



## To whom it may concern

**Subject: Completion of Project by HISA students of Semester VI in 2021-22**

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# **COLD WAR: AN IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT**



## **INTRODUCTION**

Historically people have understood the Cold War as a series of events that proved the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union without there ever being a direct conflict. During the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union put aside their differences to face their common enemy, Nazi Germany. When the war ended, however, they returned to their ideological conflict: capitalist liberal democracy versus communism. Both countries went to amazing and sometimes scary lengths to protect and promote their ideologies. And revolves around that was it the strongly opposing ideologies, capitalism and communism, or power and material interests that drove both superpowers to the decades of struggle for global supremacy. Analyzing some speeches that John F. Kennedy delivered at the beginning of the 60's and comparing them to those of the soviet leader Khrushchev, it is clear that there is a difference between the terms that are used to describe the political and economical organization of the USSR: The soviets determined themselves as socialists while north Americans found it easier to describe as communists those who didn't practice free market policy.

Scholars have seen cold essentially as a 'face off' or competition between these two super powers. Soviet Union being a communist nation was based on collectivism, while the United States was a modern liberal nation based on individualism. This means that the Soviet Union was positioned on the far-left side of the economic spectrum, while the United States was position on the right side. This difference in ideology was a major source of the conflict between the two nations because

throughout the Cold War, the Soviet Union sought to expand communism to other regions and the United States sought to stop it with its policy of containment. As such, many people now view the Cold War as a conflict of the left and right sides of the spectrum, among other things. Through my term paper I wanted to draw a focus on how ideological differences played created tension like situation in the inter-national relationship and thus paved the way for cold war.



## **END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AGREEMENTS**

As the Second World War was ending, the Allied leaders of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union began to make plans for the future of Europe. As early as 1943, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, American president Franklin Roosevelt, the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin began discussing their own visions of Europe after the defeat of Nazi Germany. Tensions grew among the Allied governments as it became clear that the communist Soviet Union's vision of Europe was significantly different from the models proposed by Britain and the United States. It became clear to each leader that their common goal was the unconditional surrender and demilitarization of Germany; however, ongoing differences could lead to future disagreements when the war was over as the value of the western allies (Britain and the United States) were not shared by their eastern wartime ally (the Soviet union).

In 1945, when Second World War was in its last stage, it was clear that the Allied powers would defeat Nazi Germany and the Japan and Soviet Union and US had gained power and were designated as 'super powers'. Their military and their economies were both strong, but the countries were in direct ideological conflict. Thus the tension increased when the three super powers met at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. Initially the atmosphere was hopeful in Yalta but by the end of the conference, it was clear to the western leaders that the tone of negotiations with the Soviet Union would be far different in the postwar era. The agreement included -dividing Germany into four zones of occupation (British, American, French, and the Soviet); having free elections in the newly liberated countries of Europe, in keeping with the "the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live."

In April 1945, Roosevelt had died, leaving Harry S. Truman as the new American president. During the Potsdam Conference, the US had finished its work of atomic bombs. In July, Churchill lost the British general election, and the Clement Attlee was now the Prime minister of Britain. While US and Britain were expressing



anti-communist views, the Soviet Union had established friendly governments in each of the countries liberated by Soviet Red Army in 1945. Historian Walter Le-Fabre notes that "Potsdam marks the point at which Truman and Stalin don't have a whole to say each other anymore. Their armies are essentially doing the talking".

## **EXPANSIONISM**

The countries that had liberated from the Nazis by the Western Allies fell under the US sphere of influence, and the countries that had been liberated by the Soviet Union fell under the Soviet sphere of influence. Stalin saw the Soviet Union's postwar expansionism as a way to get "command of the world economy". He justified the expansion with specific historical and geographical reasons. Stalin wanted to keep Germany divided-a strong, unified Germany had invaded the Soviet Union twice. When Britain, France, and the United States pushed to unify the German zones to help the general economic recovery of Europe, Stalin opposed the idea. Stalin wanted to maintain or expand Soviet influence in the surrounding countries, including Finland, Poland, and Romania to create a buffer zone for the Soviet Union's safety.

## **CONTAINMENT**

In 1947, US President Harry S. Truman said, "nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life." In postwar Europe and around the world-countries were making exactly the choices that Truman described, but not without difficulty. Truman wanted to stop Soviet expansionism in order to contain the spread of communism (containment). Rather than resorting to a "hot war" involving direct armed conflict, the US fought its ideological conflict by creating alliances and giving aid, among other methods.

In 1947, US President Harry S. Truman developed a foreign policy to support anti-communist forces in Greece and Turkey. This policy reflected the idea of containment through a \$400-million economic and military aid package to Greece and Turkey when their post-war Governments asked for support in defeating communism within their countries. The policy was later expanded

to support other countries than the United States Government felt they were being threatened by communism.

In 1947, US secretary of state George Marshall announced a \$13 billion plan to help the European countries devastated by war to recover. This was a much larger economic aid plan than that of the Truman Doctrine. The Marshall Plan was offered to all countries of Europe, communist or democratic. The United States understood that if European countries became prosperous again, the expansion of communism would be less likely because the middle and upper classes of society generally do not support communism. The Marshall Plan did not involve money alone, however Technical assistance was also available to those who respected certain conditions. The Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov, however, rejected the Marshall Plan as "dollar imperialism." Thus in early July 1947, when European governments were invited to Paris to discuss the Marshall Plan, the Soviet Union's foreign minister ordered all leaders of Eastern European countries not to attend. The Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany all participated in a Soviet alternative-the Molotov Plan. It provided aid to rebuild the countries in Eastern Europe that were politically and economically aligned with the Soviet Union.

## **ALLIANCES: NATO AND WARSAW PACT**

In the international ideological conflict of the Cold war, countries often felt they had to choose one the following sides:

- **Communism and the Soviet sphere of influence**
- **Capitalist liberal democracy and the US sphere of influence.**

Some countries joined alliances because they shared similar ideologies, some joined for financial and military assistance, and some joined for increased national security. In the late 1940s, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were under Soviet control. Greece and Turkey had not yet joined an alliance. With this in mind, five Western European countries like



Britain, Belgium, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the Brussels Treaty on 17<sup>th</sup> March 1948, so that member countries would assist one another if attacked by the Soviet Union. This set the stage for the United States to join what would become the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. NATO was established as a collective security alliance for the mutual protection of its members against the threat of a Soviet attack. It initially included most countries of Western Europe and North America. In response to NATO and the Marshall Plan, countries that were inclined towards Soviet communism created the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). The Warsaw Pact was seen as a specific response to West Germany was considered a threat to the Eastern Bloc countries.



## **CONCLUSION**

**Ideological conflict can lead to disagreement and clashes. Postwar relations between the Big Three were defined by a series of agreements, including those reached at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. At this time, it became clear that the two new superpowers had different goals. The Soviet Union looked to historical experiences to justify its expanded sphere of influence through military occupation of other countries. The United States pursued economic and diplomatic policies of containment to stop the spread of communism and to strengthen its sphere of influence as reflected in the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Due to differences between the superpowers, many countries had to choose ideological sides: capitalist liberal democracy or communism. It is possible to consider the Cold War as a proof that the international system is in a perpetual state of war.**

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# AN ANALYSIS OF GHANA'S DECOLONIZATION PROCESS

## Introduction



Kwame Nkrumah

Ghana (formerly known as the Gold Coast) was a British colony. In the early 1900s, its value as a colony was tremendous because of its gold mines which were quickly depleted. Significantly Ghana remained valuable as a colony because of its aluminium mines which remains till date, the basic raw product of the aircraft industry. In addition there was Ghana's coffee growing regions and super profits were made during the Second World War when prices of coffee sky rocketed. In a nutshell Ghana was a lucrative colony which the British were in no mood to give up. The lack of literacy and administrative experience amongst Ghanaians had made the British sure that the Ghana would not be able to rule itself- an idea which was shared by several other colonial powers. It is evident that Ghana became the first state in sub-Saharan Africa to gain political independence from European colonial rule in 1957. Arguably, Ghana's decolonization did not involve military confrontation especially when compared with African countries such as Algeria and South Africa. Also, Kwame Nkrumah one of the Ghana's nationalists was a Pan-Africanist of the left wing. All these factors among others had attracted a lot of currency towards the study of the decolonization process of Ghana. Fundamentally, the period between 1940 and 1960 is often called the age of decolonization in West Africa.

## Post WWII and emergence of the United Gold Coast Convention

Demands on the colonial government intensified after World War II (1939-1945). In 1946 Governor Alan Burns responded by announcing radical constitutional changes that made it possible for a majority African Legislative Council to be elected. Executive power was to remain in the hands of the governor, to whom the legislative council reported. Even so, the 1946 constitution provided the people of the Gold Coast with a higher degree of political power than anywhere else in colonial Africa. The changes showed nationalist leaders that their voices were

being heard. Regardless of their shortcomings, concerted efforts to resist colonialism in Ghana were considerably effective in the sense that the attention of the colonial administrators was grabbed to the imperatives of the grievances of the people. Thus, the World War II greatly contributed to the increase in demand for reforms and the outright independence. It is evident that the war burst the bubble. A scholar indeed argues that Hitler's enforcement of the superiority of the Aryan race in Europe and the world at large helped in accentuating the quest for freedom all over the world.

### **Formation of Political Parties**

Political parties grew significantly in West Africa particularly after the World War II there was increased evolution of concerted political activities of political parties.

#### **The UGCC**

It was founded in 1947, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was the first nationwide political party in Ghana to call for self-government. Its leading members included the respected lawyer Joseph B. Danquah and the American-educated socialist Kwame Nkrumah. The aim of the UGCC was encapsulated as self-government within the shortest possible time. However, upon an allegation for plans against Nkrumah's leadership, he was arrested and jailed. The UGCC leadership broke up and Kwame Nkrumah went on a separate way to set up the Convention People's Party (CPP) for the purpose of self-governance.

#### **The Convention People's Party**

Viewing Danquah and other UGCC leaders as too conservative in their efforts to win independence, Nkrumah split with the UGCC later in 1949 and formed his own Convention People's Party (CPP). Other leaders of CPP were K.A. Gbademah and Kojo Botso. The first objective the party pursued towards the realization of the ultimate goal of self-government now was coined **POSITIVE ACTION**. Hence, this was a non-violent form of resistance characterized by general strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations. The CPP drew populist support from rural and working class Ghanaians, further distancing it from the more elite UGCC. In 1950 Nkrumah announced his Positive Action campaign, which consisted of a boycott of foreign business, non-cooperation with the government, and a general workers' strike.

#### **The National Liberation Movement**

It was a Ghanaian political party formed in 1954. Set up by disaffected members of the Convention People's Party, who were joined by Kofi Abrefa Busia, the NLM opposed the process of centralization whilst supporting a continuing role for traditional leaders. It was led by Baffour Akoto, linguist to the Asantehene. The party gained some support in the Gold Coast legislative election, 1956 and became the third largest party in the Assembly with 12 seats, behind the Convention People's Party and the Northern People's Party.

#### **The 1948 Riot**

The Avoidance of Discrimination Act, passed by Kwame Nkrumah in 1957 outlawed parties based on racial, regional, or religious differences. The Accra Riots started on 28 February 1948 in Accra, the capital of present-day Ghana, which at the time was the British colony of the Gold Coast. A protest march by unarmed ex-servicemen who were agitating for their benefits as veterans of World War II was broken up by police, leaving three leaders of the group dead.



Among those killed was Sergeant Nii Adjetei, who has since been memorialized in Accra. The 28 February incident marked the beginning of the process of the Gold Coast towards being the first African colony to achieve independence, becoming Ghana on 6 March 1957.

### **The February march and riot**

The march on 28 February 1948 was a peaceful attempt by former soldiers to bring a petition to the Governor of the Gold Coast requesting the dispensation of promised pensions and other compensation for their efforts during the war. The ex-servicemen were members of the Gold Coast Regiment, who were among the most decorated African soldiers, having fought alongside British troops in Burma. They had been promised pensions and jobs after the war; however, when they returned home, jobs were scarce and their pensions were never disbursed. As the group marched toward the Governor's residence at Christiansborg Castle, they were stopped and confronted by the colonial police, who refused to let them pass. The British police Superintendent Imray ordered his subordinate to shoot at the protesters, but the man did not. Possibly in panic, Imray grabbed the gun and shot at the leaders, killing three former soldiers: Sergeant Adjetei, Corporal Attipoe, and Private Odattey Lamptey. Apart from the three fatalities, a further 60 ex-servicemen were wounded. People in Accra took to the streets in riot. On the same day, the local political leadership, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), led by the Big Six, sent a cable on the same day to the Secretary of State in London. They also blamed the Governor Sir Gerald Creasy for his handling of the country's problems. The unrest in Accra, and in other towns and cities, would last for five days, during which both Asian and European-owned stores and businesses were looted and more deaths occurred. By 1 March, the Governor had declared a new state of emergency.

### **Impact of 1948 Riot**

The first significant impact the riot had on Gold Coast constitutional reforms leading to Ghana's independence was that the riot changed Britain's slow attitude in granting Gold Coast a radical constitution that would result in Gold Coast gaining self-government. The British had an erroneous impression that Gold Coast preferred to be under the British colonial rule to having political independence. The immediate aftermath of the riots included the arrest on 12 March 1948 of "the Big Six" – Kwame Nkrumah and other leading activists in the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) party (namely Ebenezer Ako-Adjei, Edward Akufo-Addo, J.B. Danquah, Emmanuel Obetsebi Lamptey and William Ofori Atta), who were held responsible for orchestrating the disturbances and were detained, before being released a month later. The arrest of the leaders of the UGCC raised the profile of the party around the country and made them national heroes. By 1949, Nkrumah had broken away from the UGCC. The Convention People's Party (CPP), with the motto "Self-government now", and a campaign of "Positive Action". Nkrumah broke away due to misunderstandings at the leadership front of the UGCC. The Watson Commission was set up and its report recommended a new constitution for Gold

Coast. Consequently, the colonial government appointed all Africans Committee (the Coussey Committee) to draft a new constitution for Gold Coast. Undoubtedly, the 1948 Riot became the turning point of Ghana's decolonization drive. It precipitated the promulgation of a more radical constitution which granted Gold Coast an internal self-government, which has eluded the people of Gold Coast prior to the riot. The riot indeed compelled the British colonial administration to give her a constitution. Finally, the 1948 Riot led to the promulgation of the 1951 Constitution which prepared Gold Coast political elites to take over political administration of Gold Coast. However the commission believed a probationary period of ten years would prepare the educated elites to gain experience for the post-independent political administration of Gold Coast. The Colonial office did not depart from the principle of ensuring the Africans acquire rich political experience for a period before ultimately granting Gold Coast a political independence as recommended by the Watson Commission. Nkrumah with support of the teeming youth designated as Ghana Youth Group and Accra Students Union, drafted a constitution on Christmas Day to be introduced effectively in Gold Coast in 1949, and the date Nkrumah fixed for the achievement of self-government was 1st April after the original date in October 1948 did not materialize. The Coussey Committee Report, made some recommendation regarding the executive Council. Nkrumah called the Coussey Committee Report on Constitutional reforms (the 1951 Constitution) as 'Trojan gift horse that was bogus and fraudulent'. Nkrumah declared 'positive action', and the government responded by declaring state of emergency, arresting Nkrumah and some of the CPP leaders. Nkrumah was sentenced to a total of three years imprisonment. Interestingly, the CPP won a landslide victory in the 1951 general elections, under the very constitution Nkrumah described as 'fraudulent and bogus.' On the grounds of political expediency, Nkrumah was released from prisons by the colonial administration. This was because the colonial office posited that Nkrumah should be released for broad reasons of policy, on the ground that, now that a democratic constitution is about to come into force in the Gold Coast, it is undesirable that the leader of the main political party should remain in prison. It is worthy to note that the declaration of the 'positive action' was inconsequential to the dictate and the implementation of the 1951 constitution. Upon the Nkrumah induced-strike, and boycott and labour unrest, the election came off as scheduled, and the provisions in the 1951 Constitution was never amended. The declaration of the positive action only ensured the personal and political aggrandizement of Nkrumah to the detriment of maintaining law and order in Gold Coast. It also succeeded in portraying the members of the UGCC to the electorates as not in hurry to fight for the liberation of the people of Gold Coast. As it was the aim and plan of the colonial government, and the spirit of the 1951 Constitution to make the African nationalist to gain experience in political administration before independence, Nkrumah and seven others were appointed as ministers, but responsible to the governor. Nkrumah was appointed as Leader of Government Business (was later given the title prime minister in 1952), while others like Casely Hayford, J.A. Gbedemah, Kojo Botsio,

Hutton Mills, Ansah Kol, Asafo Agyei, and J.A. Braimah were appointed to be in charge of some ministries. In 1952, upon a request made by Nkrumah to the colonial office, some changes were made to the 1951 Constitution. After some changes in the 1951 Constitution, a new constitution came into force in 1954. This was as a result of discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Gold Coast Ministers on constitutional reforms, and proposals were formulated by the Gold Coast Government after consultation with the Chiefs and people of the Gold Coast. Britain at this time was more than prepared to put in place a constitution for the full Self-Government in Gold Coast. This was after Nkrumah on 10th July, 1953, moved a motion on constitutional reform, Independence motion, which became popularly known as 'The Motion of Destiny'. The 1954 Constitution came into force, and election was conducted. Nkrumah-led CPP won massively and CPP government was formed and Ghana officially became independent on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1957.



## **Conclusion**

So here we can notice the decisive role the 1948 Riot played as the turning point of Ghana's decolonization drive. Here we can three thematic areas: the upsurge of political consciousness and the political temperature in Gold Coast, the breaking away of Nkrumah from the UGCC to form the CPP, and the 1948 Riot-induced radical constitutional reforms which led to the independence of Ghana. With regard to the upsurge of political consciousness and political temperature, we examined the death, casualties and destruction of properties as a result of the riot which was unprecedented and helped to increase the political consciousness, and political temperature in Gold Coast. Again, political consciousness saw a massive upsurge due to the UGCC leaders making of political capital from the riot. They blamed the riot on the ineptitude of the government, and called for an all- African government to take over the administration of Gold Coast. The riot led to the breakaway of Nkrumah from the UGCC and here we also explained that the Watson Commission establishing the fact that Nkrumah was a pro-communist due to his association with the communist party in Britain contributed to Nkrumah breaking away from the UGCC. The 1948 Riot created a platform for Nkrumah to develop the feeling of betrayal against the working committee members of the UGCC leading to the breaking away of Nkrumah from the UGCC. Nkrumah's exclusion from the Coussey Committee precipitated his breaking away from the UGCC. Emphasis was equally laid on the fact that the formation of CPP provided Ghana a dynamic political party which won independence for Ghana. Added to the above, we also expounded how the riot changed British lackadaisical and lukewarm attitude towards the issue of Gold Coast self-government drive. Last but not least, we examined thoroughly how the 1948 Riot led to the promulgation of radical constitutions which prepared, and won independence for Ghana.

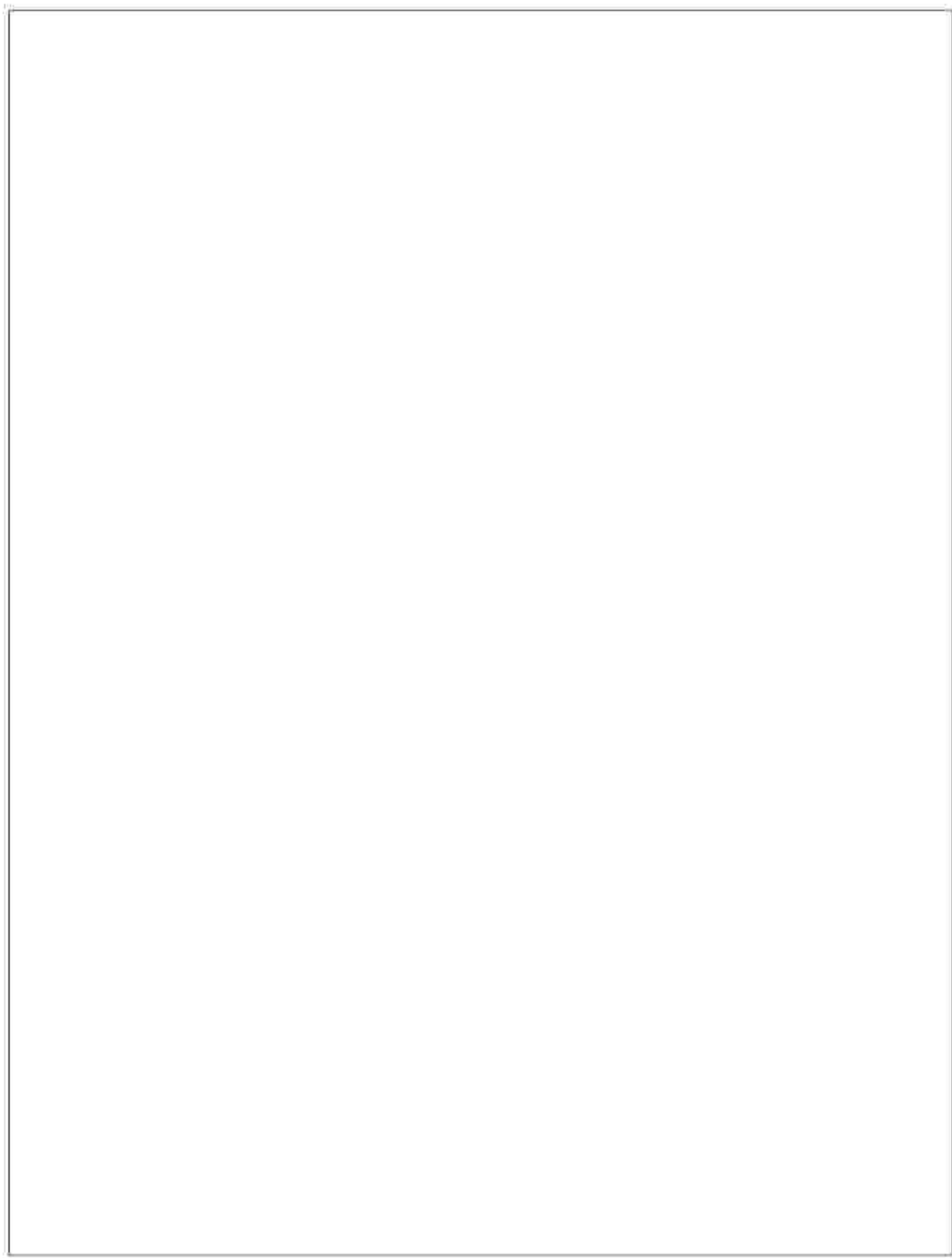
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# THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS OF 1962

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# **THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS OF 1962**



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**Samadrita Dutta**

# INTRODUCTION

The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 was a direct and dangerous confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War and was the moment when the two superpowers came closest to nuclear conflict. The crisis was unique in a number of ways, featuring calculations and miscalculations as well as direct and secret communications and miscommunications between the two sides. The dramatic crisis was also characterized by the fact that it was primarily played out at the White House and the Kremlin level with relatively little input from the respective bureaucracies typically involved in the foreign policy process. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, leaders of the U.S. and the Soviet Union engaged in a tense, 13-day political and



military standoff in October 1962 over the installation of nuclear-armed Soviet missiles on Cuba, just 90 miles from U.S. shores. In a TV address on October 22, 1962, President John F. Kennedy (1917-63) notified Americans about the presence of the missiles, explained his decision to enact a naval blockade around Cuba and made it clear the U.S. was prepared to use military force if necessary to neutralize this perceived threat to national security. Following this news, many people feared the world was on the brink of nuclear war.

## BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS

After the failed U.S. attempt to overthrow the Castro regime in Cuba with the Bay of Pigs invasion, and while the Kennedy administration planned Operation Mongoose, in July 1962 Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev reached a secret agreement with Cuban premier Fidel Castro to place Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba to deter any future invasion attempt. Construction of several missile sites began in the late summer, but U.S. intelligence discovered evidence of a general Soviet arms build-up on Cuba, including Soviet IL-28 bombers, during routine surveillance flights, and on September 4, 1962, President Kennedy issued a public warning against the introduction of offensive weapons into Cuba. Despite the warning, on October 14 a U.S. U-2 aircraft took several pictures clearly showing sites for medium-range and intermediate-range ballistic nuclear missiles (MRBMs and IRBMs) under construction in Cuba. These images were processed and presented to the White House the next day, thus precipitating the onset of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

### Discovering the missiles

After seizing power in the Caribbean island nation of Cuba in 1959, leftist revolutionary leader Fidel Castro (1926-2016) aligned himself with the Soviet Union. Under Castro, Cuba grew dependent on the Soviets for military and economic aid. During this time, the U.S. and the Soviets (and their respective allies) were engaged in the Cold War (1945-91), an on-going series of largely political and economic clashes.

The two superpowers plunged into one of their biggest Cold War confrontations after the pilot of an American U-2 spy plane piloted by Major Richard Heyser making a high-altitude pass over Cuba on October 14, 1962, photographed a Soviet SS-4 medium-range ballistic missile being assembled for installation.



### A new threat to the US

For the American officials, the urgency of the situation stemmed from the fact that the nuclear-armed Cuban missiles were being installed so close to the U.S. mainland—just 90 miles south of Florida. From that launch point, they were capable of quickly reaching targets in the eastern U.S. If allowed to become operational, the missiles would fundamentally alter the complexion of the nuclear rivalry between the U.S. and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which up to that point had been dominated by the Americans.

Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev had gambled on sending the missiles to Cuba with the specific goal of increasing his nation's nuclear strike capability. The Soviets had long felt uneasy about the number of nuclear weapons that were targeted at them from sites in Western Europe and Turkey, and they saw the deployment of missiles in Cuba as a way to level the playing field. Another key factor in the Soviet missile scheme was the hostile relationship between the U.S. and Cuba. The Kennedy administration had already launched one attack on the island—the failed Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961—and Castro and Khrushchev saw the missiles as a means of deterring further U.S. aggression.

# THE CRISIS

President Kennedy was briefed about the situation on October 16, and he immediately called together a group of advisors and officials known as the executive committee, or ExComm. For nearly the next two weeks, the president and his team wrestled with a diplomatic crisis of epic proportions, as did their counterparts in the Soviet Union.

From the outset of the crisis, Kennedy and ExComm determined that the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba was unacceptable. The challenge facing them was to orchestrate their removal without initiating a wider conflict—and possibly a nuclear war. In deliberations that stretched on for nearly a week, they came up with a variety of options, including a bombing attack on the missile sites and a full-scale invasion of Cuba. But Kennedy ultimately decided on a more measured approach. First, he would employ the U.S. Navy to establish a blockade, or quarantine, of the island to prevent the Soviets from delivering additional missiles and military equipment. Second, he would deliver an ultimatum that the existing missiles be removed.

In a television broadcast on October 22, 1962, the president notified Americans about the presence of the missiles, explained his decision to enact the blockade and made it clear that the U.S. was prepared to use military force if necessary to neutralize this perceived threat to national security. Following this public declaration, people

around the globe nervously waited for the Soviet response. Some Americans, fearing their country was on the brink of nuclear war, hoarded food and gas.



### Showdown at Sea: U.S. Blockades Cuba

A crucial moment in the unfolding crisis arrived on October 24, when Soviet ships bound for Cuba neared the line of U.S. vessels enforcing the blockade. An attempt by the Soviets to breach the blockade would likely have sparked a military confrontation that could have quickly escalated to a nuclear exchange. But the Soviet ships stopped short of the blockade. Although the events at sea offered a positive sign that war could be averted, they did nothing to address the problem of the missiles already in Cuba. The tense standoff between the superpowers continued through the week, and on October 27, an American reconnaissance plane was shot down over Cuba, and a U.S. invasion force was readied in Florida. (The 35-year-old pilot of the downed plane, Major Rudolf Anderson, is considered the sole U.S. combat casualty of the Cuban missile crisis.) "I thought it was the last Saturday I would ever see," recalled U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara (1916-2009), as quoted by Martin Walker in "The Cold War." A similar sense of doom was felt by other key players on both sides.

## THE END OF THE CRISIS

Despite the enormous tension, Soviet and American leaders found a way out of the impasse. During the crisis, the Americans and Soviets had exchanged letters and other communications, and on October 26, Khrushchev sent a message to Kennedy in which he offered to remove the Cuban missiles in exchange for a promise by U.S. leaders not to invade Cuba. The following day, the Soviet leader sent a letter proposing that the USSR would dismantle its missiles in Cuba if the Americans removed their missile installations in Turkey.

Officially, the Kennedy administration decided to accept the terms of the first message and ignore the second Khrushchev letter entirely. Privately, however, American officials also agreed to withdraw their nation's missiles from Turkey. U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy (1925-68) personally delivered the message to the Soviet ambassador in Washington, and on October 28, the crisis drew to a close.

Both the Americans and Soviets were sobered by the Cuban Missile Crisis. The following year, a direct "hot line" communication link was installed between Washington and Moscow to help defuse similar situations, and the superpowers signed two treaties related to nuclear weapons. The Cold War was and the nuclear arms race was far from over, though. In fact, another legacy of the crisis was that it convinced the Soviets to increase their investment in an arsenal of intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of reaching the U.S. from Soviet territory.



## CONCLUSION

The Cuban missile crisis stands as a singular event during the Cold War and strengthened Kennedy's image domestically and internationally. It also may have helped mitigate negative world opinion regarding the failed Bay of Pigs invasion. Two other important results of the crisis came in unique forms. First, despite the flurry of direct and indirect communications between the White House and the Kremlin—perhaps because of it—Kennedy and Khrushchev, and their advisers, struggled throughout the crisis to clearly understand each other's true intentions, while the world hung on the brink of possible nuclear war. In an effort to prevent this from happening again, a direct telephone link between the White House and the Kremlin was established; it became known as the "Hotline." Second, having approached the brink of nuclear conflict, both superpowers began to reconsider the nuclear arms race and took the first steps in agreeing to a nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

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**PAPER – CORE COURSE 14 (SEMESTER-6)**

**SUBJECT - HISTORY HONOURS (HISA)**

**COLLEGE ROLL NO - 19/BAH/0128**

**UNIVERSITY ROLL NO - 192013-11-0084**

**REGISTRATION NO - 013-1211-0038-19**

**TOPIC**

**THE MAU MAU MOVEMENT IN KENYA  
AND ITS CAUSES**

Authenticated  
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16 APR 2022

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Then, I should acknowledge a few books and websites, which I came across while doing this paper from my private collection and Internet.

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Thanking you,

Sneha Dutta

**INTRODUCTION-** The Mau Mau movement (1952–1960) of Kenya, also known as the Mau Mau uprising, Mau Mau revolt or Kenya Emergency was a nationalist armed peasant revolt against the British colonial state, its policies, and its local supporters. It was a war in the British Kenya Colony (1920–1963) between the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (KLFA), also known as the *Mau Mau*, and the British authorities.

Dominated by the Kikuyu people, Meru people and Embu people, the KLFA also comprised units of Kamba and Maasai peoples who fought against the white European colonist-settlers in Kenya, the British Army, and the local Kenya Regiment. The capture of rebel leader Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi on 21 October 1956 signalled the defeat of the Mau Mau and essentially ended the British military campaign. However, the rebellion survived until after Kenya's independence from Britain, driven mainly by the Meru units led by Field Marshal Musa Mwariama and General Baimungi. Baimungi, one of the last Mau Mau generals, was killed shortly after Kenya attained self-rule.

The KLFA failed to capture widespread public support. Frank Furedi, in *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*, suggests this was due to a British policy of divide and rule. The Mau Mau movement remained internally divided, despite attempts to unify the factions. The British meanwhile, applied the strategy and tactics they developed in suppressing the Malayan Emergency (1948–60). The Mau Mau Uprising created a rift between the European colonial community in Kenya and the metropole and also resulted in violent divisions within the Kikuyu community: "Much of the struggle tore through the African communities themselves, an internecine war waged between rebels and so-called 'loyalists' – Africans who took the side of the government and opposed Mau Mau." Suppressing the Mau Mau Uprising in the Kenyan colony cost Britain £55 million and caused at least 11,000 deaths among the Mau Mau and other forces, with some estimates considerably higher. This included 1,090 executions by hanging.

**ETYMOLOGY-** The origin of the term Mau Mau is uncertain. According to some members of Mau Mau, they never referred to themselves as such, instead preferring the military title Kenya Land and Freedom Army. Fred Majdalany's 'State of Emergency' says: The Full Story of Mau Mau, claim it was an anagram of 'Uma Uma' which means "Get out! Get out!" and was a military codeword based on a secret language-game Kikuyu boys used to play at the time of their circumcision.

**CAUSES OF THE MAU MAU MOVEMENT-** The armed rebellion of the Mau Mau was the culminating response to colonial rule. Although there had been previous instances of violent resistance to colonialism, the Mau Mau revolt was the most prolonged and violent anti-colonial warfare in the British Kenya colony. Arguably one of the most important reasons for the Mau Mau rebellion was the economic deprivation of the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu had long been unhappy with white settlers in Kenya taking their land, and their economic deprivation lead to vast discontent throughout the Kikuyu. Despite attempts to address this issue, the Kikuyu's were ignored. Michael Coray has argued that by failing to create a system through which Africa

grievances against white settlers could be settled fairly, the Kikuyu grew more dissatisfied with the colonial administrations failures, thus playing a significant part in the development of the Mau Mau rebellion. Economic deprivation continued throughout colonial rule; by 1948, 1.25 million Kikuyu were restricted to 2000 square miles whilst 30,000 white settlers occupied 12,000 square miles, demonstrating the extent to which the Kikuyu were disadvantaged by the white settlers, causing them anger and resentment. As a result to these poor living conditions, there was a huge increase in the number of Kikuyu migrating to the cities; leading to poverty, unemployment and overpopulation. Despite these factors, it has been argued that economic deprivation was not of particular importance in relation to why the Mau Mau rebellion broke out. Claude Welch has claimed that grievances were expressed primarily on a tribal basis as opposed to a class basis, which he uses as evidence to suggest that economic deprivation is not as significant a factor as one might believe. However, regardless of whether or not it contributed greatly to the break out of the Mau Mau rebellion, there is little doubt that the unrest caused by economic deprivation had an impact on the Kikuyu, and through this contributed to the Mau Mau rebellion.

As well as economic deprivation, the Kikuyu were arguably angered by their loss of economic independence during the colonial period. As Eric Brown has stated, the loss of land to white settlers meant not only that the Kikuyu were bereft of their land, but also that they had to then find work in order to make a living; usually working for the white settlers. Brown has paralleled this with Serfdom, and argues that Kikuyu reliance on white settlers caused an increase in social tensions amongst the Kikuyu. Though already at a disadvantage, the Kikuyu would also earn on average only a fifth of the payment which white workers would earn for the same amount of work, which only furthered the Kikuyu resentment of the settlers. Despite migrating to the cities, which one might consider puts the Kikuyu at an economic advantage, the Kikuyu were in fact disadvantaged when considering their prosperous position prior to colonial administration; coffee growing in particular was a rewarding industry due to the fertile land held by the Kikuyu, and so the prohibition of coffee growing imposed by the colonial government crippled the Kikuyu. In this light, a rebellion against the British settlers might be seen as inevitable. The Kikuyu were the most populous ethnic group in Kenya, with what Brown calls a flourishing society; therefore, when the Mau Mau offered them an opportunity to revolt against British colonialism, the group grew rapidly. One could then argue that a main reason why the Mau Mau rebellion broke out was so that the Kikuyu could regain the economic independence that they longed for, and were used to prior to colonial disruption.

However, the social conditions of the Kikuyu cannot be ignored when attempting to address the main reasons for the break out of the Mau Mau rebellion. Harsh restrictions were placed upon the Kikuyu; they were taxed heavily and racial tensions increased. White settlers saw the Kikuyu as agricultural competition, thus explaining why such heavy restrictions were placed upon them. Disciplinary measures were introduced by white settlers on the Kikuyu who worked on their land; workers were often tortured or abused by the white settlers. This horrific treatment of the Kikuyu only angered them further and caused greater discontent between

black and white. Alongside their economic deprivation, the Kikuyu and other people of Africa were made to feel like outsiders within their homeland, and became alienated from society. Many Kikuyu had no choice but to become squatters on white land, which to them seemed degrading considering the land was rightfully theirs. There were also increasing tensions between the Kikuyu people themselves. Kikuyu land owners and those forced to work on white land began to despise each other; Furedi argues that this led to the land owners and their white allies releasing "a wave of repression onto those with no land, thus increasing social tensions throughout Kenya. This meant that poorer Kikuyu workers were not only angered by the white settlers but also by their own people, thus strengthening the argument that the Mau Mau rebellion was a 'peasant revolt' against the wealthy and the white.

The vast growth of the Kikuyu Central Association also accounts for the break out of the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952. The KCA made its aims clear to reclaim the land taken from them – and ran a campaign of civil disobedience in order to protest against the white settlers taking their land, which demonstrates the unrest amongst the Kikuyu prior to the rebellion. The KCA also made radical demands, for example the return of their land, in hope of returning to their economic position prior to colonial rule. The growth in membership of the KCA can be accounted for in the popular demands it made; for example, higher wages and the right to grow coffee again. It has already been established that the Kikuyu were greatly unhappy with their social and economic position within Kenya, and so the KCA offered them an opportunity to voice their discontent and attempt to make a change through convincing the government that if their demands were not met, they would create more trouble. Despite these protests, the KCA was largely ignored by the colonial government, thus furthering tensions between the two. The KCA's grievances originated in the 1920s and 1930s, and so by the time the Mau Mau rebellion broke out in 1952, decades had passed with little change to benefit the Kikuyu, and therefore the rebellion had arguably been a long time coming. Consequently, the growth of the KCA reflects the growing tensions amongst the Kikuyu which led to the Mau Mau rebellion of 1952.

Another key reason for the break out of the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952 was the internal divisions within the Kikuyu. It has been argued that there "never was a single Mau Mau. One possible reason for this argument is that the Mau Mau never made their goals clear; many have attempted to discover their goals through Mau Mau actions, and yet there is no solid evidence to suggest what the Mau Mau's goals might be. Clough has argued that Mau Mau goals were political, and that they wanted to "drive out the white settlers and isolate African "enemies. There is certainly some validity to this argument; as Clough notes, memoirs from Mau Mau meetings show that a great effort was made planning what the Mau Mau relationship should be with detained leaders, and how they would communicate with the British to get their message across, demonstrating the importance of political motivations. Others have argued that their goals were economical, and that as previously stated the Kikuyu people strived to regain their economic independence that was lost through colonialism. The Mau Mau was a rapidly expanding group, and therefore the lack of a well-known, common goal



meant that internal divisions were inevitable. Therefore the rebellion in 1952 was arguably caused by Mau Mau intentions to achieve something in order to avoid being seen as a radical group without a goal. However, as Lonsdale has pointed out, despite internal divisions, the Mau Mau were bound to each other by hopes of citizenship and bureaucracy and therefore perhaps the broadness of such a goal benefitted the Mau Mau rather than causing a failed uprising.

Arguably the most important cause of the rebellion was the economic discontent of caused by white settlers claiming Kikuyu land and its consequences. The restrictions placed upon the Kikuyu, both economically and socially, also played a significant role in the break out of the rebellion, as the Kikuyu were made to feel alienated from their own society and repressed by white settlers. However, the most likely cause of the Mau Mau rebellion was a combination of all the above factors, which led to a growth in discontent amongst the Kikuyu and left them with no other alternative than to revolt. In this sense, it can be concluded that there was not just one cause of the Mau Mau rebellion, but a vast amount of varying causes encompassing economic, social and political tensions.

**CONCLUSION-** Despite the defeat of the Mau Mau, the uprising had put Kenya on an inevitable path to independence from colonial rule. There were several reasons for this. The first was that it was made clear to the Kenyan population that the Europeans were far from invincible, and that their rule was more tenuous than previously realized. Consequently, the effective resistance to colonial rule shown by the Mau Mau accelerated the pace of nationalism in Kenya and throughout East Africa. The actions of the white settler community had demonstrated how fearful they were of indigenous opposition to their land seizures, and divisions emerged between extremists and moderates, weakening the political domination the community previously enjoyed. In addition, the brutality shown by the government had been effective in driving a fresh wave of anti-colonialist sentiment in the country.

Perhaps the greatest impact that the Mau Mau uprising had on the struggle for Kenya's independence was its role in politicizing and mobilizing the agrarian sectors, and shaping their political awareness and economic thinking. By awakening this key section of Kenyan society to the damage and repression caused by colonial rule, the Mau Mau set in motion a popular movement for independence that captured the national consciousness of the economically disenfranchised Kenyan people like never before.

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The features of Globalization & how much it is relevant now  
in today's world Politics or World Economy



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## Introduction

became a buzzword following the end of the Cold War, but the phenomenon has long been a factor in the foreign relations of the United States and has deep roots in history. To the extent that it meant the expansion of trade and investments, it can be defined as economic expansion, as in the transition from territorial expansion in the nineteenth century to the increasing internationalization of markets in the twentieth century. In the aftermath of World War II, economic internationalism, or the suggestion of growing interdependence of nations and the development of international institutions, seemed to capture the essence of what more recently has been termed globalization. But such images are too limited; they do not adequately define a phenomenon that shaped American diplomacy and its constituent elements of economics and culture.

Globalisation is perhaps the topic of the age. Globalisation means different things to different people, but a key economic dimension of it is undoubtedly the opening up of economies to international competition, allowing goods, ideas, capital and some people to move more freely between countries. Many countries around the world have embraced these aspects of globalisation, because governments have become convinced that a more dynamic economic performance awaits countries that more closely integrate with the global economy. And yet, because it brings with it more rapid domestic economic change, globalisation can be disruptive and can generate losers as well as winners.

## Meaning of Globalization

Globalization is a process whereby goods and services are sold without any barrier around the globe. It is one where markets are integrated with the global economy increasing the

interconnectedness and interdependence of national economies on each other. Globalization leads to widespread of product, information, technology, and jobs among several nations

embracing free trade. Today's world is highly interconnected because of globalization resulting in more trade and cultural exchange. The production of products or services increased enormously due to established networks among countries. Corporations operating on a large scale are no longer national firms but operate internationally with many subsidiaries in different parts of the world.



## DEFINITION AND CONCEPTUALIZATION



"Globalization" is a fairly new term. Professor Theodore Levitt, a marketing professor at the Harvard Business School, apparently first employed it in a 1983 article in the *Harvard Business Review*. It is arguable, however, that the basic concept dates to the first humans. Defined broadly, globalization is the process of integrating nations and peoples—politically, economically, and culturally—into a larger community. In this broad sense, it is little different from internationalization. Yet globalization is more than this incremental process that over the centuries has brought people and nations closer together as technological innovation dissolved barriers of time and distance, and enhanced flows of information promoted greater awareness and understanding.

The focus, as the term suggests, is not on nations but on the entire globe. Consequently, a more sophisticated definition might emphasize that contemporary globalization is a complex, controversial, and synergistic process in which improvements in technology (especially in communications and transportation) combine with the deregulation of markets and open borders to bring about vastly expanded flows of people, money, goods, services, and information. This process integrates people, businesses, nongovernmental organizations, and nations into larger networks. Globalization promotes convergence, harmonization, efficiency, growth, and, perhaps, democratization and homogenization.

### **Components of Globalization**

The components of globalization include GDP, industrialization, and the Human Development Index (HDI). The GDP is the market value of all finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a year and serves as a measure of a country's overall economic output. Industrialization is a process that, driven by technological innovation, effectuates social change and economic development by transforming a country into a modernized industrial, or developed nation. The Human Development Index comprises three components: a country's population's life expectancy, knowledge and education measured by the adult literacy, and income

**features of Globalization** Various features of globalization are as discussed in points given below: –

### **Free Trade**

Globalization creates free trade relations among countries around the world. Countries buy and sell goods from each other freely without any government interference. With the growth in trade among nations, their economies also get flourished. It eventually leads to overall growth in the gross national product of the nation. Globalization also improves mutual relations and cooperation among countries in addition to their growth and development.

### **Liberalization**

Liberalization refers to the freedom of corporations or business people to establish business ventures, trade, or commerce in their own country or anywhere abroad.

Globalization gives liberalization to industrialists allowing them to set up business across several geographies. For example-Google, Samsung, Mi, Apple, and Nestle are some of the reputed firms operating in different parts of the world, which becomes possible due to liberalization and globalization. Liberalization and globalization are two inter-related terms where one cannot grow without the support of one another. A more liberal a country is, better will be trading in that country.

### **Economic Globalization**

Globalization is one that integrates the domestic economies with the world economy. The economic interdependence on different economies increases as a result of globalization. Countries are more rapidly exchanging goods, services, technology, and capital with other economies. Globalization focuses on maintaining regulated taxes and tariffs for trader in business. Economic globalization relates to production globalization which means procuring materials from several nations to benefit from cost differences. Technology incorporation and competition also form the part of economic globalization.

### **Connectivity**

Providing worldwide connectivity to distinct countries and places is one of the crucial features of globalization. It enables peoples present in different parts of the world to remain connected such that they can freely exchange ideas, information, and culture. There are many prosperous agreement and treaties which are decided by nations and is beneficial for both participating parties. There is an establishment of a free flow of literature, technology, and cultural knowledge on an international level. The business of the country flourishes with the increase in connectivity thereby adding to the national revenue of nations.

Connectivity work as a key growth factor for industries as well as business organizations. Higher the connectivity, more will be the boost in industrial sector, creating large jobs for people. Also, this will enhance the standard of living with the rise in money flow.

### **Increased Collaboration**

Globalization accelerates the process of collaboration among entrepreneurs in order to achieve technological advancement, rapid development, and modernization. With open doors and no bars on trade, corporations form a collaboration with each other where they share knowledge and expertise. This raises the level and quality of manufacturing



operations contributing to the overall development and modernization of economies around the world.

### **Cultural Globalization**

Cultural globalization involves the transmission of values, ideas, and meaning around the globe which leads to strengthening the present relations. When the culture is circulated across the globe, the social behavior of peoples gets exchanged across national as well as regional borders. People from varied cultures and backgrounds came together because of cross-cultural communications and relations, enabling them



to contribute towards cultural globalization. A cultural diffusion where distinct religious styles, languages, ideas, and technologies are diffused for spreading in many cultures is a key component of cultural globalization.

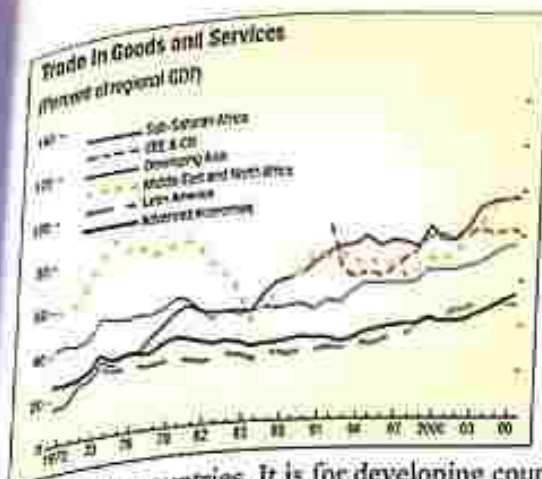
### **Product Advantage**

It is one of the key benefits provided by globalization to business organizations operating around the world. Companies are easily able to source cheap raw material due to open trading. They set up their manufacturing plants in such locations where they get cheap labor and land thereby bring down the production cost for the company. The company produces products at lower prices in one country and sells them at good prices in other nations. Also, employment opportunities get an increase in countries where the factories are set up. This way the living standard of people working in those factories gets improved.

### **Basic Features of Economic Globalization**

Globalization is a process in which a country's economy is integrated with the whole world economy so that the entire world can function as a single economy and a single market. The exchange of capital, technology, goods etc are easy in this borderless regime. Globalization connects the economy of any country with the economies of other countries of the world,





thereby expanding business activities globally and developing competitiveness of countries. Thus, globalization is also seen in the form of internationalization. In other words, globalization means integrating the economy of the world with the world economy. Economic Globalization is control of economic activities by domestic market and international market; coordination of national economy and world economy. It originates from developed countries and the multinational corporations based in them. Technologies, capital, products and services come from them to

developing countries. It is for developing countries to accept these things, adapt themselves to them and to be influenced by them. As a result of Globalization, the values and norms of developed countries are gradually rooted in developing countries. This leads to growth of a monoculture – the culture of the north (developed countries) being imposed on the South (developing countries). This involves the erosion and loss of the identity and the cultures of developing countries. Globalization is thus a one-way traffic.

With the advent of Globalization, no country can be totally independent, not needing anything from any other country. Hence, a culture of interdependence has been established between nations. Globalization is concerned primarily with global marketing. It reflects the expansion of business opportunities. In globalization, there is interdependence between the world markets. In such systems, open economies are born, which is free of restrictions and in which free trade is done. The place of multinational companies becomes important in globalization. The basic features of Economic Globalization are :

i. Efforts are made to minimize trade barriers globally, allowing easy and smooth movement of goods and services between two nations.

ii. Globalization gives birth to the developed nature of industrial organizations.

iii. Developed nations prefer to deploy their huge funds on interest rates for developing countries so that they can get the benefit of advanced rate.

iv. Efforts are made to create such an environment in national and international markets that the advantage of advanced technology can be shared by all nations.

Capital is the soul of business organizations. Under globalization, there is a free flow of capital between the countries.



vi. Globalization also inspires intellectual labor and property, that means unhindered travel from one country to other countries.

vii. Globalization has Linked Politics with Economics. Earlier, political ideologies and relations between nations determined the fate of people. In the new era, it is the economics, employment generation and public welfare that determine the relations between nations.

viii. Globalization has put Technology in the Service of Mankind. World has shrunk to a small global village with support of technological innovations, Telecommunication, E-Commerce.

### IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON POLITICS

Globalization by removing geographical, political and cultural borders, and also by passing time and place has changed attitudes, behavior and action of individuals, nations, states and even socio-political structure of societies. In politics scope, globalization has created several evolutions which some of them are as follows;

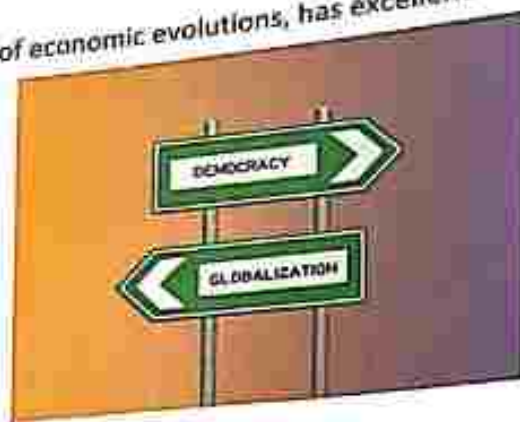
### Globalization and Democracy

The phenomenon of globalization as a new paradigm, in influence of economic evolutions, has excellent changed human societies from half century past. In late decades, the scientific and academic societies, especially political science, and some other matters like political systems, states, and democracy, has conceptual redefined by globalization. Some main questions about the democracy and globalization are: which form of democracy did influence by globalization? Did ideology of democracy, or political culture of democracy influenced by globalization? Or democracy is as a governance pattern? Democracy has main characteristics that some of them are as follows:

Free elections. It means every one and groups can have chance to reach power. This is a main index to evaluate democracy in political systems.

Rationality of political actors. In fact, this index is basic of democratic system, and is democratic structures formation. However, the measure rationality of actors different in various countries.

Generally decision making power of representations. The representations should be making decision making liberally and without internal and external threat and impacts.





he effective of globalization on democracy is not limited to special scope. Some thoughtful beliefs that, globalization affects on all foundations of democracy such as: freedom of expression, freedom of belief and religion, civil community, citizenship rights, confine of state activity, legitimacy of governors, freedom of press, and etc. In principle there are some ways and methods of effective of globalization on democracy that follows:

**1) Evolution on concept of democracy:** Democracy, in influenced of globalization, has more changed in relative to its traditional concept. Democracy in its new concept is not just participation process, election, representation, reign of law, and political and urban freedom. But it should be define as: measure of formation civil institutions in societies and its combine on global culture.. In "David Held" opinion, democracy in globalization age, include societies that closed in borders. However they utilize similar communication and world order.

**2) Spread of civil society:** Civil society is essential and structural request for democracy realization. Behind the three columns of democracy, namely: responder state, freedom elections, urban and political rights, the civil society are fourth and important column of democracy. so, democracy doesn't realize, unless independent institutions of civil society be institutionalize in societies. "Richard Falk" beliefs, globalization not only created civil society in national level and inside of nation-states, but also caused creation civil society in supranational level, namely: global civil society<sup>58</sup>. Global civil society includes all organizations, movements and associations that are ultra individuals and understate.

**3) Increase of middle class:** Globalization increased and developed middle class, by increase of urban institutions, parties, national and supranational groups and movements. Increase of middle class, with various and vast demands, is a social context of democracy. In otherwise, it signs non growth of democracy.

## Globalization and Human Rights

One of positive consequences of globalization is more attention to human rights as most important common issue of human society in nowadays world. The global culture of human rights emphasizes on this issue that everyone in different dimensions and levels has right which should be immunity of unjustifiable disturbance of states and global power. Increase level of insight and knowledge of

nations and states, under influence of globalization process have converted the more attention to global human rights as a general and humanity certain



right requests in the world wide. Nowadays, the issues such as illegal of killing, forbidden of torment, forbidden of child forcible working, battle against terrorism, peaceful solution of discards, enjoyment of justly judicial system, enjoyment minority of hygienic and education and welfare, freedom of expression and belief and action, are as general values of human rights and are acceptance for all cultures.

## Globalization and New political culture

Another main and important output and consequences of globalization is its influence on political culture in national and international level. Gabriel Almond defines political culture as set of norms, values, emotions, information and political technique. Almond argues political culture has three basic dimensions; 1- knowledge dimension (the measure of information and knowledge of citizens about political roles and system). 2- Sentimental dimension (emotion of loyalty, dependence and relation to political system). 3- Value dimension (Judge about function of political system) Before globalization age the culture and identity of nations have been defined by.

### Globalization and Increase of Interdependence

The extension of globalization of has caused accession among nations, and increase interdependence of different societies. Jims Rosina believes that if in the past, the global politics problems have been solved by interaction of states, but now there are complex problems which are out of states capacity. Some of them are such as; air pollution, financial crisis, narcotic, terrorism, aids, despotism and violence in some political system, flood, earth quake, and etc. So, it is clear that the solution of these problems are out capacity of singular of states, and cooperation of formal actors and trans national organizations are most necessity.

### Globalization and Freedom

There is question that how freedom and globalization fit together. According to some research it funded that they work together quite nicely. There is a strong positive relationship between globalization and political freedom. Globalization may also be one of the best ways of keeping politicians honest, as more globalized countries have far lower levels of perceived corruption, as measured by transparency International. Some countries may help foster increased political rights and civil liberties for their citizens. Furthermore, increased integration may lead to the adoption of higher international standards for transparency, which in turn would discourage corruption and increase government efficiency. Of course, there are always exceptions to the rule. Singapore, the world's most globalized country, is home to a modern, open economy that exists alongside tight government control over the media and limited individual liberties. On the other end of the spectrum, South Africa has a relatively high level of political freedom but a mediocre globalization ranking.

### Conclusion

Globalisation has the potential of supporting development through providing opportunities for higher incomes and living standards through enhanced cross border economic interaction. It reflects the continuing expansion and mutual integration of market frontiers, and is an irreversible trend for the economic development in the whole world at the turn of the millennium.

So, globalization with its high impact power has completely influenced culture and politics scopes of individual and states life. Globalization with formation new definition of culture and politics and creation new political and cultural actors in national, regional and global scopes has appeared now world which is completely difference of the past. New political cultural discourse which has dominated on human society has most important impaction,

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The features of Globalization & how much it is relevant now in today's world Politics or World Economy



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*Chandana*

Principal

Gokhale Memorial Girls' College

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# **TOPIC**

**CIRCUMSTANCES, CAUSES AND  
IMPACT OF THE SINO-SOVIET RIFT**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I would like to convey my thanks to the Professor who had helped and guided me in gathering information throughout this project and I will always remain grateful to the respected Professor.



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## L. NO.

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## INTRODUCTION

### Introduction

- Sino-Soviet split (1960-1991) denotes the worsening of political and ideological relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the Cold War (1945-1991).
- The doctrinal divergence derived from Chinese and Russian national interests, and from the regimes' respective interpretations of Marxism-Leninism.
- In the 1950s and the 1960s, ideological debates between the Communist Parties of Russia and China also concerned the possibility of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist West.



The Sino-Soviet split was the breaking of political relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union caused by doctrinal divergences that arose from their different interpretations and practical applications of Marxism-Leninism, as influenced by their respective geopolitics during the Cold War of 1945-1991. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Sino-Soviet debates about the interpretation of orthodox Marxism became specific disputes about the Soviet Union's policies of national de-Stalinization and international peaceful coexistence with the Western Bloc, which Chinese founding father Mao Zedong decried as Marxist revisionism. Against that ideological background, China took a belligerent stance towards the Western world, and publicly rejected the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence between the Western Bloc and Eastern Bloc. In addition, Beijing resented the Soviet Union's growing ties with India due to factors such as the Sino-Indian border dispute, and Moscow feared that Mao was too nonchalant about the horrors of nuclear warfare.

In 1956, CPSU first secretary Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin and Stalinism in the speech On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences and began the de-Stalinization of the USSR. Mao and the Chinese leadership were appalled as the PRC and the USSR progressively diverged in their interpretations and applications of Leninist theory. By 1961, their intractable ideological differences provoked the PRC's formal denunciation of Soviet communism as the work of "revisionist traitors" in the USSR. The PRC also declared the Soviet Union social imperialist. For Eastern Bloc countries, the Sino-Soviet split was a question of who would lead the revolution for world communism, and to whom (China or the USSR) the vanguard parties of the world would turn for political advice, financial aid, and military assistance. In that vein, both countries competed for the leadership of world communism through the vanguard parties native to the countries in their spheres of influence.



In the Western world, the Sino-Soviet split transformed the bi-polar cold war into a tri-polar one. The rivalry facilitated Mao's realization of Sino-American rapprochement with the US President Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972. In the West, the policies of triangular diplomacy and linkage emerged. Moreover, the occurrence of the Sino-Soviet split also voided the concept of Monolithic Communism, the Western perception that the communist nations were collectively a unitary actor in post-Second World War geopolitics, especially during the 1947-1954 period in the Indochina Wars, when the US intervened to the First Indochina War (1946-1954). However, the USSR and China continued to cooperate in North Vietnam during the Vietnam War into the 1970s, despite rivalry elsewhere. Historically, the Sino-Soviet split facilitated the Marxist-Leninist Realpolitik with which Mao established the tri-polar geopolitics (PRC-USA-USSR) of the late-period Cold War (1956-1991) to create an anti-Soviet front, which Maoists connected to Three Worlds Theory. According to Lüthi, there is "no documentary evidence that the Chinese or the Soviets thought about their relationship within a triangular framework during the period." The period has been compared to nominally quad-polar geopolitics (PRC-UK-USA-USSR) until the Suez Crisis of 1956.

## ORIGIN OF THE SINO-SOVIET RIFT



The factors which led to the origin of the Sino-Soviet Rift are as follows:

1. Reluctant co-belligerents - During the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the nationalist Kuomintang party (KMT) set aside their civil war to expel the Empire of Japan from the Republic of China. To that end, the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, ordered Mao Zedong, leader of the CCP, to co-operate with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the KMT, in fighting the Japanese. Following the surrender of Japan at the end of World War II, both parties resumed their civil war, which the communists won by 1949. At the war's conclusion, Stalin advised Mao not to seize political power at that time, and, instead, to collaborate with Chiang due to the 1945 USSR-KMT Treaty of Friendship and Alliance. Mao abided Stalin in communist solidarity. Yet, three months after the Japanese surrender, in November 1945, when Chiang opposed the annexation of Tannu Uriankhai (Mongolia) to the USSR, Stalin broke the treaty requiring the Red Army's withdrawal from Manchuria (giving Mao regional control) and ordered General Rodion Malinovsky to give the Chinese communists the Japanese leftover weapons. In the five-year post-World War II period, the United States partly financed Chiang, his nationalist political party, and the National Revolutionary Army. However, Washington put heavy pressure on Chiang to form a joint government with the Communists. US envoy George Marshall spent 13 months in China trying without success to broker peace. In the concluding three-year period of the Chinese Civil War, the CCP defeated and expelled the KMT from mainland China. Consequently, the KMT retreated to Taiwan in December 1949.
2. Chinese Communist Revolution - As a revolutionary theoretician of Communism seeking to realize a socialist state in China, Mao developed and adapted the urban ideology of Orthodox Marxism for practical application to the agrarian conditions of pre-industrial China



and the Chinese people. Mao's Sinification of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, established political pragmatism as the first priority for realizing the accelerated modernization of a country and a people, and ideological orthodoxy as the secondary priority because Orthodox Marxism originated for practical application to the socio-economic conditions of industrialized Western Europe in the 19th century. During the Chinese Civil War in 1947, Mao dispatched US journalist Anna Louise Strong to the West, bearing political documents explaining China's socialist future, and asked that she "show them to Party leaders in the United States and Europe", for their better understanding of the Chinese Communist Revolution, but that it was not "necessary to take them to Moscow." Mao trusted Strong because of her positive reportage about him, as a theoretician of Communism, in the article "The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung", and about the CCP's communist revolution, in the 1948 book *Dawn Comes Up Like Thunder Out of China: An Intimate Account of the Liberated Areas in China*, which reports that Mao's intellectual achievement was "to change Marxism from a European [form] to an Asiatic form . . . in ways of which neither Marx nor Lenin could dream."

3. **Treaty of Sino-Soviet Friendship** - In 1950, Mao and Stalin safeguarded the national interests of China and the Soviet Union with the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. The treaty improved the two countries' geopolitical relationship on political, military and economic levels. Stalin's largesse to Mao included a loan for \$300 million; military aid, should Japan attack the PRC; and the transfer of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, Port Arthur and Dalian to Chinese control. In return, the PRC recognized the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic. Despite the favourable terms, the treaty of socialist friendship included the PRC in the geopolitical hegemony of the USSR, but unlike the governments of the Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe, the USSR did not control Mao's government. In six years, the great differences between the Soviet and the Chinese interpretations and applications of Marxism-Leninism voided the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship. In 1953, guided by Soviet economists, the PRC applied the USSR's model of planned economy, which gave first priority to the development of heavy industry, and second priority to the production of consumer goods. Later, ignoring the guidance of technical advisors, Mao launched the Great Leap Forward to transform agrarian China into an industrialized country with disastrous results for people and land. Mao's unrealistic goals for agricultural production went unfulfilled because of poor planning and realization, which aggravated rural starvation and



increased the number of deaths caused by the Great Chinese Famine, which resulted from three years of drought and poor weather.

4. Socialist relations repaired - In 1954, Soviet first secretary Nikita Khrushchev repaired relations between the USSR and the PRC with trade agreements, a formal acknowledgement of Stalin's economic unfairness to the PRC, fifteen industrial-development projects, and exchanges of technicians (c. 10,000) and political advisors (c. 1,500), whilst Chinese labourers were sent to fill shortages of manual workers in Siberia. Despite this, Mao and Khrushchev disliked each other, both personally and ideologically. However, by 1955, consequent to Khrushchev's having repaired Soviet relations with Mao and the Chinese, 60% of the PRC's exports went to the USSR, by way of the Five-year plans of China begun in 1953.

## CIRCUMSTANCES AND CAUSES LEADING TO THE SINO-SOVIET RIFT



### Causes of the Sino-Soviet Split

#### Border Disputes

- 1919 Russia took over Outer Mongolia
- 1945 Russians stripped Manchuria of \$2 million worth of industrial resources before returning it to China after liberating it from the Japanese.
- There were a series of border clashes on the Sino-Soviet border in the 60s.
- In 1969 China and the USSR pointed nuclear weapons at each other.
- 1979 USSR invasion of Afghanistan seen by China as an attempt to mass troops on its borders

The circumstances and causes that led to the Sino-Soviet Rift are as follows:

1. **Discontents of De-Stalinization** - In early 1956, Sino-Soviet relations began deteriorating, following Khrushchev's de-Stalinization of the USSR, which he initiated with the speech *On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences* that criticized Stalin and Stalinism - especially the Great Purge of Soviet society, of the rank-and-file of the Soviet Armed Forces, and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In light of de-Stalinization, the CPSU's changed ideological orientation - from Stalin's confrontation of the West to Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence with it - posed problems of ideological credibility and political authority for Mao, who had emulated Stalin's style of leadership and practical application of Marxism-Leninism in the development of Socialism with Chinese characteristics and the PRC as a country.

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 against the rule of Moscow was a severe political concern for Mao, because it had required military intervention to suppress, and its occurrence weakened the political legitimacy of the Communist Party to be in government. In response to that discontent among the European members of the Eastern Bloc, the Chinese Communist Party denounced the USSR's de-Stalinization as revisionism, and reaffirmed the Stalinist ideology, policies, and practices of Mao's government as the correct course for achieving socialism in China. This event, indicating Sino-Soviet divergences of Marxist-Leninist practice and interpretation, began fracturing "monolithic communism" - the Western perception of absolute ideological unity in the Eastern Bloc. From Mao's perspective, the success of the Soviet foreign policy of peaceful coexistence with the



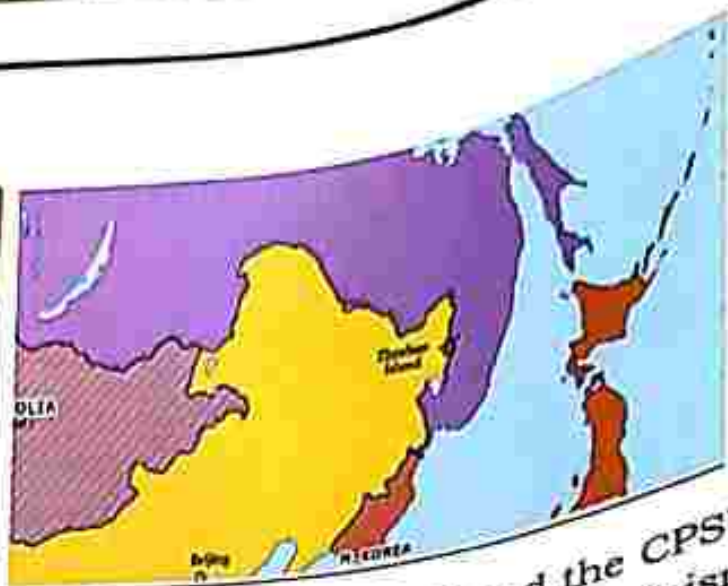
West would geopolitically isolate the PRC; whilst the Hungarian Revolution indicated the possibility of revolt in the PRC, and in China's sphere of influence. To thwart such discontent, Mao launched in 1956 the Hundred Flowers Campaign of political liberalization - the freedom of speech to criticize government, the bureaucracy, and the CCP publicly. However, the campaign proved too successful when blunt criticism of Mao was voiced. Consequent to the relative freedoms of the de-Stalinized USSR, Mao retained the Stalinist model of Marxist-Leninist economy, government, and society.

2. **Conflicting National Interests** - In July 1958, in Beijing, Khrushchev and Mao were negotiating joint Sino-Soviet naval bases in China, from which nuclear-armed Soviet Navy ballistic missile submarines would deter US intervention in East Asia. The agreement failed when Mao accused Khrushchev of trying to establish Soviet control of the PRC's coast. At the end of August, Mao sought the PRC's sovereignty upon Taiwan by attacking the Matsu islands and Kinmen island which resulted in the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis. In launching that regional war, Mao did not inform Khrushchev. Formal, ideological response to that geopolitical contingency compelled Khrushchev to revise the USSR's policy of peaceful coexistence to include regional wars, such as the recent Taiwan crisis. Mao's withholding of information from Khrushchev worsened their personal-political relations, especially because the US threatened nuclear war upon China and the USSR, if the PRC invaded Taiwan; thus Mao's continual shoot-outs with Chiang Kai-shek caused Khrushchev to react to Sino-American quarrels about the remnants of the civil war in China. Khrushchev doubted Mao's mental sanity, because his unrealistic policies of geopolitical confrontation might provoke nuclear war between the capitalist and the communist blocs. To thwart Mao's warmongering, Khrushchev cancelled foreign-aid agreements and the delivery of Soviet atomic bombs to the PRC.
3. **Two Chinas** - Throughout the 1950s, Khrushchev maintained positive Sino-Soviet relations with foreign aid, especially nuclear technology for the Chinese atomic bomb project, Project 596. However, political tensions persisted because the economic benefits of the USSR's peaceful-coexistence policy voided the belligerent PRC's geopolitical credibility among the nations under Chinese hegemony, especially after a failed PRC-US rapprochement. In the Chinese sphere of influence, that Sino-American diplomatic failure and the presence of US nuclear weapons in Taiwan justified Mao's confrontational foreign policies with Taiwan. In late 1958, the CCP revived Mao's guerrilla-

period cult of personality to portray Chairman Mao as the charismatic, visionary leader solely qualified to control the policy, administration, and popular mobilization required to realize the Great Leap Forward to industrialize China. Moreover, to the Eastern bloc, Mao portrayed the PRC's warfare with Taiwan and the accelerated modernization of the Great Leap Forward as Stalinist examples of Marxism-Leninism adapted to Chinese conditions. These circumstances allowed ideological Sino-Soviet competition, and Mao publicly criticized Khrushchev's economic and foreign policies as deviations from Marxism-Leninism.



## BORDER CONFLICT



In the late 1960s, the continual quarrelling between the CCP and the CPSU about the correct interpretations and applications of Marxism-Leninism escalated to small-scale warfare at the Sino-Soviet border. In 1966, for diplomatic resolution, the Chinese revisited the national matter of the Sino-Soviet border demarcated in the 19th century, but originally imposed upon the Qing Dynasty by way of unequal treaties that annexed Chinese territory to the Russian Empire. Despite not asking the return of territory, the PRC asked the USSR to acknowledge formally and publicly that such an historic injustice against China (the 19th-century border) was dishonestly realized with the 1858 Treaty of Aigun and the 1860 Convention of Peking. The Soviet government ignored the matter.

In 1968, the Soviet Army had massed along the 4,380-kilometre (2,720 mi) border with the PRC, especially at the Xinjiang frontier, in north-west China, where the Soviets might readily induce the Turkic peoples into a separatist insurrection. In 1961, the USSR had stationed 12 divisions of soldiers and 200 aeroplanes at that border. By 1968, the Soviet Armed Forces had stationed six divisions of soldiers in Outer Mongolia and 16 divisions, 1,200 aeroplanes, and 120 medium-range missiles at the Sino-Soviet border to confront 47 light divisions of the Chinese Army. By March 1969, the border confrontations escalated, including fighting at the Ussuri River, the Zhenbao Island incident, and Tielieketi. After the border conflict, "spy wars" involving numerous espionage agents occurred on Soviet and Chinese territory through the 1970s.



## NUCLEAR CHINA

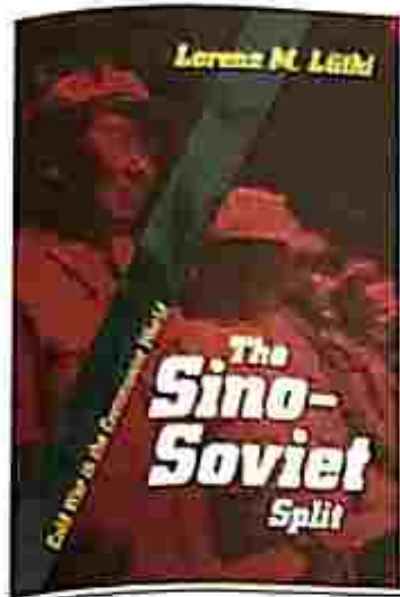


In the early 1960s, the United States feared that a "nuclear China" would imbalance the bi-polar Cold War between the US and the USSR. To keep the PRC from achieving the geopolitical status of a nuclear power, the US administrations of both John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson considered ways either to sabotage or to attack directly the Chinese nuclear program — aided either by Nationalist China or by the USSR. To avert nuclear war, Khrushchev refused the US offer to participate in a US-Soviet pre-emptive attack against the PRC.

To prevent the Chinese from building a nuclear bomb, the United States Armed Forces recommended indirect measures, such as diplomacy and propaganda, and direct measures, such as infiltration and sabotage, an invasion by the Chinese Nationalists in Taiwan, maritime blockades, a South Korean invasion of North Korea, conventional air attacks against the nuclear production facilities, and dropping a nuclear bomb against a "selected CHICOM [Chinese Communist] target". On 16 October 1964, the PRC detonated their first nuclear bomb, a uranium-235 implosion-fission device, with an explosive yield of 22 kilotons of TNT and publicly acknowledged the USSR's technical assistance in realizing Project 596. Aware of the Soviet nuclear threat, the PRC built large-scale underground bomb shelters, such as the Underground City in Beijing, and the military bomb shelters of Underground Project 131, a command center in Hubei, and the 816 Nuclear Military Plant, in the Fuling District of Chongqing.



## IMPACT OF THE SINO-SOVIET RIFT



To Mao, the events of the 1958–1959 period indicated that Khrushchev was politically untrustworthy as an orthodox Marxist. In 1959, First Secretary Khrushchev met with US President Dwight Eisenhower to decrease US-Soviet geopolitical tensions. To that end, the USSR: (i) reneged an agreement for technical aid to develop Project 596, and (ii) sided with India in the Sino-Indian War. Each US-Soviet collaboration offended Mao and he perceived Khrushchev as an opportunist who had become too tolerant of the West. The CCP said that the CPSU concentrated too much on "Soviet-US co-operation for the domination of the world", with geopolitical actions that contradicted Marxism-Leninism. The impact of the Sino-Soviet Rift are as follows:

1. Khrushchev's criticism of Albania at the 22<sup>nd</sup> CPSU Congress - In June 1960, at the zenith of de-Stalinization, the USSR denounced the People's Republic of Albania as a politically backward country for retaining Stalinism as government and model of socialism. During his opening speech at the CPSU's 22nd Party Congress on 17 October 1961 in Moscow, Khrushchev once again criticized Albania as a politically backward state and the Albanian Party of Labour as well as its leadership, including Enver Hoxha, for refusing to support reforms against Stalin's legacy, in addition to their criticism of rapprochement with Yugoslavia, leading to the Soviet-Albanian split. [38] Subsequently on the 21st of October, Zhou visited the Lenin Mausoleum (then still entombing Stalin's body), laying two wreathes at the base of the site, one of which read "Dedicated to the great Marxist, Comrade Stalin"; on the 23rd of October, the Chinese delegation left Moscow for Beijing



early, before the Congress' conclusion; within days, Khrushchev had Stalin's body removed from the mausoleum.

2. Mao, Khrushchev and the US - In 1960, Mao expected Khrushchev to deal aggressively with Dwight D. Eisenhower by holding him to account for the USSR having shot down a U-2 spy plane, the CIA's photographing of military bases in the USSR; aerial espionage that the US said had been discontinued. In Paris, at the Four Powers Summit meeting, Khrushchev demanded and failed to receive Eisenhower's apology for the CIA's continued aerial espionage of the USSR. In China, Mao and the CCP interpreted Eisenhower's refusal to apologize as disrespectful of the national sovereignty of socialist countries, and held political rallies aggressively demanding Khrushchev's military confrontation with US aggressors; without such decisive action, Khrushchev lost face with the PRC. In the Romanian capital of Bucharest, at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties (November 1960), Mao and Khrushchev respectively attacked the Soviet and the Chinese interpretations of Marxism-Leninism as the wrong road to world socialism in the USSR and in China. Mao said that Khrushchev's emphases on consumer goods and material plenty would make the Soviets ideologically soft and un-revolutionary.

3. Personal Attacks - In the 1960s, public displays of acrimonious quarrels about Marxist-Leninist doctrine characterized relations between hardline Stalinist Chinese and post-Stalinist Soviet Communists. At the Romanian Communist Party Congress, the CCP's senior officer Peng Zhen quarrelled with Khrushchev, after the latter had insulted Mao as being a Chinese nationalist, a geopolitical adventurer, and an ideological deviationist from Marxism-Leninism. In turn, Peng insulted Khrushchev as a revisionist whose régime showed him to be a "patriarchal, arbitrary, and tyrannical" ruler.[44] In the event, Khrushchev denounced the PRC with 80 pages of criticism to the congress of the PRC. In response to the insults, Khrushchev withdrew 1,400 Soviet technicians from the PRC, which cancelled some 200 joint scientific projects. In response, Mao justified his belief that Khrushchev had somehow caused China's great economic failures and the famines that occurred in the period of the Great Leap Forward. Nonetheless, the PRC and the USSR remained pragmatic allies, which allowed Mao to alleviate famine in China and to resolve Sino-Indian border disputes. To Mao, Khrushchev had lost political authority and ideological credibility, because his US-Soviet détente had resulted in successful military (aerial) espionage against the USSR and public confrontation with an unapologetic capitalist enemy. Khrushchev's miscalculation of person and circumstance voided US-Soviet diplomacy at the Four Powers Summit in Paris.



4. Monolithic Communism fractured - In late 1961, at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the PRC and the USSR revisited their doctrinal disputes about the orthodox interpretation and application of Marxism-Leninism. In December 1961, the USSR broke diplomatic relations with Albania, which escalated the Sino-Soviet disputes from the political-party level to the national-government level. In late 1962, the PRC broke relations with the USSR because Khrushchev did not go to war with the US over the Cuban Missile Crisis. Regarding that Soviet loss-of-face, Mao said that "Khrushchev has moved from adventurism to capitulationism" with a negotiated, bilateral, military stand-down. Khrushchev replied that Mao's belligerent foreign policies would lead to an East-West nuclear war. For the Western powers, the averted atomic war threatened by the Cuban Missile Crisis made nuclear disarmament their political priority. To that end, the US, the UK, and the USSR agreed to the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, which formally forbade nuclear-detonation tests in the Earth's atmosphere, in outer space, and under water - yet did allow the underground testing and detonation of atomic bombs. In that time, the PRC's nuclear-weapons program, Project 596, was nascent, and Mao perceived the test-ban treaty as the nuclear powers' attempt to thwart the PRC's becoming a nuclear super power. As a Marxist-Leninist, Mao was much angered that Khrushchev did not go to war with the US over their failed Bay of Pigs Invasion and the United States embargo against Cuba of continual economic and agricultural sabotage. For the Eastern Bloc, Mao addressed those Sino-Soviet matters in "Nine Letters" critical of Khrushchev and his leadership of the USSR. Moreover, the break with the USSR allowed Mao to reorient the development of the PRC with formal relations (diplomatic, economic, political) with the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.



## TRANSITION FROM IDEALISM TO PRAGMATISM (1976-1978)



In 1971, the politically radical phase of the Cultural Revolution concluded with the failure of Project 571 (the *coup d'état* to depose Mao) and the death of the conspirator Marshal Lin Biao (Mao's executive officer), who had colluded with the Gang of Four—Jiang Qing (Mao's last wife), Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen—to assume command of the PRC. As reactionary political radicals, the Gang of Four argued for regression to Stalinist ideological orthodoxy at the expense of internal economic development, but soon were suppressed by the PRC's secret intelligence service.

The re-establishment of Chinese domestic tranquility ended armed confrontation with the USSR but it did not improve diplomatic relations, because in 1973, the Soviet Army garrisons at the Sino-Soviet border were twice as large as in 1969. The continued military threat from the USSR prompted the PRC to denounce "Soviet social imperialism", by accusing the USSR of being an enemy of world revolution. Mao's statement that "the Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type." was also repeated by China's state press many times in the 1970s, reiterating the diplomatic position. Sino-Soviet relations would slowly and gradually improve during the 1980s.

A year after Mao's death, at the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1977, the politically rehabilitated Deng Xiaoping was appointed to manage internal modernization programs. Avoiding attacks upon Mao, Deng's political moderation began the realization of Chinese economic reform by way of systematic reversals of Mao's inefficient policies, and the transition from a planned economy to a socialist market economy.



## CONSEQUENCES OF THE SINO-SOVIET RIFT



here are various consequences of the Sino-Soviet Rift. The main consequences of the Sino-Soviet Rift are as follows:

1. Relations after the Split - Now that China was isolated from its only major ally, Mao Zedong sought ways to internally strengthen the country. Previously, Mao Zedong had launched the disastrous Great Leap Forward, which triggered vast famines and the deaths of millions. Now, Mao launched the Cultural Revolution. In this movement, Mao sought to eliminate all ideological opposition to himself, such as those who supported Khrushchev's more moderate policies.
2. Peaceful Coexistence - Their differences were more than just personality-based, they were political. Khrushchev wanted to reduce the risk of nuclear war with the United States. He initially refused to help China develop nuclear weapons and emphasized the policy of



"peaceful coexistence" between communist states and capitalist states. Mao saw this as a retreat from the worldwide struggle for communism. In the late 1950s, relations reached their breaking point. In 1958, China invaded the Kinmen and Matsu Islands, which were then occupied by Chinese nationalists. Khrushchev was furious that Mao invaded without consulting him first, as the Americans viewed Khrushchev as partially responsible for the invasion. The split revealed itself in other areas of international relations too. For example, China had tense relations with India. This came to a head in 1959, when India supported Tibetans who were rebelling against Chinese occupation. While the Soviet Union didn't outwardly support Tibet, they implicitly criticized China by printing articles that were critical of the Chinese in these regards. At a meeting of communists in Romania the following year, these disagreements all came out in the open, with Khrushchev trading insults with Chinese communist leaders close to Mao.

The Cuban Missile Crisis - Things didn't get any better in the 1960s. In 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis took place, in which the United States and the Soviet Union were led to the brink of nuclear war. After the crisis, Mao was critical of Khrushchev for backing down. However, for Soviet and American leaders, the crisis made nuclear disarmament (which were attempts to reduce the number of nuclear arms, and thus decrease the risk of nuclear war) a very important issue. Less than a year after the crisis, the Soviet Union, America, and the United Kingdom signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty, which prohibited nuclear weapons tests "or any other nuclear explosion" in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. Khrushchev, for his part, thought Mao was a "lunatic" whose response to the possibility of losing hundreds of millions of lives in nuclear war, was "So what? War is war." Their relationship wasn't helped by the Sino-Indian War, which began in 1962. In this war between India and China, the Soviet Union ultimately decided to support India. By 1963, the two countries barely communicated.

4. Personality Conflicts- Because the Soviet Union and China were both communist states, they had reason to try to get along. The Chinese communists did not control China until 1949, by which time Joseph Stalin had run the Soviet Union for over two decades. Stalin viewed China as a country he could provide guidance to, and Mao Zedong, the Chinese communist leader, was willing to accept assistance from the Soviet Union, who had sent many advisors to China to try to get them to follow the Soviet model of development. Even though Mao disagreed with Stalin on many things, he respected Stalin as a leader. After Stalin's death in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev eventually became



leader of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev began the process of de-Stalinization in 1956, criticizing many aspects of Stalin's reign, specially the political repression and brutality. Mao was angry about his denouncement of Stalin, a man he had admired. Moreover, some of the aspects of de-Stalinization, such as denouncing Stalin's cult of personality, also applied to Mao, who was, at the time, trying to build his own cult of personality. De-Stalinization thus contributed to the split between the two countries. Mao also resented that the Soviets did not treat him as a superior leader. Mao viewed himself, not Khrushchev, as world communism's main leader.

### Conclusions - Interpretations

- Interpretations of the Sino-Soviet split can on the whole be divided between those that see it as the result of a traditional clash of great power interests and those that seek a more ideological approach and look at factors such as clashes over ideology and the nature of imperialism.
- The books produced in the 1960s and 1970s tended to reflect the former view and were influenced by the 'realist' theory of international relations. However, the increasing availability of Chinese sources, including secret speeches by Mao, have allowed historians to concentrate more on the importance of ideological issues and the stress put by the Chinese on the
- The latter is important not just because it led to differences with the Soviet Union over policy towards the USA and the newly independent states of Asia and Africa, but also because the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) increasingly accused the USSR of acting towards China in an imperialist manner.



eventuality of a split between Moscow and Beijing had figured prominently in official Washington since as early as Harry Truman's presidency. He assumed, prophetically, that Mao Zedong would fear the Union more than the United States (Gaddis 1997); Dwight Eisenhower also wondered whether "the Soviets were not becoming alarmed about Communist China as a possible threat to them in the long run" (Gaddis 1987, 187). So when Nixon said that he could have his mao and vodka, he was operating from the knowledge and anticipation of the Soviet split that had informed American presidencies from the very beginning of the Cold War. This in a way does make the Sino-Soviet split the parallel detente of 1972 an American achievement, particularly a product of the Nixon Doctrine. With that in mind, what the foregoing narrative history of the Sino-Soviet split has tried to show is that certain early conditions for the American achievement of detente predated the Nixon presidency. As a consequence of their effective designation of each other as main enemy, Moscow and Beijing had begun to reappraise the role of the United States in their threat determination from 1965-1968. This process in itself, however, did not make parallel detente immediately inevitable. In both the Soviet Union and China, the desirability of turning the United States as a potential ally against each other continued to be challenged. The politburo of the CPSU remained ideologically orthodox, with its commission on arms control full of hardliners such as Minister of Defense Andrei Grechko who "believed in Soviet victory in a future world war and felt nothing but contempt for the United States and NATO" (Zubok 1997, 204). It was after the American non-intervention in the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the achievement of strategic parity



subsequent years that Brezhnev felt the conditions to be ripe for ending detente Savranskaya and Taubman 2008). Likewise, there existed a psychological barrier within the Chinese leadership regarding the possibility and timing of revising policy towards the United States. The CCP hierarchy, therefore, found it difficult to respond to Johnson's proposals for containment without isolation" during 1965-1968. It took the end of the radical phase of the Cultural Revolution and the threat of a major military confrontation with the Soviet Union during the early months of 1969 for the CCP leadership to launch a comprehensive review of its foreign policy. Although the Soviet Union and China were contemplating changes in policy toward the United States from 1965-1968, it was not ideological tolerance for American imperialism per se that allowed the CCP to initiate a redefinition of their respective relationship with Washington. Rather, this was more an unintended consequence of their admitting ideological intolerance of each other, coupled with the policy of strategic containment that accelerated after the mid-1960s. Therefore, it was the designation of each other as not only the foremost ideological rival but a strategic adversary, rather than fundamental ideological tolerance for the United States in itself, that progressively rendered Soviet and Chinese contradictions with Washington recede in importance. That ideology divided the world into more than enemies turned out to be one of the most intriguing ironies of the Cold War, and one that triggered the beginning of its end.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Apartheid was a system of legislation that upheld segregationist policies against non-white citizens of South Africa. After the National Party gained power in South Africa in 1948, it's all – white government immediately began enforcing existing policies of racial segregation. Under apartheid, non-white South Africans would be forced to live in separate public facilities. Contact between the two groups would be limited. Despite strong and consistent opposition to apartheid within and outside of South Africa, it's laws remained in effect for the better part of 50 years. In 1991, the government of President F. W. de Klerk began to repeal most of the legislation that provided the basis for apartheid. President de Klerk and activist Nelson Mandela would later win the Nobel Peace Prize for their work creating a new Constitution for South Africa.



## **WHO STARTED APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Racial segregation and white supremacy had become central aspects of South African policy long before Apartheid began. The controversial 1913 Land Act, passed three years after South Africa gained its independence, marked the beginning of territorial segregation by forcing black Africans to live in reserve and making it illegal for them to work as sharecroppers. Opponents of the Land Act formed the South African National Native Congress, which would become the

African National Congress. The Great Depression and World War II brought increasing economic woes to South Africa, and convinced the government to strengthen its policies of racial segregation.



## FEATURES OF APARTHEID

There was a complete separation of blacks and whites as far as possible at all levels. In country areas blacks had to live in special reserves. In urban areas they had separate townships built at suitable distances from the white residential areas. If an existing black township was thought to be too close to a white area, the whole community was uprooted and 're-grouped' somewhere else to make separation as complete as possible. There were separate buses, coaches, trains, cafes, toilets. Black children went to separate schools and were given a much inferior education. But there was a flaw in the system: complete separation was impossible because over half the non-white population worked in white-owned mines, factories and other businesses. Every person was given a racial classification and an identity card. There were strict pass laws which meant that Black Africans had to stay in their reserves or in their townships unless they were traveling to a white area to work. Marriage and sexual relations between whites and non-whites were forbidden; this was to preserve the purity of the white race. Police spied shamelessly on anybody suspected of breaking the rules. The Bantu Self-Government Act (1959) set up seven regions called Bantustans, based on the

original African reserves. It was claimed that they would eventually move towards Self-Government. In 1969 it was announced that they would eventually move towards self-government. However, the outside world dismissed this with content since the South African government continued to control the Transkei's economy and foreign affairs. The whole policy was criticized because the Bantustan areas covered only about 13 percent of the Country's total area; over 8 million black people were crammed into these relatively small areas, which were vastly overcrowded and unable to support the black population adequately.

### **Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959**



### **OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID**

#### Inside South Africa

Opposition to the system was difficult. Anyone who objected – including whites – or broke the apartheid laws, was accused of being a communist and was severely punished under the Suppression of Communism Act. Africans were forbidden to strike, and their political party, the African National Congress (ANC), was helpless. Chief Albert Luthuli, the ANC leader, organized a protest campaign in which black Africans stopped work on certain days. In 1952 Africans attempted a systematic breach of the laws by entering shops and other places reserved for whites. Over 8000 blacks were arrested, and many were flogged. Luthuli was deprived of his



chieftaincy and put in jail for a time, and the campaign was called off. In 1955 the ANC formed a coalition with Asian and colored groups, and at a massive open-air meeting at Kliptown, they just had time to announce a freedom charter before police broke up the crowd. The charter soon became the main ANC programme. It began its declaring 'South Africa belongs to who all live in it, black and white. Church leaders and missionaries, both black and white, spoke out against apartheid. They included people like Trevor Huddleston, a British missionary, who had been working in South Africa since 1943. Later the ANC organised other protests, including the 1957 bus boycott; instead of paying a fare increase on the bus route from their townships near Johannesburg. Police fired on the crowd, killing 67 Africans and wounding many more. After this, 15000 Africans were arrested and hundreds of people were beaten up by police. This was an important turning point in the campaign: until then most of the protests has been non-violent. A small action group of the ANC, known as Umkhonto, we Sizwe, or Mk was launched; Nelson Mandela was a prominent member. They organized a campaign of sabotaging strategic targets: in 1961 there was a spate of bombs attacks in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban. But the police soon, clamped down, arresting most of the black leaders, including Mandela, who was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. Discontent and protest increased again in the 1970s because the wages of Africans failed to keep with inflation. In 1976, when the Transvaal authorities announced that Afrikaans was to be used in black African schools, massive demonstration took place at Soweto, a black townships near Johannesburg.



### Outside South Africa

There was opposition to apartheid from the rest of the Commonwealth. Early in 1960 the British conservative prime minister, Harold Macmillan, had the courage to speak out against it in Cape Town, he spoke about the growing strength of African nationalism. 'the wind of change is blowing through the continent... . Our national policies must take account of it'. His warnings were ignored, and shortly afterwards, the world was horrified by the Sharpeville massacre. At the 1961 Commonwealth Conference, criticism of South Africa was intense, and many thought the country would be expelled. In the end Verwoerd withdrew South Africa's application for continued membership, and it ceases to be a member of the Commonwealth.



### **THE END OF APARTHEID**

The system of apartheid continued without any concessions being made to black people until 1980. The new prime Minister, P. W. Botha realized that was not well with the system. He decided that he must reform apartheid, dropping some of the most unpopular aspects in an attempt to preserve white control. Criticism from abroad gradually gathered momentum. External pressure became much greater

in 1975 when the white- ruled Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique achieved its independence after a long struggle. The African takeover of Zimbabwe removed the last of the white-ruled states which had been sympathetic to the South African government and apartheid. Now South Africa was surrounded by hostile black states, and many Africans in these new states had sworn never to rest until their fellow – Africans in South Africa had been liberated. There were economic problems – South Africa was hit by recession in the late 1970s and many white people were worse off. Whites began to emigrate in large numbers, but the black population was increasing. The African homelands were a failure, they were poverty-stricken, their rulers were corrupt and no foreign government reorganized them as genuinely independent states. The USA, which was treating its own black people better during the 1970s, began to criticize the South African government racist policy. He went on to suggest that the black homelands must be made viable and that unnecessary discrimination must be abolished. Gradually he introduced some important changes which he hoped would be enough to silence the critics both inside and outside South Africa.

- Blacks were allowed to join trade and to go on strike.
- Blacks were allowed to elect their own local townships councils.
- A new Constitution was introduced, setting up two new houses of parliament, one for coloured and one for Asians.
- The hated pass laws for non – whites were abolished.

This was as far as Botha was prepared to go. Far from being won over by these concessions, black Africans were incensed that the new Constitution made no provisions for them. Violence escalated with both sides guilty of excesses. The ANC used the 'necklace' a tyre placed round the victim's neck and set on fire, to murder black councilors and black police, who were regarded as collaborators with apartheid. On the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Sharpeville, police opened fire on a procession of black mourners going to a funeral near Uitenhage, killing over forty people. In July a state of emergency was declared in the worst affected areas, and it was extended to the whole country from all criminal proceedings; thousands of people were arrested, and newspapers, radio and TV were banned from reporting demonstrations and strikes. The new president, F. W. de klerk, had a reputation for caution, but privately he had decided that apartheid would have to go completely. And he accepted that black majority rule must come eventually. The problem was how to achieve it without further violence and possible civil war. With great courage and determination, and in the face of bitter opposition



from right-wing Afrikaner groups, de Klerk gradually moved the country towards black majority rule.



## **CONCLUSION**

Between 1987 and 1993, the National Party entered into bilateral negotiations with the African National Congress, the leading anti – apartheid political movement, for ending segregation and introducing majority rule. In 1990, prominent ANC figures such as Nelson Mandela were released from prison. Apartheid legislation was repealed on 17 June 1991, leading to multiracial elections in April 1994.



**Nelson Mandela**

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# GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRL'S COLLEGE



NAME - SOUMMA DAS

SEMESTER - VI CORE COURSE- 14

UNIVERSITY ROLL NO -

192013-11-0085

UNIVERSITY REGISTRATION NO -

013-1211-0055-19

COLLEGE ROLL NO.- 19/BAH/086

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# **GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRL'S COLLEGE**



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COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM IN  
EASTERN EUROPE





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- Economic Failure
- Mikhail Gorbachev
- Poland leads the way
- The peaceful revolution spreads to Hungary
- German Reunited
- Czechoslovakia
- The rest of Eastern Europe
- Conclusion
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## INTRODUCTION

Mikhail Gorbachev ,came to power in March 1985 , was the dynamic leader that Russia had seen for many years . He was determined to transform and revitalize the country after Khrushchev's fall . He intended to achieve this by modernizing and streamlining the Communist party with new policies of Glasnost and Perestroika . These reformist policies of Gorbachev in the Soviet Union merely served to encourage opposition movements to the communist regimes in the Soviet bloc countries .

Hopes of freedom , long suppressed by the Communist regimes in the countries of the Soviet bloc and in the USSR itself , were inevitably fueled by Mikhail Gorbachev's attempted reforms in the Soviet Union but it proved impossible to maintain reformed Communist regimes . Therefore , in this paper we shall discuss how



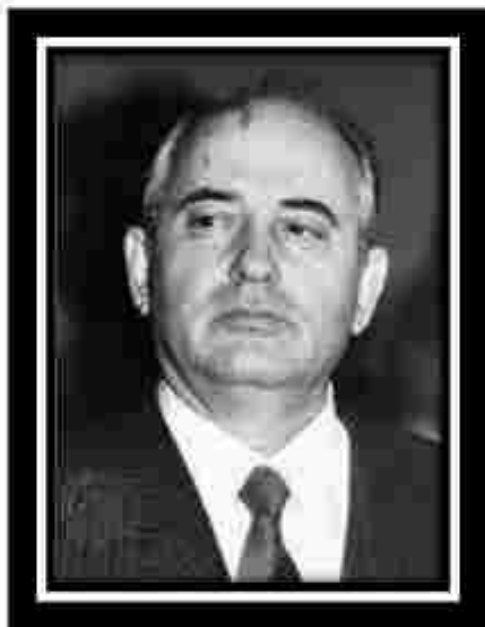
and why did Communism collapse in the Eastern European countries ?

*In the short period between August 1968 and December 1991 , communism in Eastern Europe was swept away . Poland was the first to reject communism , closely followed by Hungary and East Germany and the rest . Later , by the end of 1991 even Russia had ceased to be a communist , after 74 years .*

## ECONOMIC FAILURE

Communism as it existed in Eastern Europe was a failure economically . The economic systems were inefficient, over – centralized and subject to too many restrictions as all the states , for instance , were subjected to do their trading within the Communist bloc. Increasing contact with the West in the 1980s, because of Gorbachev's reforms , proved the backwardness of the east's economy .

## MIKHAIL GORBACHEV



Mikhail Gorbachev the leader of the USSR recognized the failings of the system and introduced Glasnost [openness] and Perestroika [economic and social reform]. Unfortunately for him, once the process of reform began, it proved impossible to control it.

Therefore criticism inevitably turned against Communist Party itself. The communist leaderships in the satellite states failed to adapt to the new situation. As a result, the critics became more daring as they were sure that Gorbachev would not send soviet troops to fire on them. Whereas none of the communist governments was prepared to use sufficient force against the demonstrators. When the Russian troops entered into the satellite states, the rebellion was too widespread. Successful withdrawal from Afghanistan, Gorbachev did not want to indulge into a

bigger threat . In the end , it was a triumph of 'people power .'

## POLAND LEADS THE WAY



General Jaruzelski the leader of Poland declared a martial law which means military took control because the Solidarity demanded a referendum to demonstrate the strength of its supporters. By 1983 , when the government was in firm control, Jaruzelski lifted the martial law . IN 1988 , Jaruzelski tried to economize Poland by cutting government subsidies , as a result protests broke out . Talks opened in February 1989 between the Communist government , Solidarity and other opposition groups . In the elections of June 1989, Solidarity won and Tadeusz Mazowiecki became the first non-communist leader in the Eastern bloc . He chose a mixed government of



communists and solidarity supporters . By 1990, the peaceful revolution in Poland was complete .

## PEACEFUL REVOLUTION SPREADS TO HUNGARY



In Hungary, demonstrations against the regime increased during 1987 and 1988. The Opposition became more organised, and reformers entered the government in June 1988. On 18 October 1989, the Stalinist Constitution was

abandoned, and Hungary adopted political pluralism. Earlier that year, in May, the 'Iron Curtain' separating Hungary from Austria had been dismantled, which enabled many East Germans to flee to the West. Free elections were held in March 1990 in which the communists faced a crushing defeat . The election was

won by the Democratic Forum whose leader , Jozsef Antall , became prime minister .

## GERMAN REUNITED



In German , opposition to the Stalinist regime grew . Huge demonstrations took place, and increasing numbers of East Germans fled the country. The

government would not consider any kind of reform, counting on the intervention of Soviet troops stationed in the German. Gorbachev, however, refused to help, having renounced Brezhnev's doctrine of legitimate intervention in fellow Communist countries. From that point on, the Communist regime crumbled. The Wall which had divided Berlin since 1961 came down on 9 November 1989, and East Germans were interested only in reunification with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).

The fall of the Berlin Wall had a significant impact. The collapse of the Communist regime in East Germany, which had gone ahead with the Soviet Union being powerless to put up any effective opposition, led to German reunification, an event which had a direct influence on the European integration process. The reunification of Germany further accelerated the demise of the Communist governments.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA



In Czechoslovakia, the Opposition leader, Václav Havel, was unanimously elected interim President of the Republic by the parliament of the Socialist Republic on

29 December 1989. In the same vein, the anti-establishment Civic Forum movement won the first free parliamentary elections on 8 June 1990 and reappointed



Václav Havel as President of the Republic in July of 1989.

## THE REST OF EASTERN EUROPE



In Romania did the events turn violent. Nicolae Ceausescu, an increasingly idiosyncratic relic of Stalinist times, refused any reforms. On December 17 in

Timisoara, the army and police fired into crowds protesting government policies, killing dozens. Protests spread to other cities, with hundreds killed when Ceausescu ordered the violent repression of demonstrations on December 21. By the next day, Ceausescu was forced to flee Bucharest and was arrested by Army units in the countryside. The interim government, led by a reformist communist Ion Iliescu, held a quick mock trial and Ceausescu and his wife were executed on December 25.



In Berlin, the Communist leader Todor Zhivkov had been in power since 1954 who had stubbornly refused all reforms . The

Politburo voted to remove him and in June 1990 free elections were held . The Communists , calling themselves the Bulgarian Socialist Party won a comfortable victory over the main opposition party, the Union of Democratic Forces .



Albania had communist since 1945 under Enver Hoxha who has been a great admirer of Stalin . Albania was still the poorest country in Eastern Europe under its new leader , Ramiz Alia .

Albanians tried to escape poverty migrating to Italy but most of them were sent back . As a result , anti-communist feelings rose eventually facing loss in Albania as well . In 1992 , first non-communist president , Sali Berisha was elected .

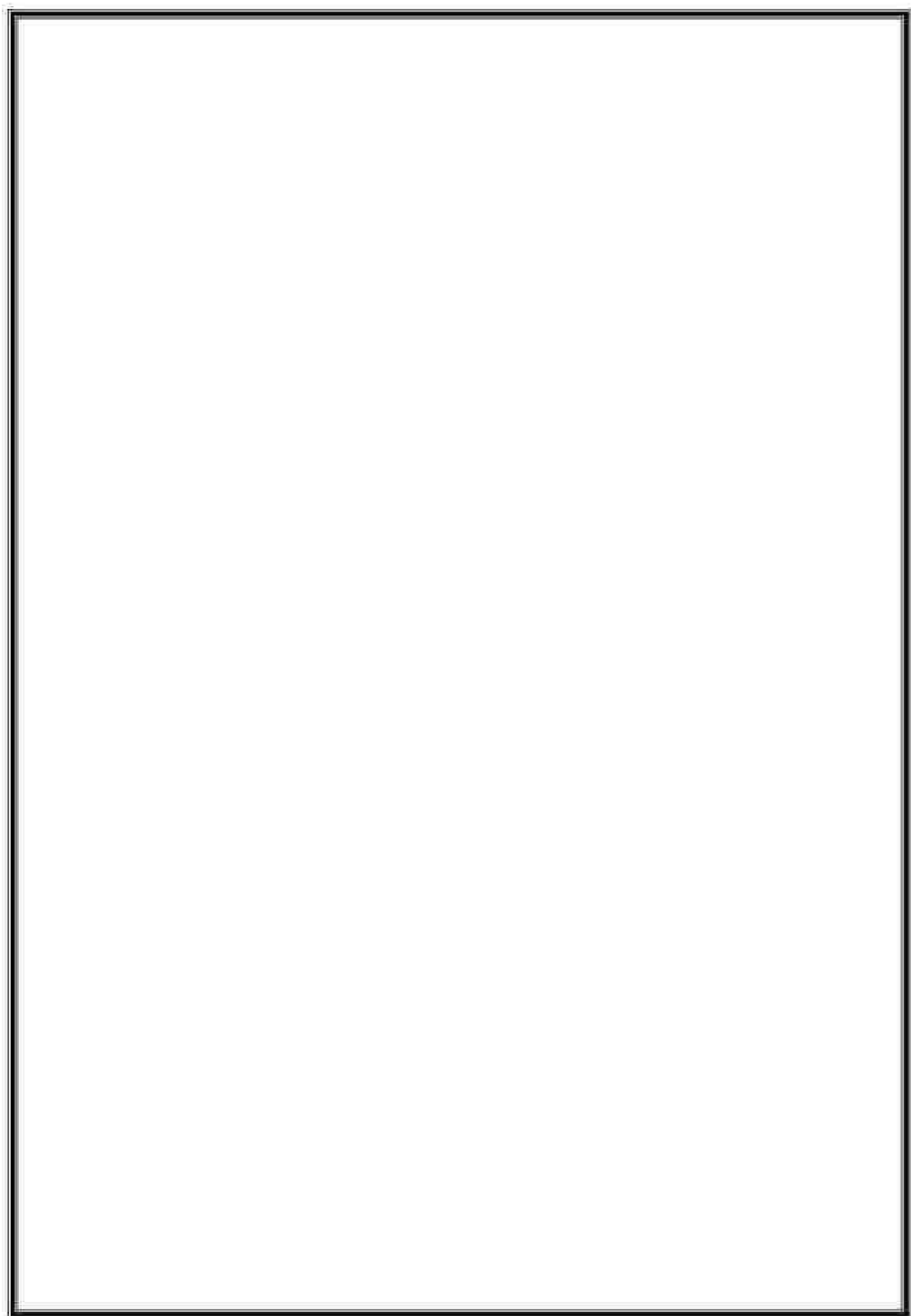
## CONCLUSION

By the summer of 1990, all of the former communist regimes of Eastern Europe were replaced by democratically elected governments. In Poland, Hungary, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, newly formed centre-right parties took power for the first time since the end of World War II. In Bulgaria and Romania, reformed communists retained control of the governments, but new centre-right parties entered Parliaments and became active on the political scene. The course was set for the reintegration of Eastern Europe into Western economic, political, and security frameworks. Writing in his journal on November 10, 1989, Anatoly Chernyaev, foreign policy advisor to Gorbachev noted that the fall of the wall represented “a shift in the world balance of forces” and the end of Yalta.



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# **GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRLS COLLEGE**

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# THE VIETNAM WAR

16 pages of  
photos inside

The New York Times Best-Selling Series



## What Was the Vietnam War?



by Ilm O'Connor



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# **INTRODUCTION**

The Vietnam War was a long, costly and divisive conflict that pitted the communist government of North Vietnam against South Vietnam and its principal ally, the United States. The conflict was intensified by the ongoing Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union.

At the heart of the conflict was the desire of North Vietnam, which had defeated the French colonial administration of Vietnam in 1954, to unify the entire country under a single communist regime modeled after those of the Soviet Union and China. The South Vietnamese government, on the other hand, fought to preserve a Vietnam more closely aligned with the West. U.S. military advisers, present in small numbers throughout the 1950s, were introduced on a large scale beginning in 1961, and active combat units were introduced in 1965. By 1969 more than 500,000 U.S. military personnel were stationed in Vietnam. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union and China poured weapons, supplies, and advisers into the North, which in turn provided support, political direction, and regular combat troops for the campaign in the South. The costs and casualties of the growing war proved too much for the United States to bear, and U.S. combat units were withdrawn by 1973. In 1975 South Vietnam fell to a full-scale invasion by the North.



The human costs of the long conflict were harsh for all involved. Not until 1995 did Vietnam release its official estimate of war dead: as many as 2 million civilians on both sides and some 1.1 million North Vietnamese and Viet Cong fighters. The U.S. military has estimated that between 200,000 and 250,000 South Vietnamese soldiers died in the war. In 1982 the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was dedicated in Washington, D.C., inscribed with the names of 57,939 members of U.S. armed forces who had died or were missing as a result of the war. Over the following years, additions to the list have brought the total past 58,200. Among other countries that fought for South Vietnam on a smaller scale, South Korea suffered more than 4,000 dead, Thailand about 1,500, Australia more than 500, and New Zealand some three dozen.

Vietnam emerged from the war as a potent military power within Southeast Asia, but its agriculture, business, and industry were disrupted, large parts of its countryside were scarred by bombs and defoliation and laced with land mines, and its cities and towns were heavily damaged. A mass exodus in 1975 of people loyal to the South Vietnamese cause was followed by another wave in 1978 of "boat people," refugees fleeing the economic restructuring imposed by the communist regime. Meanwhile, the United States, its military demoralized and its civilian electorate deeply divided, began a process of coming to terms with defeat in what had been its longest and most controversial war. The two countries finally resumed formal diplomatic relations in 1995.



# **WHY DID THE VIETNAM** **WAR STARTED?**

After viewing this harsh condition of Vietnam, the only question which arises in our mind is why did the Vietnam war was held? So, The United States had provided funding, armaments, and training to South Vietnam's government and military since Vietnam's partition into the communist North and the democratic South in 1954. Tensions escalated into armed conflict between the two sides, and in 1961 U.S. President John F. Kennedy chose to expand the military aid program. The terms of this expansion included yet more funding and arms, but a key iteration was the commitment of U.S. soldiers to the region. Kennedy's expansion stemmed in part from Cold War-era fears about the "domino theory": if communism took hold in Vietnam, it would topple democracies throughout the whole of Southeast Asia, it was thought.





# **THE GULF OF TONKIN**

A coup by some of his own generals succeeded in toppling and killing Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, in November 1963, three weeks before Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. The ensuing political instability in South Vietnam persuaded Kennedy's successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to further increase U.S. military and economic support.

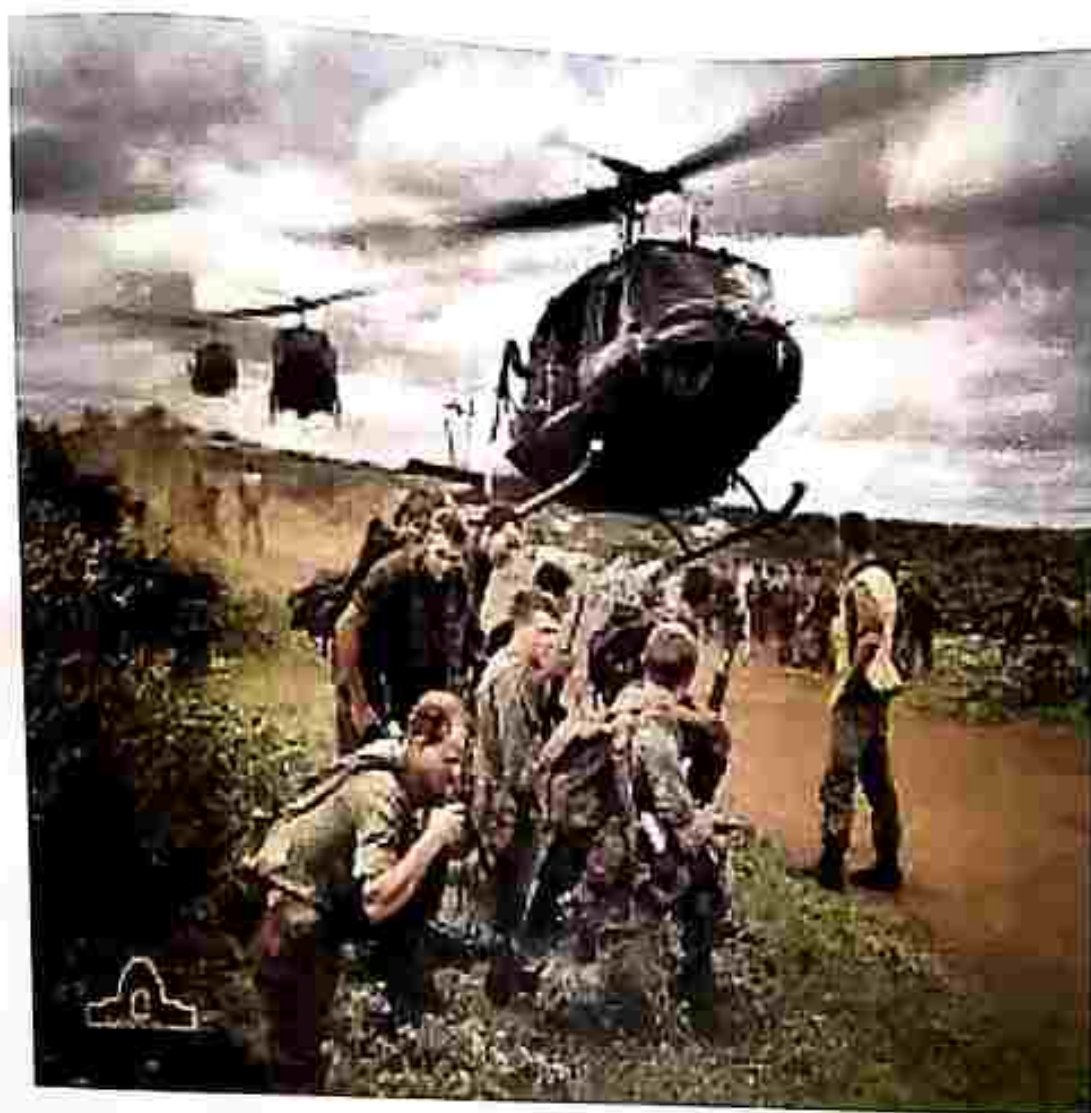
In August of 1964, after DRV torpedo boats attacked two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin, Johnson ordered the retaliatory bombing of military targets in North Vietnam. Congress soon passed The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave Johnson broad war-making powers, and U.S. planes began regular bombing raids, codenamed Operations Rolling Thunder the following year.

The bombing was not limited to Vietnam; from 1964-1973, the United States covertly dropped two million tons of bombs on neighboring, neutral Laos during the CIA-led "Secret War" in Laos. The bombing campaign was meant to disrupt the flow of supplies across the Ho Chi Minh trail into Vietnam and to prevent the rise of the Pathet Lao, or Lao communist forces. The U.S. bombings made Laos the most heavily bombed country per capita in the world.

In March 1965, Johnson made the decision with solid support from the American public to send U.S. combat forces into battle in Vietnam. By June, 82,000 combat troops were stationed in Vietnam, and military leaders were calling for 175,000 more by the end of 1965 to shore up the struggling South Vietnamese army.



Despite the concerns of some of his advisers about this escalation, and about the entire war effort amid a growing anti-war movement, Johnson authorized the immediate dispatch of 100,000 troops at the end of July 1965 and another 100,000 in 1966. In addition to the United States, South Korea, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand also committed troops to fight in South Vietnam.





# VIETNAM WAR

## PROTESTS

By November 1967, the number of American troops in Vietnam was approaching 500,000, and U.S. casualties had reached 15,058 killed and 109,527 wounded. As the war stretched on, some soldiers came to mistrust the government's reasons for keeping them there, as well as Washington's repeated claims that the war was being won.

The later years of the war saw increased physical and psychological deterioration among American soldiers—both volunteers and draftees—including drug use, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), mutinies and attacks by soldiers against officers and noncommissioned officers.

Between July 1966 and December 1973, more than 6,000 U.S. military personnel deserted, and a robust anti-war movement among American forces spawned violent protests, killings and mass incarcerations of personnel stationed in Vietnam as well as within the United States.

Bombarded by horrific images of the war on their television sets, Americans on the home front turned against the war as well: In October 1967, some 35,000 demonstrators staged a massive Vietnam protest outside the Pentagon. Opponents of the war argued that civilians, not enemy combatants, were the primary victims and that the United States was supporting a corrupt dictatorship in Saigon.

# **VIETNAMIZATION**

Nixon sought to deflate the anti-war movement by appealing to a "silent majority" of Americans who he believed supported the war effort. In an attempt to limit the volume of American casualties, he announced a program called Vietnamization: withdrawing U.S. troops, increasing aerial and artillery bombardment and giving the South Vietnamese the training and weapons needed to effectively control the ground war.

In addition to this Vietnamization policy, Nixon continued public peace talks in Paris, adding higher-level secret talks conducted by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger beginning in the spring of 1968.

The North Vietnamese continued to insist on complete and unconditional U.S. withdrawal plus the ouster of U.S.-backed General Nguyen Van Thieu as conditions of peace, however, and as a result the peace talks stalled.





# HOW DID THE VIETNAM WAR ENDED?

In January 1973, the United States and North Vietnam concluded a final peace agreement, ending open hostilities between the two nations. War between North and South Vietnam continued, however, until April 30, 1975, when DRV forces captured Saigon, renaming it Ho Chi Minh City (Ho Chi Minh died in 1969).

More than two decades of violent conflict had inflicted a devastating toll on Vietnam's population: After years of warfare, an estimated 2 million Vietnamese were killed, while 3 million were wounded and another 12 million became refugees. Warfare had demolished the country's infrastructure and economy, and reconstruction proceeded slowly.

In 1976, Vietnam was unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, though sporadic violence continued over the next 15 years, including conflicts with neighboring China and Cambodia. Under a broad free market policy put in place in 1986, the economy began to improve, boosted by oil export revenues and an influx of foreign capital. Trade and diplomatic relations between Vietnam and the U.S. resumed in the 1990s.

In the United States, the effects of the Vietnam War would linger long after the last troops returned home in 1973. The nation spent more than \$120 billion on the conflict in Vietnam from 1965-73; this massive spending led to widespread inflation, exacerbated by a worldwide oil crisis in 1973 and skyrocketing fuel prices.





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## **GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRLS' COLLEGE**

**NAME :- RONITA CHAKRABORTY**

**SEMESTER:- 6**

**SUBJECT:- HISTORY HONOURSE DSE – CC-14**

**COLLEGE ROLL NUMBER :- 19/BAH/0174**

**REGESRATION NUMBER :- 013-1211-0073-19**

**C.U ROLL NUMBER :- 192013-11-0088**

S. Ae  
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(16/11)

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## **Acknowledgement :-**

I would like to express my special thanks of gratitude to my respected history Professor for her expert advice and encouragement throughout my term paper.

# **The Democratic Republic of the Congo gains Independence from Belgium:-**



## **Introduction:-**

Democratic Republic of Congo, country located in central Africa. Officially known as the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is the second largest country on the African continent. Congo is rich in natural resources. It boasts vast deposit of industrial diamonds, cobalt and copper, one of the largest forest resources in Africa and about half of the hydroelectric potential of the continent. And Congo also famous for natural rubber. For these various lucrative reasons, the Belgium King Leopold established the colony on Congo. On February 5, 1885, Belgium king Leopold ii established the Congo free state by brutally seizing the African landmass as his personal possession. Rather than control the Congo as a colony, as other European powers did throughout Africa, Leopold privately owned the region. Congo was ruled by Belgium for 52 years (1908 to 1960). After an uprising by Congolese people, Belgium surrendered and this led to the independence of the Congo in 1960. Around 100,000 people are believed to have been killed during the crisis for achieving their independence from Belgium. A nationalist movement in the Belgium Congo demanded the end of colonial rule, through this Congo achieved her independence.

## **Background of the Decolonisation of the Congo :-**



Congo was a Belgium colony where the Belgium had not even made rudimentary efforts to set up administrative and educational structures involving the native Congolese. During the Second World War Belgium authorities ruthlessly extracted natural rubber from Congo. The rubber from Congo was the sole sources of natural rubber during the war for Allies after Japan had occupied other rubber producing regions in Southeast Asia. Therefore, Belgium were sanguine in their belief that even if independence was granted to Congo, the Congolese would have to continue depending on their erstwhile Belgium colonial masters because they were simply incapable of ruling themselves an idea which was shared by all colonial powers.

The Belgium king Leopold acquired the Congo through unethical means and thus took the people's chances away at self-rule. He provided for no education or vocational training, which would stunt future Congolese leaders from making sound economic and political policies. Leopold ii was very much brutal towards the Congo leans people. He called it Congo Free State, it quickly became a brutal, exploitative regime that relied on forced labour to cultivate and trade rubber, ivory and minerals. Archive pictures from Congo Free State document its violence and Leopold unethically extracted natural resources. In mines the position of the African workers were very much poor and they were very much exploited by Belgium. The Congo people just could not resist this amount of foreign torcher and exploitation. And the contemporary scenario of the poor society of the Congo was very much ripe for the movement. They make agitation and gradually achieved their independence.

This was a rude shock to the Belgium authorities. It meant that the control over the diamond mines of Congo and the huge amount of money that was invested by western capitalist in Congo were under threat.



**Belgium King**



**Poor condition of the**



**Horrible picture of the**

Leopold ii

mine workers

Belgium Congo

### The struggle of Congo's people for achieving their freedom from Belgium:-

The common people of the Congo, especially the mine workers made great agitation against the foreign power. In July there was a military coup. African soldiers mutinied against their Belgian officers. In order to quell the rebellion, the name of the army was changed from its colonial name of Force Publique to the Congolese National Army. Belgium officers were rapidly replaced with African officers amongst them was the ex-journalist Colonel Joseph Mobutu.

The Belgians seemed taken by surprise when widespread rioting broke out (January 1959) in the capital of Congo, Leopoldville. The crowd were protesting against unemployment and declining living standards, and disorder soon spread throughout the country. The Belgians suddenly changed their policy and announced that the Congo could become independent in six months. This was inviting disaster: the Belgians' own policies meant that there was no experienced group of Africans to which power could be handed over, the Congolese had not been educated for professional jobs there were only 17 graduates in the entire country, and there were no African doctors, lawyers, engineers or officers in the army. The Congolese National Movement (MNC), led by Patrice Lumumba, had been in existence less than a year. The huge size of the country and the large number of tribes would make it difficult to govern. Six months was far too short a time to prepare for independence.

Belgians take this extraordinary decision; behind this it had some reasons. The reasons are –

- They were afraid of further bloodshed if they hesitated, there were over 1000,000 Belgians in the country, who could be at risk.
- They did not want to face the expense of a long anti-guerrilla campaign like the one dragging on in Algeria.
- They hoped that the granting independence immediately while the Congo was weak and divided would leave the new state completely helpless: it



would be dependent on Belgium for support and advice, and so Belgian influence could be preserved.

Taking advantage of the mutiny of the army the diamond rich South Kasai and Katanga regions declared themselves to be independent of the new government. Albert Kalonji in South Kasai and Moise Tshombe from Katanga emerged as the leaders. But unfortunately, all Congolese leaders were too weak and essentially all Congolese leaders were too weak and essentially became puppets of an international tripartite struggle which was taking place between the USSR and China on side, the USA on the other and Great Britain, France, Belgians forming the third party. The struggle was over the control of the diamond mines of Congo.

The Congo became independent on 30 June 1960 with Lumumba as prime minister and Joseph Kasa-Vubu, the leader of a rival nationalist group, as president. Unfortunately, everything went wrong shortly after independence and the country was plunged into a disastrous civil war. Order was not restored until 1964.

### **Patrice Lumumba's role in the decolonization of the Congo:-**

Patrice Emery Lumumba alternatively styled Patrice Hemery Lumumba (2 July 1925- 17 January 1961) was a Congolese politician and independence leader who served as the first prime minister of the independent Democratic Republic of the Congo(the Republic of the Congo) from June until September 1960. He played a significant role in the transformation of the Congo from a colony of Belgium into an independent republic. Ideologically an African nationalist and pan-Africanist , he led the Congolese National Movement (MNC) party from 1950 until he was assassinated.





**Patrice Emery Lumumba**

### **The situation of the Congo after independence:-**

After achieving the independence from Belgium, the Congo was still facing the political chaos. Who seized the political power, that was the main reason for the problem. Lots of small seditions were emerged at that time. Faced with the rebellion at Katanga, Prime Minister Lumumba requested the United Nations, though stationed in Congo from 1961, took no action against the Congolese rebels. In disgust Lumumba turned to the USSR for help the USSR also refused to give protection and the result was that Prime Minister was killed by the order of Tshombe's in January 1961 after Lumumba was suitably demonized as a Russian agent and several charges of corruption and maladministration added.

In 1961, the United Nations finally decided to take actions against the Katanga factions. India sent a combative force and between 1961 and 1964 several operations such as "Operation Rum Punch" were launched but there was no decisive victory and in 1964 the UN troops withdrew from Congo. In a way it signalled the bowing out of Britain France and Belgium from the tripartite struggle. This resulted in a direct fight between the USSR and in 1965, the US sponsored Mobutu came to power and established an anti-communist dictatorship in Congo for the next 30 years. Several attempts to assassinate him, corruption charges, rebellions, organised by the USSR and China were all quelled by the staunch support of the USA and the CIA.



**Mobutu Sese Seko**

Aftermath of the independent Congo, a great crisis was happened in the Congo and it ended in the year of 1965.

### **Effects of the decolonization of the Congo:-**

One of the most important effects of the decolonization in Congo is the instability of the post-colonial political systems which entails another, far-reaching consequences. These include deep economic problems, inhabiting growth and widening disparities between the northern and southern part of the globe. But at last, the Congo emancipated itself from western power.

### **Conclusion:-**

All the African countries more or less colonized by the Western countries. And decolonization in Africa from the western power was very much violated in its process. In this case Congo was not exceptional. Congo struggled a lot and achieved its independence from Belgium.

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Semester- VI

Paper-CC14

Subject-History

College roll number-19/BAH/0187

University registration number-013-1211-0088-19

University roll number-192013-11-0091

Topic- The Korean Crisis



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***Acknowledgement:- I would like to give thanks to my history subject teacher for helping me to do this project. I am really thankful to her.***



## *The Korean Crisis*

### *Introduction-*

The Korean War was fought between North Korea and South Korea from 1950 to 1953. The war began on 25 June 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea following clashes along the border and rebellions in South Korea. North Korea was supported by China and the Soviet Union while South Korea was supported by the United Nations, principally the United States. The fighting ended with an armistice on 27 July 1953.



### *Background-*

Because of its geographical position, pointing like a dagger at Japan, the Korean peninsula has always had great strategic importance. Its significance was hidden for 1000 years while China was generally the dominant power in East Asia, but the rise of Japan and the emergence

of a Russian presence in the Far East in the 19<sup>th</sup> century changed the picture. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea.

That two Korean states existed in 1950 was an outcome of arrangements for the surrender of Japan in August 1945 which had resulted in the entry of both Soviet and American forces onto the peninsula. The ostensible purpose of this deployment was to take the surrender of Japanese troops, but both great powers were determined to maintain a foothold in this strategic area. The demarcation line on the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel was rapidly transformed into a quasi-border as relations between the Soviet Union and its former wartime allies worsened with the onset of the Cold War, and both sides encouraged sympathetic local political factions.

Partition became inevitable when negotiations for a unified Korean administration broke down. In 1948 the United Nations oversaw the creation of the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the south with Syngman Rhee as president. The Russians responded by establishing the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the north with Kim Il-sung at its head. Koreans were unreconciled to this outcome, and on both sides of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel there was determination to reunify the peninsula. Border incidents were common.

The June 1950 invasion was initiated by Kim Il-sung, but Josef Stalin's approval was crucial and Soviet assistance in the form of arms and advice was provided to the Korean People's Army. Catching the South Koreans by surprise, the Korean People's Army (KPA) made rapid progress, capturing the southern capital Seoul within three days. With the United States to the fore, the United Nations Security Council had called for a withdrawal, and when this demand was ignored it called on members to assist South Korea. Early in July it set up a UN Command, responsibility for which was delegated to the United States. General

Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers in Japan, was appointed as Commander-in-Chief, UN Forces in Korea.

### ***It Reaches a Stalemate:-***

In July 1951, President Truman and his new military commanders started peace talks at Panmunjom. Still, the fighting continued along the 38th parallel as negotiations stalled. Both sides were willing to accept a ceasefire that maintained the 38th parallel boundary, but they could not agree on whether prisoners of war should be forcibly "repatriated." (The Chinese and the North Koreans said yes; the United States said no.) Finally, after more than two years of negotiations, the adversaries signed an armistice on July 27, 1953. The agreement allowed the POWs to stay where they liked; drew a new boundary near the 38th parallel that gave South Korea an extra 1,500 square miles of territory; and created a 2-mile-wide "demilitarized zone" that still exists today.

### ***Casualties :-***

The Korean War was relatively short but exceptionally bloody. Nearly 5 million people died. More than half of these—about 10 percent of Korea's prewar population—were civilians. (This rate of civilian casualties was higher than World War II's and the Vietnam War's.) Almost 40,000 Americans died in action in Korea, and more than 100,000 were wounded. Today, they are remembered at the Korean War Veterans Memorial near the Lincoln Memorial on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., a series of 19 steel statues of servicemen, and the Korean War memorial in Fullerton, California, the first on the West Coast to include the names of the more than 30,000 Americans who died in the war.



### *No Substitute for Victory:-*

This was something that President Truman and his advisers decidedly did not want: They were sure that such a war would lead to Soviet aggression in Europe, the deployment of atomic weapons and millions of senseless deaths. To General MacArthur, however, anything short of this wider war represented "appeasement," an unacceptable knuckling under to the communists.

As President Truman looked for a way to prevent war with the Chinese, MacArthur did all he could to provoke it. Finally, in March 1951, he sent a letter to Joseph Martin, a House Republican leader who shared MacArthur's support for declaring all-out war on China—and who could be counted upon to leak the letter to the press. "There is," MacArthur wrote, "no substitute for victory" against international communism.

For Truman, this letter was the last straw. On April 11, the president fired the general for insubordination.

Events in Korea became an international crisis because it made communist countries act against capitalist countries. At the end of the second world war the North was supported by the Soviet Union and the South was supported by America.

ision:-

On 27, 1953, the United Nations Command reached an armistice with China and North Korea. A demilitarized zone (DMZ) was established along the 38th parallel, and, following controversial negotiations that North Korea had abused and murdered prisoners of war (POWs), the process of repatriating POWs underwent "neutral" management. Critically, the terms of the armistice were tacitly agreed but never formally signed on to by the South Korean government. Hence, peace between the North and the South remains absent.

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**TERM PAPER**



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**TERM PAPER**



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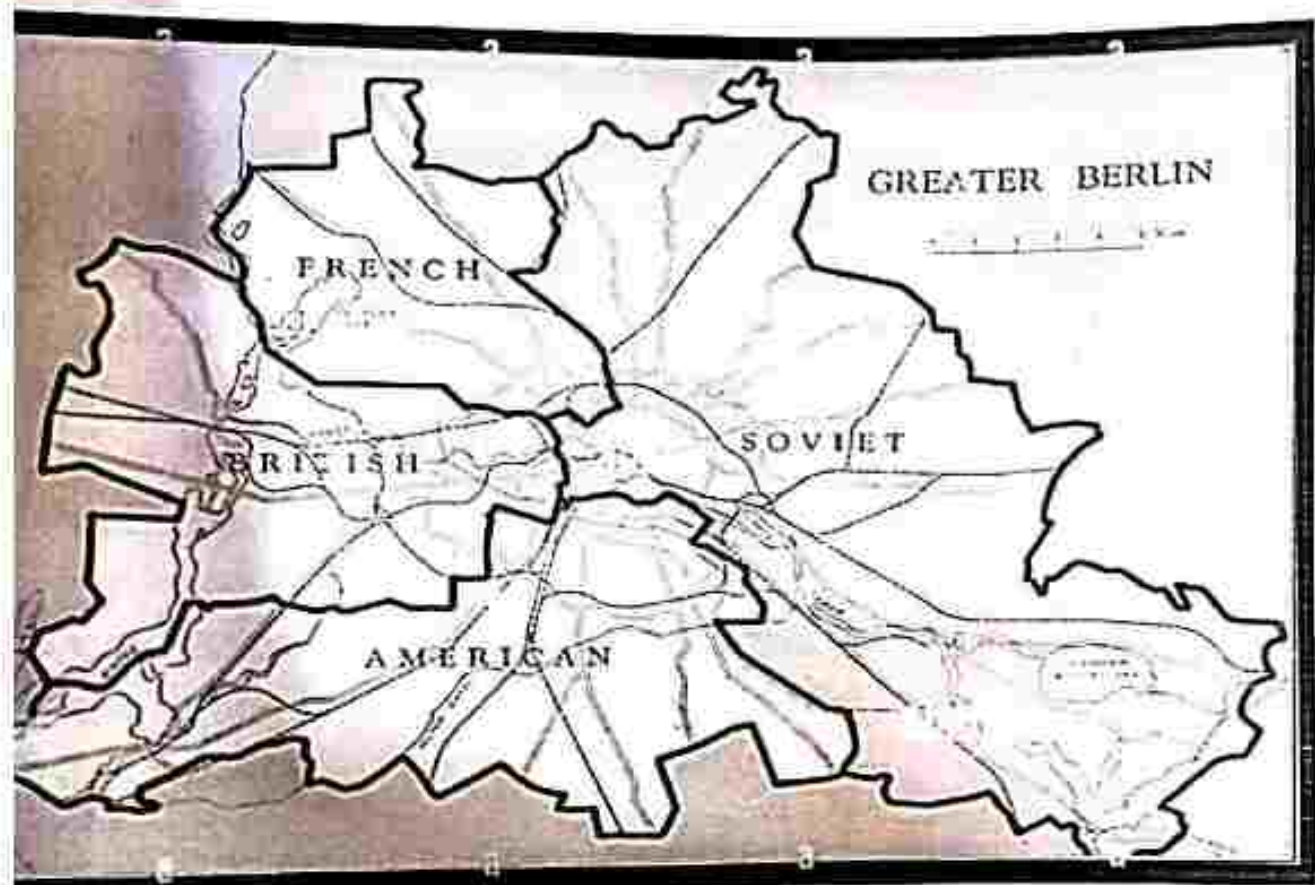
**TOPIC:- THE BERLIN BLOCKADE**

S.A.

9/15

14/6/22

## BERLIN ON THE BRINK



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## **INTRODUCTION**

The Berlin Blockade (June 24, 1948 – May 12, 1949) was one of the first major international crises of the Cold War. During the multinational occupation of post-World War II Germany, the Soviet Union blocked the Western Allies' railway, road, and canal access to the sectors of Berlin under Western control. The Soviets offered to drop the blockade if the Western Allies withdrew the newly introduced Deutsche mark from West Berlin. In response, the Western Allies organized the Berlin airlift to carry supplies to the people of West Berlin, a difficult feat given the city's population.

Aircrews from the United States Air Force, the British Royal Air Force, the Royal Canadian Air Force, the Royal Australian Air Force, the Royal New Zealand Air Force, and the South African Air Force flew over 200,000 flights in one year, providing the West Berliners up to 8,893 tons of necessities each day, such as fuel and food. The Soviets did not disrupt the airlift for fear this might lead to open conflict. By the spring of 1949, the airlift was clearly succeeding, and by April it was delivering more cargo than was previously transported into the city by rail. On May 12, 1949, the USSR lifted the blockade of West Berlin. The Berlin Blockade highlighted the competing ideological and economic visions for postwar Europe.



## Germany Divided

*After World War II, Germany was divided into four zones, occupied by French, British, American, and Soviet troops.*

*Occupation zones after 1945. Berlin is the multinational area within the Soviet zone. Berlin, the German capital, is now in the Soviet sector.*





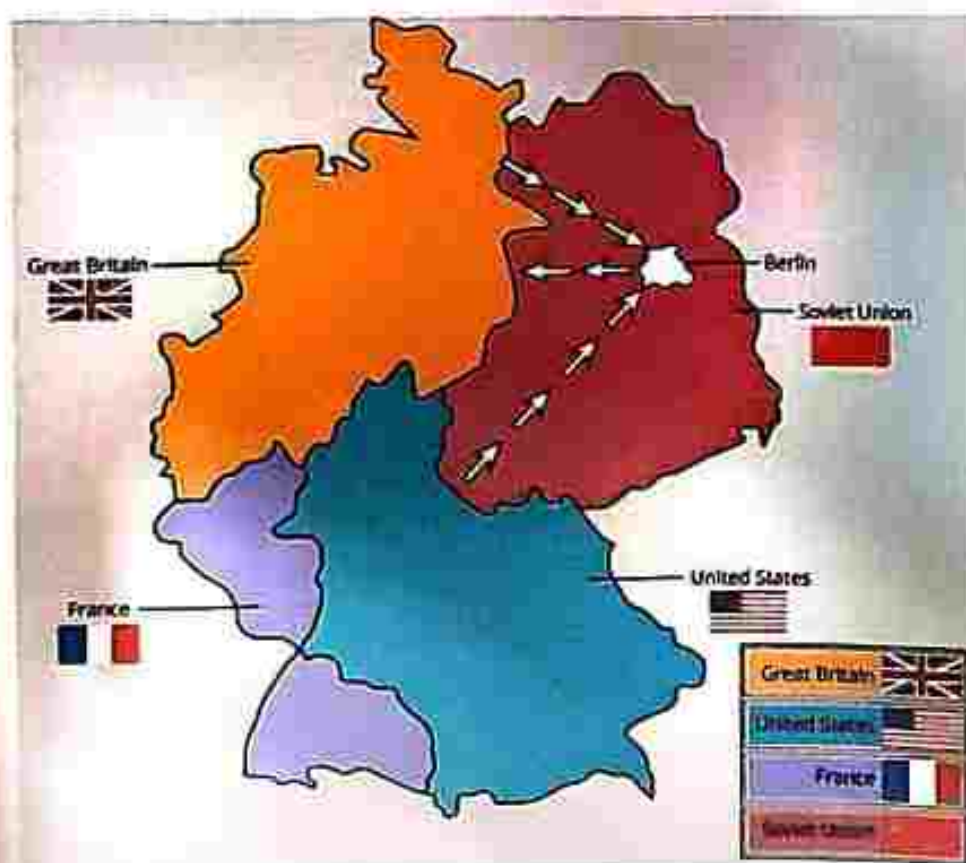
## **WHY BERLIN?**

From July 17 to August 2, 1945, the victorious Allied Powers reached the Potsdam Agreement on the fate of postwar Europe, calling for the division of defeated Germany into four temporary occupation zones (thus reaffirming principles laid out earlier by the Yalta Conference). These zones were located roughly around the then-current locations of the Allied armies. Also divided into occupation zones, Berlin was located 100 miles inside Soviet-controlled eastern Germany. The United States, United Kingdom, and France controlled western portions of the city, while Soviet troops controlled the eastern sector. In a June 1945 meeting, Stalin informed German communist leaders that he expected to slowly undermine the British position within their occupation zone, that the United States would withdraw within a year or two, and that nothing would then stand in the way of a united Germany under communist control within the Soviet orbit. Stalin and other leaders told visiting Bulgarian and Yugoslavian delegations in early 1946 that Germany must be both Soviet and communist.

Creation of an economically stable western Germany required reform of the unstable Reichsmark German currency introduced after the 1920s German inflation. The Soviets had debased the Reichsmark by excessive printing, resulting in Germans using cigarettes as a de



facto currency or for bartering. The Soviets opposed western plans for a reform. They interpreted this new currency as an unjustified, unilateral decision. On June 18, the United States, Britain, and France announced that on June 21 the Deutsche Mark would be introduced, but the Soviets refused to permit its use as legal tender in Berlin. The Allies had already transported 2.5 million Deutsche Marks into the city and it quickly became the standard currency in all four sectors. Against the wishes of the Soviets, the new currency, along with the Marshall Plan that backed it, appeared to have the potential to revitalize Germany. Stalin looked to force the Western nations to abandon Berlin.



## **THE BLOCKADE BEGINS....**

The day after the June 18, 1948 announcement of the new Deutsche Mark, Soviet guards halted all passenger trains and traffic on the autobahn to Berlin, delayed Western and German freight shipments, and required that all water transport secure special Soviet permission. On June 21, the day the Deutsche Mark was introduced, the Soviet military halted a United States military supply train to Berlin and sent it back to western Germany. On June 22, the Soviets announced that they would introduce a new currency in their zone. On June 24, the Soviets severed land and water connections between the non-Soviet zones and Berlin. That same day, they halted all rail and barge traffic in and out of Berlin. On June 25, the Soviets stopped supplying food to the civilian population in the non-Soviet sectors of Berlin. Motor traffic from Berlin to the western zones was permitted, but this required a 14.3-mile detour to a ferry crossing because of alleged "repairs" to a bridge. They also cut off Berlin's electricity using their control over the generating plants in the Soviet zone.

At the time, West Berlin had 36 days' worth of food, and 45 days' worth of coal. Militarily, the Americans and British were greatly outnumbered because of the postwar reduction in their armies. The United States, like other western countries, had disbanded most of its troops and was largely inferior in the European theater.

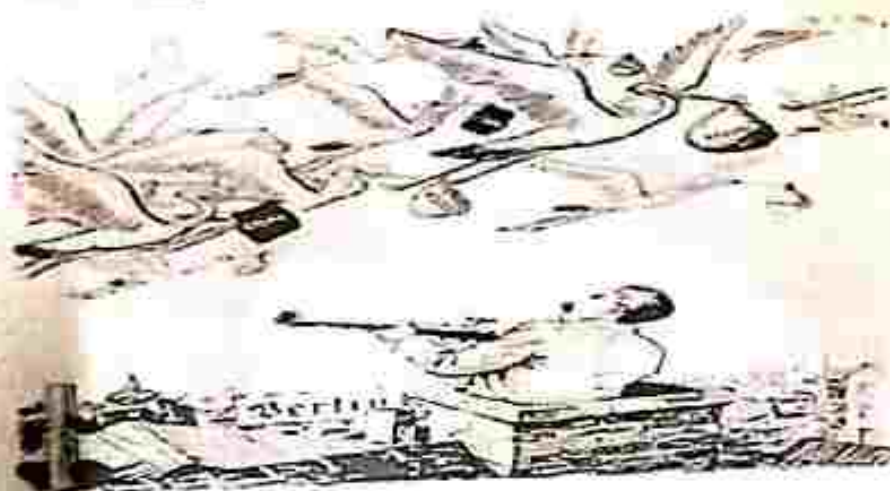


The entire United States Army was reduced to 552,000 men by February 1948. Military forces in the western sectors of Berlin numbered only 8,973 Americans, 7,606 British, and 6,100 French. Soviet military forces in the Soviet sector that surrounded Berlin totaled 1.5 million. The two United States regiments in Berlin could have provided little resistance against a Soviet attack. Believing that Britain, France, and the United States had little option than to acquiesce, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany celebrated the beginning of the blockade.

**THE HANSEATIC COURIER, THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 1948**

<b>CIVIL SERVICE "PURGE"</b> <b>"U.C. Embarrassed"</b> <small>The war cabinet's composition...</small>	<b>RUSSIANS CUT POWER SUPPLY TO WESTERN BERLIN</b> <b>Coal and Food Trains Stopped</b> <b>GENERAL ROBERTSON HUNTERS OFFER TO NEGOTIATE</b>	<b>EAST IN STATES</b> <b>Germany</b>
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*(The following text is a transcription of the newspaper content, which is mostly illegible due to image quality. It appears to contain news reports and commentary related to the Berlin blockade and the civil service purge.)*





## BERLIN AIRLIFT

though the ground routes were never negotiated, the same was true of the air. On November 30, 1945, it was agreed in writing that there would be three one-mile-wide air corridors providing free access to Berlin.

Additionally, unlike a force of tanks and trucks, the Soviets could not claim that cargo aircraft were some sort of military threat. In the

face of unarmed aircraft refusing to turn around, the only way to enforce the blockade would have been to shoot them down. An airlift would force the Soviet Union to either shoot down unarmed humanitarian aircraft, thus breaking their own agreements, or back down. Enforcing this would require an airlift that really worked. If the supplies could not be flown in fast enough, Soviet help would eventually be needed to prevent starvation. The American military government, based on a minimum daily ration of 1,990 calories, set a



total of daily supplies at 646 tons of flour and wheat, 125 tons of cereal, 64 tons of fat, 109 tons of meat and fish, 180 tons of dehydrated potatoes, 180 tons of sugar, 11 tons of coffee, 19 tons of powdered milk, 5 tons of whole milk for children, 3 tons of fresh yeast for baking, 144 tons of dehydrated vegetables, 38 tons of salt, and 10 tons of cheese. In all, 1,534 tons were required each day to sustain the more than two million people of Berlin. Additionally, for heat and power, 3,475 tons of coal and gasoline were also required daily.

During the first week, the airlift averaged only ninety tons a day, but by the second week it reached 1,000 tons. This likely would have sufficed had the effort lasted only a few weeks as originally believed. The Communist press in East Berlin ridiculed the project. It derisively referred to "the futile attempts of the Americans to save face and to maintain their untenable position in Berlin." But by the end of August, after two months, the Airlift was succeeding; daily operations flew more than 1,500 flights a day and delivered more than 4,500 tons of cargo, enough to keep West Berlin supplied.



The features of Globalization & how much it is relevant now  
in today's world Politics or World Economy

As the tempo of the Airlift grew, it became apparent that the Western powers might be able to pull off the impossible: indefinitely supplying an entire city by air alone. In response, starting on August 1, the Soviets offered free food to anyone who crossed into East Berlin and registered their ration cards there, but West Berliners overwhelmingly rejected Soviet offers of food. The Soviets had an advantage in conventional military forces, but were preoccupied with rebuilding their war-torn economy and society. The U.S. had a stronger navy and air force as well as nuclear weapons. Neither side wanted a war the Soviets did not disrupt the airlift.





## **END OF THE BLOCKADE**

On April 15, 1949 the Russian news agency TASS reported a willingness by the Soviets to lift the blockade. The next day the U.S. State Department stated the "way appears clear" for the blockade to end. Soon afterwards, the four powers began serious negotiations, and a settlement was reached on Western terms. On May 4, 1949, the Allies announced an agreement to end the blockade in eight days' time. Berlin Airlift Monument in Berlin-Tempelhof displays the names of the 39 British and 31 American airmen who lost their lives during the operation. Similar monuments can be found at the military airfield of Wietzenbruch near the former RAF Celle and at Rhein-Main Air Base.

The Soviet blockade of Berlin was lifted at one minute after midnight on May 12, 1949. A British convoy immediately drove through to Berlin, and the first train from West Germany reached Berlin at 5:32 a.m. Later that day an enormous crowd celebrated the end of the blockade. General Clay, whose retirement had been announced by US President Truman on May 3, was saluted by 11,000 US soldiers and dozens of aircraft. Once home, Clay received a ticker-tape parade in New York City, was invited to address the US Congress, and was honored with a medal from President Truman.

## **CONCLUSION**

At the end of the Second World War, Germany was divided between the four Allied powers: France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union. Its capital, Berlin, suffered the same fate with the added complication that West Berlin became an enclave within the Soviet zone. Two years later, tensions mounted between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union, primarily over the reconstruction and monetary reform of Germany. At this point, the Soviet Union began impeding communications between the Western Allies, West Germany and West Berlin. Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader, imposed the Berlin Blockade from 24 June 1948 to 12 May 1949, cutting off all land and river transit between West Berlin and West Germany. The Western Allies responded with a massive airlift to come to West Berlin's aid. One of the first major international crises of the Cold War period, the Berlin Blockade exposed the deep ideological differences separating East and West.

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# UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA



## GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRLS' COLLEGE

NAME – ANINDITA SURAI.

SUBJECT – HISTORY HONORS.

PAPER – CC- 14

TOPIC NAME – Second Wave Feminist  
Movement

ROLL NO. – 192013-11-0089

REGISTRATION NO. – 013-1211-0077-19

Semester - 6<sup>th</sup>

S.A. 8/15  
14/6/22



10 APR 2023  
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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:**

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## Second Wave Feminist Movement

### Introduction

Second-wave feminism was a period of feminist activity that began in the early 1960s and lasted roughly two decades. It took place throughout the Western world, and aimed to increase equality for women by building on previous feminist gains.

Whereas first-wave feminism focused mainly on suffrage and overturning legal obstacles to gender equality, second-wave feminism broadened the debate to include a wider range of issues: sexuality, family, domesticity, the workplace, reproductive rights, *de facto* inequalities, and official legal inequalities. It was a movement that was focused on critiquing the patriarchal, or male-dominated, institutions and cultural practices throughout society. Second-wave feminism also drew attention to the issues of domestic violence and marital rape, created rape-crisis centers and women's shelters, and brought about changes in custody laws and divorce law. Feminist-owned bookstores, credit unions, and restaurants were among the key meeting spaces and economic engines of the movement.

### Beginning and consciousness raising

The beginnings of second-wave feminism can be studied by looking at the two branches that the movement formed in: the liberal feminists and the radical feminists. The liberal feminists, led by figures such as Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, advocated for federal legislation to be passed that would promote and enhance the personal and professional lives of women. On the other hand, radical feminists, such as Casey Hayden and Mary King, adopted the skills and lessons that they had learned from their work with civil rights organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and created a platform to speak on the violent



and sexist issues women faced while working with the larger Civil Rights Movement.

- **The liberal feminist movement:** After being removed from the workforce, by either personal or social pressures, many women in the post-war America returned to the home or were placed into female only jobs in the service sector. After the publication of Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, many women connected to the feeling of isolation and dissatisfaction that the book detailed. The book itself, however, was not a call to action, but rather a plea for self-realization and consciousness raising among middle-class women throughout America. Many of these women organized to form the National Organization for Women in 1966, whose "Statement of Purpose" declared that the right women had to equality was one small part of the nationwide civil rights revolution that was happening during the 1960s.

- **The radical feminist movement:** Women who favoured radical Feminism collectively spoke of being forced to remain silent and obedient to male leaders in New Left organizations. They spoke out about how they were not only told to do clerical work such as stuffing envelopes and typing speeches, but there



was also an expectation for them to sleep with the male activists that they worked with. While these acts of sexual harassment took place, the young women were neglected their right to have their own needs and desires recognized by their male cohorts. Many radical feminists had

learned from these organizations how to think radically about their self-worth and importance, and applied these lessons in the relationships they had with each other.

### **Businesses**

Feminist activists have established a range of feminist businesses, including women's bookstores, feminist credit unions, feminist presses, feminist mail-order catalogs, feminist restaurants, and feminist record labels. These



businesses flourished as part of the second and third waves of feminism in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

In West Berlin sixteen projects emerged within three years (1974-76) all without state funding (except the women's shelter). Many of those new concepts the social economy picked up later, some are still run autonomously today.

### Music and popular culture

Second-wave feminists viewed popular culture as sexist, and created pop culture of their own to counteract this. "One project of second wave feminism was to create 'positive' images of women, to act as a counterweight to the dominant images circulating in popular culture and to raise women's consciousness of their oppressions."

- **Women's music:** Women's music consisted of female musicians

combined music with politics to express feminist ideals. Cities throughout the United States began to hold Women's Music Festivals, all consisting of female artists singing their own songs about personal experiences. The first Women's Music Festival was held in 1974 at the University of Illinois. In 1979, the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival attracted 10,000 women from across America. These festivals encouraged already-famous female singers, such as Laura Nyro and Ellen McIlwaine, to begin writing and producing their own songs instead of going through a major record



label. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second-wave\\_feminism](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second-wave_feminism) - cite note:4-88 Many women began performing hard rock music, a traditionally male-dominated genre. One of the most successful examples included the sisters Ann and Nancy Wilson, who formed the famous hard rock band Heart.

- **Film:** The Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie Berlin gave women a chance in film in Germany: from 1968 on one third of the students were female. Some of them - pioneers of the women's movement - produced feminist feature



films: Helke Sander in 1971 produced "Eine Prämie für Irene" [A Reward for Irene], and Cristina Perincioli (although she was Swiss not German) in 1971 produced "Für Frauen – 1. Kap" [For Women – 1st Chapter]. In West Germany Helma Sanders-Brahms and Claudia von Alemann produced feminist documentaries from 1970 on.

In 1973 Claudia von Alemann and Helke Sander organized the 1. Internationale Frauen-Filmseminar in Berlin.

In the US, both the creation and subjects of motion pictures began to reflect second-wave feminist ideals, leading to the development of feminist film theory. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, female filmmakers that were involved in part of the new wave of feminist film included Joan Micklin Silver (*Between the Lines*), Claudia Weill (*Girlfriends*), Stephanie Rothman, and Susan Seidelman (*Smithereens*, *Desperately Seeking Susan*). Other notable films that explored feminist subject matters that were made at this time include the film adaptation of Lois Gould's novel *Such Good Friends* and *Rosemary's Baby*.

### Education:

In 1969, Bryn Mawr College and Haverford College (then all male) developed a system of sharing residential colleges.



When Haverford became coeducational in 1980, Bryn Mawr discussed the possibility of coeducation as well, but decided against it. In 1983, Columbia University began admitting women after a decade of failed negotiations with Barnard College for a merger along the lines of Harvard and Radcliffe.

Barnard has been affiliated with Columbia since 1900, but it continues to be independently governed). Wellesley College also decided against coeducation during this time.

In 1982, in a 5–4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan* that the Mississippi University for Women would be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause if it denied admission to its nursing program on the basis of gender. Mississippi University for Women, the

first public or government institution for women in the United States, changed its admissions policies and became coeducational after the ruling.

On May 3, 1990, the Trustees of Mills College announced that they had voted to admit male students. This decision led to a two-week student and staff strike, accompanied by numerous displays of nonviolent protests by the students. At one point, nearly 300 students blockaded the administrative offices and boycotted classes. On May 18, the Trustees met again to reconsider the decision, leading finally to a reversal of the vote.

### **Conclusion:**

Beginning in the late 20th century, numerous feminist scholars such as Audre Lorde and Winona LaDuke critiqued the second wave in the United States as reducing feminist activity into a homogenized and whitewashed chronology of feminist history that ignores the voices and contributions of many women of color, working-class women, and LGBT women.

Many feminist scholars see the generational division of the second wave as problematic. Second wavers are typically essentialized as the Baby Boomer generation, when in actuality many feminist leaders of the second wave were born before World War II ended. This generational essentialism homogenizes the group that belongs to the wave and asserts that every person part of a certain demographic generation shared the same ideologies, because ideological differences were considered to be generational differences.

Feminist scholars, particularly those from the late 20th and early 21st centuries to the present day, have revisited diverse writings, oral histories, artwork, and artifacts of women of color, working-class women, and lesbians during the early 1960s to the early 1980s to decenter what they view as the dominant historical narratives of the second wave of the women's liberation movement, allowing the scope of the historical understanding of feminist consciousness to expand and transform. By recovering histories that they believe have been erased and overlooked, these scholars purport to establish what Maylei Blackwell termed "retrofitted memory".

For Blackwell, looking within the gaps and crevices of the second wave allows fragments of historical knowledge and memory to be discovered, and new

tical feminist subjects as well as new perspectives about the past to emerge, bringing existing dominant histories that claim to represent a universal experience to be decentered and refocused.

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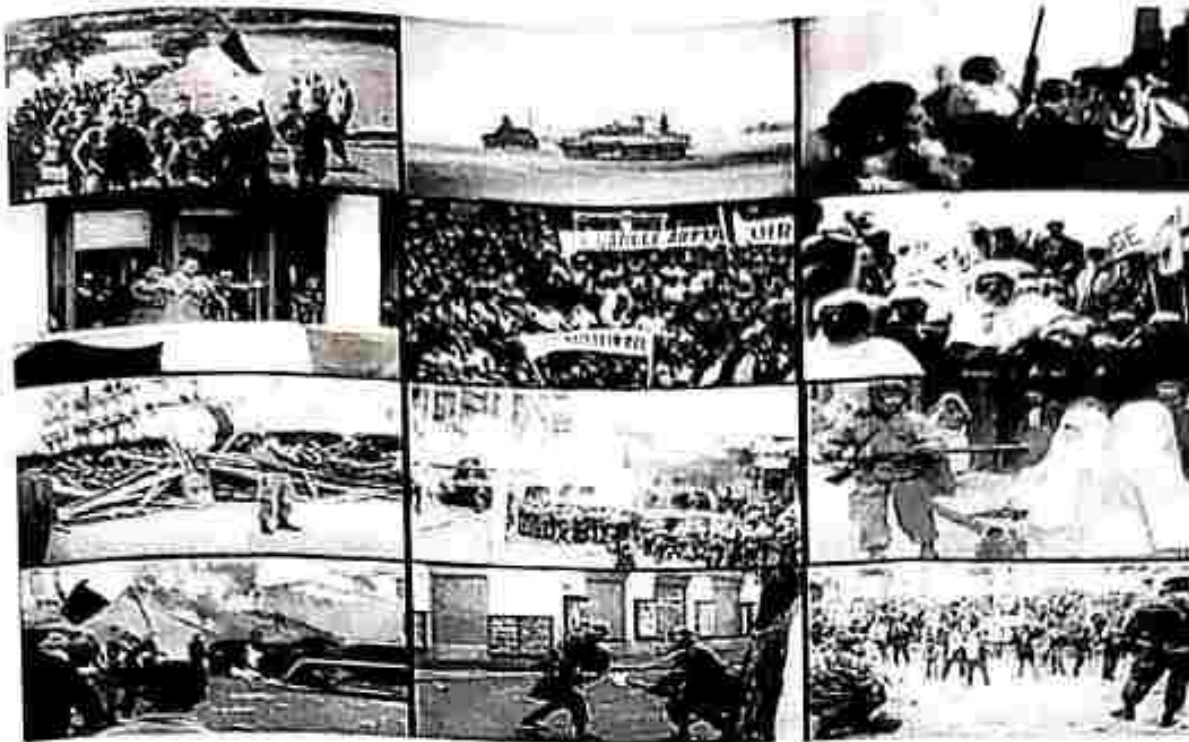
# The Algerian War of Independence

## Introduction

The Algerian War was the period beginning with the conflict initiated by the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) in 1954 and ending with the establishment of Algeria as an independent and sovereign state in 1962.

The Algerian War was one of the most monumental wars of the anti-colonial period. Whilst those fighting on the Algerian side had a variety of ideological differences, Algerian nationalism served as a unifier amongst all those who fought against the French.

The Algerian War was also one of the most violent wars of the anti-colonial era due to the use of torture and excessive violence. Therefore whilst for some the Algerian War may incite a sense of pride due to the way in which the French were removed from the country, it is also associated with many atrocities.



Pic 1 : Algerian War of Independence

### Causes of Algerian War

The Algerian War of Independence was catalysed by two events. The first was the conquest of Algeria by French forces and the second was the rise of nationalist ideologies that promoted the right to self-determination.

- The conquest of Algeria

France invaded Algeria in 1830. This invasion was incredibly violent and included the massacre, rape, and torture of Algerians. In fact, the French conquest of Algeria in the nineteenth century resulted in the deaths of almost a third of the Algerian population.



In 1848, Algeria was made a department of France. The overseas departments and regions of France are those that lie outside of mainland France. In theory, overseas departments have the same status as mainland France's regions and departments. However, in practice, many overseas departments are treated like colonies with very limited rights.

Algeria was integral to the French mainland and became to France what India (referred to as the jewel of the Crown) was to the British empire: its colonisation was very beneficial and economically productive for France.

After the French conquest, over a million Europeans settled in Algeria and they comprised 10% of the population. They became known as the pied-noirs or the colons. Many of these Europeans (who were of French, Spanish, Italian, and Maltese descent) were from working-class backgrounds but enjoyed an elevated status over the native Algerians. This socio-economic disparity between native Algerians and the pied-noirs created an air of mistrust between the two groups.

- **Algerian nationalism**

By the 1920s, some Algerian intellectuals began to nurture the desire for independence or, at the very

east, autonomy and self-rule. However, to the Algerians, it appeared that self-determination was a concept only intended for the white peoples of Europe. The pied-noirs also demonstrated resistance to the idea of Algerian natives participating in democratic life, as they had no intention of allowing the conquered natives to co-exist with them on equal terms.

On 8 May 1945, while France celebrated their victory in the Second World War, there was an expectation that liberation would come to the Algerians too. However, this didn't happen and, in response, native Algerians organised a protest in Sétif (a city in Algeria) to demand independence.

The protests became a massacre, as the protesters killed more than 100 pied-noirs, and the French soldiers retaliated by killing up to 30,000 Algerian natives. The Sétif massacre shocked Algerians and radicalised the liberal independence movement. A new generation of Algerian independence leaders soon emerged.





Pic2: War against France

### Effects of the Algerian War

The Algerian War served as a message of hope for those facing rule by colonial powers. And even today it is still regarded as one of the most important wars of the post-colonial era.

In the aftermath of the war, hundreds of thousands of pied-noirs fled to France in fear of retaliation from the FLN. This created a large community in France that feels a disconnect with both Algeria and France, and still long for their home in Algeria.

### Conclusion

The Algerian War led to a political crisis and the collapse of the Fourth Republic of France. It was replaced by the Fifth Republic led by the French Second World War hero Charles de Gaulle, who returned to power after twelve-years of absence in May 1958. But he failed to keep his promises to the French people to resolve the conflict by retaining Algeria as a part of the empire. After a



second referendum on Algeria's independence in April 1962, in which 91 percent of the French electorate voted for independence, the French government and military withdrew, followed by many of the Pieds-Noirs and Harkis. The total number of casualties from the conflict is still contested. Historians estimate 250,000 to 300,000 Algerian casualties, including 55,000 to 250,000 civilians. One million Europeans fled the region, and 2,000,000 Algerians resettled or were displaced. The end of the war marked the final demise of the French empire.

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### Book

Mastering Modern World History

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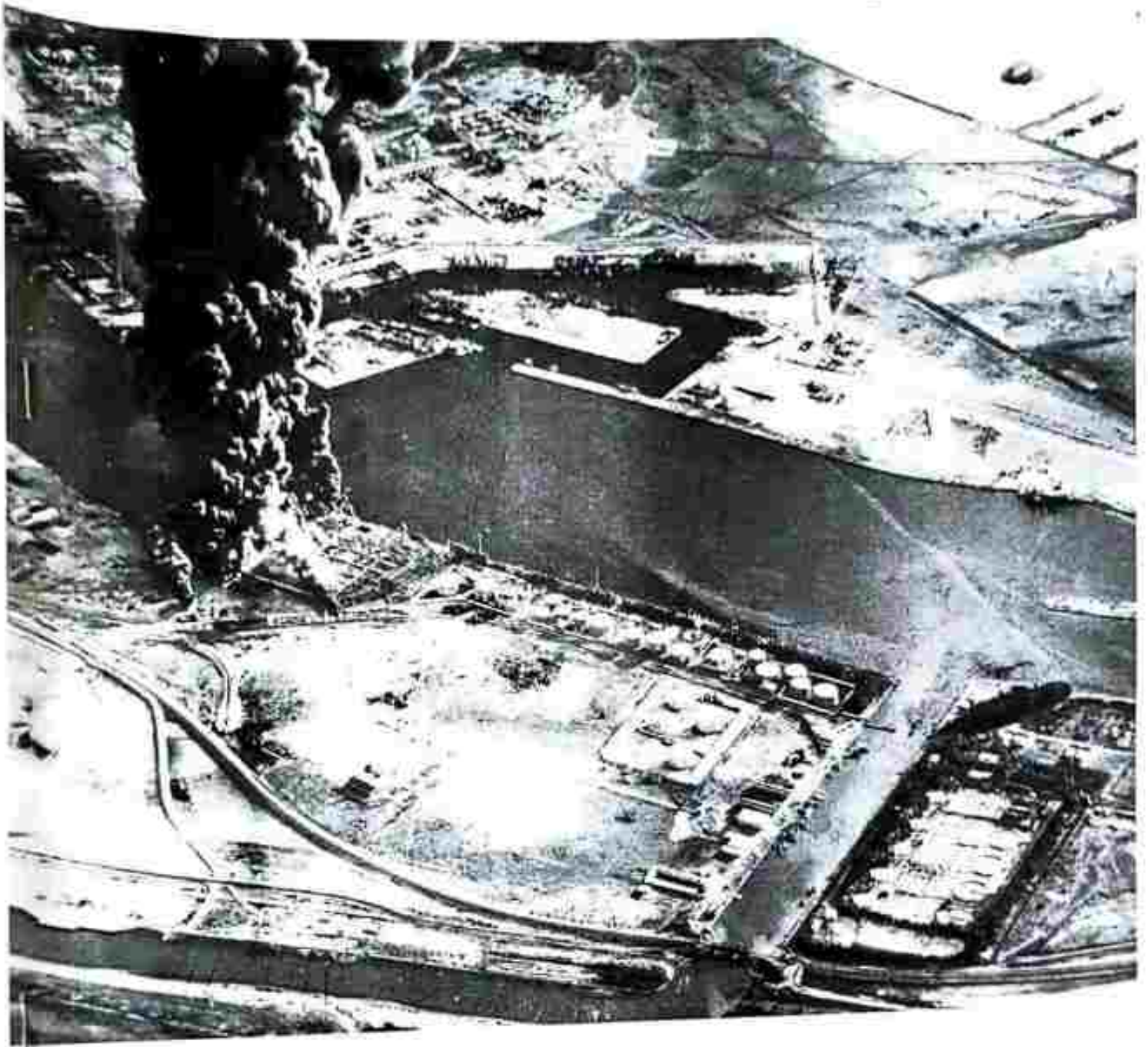


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## Introduction

The Suez crisis is often portrayed as Britain's last fling of the imperial dice. In 1956, the globe was indeed still circled by British possessions and dependencies, from the Caribbean in the west to Singapore, Malaya and Hong Kong in the east. Much of the African map was still imperial pink.

In reality, though, the sun had long since begun to sink over the British empire. The greatest possession of them all, the Indian subcontinent, had taken its freedom. Nationalist movements were flourishing in most of the rest, patronised by Soviet Russia and encouraged by the United States in its self-appointed role as leader of the free world. Britain itself was only beginning to emerge from post-war austerity, its public finances crushed by an accumulation of war debt.

Still, there were powerful figures in the "establishment" - a phrase coined in the early 1950s - who could not accept that Britain was no longer a first-rate power. Their case, in the context of the times, was persuasive: we had nuclear arms, a permanent seat on the UN security council, and military forces in both hemispheres. We remained a trading nation, with a vital interest in the global free passage of goods.



But there was another, darker, motive for intervention in Egypt: the sense of moral and military superiority which had accreted in the centuries of imperial expansion. Though it may now seem quaint and self-serving, there was a widespread and genuine feeling that Britain had responsibilities in its diminishing empire, to protect its peoples from communism and other forms of demagoguery.

Much more potently, there was ingrained racism. When the revolutionaries in Cairo dared to suggest that they would take charge of the Suez canal, the naked prejudice of the imperial era bubbled to the surface. The Egyptians, after all, were among the original targets of the epithet, "westernised (or wily) oriental gentlemen. They were the Wogs.

In July 1956, the last British soldiers pulled out of the canal zone. On July 26, Nasser abruptly announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company. Eden was scandalised and, riding a wave of popular indignation, prepared a grotesquely disproportionate response: full scale invasion.

## Military operations

Nasser's nationalisation of the canal was followed by intensive diplomatic activity, ostensibly aimed at establishing some kind of international control of the strategically vital waterway. It turned out to be a smokescreen for military preparations.

In September, Nasser made a defiant speech rejecting the idea of international supervision of an Egyptian national asset. By then, the die was

cast. British and French troops, spearheaded by airborne forces, invaded the canal zone on October 31. Their governments told an outraged world that they had to invade, to separate Egyptian and Israeli forces, and thus protect the freedom of navigation on the canal. The reality was that the British and French, in top secret negotiations with Israel, had forged an agreement for joint military operations. Israel, in fact, had the most legitimate grievance of the three invaders, for since the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948, Egypt had denied passage through the canal to any Israeli-flagged or Israel-bound ships.

Israeli forces swept into the Sinai desert on September 29, two days before the Anglo-French invasion, and raced towards the canal. (One column was headed by a young brigade commander who would go on to become prime minister: Ariel Sharon). In less than seven days, the entire Sinai peninsula was in Israeli hands.

The Anglo-French invasion was a good deal more ignominious. Just eight days after the first airborne lands, the operation was halted under a ceasefire ostensibly ordered by the United Nations, but in fact dictated by the Americans. The Egyptian air force had been destroyed and its army mauled - though it put up spirited resistance both in the canal zone and in Sinai. There is little doubt that the invading allies, who had overwhelming military advantage, could have gone on to take undisputed control of the canal zone - albeit at a cruel cost.

The greatest irony of the operation was that it was totally counterproductive. Far from bolstering Anglo-French interests, it had badly undermined the political and military prestige of both countries. And far from ensuring international freedom of seaborne passage, it had done just the opposite: under Nasser's orders, 47 ships were scuttled in the waterway. The Suez canal was totally blocked.



## The diplomatic crisis

Though Eden scarcely seemed to appreciate it, Britain was simply no longer capable of mounting a solo imperial adventure. In the Suez operation, British soldiers fought alongside French ones. More importantly, both fading European powers were allied with the youngest but already most potent force in the Middle East: Israel.

But it wasn't Britain's military allies which mattered in the final analysis; it was her political foes. They most obviously included the Soviet Union and its allies, who were given a glorious opportunity to attack western imperialism (and deflect world attention from their own brutality in crushing the simultaneous Hungarian uprising).

Much more telling than Soviet condemnation was the disapproval of the Eisenhower administration in the USA. Washington was appalled by the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of the canal zone and the Sinai. The action threatened to destabilise the strategically vital region, and strengthen Soviet links with liberation movements around the world. It raised global tensions in an age dominated by the nuclear arms race and recurring superpower crises. More viscerally, it was viewed with distaste as a nakedly imperial exercise in a post-imperial age.



Eden, a master of self-delusion, thought he had received a nod and wink of approval for the invasion from John Foster Dulles, the US secretary of state. He should have checked with Dwight D Eisenhower, who was enraged by the action. He forced through the UN resolution imposing a ceasefire, and made it clear that in this matter at any rate, Britain would have no 'special relationship' with the USA.

The final straw for Eden came when the Treasury told the government that sterling, under sustained attack over the crisis, needed urgent US support to the tune of a billion dollars. 'Ike' had a crisp reply: no ceasefire, no loan. The invaders were ordered to halt, and await the arrival of a UN intervention force.

## The political crisis

The Suez crisis provoked a mighty, if predictable, wave of jingoistic fervour in the rightwing British press. There was a tide of genuine public support for "our boys" and a widespread mood of hostility towards Nasser. But at the same time - and arguably for the first time - there was a countervailing popular wave of revulsion against imperialist aggression. Hugh Gaitskell, not exactly the most radical of Labour party leaders, railed passionately against the war. So did Liberals and leftwing groups. Their stand was not hugely popular - the circulation of the Manchester Guardian, which fiercely opposed the war, fell markedly during the crisis - but the anti-war movement was a dramatic, even traumatic, shock for the nation.

What fatally undermined the Conservative government, however, was the dissent in its own ranks. Less than 50 years ago, there were plenty of Tories who still believed in the virtues of empire. But there was also a new generation which recognised the damage being done to Britain's real interests in the new world, and which was outraged by Eden's blinkered approach. Two junior ministers, Edward Boyle and Anthony Nutting, resigned from the government in protest against Suez. Among those who stayed on, but who expressed deep reservations about the Suez enterprise, was RA 'Rab' Butler, the man widely seen as Eden's heir apparent.



Eden himself was shattered by Suez, politically, physically and emotionally. On November 19, just three days before the last of the British invaders finally left the canal zone, he abruptly took himself off to Jamaica to recover, leaving behind Rab Butler in charge of the cabinet. On January 9, 1957, Eden resigned. The Conservative mandarins who controlled the leadership promptly took their revenge on Butler, seen as the leading liberal in the party, by elevating the more rightwing Harold Macmillan to Downing Street.



## Conclusion

It may now seem astonishing to those who were not alive during the Suez crisis that Britain was prepared to take part in such an imperial adventure so recently. Even to those who clearly remember it - including this writer - it seems an anachronism; an atavistic throwback.

In 1956, after all, Elvis Presley was already a star, Disneyland had been opened in California, and British theatre was in the throes of the 'kitchen sink' revolution. And yet, though it took place well within living memory, Suez was also a link with a not-so-distant past in which imperialism was a matter of pride rather than a term of abuse. Indeed, it marked definitively the transition between those two things.

British soldiers would go on fighting in various corners of the shrinking empire - east Africa, Aden, Malaya, Borneo and the Falklands - for another 25 years or so. The difference, after Suez, is that they fought largely to defend local regimes and systems, rather than to impose the will of London.

The years immediately following Suez saw a slew of new countries on the world stage which had formerly been colonies and dependencies. There is little doubt that the end of the imperial era was greatly accelerated by the squalid little war in Egypt.