also announced a doctrine of 'massive retaliation' -that is, possible use of nuclear weapons -to deter communist expansion, supported the French in Vietnam against nationalist forces led by communist leader Ho Chi Minh.

A defense pact setting up the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was signed on 8 September 1954 by the US, Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand. Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) was established by the US with Britain, Iran, Iraq (withdrew in 1958), Pakistan and Turkey in order to knit together the countries bordering the vulnerable southern border of the USSR. The Soviet Union and PRC did not attempt to replicate the Warsaw Pact in Asia but each stepped across the Western line of containment by conducting an active diplomacy of political support, trade, economic assistance, and arms supplies with various neighboring and/or nonaligned states such as Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, and North Vietnam.

**Cuban Missile Crisis**

The most dangerous crisis of the Cold War took place in October 1962 over the issue of Soviet missiles placed in the Caribbean island of Cuba. There a popular revolution led by Fidel Castro had displaced the military regime of Fulgencio Batista in January 1959 and US backed attempts by Cuban émigrés to overthrow Castro had failed.

The Soviet post-Stalin leader Nikita Khrushchev decided to protect Cuba against American invasion by positioning nuclear missiles in Cuba. The US President John F. Kennedy reacted in anger to their discovery by a reconnaissance aircraft on 10 October 1962, demanding removal of the missile bases and ordering a naval blockade of Cuba on 18 October.

No other episode of the Cold War has received such microscopic scrutiny from historians and re-enactments by prominent participants of the time, partly because every facet of American-Soviet competition intersected in it: conflicting ideologies, the nuclear arms race, relations with allies and newly independent states, domestic
political linkages with foreign policy, public and private diplomacy exemplified in United Nations leaders, neither of whom could afford to publically step down.

By mid-November the crisis was over. Soviet missiles were withdrawn from Cuba and some months later American Jupiter missiles were withdrawn from Turkey; Castro remained in power and threats of open invasion were ruled out; Kennedy won a victory with dignity and without war; the Soviet Union was not humiliated. Most importantly, both sides were shocked by realization of their own vulnerability and moved towards avoiding direct confrontation in areas of peripheral interest and framing rules for conducting the nuclear arms race such as the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty of 1972.

**Vietnam War**

American involvement in the Vietnam War began in support of an anti-Communist but weak South Vietnam facing insurgency backed by communist North Vietnam in the early 1960s. A central security premise of US policy in Asia at the time was 'domino theory' that the toppling of one non-communist government inevitably would lead to successive falls and expanding communism. A major US bombing campaign from the air in the mid and late 1960s was accompanied by the introduction of larger number of American combat troops on the ground, where they were bogged down in a quagmire of guerilla warfare, and an enlargement of the war zone into Cambodia and Laos. Vocal opposition to the Vietnam War within the US and its allies, as well as strategic considerations about détente with the Soviet Union, led US President Nixon to make a dramatic rapprochement with China in 1971-72 and extract American troops from Vietnam in 1973.

A reunification of Vietnam by the communist North followed soon after in 1975. The US underwent considerable self-questioning and loss of confidence in the mid-1970s and earlier bipartisan consensus on national security policies was fractured.

**Cold War in Third World**

Some events in Third World, such as the assertiveness of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1973 and after, the growth of the Non
Aligned Movement, conflict within the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and the Islamic Revolution in Iran of 1979, militated against Western interests for the US led block. These events occurred without direct Soviet participation but, Soviets also intervened in some other areas of world. The Soviet Union used the 'Brezhnev Doctrine' to justify military intervention to protect a communist (or leftist) government outside its own borders—as in Czechoslovakia in 1979.

American reactions, and the election of Republican Ronald Reagan as president in 1980, ushered in a 'New Cold War' of proxy conflict fought by government forces and Islamicist Mujahedin in Afghanistan, in Nicaragua between Sandinista government forces and rightwing 'contras', and in El Salvador and other Central American countries between right-wing governments and left-wing guerrilla fighters.

**Nuclear Arm Race**

An integral part of the Cold War was the nuclear arms race, primarily between the US and the USSR. In 1942, after the US had entered World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized the *Manhattan Project*, a costly programme with several locations and many scientists and engineers, to build nuclear reactors and fabricate an atomic weapon as soon as possible and before Germany could do so. Project Y headed by Robert Oppenheimer at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, New Mexico, successfully tested one such device at Alamogordo on 16 July 1945 when he saw "a thousand suns". The USSR tested its first atomic weapon on 26 August 1949.

US did not long retain its nuclear monopoly, and after the Soviet Union, others too tested and produced their own nuclear weapons: Britain in 1952, France in 1959, China in 1964, Israel probably and in secret in 1968, India in 1973 though it did not weaponize until after 1998, and Pakistan in 1998 or possibly in 1987. Iraq, Iran and North Korea also have been widely suspected of having nuclear weapons ambitions and possible capability.

Neither superpower explicitly ruled out use of nuclear weapons—indeed their status as superpowers as well as their respective doctrines of national security rested...
heavily on their possession and threatened use of nuclear weapons—and the numbers of nuclear warheads of different kinds they produced multiplied exponentially to total over 60,000 at the height of the Cold War. Even after both had agreed to strategic arms limitations and reductions in the 1980s and 1990s, their arsenals remain formidable.

Arm Race

International hostility and conflicts over spheres of influence suffice to begin and maintain high levels of military spending, domestic influences, American and Soviet nuclear doctrines are some of the factors that led to an arms race during the Cold War. In the first decade of the Cold War the US relied on its air and nuclear superiority to counter Soviet conventional and ground superiority in Europe and threatened 'massive retaliation' against any attempted change in the status quo. In the 1960s it relied on 'flexible response' and the creation of an invulnerable 'second strike' capacity based on a triad of air, land and sea based missiles aimed at a range of targets including cities to 'deter' any possible 'first strike' by the Soviet Union.

In the 1970s the US aimed for stability in the status quo through arms control negotiations and détente. In the 1980s US engaged in a military build-up that included deployment of intermediate range missiles in Europe to reassure Western Europe of American commitment to its defense, and a new Strategic Defense Initiative, what Reagan called 'Star Wars'. The New Cold War of the 1980s intensified danger not only because of heightened conflict in Asia, Africa, and Central America, but because of the introduction of new and more lethal nuclear weapons into superpower arsenals and the deployment of some in Europe, as well as Reagan’s proposed Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) that threatened stability of the 1972 ABM Treaty by taking the arms race into space.

MAD and 'deterrence'

The theory of 'deterrence'—itself a term capable of flexible interpretation but based on the assumption of two roughly comparable hostile powers with common conceptions of what constituted 'rational action'—was central to American strategic doctrine throughout. More than deterrence by possession of nuclear weapons, what kept the
Cold War from becoming hot was Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). US and USSR moved toward arms control measures beginning with the Partial Test Ban Treaty (banning atmospheric tests) signed on 5 August 1963. Arms control negotiations were extended exercises in bargaining and conflict management, not efforts to bring about disarmament or conflict resolution. The major bilateral nuclear weapon treaties signed by US and the USSR/Russia are as follows:

- **May 1972**: Anti-Ballistic Treaty; Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I)
- **July 1974**: Threshold Test Ban Treaty
- **June 1979**: Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II)
- **December 1987**: Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty
- **July 1991**: Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I)
- **January 1993**: Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II)

**Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

Measures were undertaken to prevent and check that type of 'horizontal' proliferation, notably the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) negotiated over three years and opened for signature by states on 1 July 1968 with an initial validity of 25 years. With 135 initial and 187 current signatories, the NPT is the largest multilateral treaty on record and was indefinitely extended in 1995.

The NPT specifically defines a nuclear-weapon state (NWS) as one that had manufactured and exploded a nuclear device before 1 January 1967. (This definition is the main reason for India being opposed to treaty). Increasingly stringent limitations have been placed on trade and transfers of any materials or technologies that could be used for military purposes by suppliers, groups such as the Zangger Committee and the Nuclear Supplies Group founded in the 1970s, the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) of 1987 and the Warsaw Guidelines of 1992. Domestic legislation and vigorous surveillance in some countries since the 1970s, notably in the US, raise very high barriers to transfers of doubtful materials and technologies, and "counter proliferation" tactics devised to discourage potential proliferators.
In September 1996 a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was opened for signature and negotiation for a multilateral treaty on a cutoff of production of fissile material for nuclear weapons was in process. The CTBT required the 44 states, judged to be nuclear capable to sign and ratify it before coming into force; India objected to being numbered one of the 44 and did not sign, and though President Clinton signed in 1999 the US Senate did not ratify the treaty. India, and Pakistan, openly tested nuclear weapons in May 1998 and moved toward their deployment; US pressures on them to "roll back" their programs failed.

At the heart of the proliferation dilemma, however, is the issue of equity. The NPT created a hierarchy of states, privileging the NWS on condition that they sincerely move toward the abolition of nuclear weapons. Their failure to do so and their adoption of counter-proliferation measures (including development of new types of nuclear weapons) raised suspicions that they wanted a perpetual freeze of hierarchy.

**Disintegration Of USSR**

Brezhnev was succeeded after his death in 1982, by men of his own generation, first by Yuri Andropov, who died in February 1984, and then by Konstantin Chernenko, who died in March 1985. Neither had the time nor energy to attempt internal reform or external initiatives. Gorbachev simultaneously launched three campaigns and conducted them personally. One was externally directed to establish good relations with world leaders, especially in the West beginning with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and to restructure relations with other Socialist states on the basis of independence rather than the Brezhnev Doctrine of intervention. Gorbachev's state visit to Washington D.C. in December 1987 was a public relations triumph for him and the beginning of a personal rapport with then Vice President George Bush. Another campaign was to promote the idea of perestroika -meaning reform and an all embracing modernization so as to improve economic performance and living conditions of the people-among Soviet officials and the public during his many tours around the country. And a third campaign was also internal, to introduce glasnost -meaning openness-in sharing information with the frequently alienated intelligentsia. Gorbachev's diplomacy assisted by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevarnadze, brought an end to the Cold War.
Power struggle between the US and USSR played out by proxy on all continents but most of all in the arms race. Gorbachev's economic reforms moving the Soviet Union away from its state controlled 'command' model toward a mixed and even a market economy obviously diminished ideological conflict, as did his public advocacy of universal 'democratic' values.

**Collapse Begins**

Elections in Poland brought Solidarity to power in place of the Communist Party. Hungary embraced a multiparty system and opened its border with Austria in May 1989. The regimes in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and later Romania collapsed. On the night of 8 November the crises came to a head with huge crowds gathering at the Berlin Wall and tearing parts of it down with their hands; the checkpoints to West Berlin were opened to allow for an exodus. The future of Germany, in one or in two states, was a difficult question to resolve. Gorbachev met FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl for the first time in October 1988 when they both agree in Moscow to promote links between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Finally, skillful diplomacy resulted in all accepting a re-united Germany within NATO, at the same time renouncing forever possession of WMDs and formally committed to "good neighborliness, partnership and cooperation."

The Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania exploded in resentment against Russians, were tacitly helped in their drive for independence by the US, which had always refused to recognize them as part of the USSR. Corruption in Uzbekistan led to an insurrection there in 1986, followed by troubles in Kazakhstan and throughout the Trans-Caucasian region including Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia, and later Chechnya. The Soviet Union was officially dissolved in December 1991, replaced in name by the Commonwealth of Independent States. Fourteen new states became members of the United Nations.

**Troubling 90s: 'humanitarian crises'**

Yugoslavia, a conglomerate state created by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, had survived the death of its unifying leader Josip Broz Tito in May 1980 but faced
intensifying tensions between the more and the less economically developed republics and shrinking resources fueled animosity among different ethnic and religious groups. Croatia and Slovenia declared independence in 1991 and Slobodan Milosevic became leader of a nationalistic Serbia determined to build a 'Greater Serbia' out of the remaining units of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia at the cost of minority groups, including the Muslims of Bosnia and the Albanians of Kosovo.

Atrocities that came to be called 'ethnic cleansing' led to military conflict, expressions of international alarm, and an inadequate United Nations intervention in Bosnia in 1991-92 that was replaced by a NATO force in late 1995. Neither of two (UN and NATO) could restore peace or prevent massacres and population transfers that resulted in an ethnically-partitioned Bosnia reflected in the final Dayton peace agreement. Further conflict flared in Kosovo and US led-NATO forces conducted 11 weeks of air strikes on Serbia and its capital on Serbia and its capital Belgrade in 1999 before stationing peace keeping troops in Kosovo. Yugoslavia suffered from Western Europe's economic slow down and unemployment in the 1980s. The Bosnian horrors viewed on international television were equaled or exceeded by 'humanitarian crises' in various parts of Africa, particularly in Rwanda in 1994 when the Hutu massacred the Tutsi people. The issue of protecting human rights received increasing international attention in the aftermath of the Cold War and the Tiananmen Square event in China, with nongovernmental organizations playing important roles in the effort.

Bi-Polar to Uni-Polar World
Polarity is a descriptive term that illustrates the structure of the system through a portrayal of the concentration of hard power capabilities in the system. The three main variations in polarity are uni polarity, bipolarity and multi polarity. However it is important to recognise that even within each type of polarity there exists variation. For example, John Mearsheimer has distinguished between balanced multipolarity and unbalanced multipolarity.

Charles Krauthammer and Robert Kagan are what might be called uni polar unilateralism. They see the distribution of power in the international system as
Nye acknowledge some elements of multi polarity in the international system. He argues that international relations has become a three level game involving military, economic and so-called soft power, with the US enjoying uni polar dominance only on the first level. Any unipolar imbalance can only be momentary, as competing power centres inevitably rise and seek to counterbalance the dominant power.

Mearsheimer also argues that US policy must be unilateralist for the simple reason that all great powers pursue essentially unilateral policies. Uni polarity implies neither the absence of all politics among great powers nor the absence of all power balancing among lesser powers nor certainly the resolution of all global problems. It does not mechanismically determine a specific strategy on the part of the major powers. It simply creates incentives for strategies that diminish if not eliminate two major problems that bedeviled international systems of the past: struggles for global primacy and competitive balancing among the major powers. Uni polarity is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for the status of global hegemony. Samuel Huntington has proposed that changes in post-Cold War international politics reflects a uni-multi polar system with one superpower and several major powers. It has been argued that the waning of 'American hegemony' has given rise to the regional power centers of Europe and East Asia. However, despite the devolution of US power globally, the shift towards multi polarity is several decades from now.

For close to five decades the antagonism between the United States and the erstwhile Soviet Union determined the ebb and flows of international power politics with their proxy nations being witness to civil and military conflict, especially in Asia and Africa. The consequences of the Cold War, it can be premised, are still visible in the changing international order. In the absence of effective UN or EU action the US took the lead in Bosnia and Kosovo. An image of the US a 'hyper power', the 'indispensable power', gained currency in the 1990s when it was the only remaining superpower, but also triggered expressions of preference by many world leaders for a multi polar international system. In a widely cited essay Christopher Layne argues that America's uni polar moment will be short-lived, as smaller states will inevitably
balance against it, leading to a new multi polar era. For Neo-realists, uni polarity is the least stable of all structures because any great concentration of power threatens other states and causes them to take action to restore a balance. Other commentators suggest that a large concentration of power works for peace, and they doubt that US preponderance is fragile and easily negated by the actions of other states.

The power of the US is not unlimited, but it is unprecedented. The US accounts for 60 per cent of all defense spending among the world's major powers. It also accounts for 40 per cent of economic production, 40 per cent of technology production and 50 per cent of total research and development expenditures. Calleo and Kupchan see the European Union (EU) as evolving into a great power counterpart of the US, one that is neither weak nor necessarily a threat to US interests. Calleo sees a stronger EU as the natural partner of a chastened and more modest US in building a "cooperative multilateral system.

Balance-of-threat theory was advanced by Stephan Walt. In this he points to the durability of the 'uni polar movement'. Walt suggests that the balancing behavior of states may be overcome, provided that the foreign policy of the dominant state is moderate and is seen by other states as preferable to the rivalry of a multi polar world. Similarly, Mastanduno proposes that, "uni polarity will not be preserved forever, but balance-of-threat theory implies that it may be sustainable for a meaningfully longer period than balance-of-power theorists anticipate.

Coral Bell and Michael Mastanduno argue that the durability of uni polarity rests on balance of-threat theory. Balance-of-threat theory proposes that states will not balance a dominant powers if its behavior is perceived as benign and non-threatening. Following this, a dominant power is supported if it exercises its power to promote shared interests and institutions that subvert anarchy and competition. In contrast, states that exercise unfettered power and engage in predatory behavior are likely to trigger balancing coalitions. US officials have sought to preserve US preponderance through efforts to convince countries like Japan and Germany to remain partial great powers, and to integrate potential great powers like Russia and China into an American led new world order.
Balance-of-power theory, developed most explicitly by Kenneth waltz, argues that unipolarity will be transformed into multi-polarity by the early decades of the twenty-first century. In Walt's analysis he draws on the historical behavior of states to moderate asymmetric of power among nations and to balance what he terms "American hegemony." The extent to which the international system remains unipolar depends on the exercise of US power. The US has sought to legitimize its primacy in political-military matters through a combination of 'benign hegemony' and 'multilateral rule-making' rather than forceful unilateralism. To maintain its primacy in international affairs, the US has followed the prescriptions of balance-of-threat theory in promoting limited American hegemony. But recent adventurism and unilateral actions in name of 'War On Terror' are indications that US hegemony will be questioned and confronted by rapid changes.

Future Ahead
World Power structure was altered for a long time to come in 1991 with the end of the Cold War when the Soviet Union acknowledged defeat, disbanded itself, and passed on the undisputed leadership of the world to the USA, the sole super power, or hyper power now. A great power system of colonial powers was replaced by a superpower system of the Cold War; this has now gone on to the hyper power leadership and domination of the USA in the post-Cold War era. This is a measure of the integration of the world and of the international system with it. The future is as ever uncertain; but it is especially uncertain because the leadership position of the USA cannot be eternal.

It is not that warfare and devastation will come to an end with the presence of the global policeman in the form of the US hyper power. But the nature of the wars will presumably change to the more local or the more focused, or both, and remain as destructive as they have been during the Cold War; but the scale of destruction may not be of the same order of magnitude as in the World Wars. For example, after the Cold War, the US has launched into wars and campaigns against "Islamic fundamentalism" and "terrorism", both of which are global in their reach; but they are also more pin-pointed than the World Wars.
Nobody can doubt that the 21st century will be an Asian century. Rise of Asia is concluded surmise of multiple streams that are criss- crossing the whole world. Three biggest contenders in the emerging power game are China, Japan and India. An increasingly assertive China, rising hard line politics in Russia, rekindling samurai spirit of Japan, a Power aspiring India and shift of Economic power to Asia are some of the major streams of present day Geo-politics. Where and how the US dominated world order will give way to an egalitarian and democratic world order is to be seen.