

Aftermath of the World War II

The impact of the Second World War was different for different countries. The worst affected were the European countries especially the USSR, Poland and Yugoslavia which lost about 20% of its population. In economic terms too the USSR and other European countries lost heavily with destruction of cities, factories and mines on a massive scale. About 1700 towns, 31,000 factories and over 70,000 villages of USSR had been completely destroyed. In contrast the USA suffered less as the war was not fought on its territories. In fact the Second World War helped USA grow out of its economic misery caused by the Great Depression. Far from the theatres of war, the industries and agriculture of USA prospered. This ensured full employment and high productivity in US during the Second World War. In March 1945, the US President, Harry Truman, said, 'We have emerged from this War the most powerful nation in the world – the most powerful nation, perhaps, in all history.'

Even as the war devastated countries rebuilt their economics, the world saw some new processes in place. Three of the most important processes were the establishment of the United Nations, Cold War and Decolonisation. The Second World War had been fought on the principles of peace, democracy and freedom of nations in contrast to the Nazi ideas of dictatorship and Imperialism. Thus the first task was to establish a global organisation that would ensure peace and development in all nations. This led to the formation of the United Nations Organisation. Colonial powers like Britain and France could no longer justify their old colonial policies. They also had been politically and economically weakened vis a vis USA which was pressurising them to dismantle the old colonial system which gave the old colonial powers exclusive access to the colonies. The USSR was also emerging as a champion of anti colonial struggles which in many places were led by Communist Parties inspired by the USSR. Under these conditions old powers like Britain had no choice but to grant freedom to their old colonies. You have already read about this in an

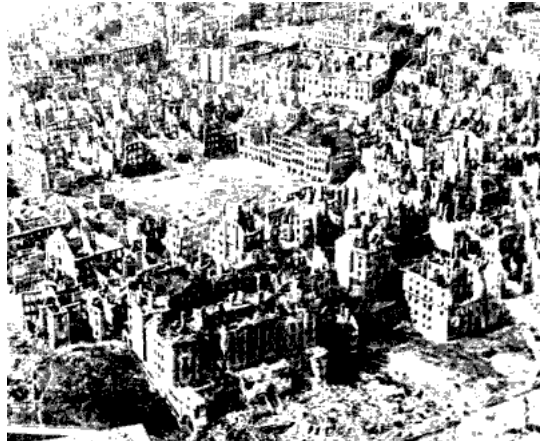


Fig 20.1 : View of the city of Warsa after the war with 85% of buildings destroyed

earlier chapter. As these countries became free they faced a world greatly torn between Capitalism and Communism, between USA and USSR – and were constantly under pressure to choose between the two rather than follow their own paths of development. They also got an opportunity to negotiate by playing one power against the other. In this section we will study about some of these issues in detail.

- What do you understand by the term ‘decolonisation’?
- How do you think the newly free countries would have been influenced by the competition between the two power blocks?

United Nations Organisation (UNO)

The principle Allied countries like Britain, France, USA, USSR and China drafted a Charter for the formation of the UNO even as the war drew to an end. The Charter not only emphasised the need to preserve peace and prevent wars, but also the need to ensure human rights, democracy and eradication of poverty and hunger for all people in the world. The UN thus started with a twin objective of ensuring lasting peace and human development. At the same time it recognised the autonomy of states and promised not to interfere in any internal affair of a country except in cases mandated by serious human rights violation or threat to world peace.

At the time of its establishment UN had membership of 54 countries and today (2014) there are 193 countries. As countries liberated themselves from colonial powers in the decade that followed they joined UN. The UN works through six different organs. Each of these organs has specific functions like maintaining peace and security, improving education and health facilities, alleviating poverty, providing justice in the context of international crimes and so on. Some bodies responsible for these functions include International Court of Justice located in Hague; the World Health Organisation located at Geneva, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation functioning from Paris, and United Nations Children's Emergency Fund functioning from New York.



Fig 20.2 : Emblem of UNO

In electing the Secretary General the main officer of the UN all nations participate and the post is rotated across different continents. The General Assembly is the main body where regular discussions between nations take place. However, decisions relating to war and peace and taken in Security Council and five nations have special status within it. These are called permanent members of the Security Council and are: China, France, United Kingdom; USSR (now Russia) and USA. Any decision taken by Council can be vetoed (made invalid or rejected) by the intervention of even any one of these

countries. Often the great powers themselves involved in many of the conflicts used their veto power to block any action by the UNO. Sometimes they have also used their power to force the UN to bend to their dictates. However, the very existence of a forum like UN, has forced great powers to exercise moderation and self-control. The special powers also have given the great powers a special role and responsibility in preserving world peace.

While the UN has been doing commendable work in the area of education, health, cultural exchange and protection of heritage, it has been less successful in preventing wars. It has often been held hostage to the ambitions of the super-powers that sought world control.



Fig 20.3 : UN headquarter's at New york

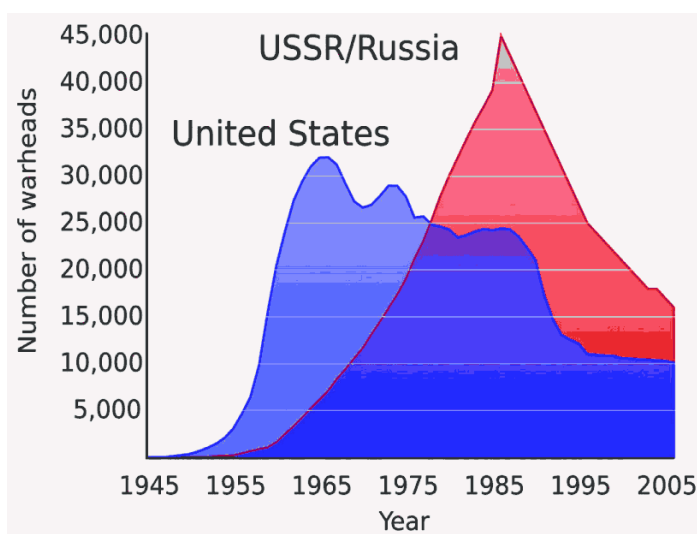
- Do you think wars are related to poverty, lack of equitable development and cultural exchanges between countries?
- According to some the special powers given to the five powers is undemocratic and should be abolished while some others feel that if these powers do not have special powers the UNO cannot function smoothly. Discuss.

The Two Camps and the Cold War (1945-1991)

Two major ideological and political camps emerged in the post war period – the Communist block led by the USSR and the Democratic-Capitalist Block led by the USA. On the one hand the USSR promoted the ideas of equality and state controlled development and suppression of opposition to these principles. On the other hand USA promoted the ideas of multiparty democracy and private capitalist controlled process of development.

The USSR had the entire Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, and East Germany) under its influence and many colonies which were gaining freedom like China and Vietnam were closely aligned to it. The countries of Western Europe like Britain, France, Spain were closely allied with the USA. The two blocks competed with each other for bringing all the intermediate countries in their blocks.

For more than forty-five years after the Second World War, a rather strange



Graph 1 : US and USSR nuclear stockpiles

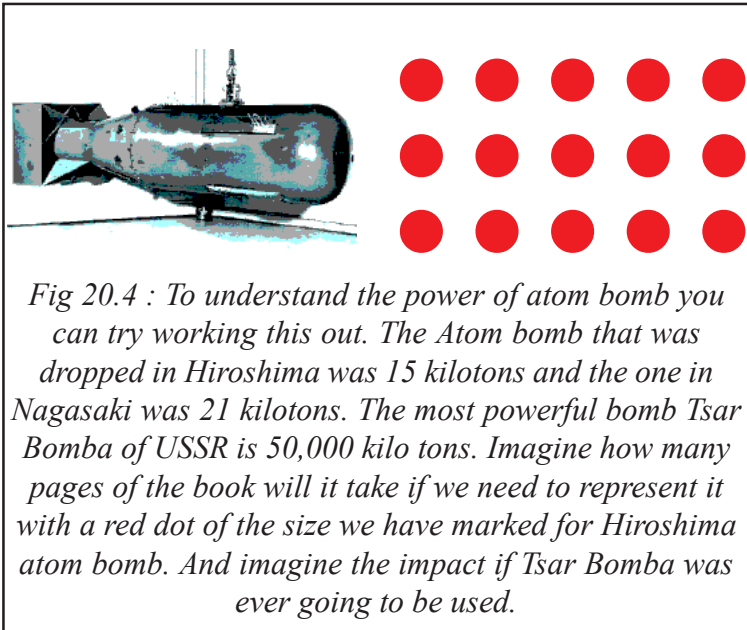


Fig 20.4 : To understand the power of atom bomb you can try working this out. The Atom bomb that was dropped in Hiroshima was 15 kilotons and the one in Nagasaki was 21 kilotons. The most powerful bomb Tsar Bomba of USSR is 50,000 kilo tons. Imagine how many pages of the book will it take if we need to represent it with a red dot of the size we have marked for Hiroshima atom bomb. And imagine the impact if Tsar Bomba was ever going to be used.

war was fought between the two blocks. It was a war in which the principal contenders did not physically attack each other or fight each other directly and hence, there was no ‘hot’ war. Instead, a War was fought behind closed doors through propoganda and words. It is called the Cold War simply because of the absence of a real fighting as in traditional wars. This Cold War characterised by intense tension between the United States and the USSR, influenced and shaped

almost everything that happened in the world between 1945 and 1991.

The Cold War was not just a propoganda war. It also saw real fighting and cost around 20 million human lives. However, almost all of the people killed were citizens of the Third World, viz., countries emerging from colonial domination like Vietnam, Korea, Angola, and Afghanistan. This division turned ethnically similar people and geographically adjacent territories into enemies and it led to wasteful wars between these countries.

Some main tactics used during the Cold War included proxy wars, military alliances, and arms race.

Proxy War

Right from the outset the two countries tried to bring the countries fighting for freedom under their sphere of influence. This led to supporting the two opposing sides in each of those countries. US President Harry Truman authorised support for the anti-communist forces in Turkey and Greece in 1947. The Belgian colony in Africa, Congo, got independence in 1960. But it’s radical communist leader, Patrice Lumumba, was killed in 1961, allegedly at the behest of US spy agency called CIA. Angola became independent from Portugal in November 1975. The Communists in Angola captured power with help from USSR and Cuba. In Latin America Fidel Castro had led a revolution against an American backed government and sought to build socialism on the lines of USSR. This inspired a large number of people of Latin American countries to fight for a similar transformation in their countries. One of their very popular leaders, Che Guevera was killed. Even elected governments led by socialists like the government of Chile led by S Allende were toppled by US backed army generals.

The USSR also tried to expand its sphere of influence. To begin with, in 1950s

it had to face the resistance of countries like Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia; it sent its armies to dismiss unfriendly governments and install friendly governments in those countries. After 1960s China decided to disassociate itself from the USSR and the latter tried unsuccessfully to pressurise China. In 1971 USSR invaded Afghanistan to install a friendly government there. The US in turn provided armed support to Afghan rebels who were also religious extremists. A prolonged civil war ensued and as the USSR decided to withdraw from Afghanistan in 1985 that country fell to religious extremists led by the Taliban which now turned against the USA. In all these we can see that the theatre of warfare and destruction was the third world which was trying to emerge out of colonial control and the wars were not fought so much by the Soviet or US troops but by the people of the third world.

Military Alliances

Both USA and USSR were in the possession of nuclear weapons but knew very well neither would be the winner in a nuclear war. Yet, they formed military and strategic alliances - the west formalised its alliances in an organisation known as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949. To counter this, Communist nations made similar alliances and signed the Warsaw Pact. In addition to this, U.S. established regional military and strategic alliances like South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO).

Even though they strengthened themselves by creating military blocks they knew that fighting wars would lead to a massive destruction of human life threatening the whole civilisations. Hence, they maintained a constrained relationship acting as a deterrent on each other.

The alliances helped super powers which wanted to expand their influence to gain access to



- the vital resources like oil and minerals
- markets for their products and places to safely invest their capital
- military bases to launch their troops and weapons
- spread their ideology and
- gain economic support, to pay huge military expenses

Arms and Space Race

Both the USSR and USA spent huge amounts of money to conduct research into weapons and build arsenals of devastating nuclear arms and missiles which could strike across continents. The two countries together had enough nuclear arms to destroy the entire earth many times over. Gradually their allies like Britain,



France, and China, too built nuclear arsenals. The competition now also extended to the space as satellites helped in spying and in directing missiles. USSR put the first satellite Sputnik and the first human Yuri Gagarin in space. This was followed by intense competition between the two blocks to put more and more satellites and eventually led to the US sending Neil Armstrong and others to the Moon in 1969.

Fig 20.5 : (left) Yuri Gagarin, (right) Man on Moon

Flash points

As the rival powers accumulated destructive weapons, the world was constantly threatened by a nuclear holocaust. People of all countries lived in constant fear of war. There were many moments when nuclear war between the two countries seemed imminent, but got defused somehow through diplomacy. Some of these were the incidents relating to the shooting down of U2 US spy plane over USSR, the discovery of Soviet missile build up in Cuba, and several times during the Korean and Middle East wars.

Non Alignment Movement (NAM)

In 1950's the world was getting increasingly militarised and divided into two antagonistic camps. The rivalries between the two super powers for military supremacy, ideological conflicts and rivalry to gain economic supremacy lead to the establishment of a bipolar world. Though this conflict did not leave much space

for those who did not want to be involved in either of the blocs, there was an attempt to create one. The core concerns of people, especially those who were recently de-colonised like poverty, disease, inequality and colonialism were not addressed by any of these issues of contention.

The leaders of newly independent nations felt the need for a change from the insecure and tense situation. So in 1955 at Bandung in Indonesia a conference was held. It was the first Asia-African conference represented by 29 nations. The most important leaders of this conference were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the then Prime Minister of India, Gamal Abdul Nasser the leader of Egypt and Josip Broz Tito the leader of Yugoslavia. Pt. Nehru was acknowledged as the chief spokesperson. It paved the way for Non Aligned Movement (NAM).

Thus, non-alignment was established as an international organisation with an aim to promote cultural and economic cooperation among the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and later Latin America.

The first Summit was held at Belgrade in Yugoslavia in September 1961. It was attended by 25 member countries. By 2012, the membership has grown to 120 countries with 17 Observers. The first Summit was the culmination of three major concerns:

- Cooperation among the member nations of NAM most of them who had newly emerged as free countries.
- Growing Cold War tensions and its impact on the world at large.
- Lastly, to prevent any of the newly decolonised independent countries from joining any of the military blocks.

Over the years the NAM helped countries like India to take an independent posture when the two super powers fell apart and pulled countries to their side. It also helped the newly emerging countries to bargain for space and assistance from the super powers by playing one against the other. To some extent it also helped to ease tensions amongst the NAM countries. Even though both the blocks looked at NAM with suspicion the US regarded the NAM as being closer to the USSR on wider international issues. Its inaction in the case of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan



Fig 20.6 : J. Nehru, Kwame Nkrumah of Kenya, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia, Tito of Yugoslavia at NAM meeting 1960

was often seen as a partisan position contrary to NAM's principles. Another weakness of NAM was its inability to effectively stop its own members from

- What was the main purpose of 1955 Bandung conference?
- How did super powers react for the principles of Non-alignment?
- Why Non-aligned nations were called as third world countries?

waging wars against each other. Thus when Iran and Iraq were in a long war lasting seven or more years, NAM could do little about it. Despite these limitations the NAM helped the newly independent nations assert their autonomy in international affairs in a world torn between the two super powers.

West Asian Conflicts

West Asia refers to the region between Europe and Asia. The term Middle East is also used to describe this area. The conflicts that developed between Arabs and Jews are often described as the West Asian Crisis. It was mainly related to the occupation of Palestine. Palestine which was inhabited by Arabs was under the control of Britain before Second World War. In it is situated Jerusalem which is a holy city for Jews, Christians and Muslims alike.

The Jews traditionally considered Palestine as their 'Promised Land' from where they had been exiled in ancient times and pushed across Europe and Asia. In Europe they were a persecuted community as Christians considered them responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The conflict came to a head in Germany under the Nazis when millions of Jews of Europe were jailed and killed.

A movement had developed among the Jews called the 'Zionist Movement' which called for uniting Jews spread across the world and to reclaim Palestine as their homeland and build a separate state of Jews. After 1945, this demand was supported by the by Western powers. However, since Palestinians (who were mostly Arab Muslims) were already living there, this became a bone of contention.

Matters were also complicated by the discovery of massive oil reserves in the Middle East, especially in the Arabian peninsula. Both US and USSR wanted to bring this region under their sphere of influence and would not let the other country establish its control.

In 1947, United Nations passed a resolution according to which Palestine was divided into two parts -Arab and Jewish States. In 1948 the British withdrew their troops from Palestine and Israel was created for Jews. The Arabs did not agree to giving up their homeland. The Arabs refused to recognise Israel as a legitimate state. The policies pursued by state of Israel increased the bitterness. The Arabs were forced to leave their homes and properties and had to take shelter as refugees in the other Arab states.

The President of Egypt Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970) made an effort to unite the Arabs. He formed *fidayees* (suicide squads) for causing explosions in

public places in Israel. He adopted aggressive policies against Britain and France and demanded that Britain should withdraw its troops from the Suez Canal. The United States withdrew aid to Egypt for the construction of Aswan Dam. N a s s e r



nationalised Suez Canal with the support of USSR who supplied arms and ammunitions for Egypt's struggle against the West.

In 1956, Israel attacked Egypt with the support of Western powers and both United States and USSR demanded a cessation of war and a cease-fire. Israel had to withdraw its army. In 1967, Arabs attacked Israel once again. Israel decided that offence is the best form of defense and it attacked Egypt and destroyed its entire air force. It also occupied the territories of Gaza, Golan Heights and the West Bank. Israel while refusing to return the occupied territories despite UN resolution, agreed for a ceasefire. Israel believed that these occupied territories would act as buffer zones. This war was a setback to the Arab cause.

In the meanwhile, an organisation called Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO hereafter) was established in 1964 in Jordan and added a new dimension by bringing together all different Arab factions. Its aim was to regain the land it lost, without violence. However, in 1967 PLO under the leadership of Yasser Arafat applied pressure and force on Arab states to attack Israel. But the Arabs states were not very enthusiastic. Hence, a faction of PLO lead by Arafat carried out terrorist attacks like plane hijackings, holding hostage the Israeli Olympic Squad at the Munich Olympics in September 1972 and killing many of the sportspersons, etc. Israel used such attacks by the Palestinians to mount further attacks on them and refused to implement the promises it had made.

The region has been constantly in a state of war and terrorist attacks as a result of retaliation and counter retaliation. The PLO too broke into many mutually warring factions. Eventually Arafat gave up terrorism and agreed to find peaceful solution by recognising the formation of Israel. He held negotiations with Israel to end the long war and came to many agreements regarding self rule for Palestinians. Israel

agreed for withdrawal of its forces from West Bank in addition to giving voting rights to the Arab residents of Palestine. However, this was not successful as Israel

- What were the reasons for the conflict between Arabs and Israelites?
- Why did Egypt support the Palestinians during the conflict?
- Why do you think some Palestinians adopted the path of terrorism? What was its outcome?
- Find out about the condition of Palestinians who are living in refugee camps and constantly facing warfare and poverty.

failed to implement its promises and continued to attack the Palestinians under one pretext or the other. Many countries agreed to recognise PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian state and Arafat as its President. Arafat died in 2004 due to suspected poisoning.

The Palestinians are still fighting for their homeland and peace under very difficult conditions of exile and warfare.

The Growth of Nationalism in the Middle East

The continued support of the US to Israel and the plight of Palestinians created a widespread feeling against the US in the region. The US also became unpopular because it supported undemocratic regimes in this area so that the oil resources were available to the US and its allies. People on the other hand wanted the revenue from oil resources to be used for the welfare of common people who did not have any other resources in the desert area. In 1968 a coup took place in Iraq in which Saddam Husain came to power with the twin slogan of Arab Nationalism and Socialism. By socialism they meant nationalisation of oil resources and the use of oil revenues by the state to fund welfare measures for the citizens. Similar developments took place in Libya in 1969, (you have read about this in class IX, chapter 19). These regimes combined welfare policies with very autocratic and dictatorial rule of a ruler or a small group. They did not allow any opposition or democratic protest against themselves.

In many cases the opposition to the US and US backed regimes took religious colours. Nationalist forces, instead of supporting the idea of equitable distribution of wealth and opportunities fostered the idea of establishing religious orthodoxy in those countries. A revolution took place in Iran in 1979 in which the old King of Iran (who was supported by the US) was removed and a new government jointly controlled by Shia Islamic clerics and democratically elected leaders was established.

The Taliban which took over Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops similarly established an extremist Islamic state. These states tried to force all people to strictly follow the rules laid down in religious texts. In many cases this meant the denial of basic freedom and equality of opportunity to women and to religious minorities.

The beginning of the twenty first century witnessed growing discontent among

the Arabs which resulted in the growth of religious terrorism. Some Arab terrorists hijacked two aircrafts in the US and crashed into the World Trade Centre in New York killing thousands of people. This led to a war against Taliban and eventually to a war against Iraq. Find out more about these recent events from the newspapers and magazines.

- What are the similarities and differences between Arab Socialist Nationalism and Religious Nationalism?
- Find out more about the developments in Iran and Afghanistan under the Taliban to understand how religious states work.

Peace Movements, Collapse of the USSR and the end of the Cold War

As time passed USSR and USA came under tremendous public pressure to roll back the arms race and destroy their nuclear arsenal. You will read more about this later on in this book. This forced them to hold talks to mutually reduce the stockpile and weapons race and eventually to ban nuclear tests between 1985 to 1991.

This was largely made possible by the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR. He tried to transform the politics of USSR by making it more open and bringing about radical changes. He was a liberal who introduced certain reforms for the revival of their economy and promoted healthy relations with the West. The reforms introduced by the open regime are often described as ‘Glasnost’ and ‘Perestroika’.

Around the same time the countries of Eastern Europe faced serious economic crises and the USSR was not in a position to help them. As a result popular movements demanding freedom, democracy and economic reforms swept Eastern Europe. Soon the governments unable to manage the country collapsed. This is best symbolised by the break up of the infamous Berlin Wall that separated Eastern and Western portions of Germany and symbolized the unpopular control of the USSR over Germany.

In the USSR itself Communist hardliners encouraged a coup in 1991 to remove Gorbachev from power. This backfired and Boris Yelstin resisted the coup on behalf of the Russian parliament. He eventually won the Presidential elections and announced the disbanding of the USSR in 1991. The components of the former USSR became independent countries and many of them formed an alliance with Russia later on.



Fig 20.7 : Demolition of Berlin Wall that divided East and West Germany

- Explain the terms bipolarity and unipolarity.

With the collapse of the USSR a new era began in world politics the era of unipolar world and the era of Globalisation. You studied about this in a separate chapter in this book.

India and its Neighbours

We saw that India was founder of the NAM which sought to keep an independent position between the two superpowers. India tried to base its foreign policy on the Gandhian principles of peace and non-violence. To emphasise its determination for peace Jawaharlal Nehru formulated his renowned Panchsheel principles:

1. Respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
3. Non-aggression and settlement of disputes with mutual understanding.
4. Endeavour to achieve cooperation and mutual respect in international relationships.
5. Promoting peaceful coexistence.

These were to determine India's relations with other countries, especially its neighbours – China, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and subsequently Bangladesh.

Read through the following account of India's relation with its neighbours and see to what extent it has been based on these principles.

India's relation with China (Sino-Indian relations)

After a long struggle and a violent revolution, China became a Communist republic in 1949. India was one of the first countries to recognise China's Communist government. India also supported a permanent seat in UN Security Council for China, the seat that was earlier occupied by the Chiang Kai Shek Government. India helped China take part in Bandung conference in spite of their ideological differences. Both countries signed the Panchsheel pact on 29 April 1954. The leaders of both countries visited each other's country and they were greeted by large friendly crowds.

During the colonial rule Mc Mahon line was drawn as the border between the countries. Nehru accepted it. Tibet which lay between China and India was to be an independent buffer zone. But China annexed Tibet in 1950 on the plea that it was dependent state of the old Chinese Empire. This removed the buffer between the two countries. There was a revolt in Tibet which was crushed by the Chinese. Thousands of Tibetans escaped along with Dalai Lama and took refuge in India. India gave asylum to Dalai Lama, this caused a conflict, and Chinese started considering India as an adversary. Prior to this, a border dispute had surfaced between India and China. China laid claim to Aksai-chin area in Ladakh region and much of Arunachal Pradesh. Despite many efforts and long discussions, the conflicts have not been resolved till today.

China invaded India in October 1962 violating the peace treaties it signed with

India. India was not prepared for this surprise attack and suffered much losses. Eventually China declared unilateral ceasefire and withdrew its troops to its pre-war position. It took more than a decade to resume normal relations. Full diplomatic relations were restored only in 1976.

Now both countries have strategic as well as economic advantage as they are recognised as rising powers of Asia. The two countries today have the ambition of emerging as major world economic and political powers. Thus they also see each other as economic and political competitors. At the borders, both governments have taken measures to maintain peace and tranquility despite occasional actions to the contrary.

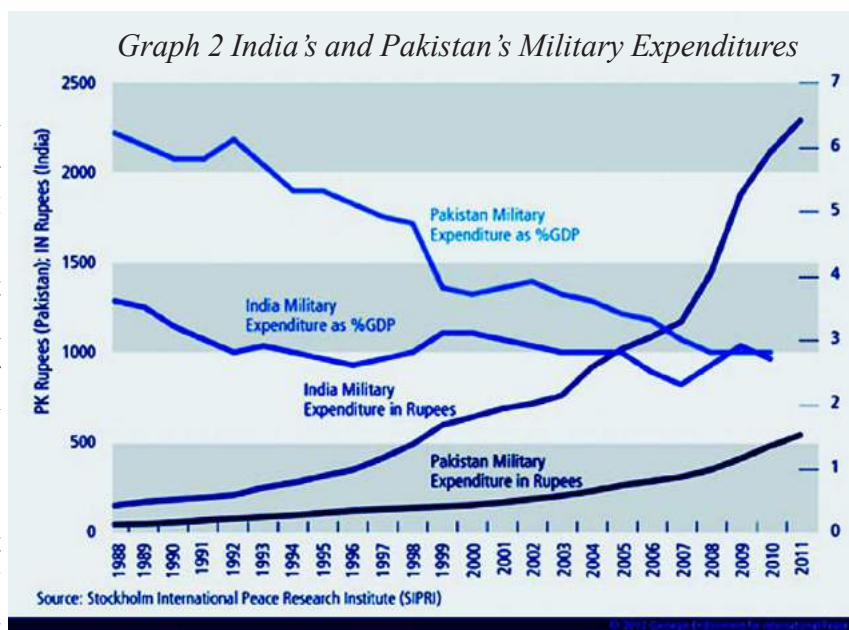
- Do you think it was correct for India to give refuge to the Dalai Lama and his Tibetan followers?
- Do you think China was justified in wanting to control Tibet?
- To what extent do you think both the countries can forget about their past conflicts over the boundaries and develop meaningful cooperation and friendship?

India's relation with Pakistan

As we saw in an earlier lesson India and Pakistan became independent nations by bifurcating the erstwhile British India. After partition the conflicts between India and Pakistan became perpetual, the main bone of contention between the two countries being Kashmir.

The first war between the two countries took place in 1947-1948 for Kashmir. But it did not settle the problem. The war divided Kashmir into two parts: Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK) and the Indian province divided by a line of control.

In 1965, when Lal Bahadur Shastri was the Prime Minister, Pakistan was under the military dictatorship of General Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan hoped to provoke a revolt in Kashmir by invading India in the name of liberating Kashmir. However, the people of Kashmir did not respond to this and backed the Indian state in its war efforts. India responded by opening a front in Punjab targeting Lahore and this forced Pakistan to retreat from Kashmir front. UN secretary general U Thant



Religion and War

Lal Bahadur Shastri in a rally in Delhi after the end of the war, decried the attempt of Pakistan to use religious symbolism in the war claiming it to be a war of Muslims against Hindus. He proudly stated that India was a secular country.

“The unique thing about our country is that we have Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and people of all other religions. We have temples and mosques, gurudwaras and churches. But we do not bring this all into politics... This is the difference between India and Pakistan. Whereas Pakistan proclaims herself to be an Islamic State and uses religion as a political factor, we Indians have freedom to follow whatever religion we may choose [and] worship in any way we please. So far as politics is concerned, each of us is as much as Indian as the other.”

persuaded both countries to agree to a ceasefire. After the ceasefire, an agreement was signed between the two countries at Tashkent in 1966 by the two Prime Ministers.

In the beginning of 1970, Pakistan faced the biggest internal crisis. The military dictator of Pakistan, General Yahya Khan promised democratic government and ordered elections. The election produced a split verdict-West Pakistan was won by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto while Awami league led by Sheik Mujib-ur-Rahman swept the polls in East Pakistan. But the government of Pakistan refused to accept neither the verdict nor the

demand of Awami League for a greater autonomy for East Pakistan. Instead, they arrested Mujib-ur-Rahman and unleashed a reign of terror. India was faced with an influx of refugees from East Pakistan. Supporters of Mujibur Rahman organised a liberation struggle in the form of ‘Mukti Bahini’. India under its Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, began to provide support to it and tried to win international support for its cause. India also signed a treaty of friendship with the USSR which promised support to India.

A full-scale war broke out with Pakistan in December 1971. The war ended only after the liberation of East Pakistan leading to the creation of Bangladesh and declaration of ceasefire by India. Later the Shimla agreement was signed between the countries under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Since the 1971 war there has been no open war, but innumerable border skirmishes and battles over respective positions across the border. You may have heard of the ‘Kargil War’ in which anti-Indian militants had occupied portions of Indian territory with the backing of Pakistani army and had to be repelled through a major military operation in 1999.

Pakistan has over the years encouraged separatist movements in the border states of India like Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. India has often accused Pakistan of not only supporting such movements but actively training and sending religious extremists to foment trouble in India. Pakistan in turn has been accusing India of trying to destabilise it and constantly threaten it with military action and stockpiling of nuclear arms and missiles. This has also led to the two countries spending

inordinate amounts of scarce funds on arming themselves against each other. Both the countries have nuclear weapons and believe that it acts as a deterrent.

At the same time given the long history of shared culture and civilisation, the people of India and Pakistan have often tried to overcome the hatred nurtured by vested interests and build bridges of friendship through trade, sports, films, tourism and cultural exchanges. Many Indians and Pakistanis feel that secularism, democracy and freedom in both countries will enable a greater understanding and cooperation between the two people. These ideals are under threat by forces which seek to promote conflict between the two countries.

- What steps do you think both India and Pakistan should take to build lasting peace between the two countries?
- Why is peace between India and Pakistan necessary for the development of both the countries?

India's relation with Bangladesh

Bangladesh was liberated from Pakistan with the help of Indian troops in 1972. It signed a 25 years peace treaty with India immediately after its independence. However, they have had differences over several issues like sharing of river waters of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. India also opposed the large-scale illegal migration of people of Bangladesh into India. The Bangladesh government objected fencing of borders by India to prevent illegal entry. It feels that India behaves like a big brother in this region.

In spite of these differences, both the countries have cooperated on many fronts, especially on the economic front. Bangladesh is an integral part of the Indian 'look East policy' to link up south Asia via Myanmar. Both have cooperation on disaster management. Bangladesh has rewarded many Indians who rendered their services and sacrificed their lives for the liberation of Bangladesh.



Fig 20.8 : (Left) People Protesting against China in 1958 the banner says China Hands Off Tibet, (Right) East Pakistan Refugees arriving in India, 1971

- Many small countries feel that their larger neighbours act like 'big brothers'. What do you think is meant by this?
- Look at the map of India and Bangladesh and see why cooperation between the two countries is of vital importance to both.

India's relation with Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is an island country situated in the Indian Ocean towards the south of India. It got its freedom in 1948. Since times immemorial, India and Sri Lanka have cultural, ethnic and economic relations. Both were decolonised almost at the same time and remain democratic till today. A major irritant in the relation between the two countries has been the treatment of Tamil speaking minorities by the Sri Lankan government. You have read about this in class IX – recall the discussion.

The large scale influx of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees into India posed a special problem. This led to a more active intervention by India which entered into an agreement with Sri Lanka and the Tamil militants to maintain peace on the island. You have also read earlier about India sending its armies to keep peace in Sri Lanka and the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by Tamil militants. Eventually India decided not to interfere when the Sri Lankan government began an all out war against the Tamil militants which caused immense bloodshed and violation of human rights. This enabled Sri Lanka to finally bring a cessation of

- Compare the support of India to Bangladesh and its role in military conflict on the island. Sri Lanka. Do you think the situation was similar or different?

Key words

Military alliances	Proxy war	Arms race	Unipolar	Bipolar
Decolonisation	Peace	Veto	Ethnic conflict	Panchsheel

Improve your learning

1. Choose the correct answer: Which among the following statement about the Cold War is wrong?
a) Rivalry between US and USSR. b) USA and USSR engaged in direct war.
c) Triggering off an arms race. d) An ideological war between the two super powers.
2. Who amongst the following is not involved in the West Asian crisis?
a) Egypt b) Indonesia c) Britain d) Israel
3. What was the nature of shift in power in the world after the second world war?
4. What are the different roles done by United Nations in order to build peace in the world?
5. Given the idea of democracy do you think a few countries should have special powers in making the decisions?
6. How were the super powers benefited by military alliances?
7. How did Cold War produce arms race as well as arms control?
8. Why West Asia became a center of tensions in the world?
9. By the end of the 20th century there is only one single power that dominates the world. In this context what do you think would be the role of NAM?
10. "Formation of NAM was not merely in the context of military alliances but also in the context of economic policies". Justify the statement.
11. Make a table to show relation between India and neighbouring countries with following items: issues of conflict; events of war; events of help and co-operation.
12. "The ethnic conflicts affected India's relations with Sri Lanka". Justify.