

## 21. The Cold War

(37) What is cold war? Estimate its impact,

or

Give an account of the effects of the cold war among the various countries of the world.

It is true that Great Britain and United States co-operated with the Soviet Union during the World War II for the overthrow of Hitler, but as soon as the war was over, the former Allies began to drift apart in different directions. These steadily developed a state of tension among them which came to be known by the name of the cold war. The Anglo American bloc was not prepared to allow the Soviet Union to extend her sphere of influence beyond what she had already achieved up to the beginning of 1947. The Americans started with the Truman Doctrine and followed it up with the Marshall Plan, N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O, Baghdad Pact etc. These two blocs of countries, confront themselves not by actual war but by propaganda against one another. Every bloc tries to enlist the co-operation of the maximum number of countries.

### Features of Cold War:

1. The whole of Europe is bifurcated into two separate blocs. One is under the leadership of capitalistic America and another is under Soviet Union which advocate communism. Tension prevails perennially between these two.
2. New lethal weapons are being manufactured.
3. Regular propaganda warfare goes on
4. Creates a situation of war of diplomacy
5. Competition is intensified through economic aid of the various countries.
6. Veto Power exercised in the U.N.O. is considered to be an important weapon. In addition to this Military and economic aid, diplomacy and instruments of propaganda are all considered to be other essential weapons in the army of cold war.

## **1. Truman Doctrine:**

In March 1947, President Harry Truman addressed a joint session of the American Congress and announced what came to be known as Truman Doctrine. It was a proposal to send military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. It was American policy to support "free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures". It was a "frank recognition the totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundation of international peace and hence the security of the United Nations". In May 1947, the American Congress authorised aid to Greece and Turkey. By 1950, it was found that the American policy had completely changed the state of affairs in Greece and Turkey.

## **2. Marshall Plan:**

George Marshall was Secretary of State of the United States of America. In 1947 June 27th, he convened a conference at Paris. He offered a plan to aid the countries of Europe to recover from economic debacle caused by the Second World War. Due to instability and poverty, communist ideologies began to spread in countries like France and Italy. Marshall's plan was to bring about recovery of Europe from its economic deterioration. His economic programme was supported by many West European countries. But Soviet Union refused to commit herself. Further, it forbade the states under her influence to participate in the programme. Finland and Czechoslovakia did not attend the conference in spite of their desire to do so. Countries like Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania had to stay away from this plan.

Yet, U.S.A. pursued its policy of Economic Recovery programme. Economic co-operation Administration in the United States and Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) with headquarters in Paris were established.

Soviet Union created the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) in 1947 at Warsaw with the main object of defeating the Europe on recovery programme. This was clearly an act of cold war.

In spite of opposition, the Marshall plan achieved a great measure of success. In the four years of its existence (1947-1951) it received over 11 billion dollars from the United States and helped to protect Europe from economic collapse and communist domination.

Russia on her part established a council for Economic Assistance and helped the East European countries and thereby laid a blockade for the entry of American influence in these countries.

### **3. RIO Pact:**

In 1947 a pact for peace and security was signed at Rio de Janeiro by a number of countries under the leadership of U.S.A. The preamble of the pact says that if any of the member countries is attacked, the aggression should be collectively dealt with by all the other members. They expressed their aversion for war and violence and also their faith in redressal of all problems through mutual talks in peaceful atmosphere. This Rio pact was mainly aimed at maintenance of peace and tranquility in the American continents. If any member country wanted to secede from the pact, it was allowed to do so by informing it in the Pan American Union.

### **4. NATO:**

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was established in 4th April 1949 at Washington. To counteract the Soviet threat at the initiative of Lester Pearson, the then Foreign affairs Minister of Canada, NATO came into being.

The founder members of this pact were Great Britain, The U.S.A., Canada, France, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Italy, Portugal and Turkey. Greece joined in 1952; West Germany was admitted in 1955.

#### **Aims:**

1. To condemn and counter the Russian policy of aggression.
2. To condemn these atrocities committed by Russia in countries like Greece, Turkey and Iran.
3. To throw away the stumbling blocks created by Russia against Marshall plan.

4. To insure Europe and other areas of the world from the communist menace.
5. To stop the troubles caused by Russia with her Veto power in the United Nations.

The main clause of NATO is that an armed attack against one would be considered as an attack on all. It united virtually the whole of Western Europe behind a single defence line. Their safety against a sudden attack was ensured.

NATO is criticised as a measure to attract various countries under the fold of U.S.A. U.S.A. had utilised it as an instrument to stem the tide of growing communistic influence. Soviet Union found it as an easy target for its attack against U.S.A's policy of escalating cold war in the world.

#### **5. European Defence Community:**

This institution was established at Paris on 27 May 1952. An army for European defence was created. This community was aimed at the solution of common problems on political institutions, Military Budget and Armament. France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium and Netherlands took active participation in this Defence Community.

#### **6. Anzus Pact (1951):**

A treaty was entered into between Governments of Australia, Newzealand and the U.S.A. in 1951 for the purpose of co-ordinating their efforts for collective defence and the preservation of peace in the Pacific area.

#### **7. South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO):**

Plans for the defence of South East Asia had been canvassed ever since the emergence of Communist China as a major factor in Asian and world politics. In 1953 Prime Minister Churchill proposed to the American Government that the principle of NATO should be extended to South - East Asia. With the strenuous efforts of Mr. Dulles, the American Secretary of State and Sir Anthony Eden the British Premier, Treaty of collective defence of South East Asia was signed on 8th Sept. 1954 at Manila. U.S.A., Great

Britain, France, Australia, Newzealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines were the signatories of the pact.

#### **Importance:**

The main object of the SEATO is to put a stop to the further progress of communist influence in South East Asia. The immediate object of it was to guarantee South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against any communist violation of the Geneva agreement of July 1954. Pakistan joined the treaty in order to strengthen her position in relation to India.

#### **8. CENTO (1955) or Baghdad pact:**

The Prime Minister of Iraq and Turkey entered into a pact pledging themselves to "co-operate for their security and defence" on 24th Feb. 1955. Great Britain acceded to the pact on 24th April 1955. Pakistan joined it on July 1955 and Iran joined it on Nov. 1955. Though U.S.A. was not a full fledged member of this Baghdad Pact in the beginning, later, after the revolution in Iraq. She was forced to join it as a full fledged member.

The Baghdad Pact otherwise known as Cento consisted of a Preamble and 8 articles. It was intended against Soviet Russia. Hence Russia deliberately developed cordial relations with countries like India, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. It was criticised that the pact has extended the area of cold war and brought the same to the very doors of India.

#### **9. Warsaw Pact (1955):**

Countries like Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania and U.S.S.R. met in Warsaw, capital of Poland on May 1955 and concluded a Treaty of Friendship. Co-operation and mutual Assistance and decided to set up a joint command of the armed forces of the State, signatories of the Treaty. This Treaty was concluded mainly against the NATO of the Anglo American Bloc led by United States.

#### **Proliferation and Decline of cold war:**

The struggle for supremacy between the communist bloc led by the Soviet Union and the Anglo - American bloc led by the

United States became acute wherever these two leading countries interfered in the international disputes. Various conflicts and problems like civil war in China (1947-49), Korean war (1950-53), Indo China tussle (1947-54) Vietnam war, Kashmir dispute, Suez canal crisis, Arab-Israel war, Kango problem and Central Eastern problems have proliferated the tentacle of Cold War. When Russia came under the leadership of Bulgaria, Cold War had a set back. Geneva conference had also reduced its intensity.

#### **Hungarian Rebellion:**

There was an uprising in Hungary in the year 1956. Russia's armed aid was sought. The Russian forces restored peace. At the exit of the Russian forces, rebellion was revived. The revolutionaries demanded the release of Imre Nagy. He was released and offered a peaceful administration. Then Janos Kadar established his rule. The Russian garrisons suppressed the revolutionaries and thereby proved Russia's might.

#### **Suez Canal Crisis:**

Egyptian President Nasser nationalised the Suez canal in 1956. Britain and France declared a war upon Egypt. This crisis gave an opportunity to the Soviet for interference in it against the capitalist bloc of countries. Khrushchev offered to help Nasser. U.N.O. brought about a solution for the problem very soon.

#### **Czechoslovakia:**

Liberal forces emerged and began to dominate in this country under the leadership of Alexander Dubcek. Swo-poda was the president of the country then. Russia and the other countries of Warsaw Pact did not like this trend. Hence Russia interfered in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs and removed Dubcek and others from power in 1968. Czechoslovakia was brought under the control of Russia.

#### **Competition in space:**

Competition between these two power blocs did not stop with attracting countries to their fold but it extended even to the space. Space researches and explorations in planets had started. Hence

both Russia and U.S.A. started launching sputniks and satellites. U.S.A's Neil Armstrong made the first footprint of a human being on moon.

### **Competition in armaments:**

There was a keen contest between these two countries in producing lethal weapons and also in manufacturing armaments, with their remote control like I.C.B.M.s and polaris missiles. Atomic bombs are also being designed with highly advanced technology.

### **Cuban crisis:**

Russia began to set up launching pads for its missiles in Cuba, an Island very close to United States. Since United States considered it as a potential danger to its security it objected to it. John F.Kennedy warned Kruschev to order for the withdrawal of Soviet missile carrying ships. Since both countries realised the magnitude of the problem, Kruschev gave up the idea and obliged. There by world was relieved of a very crucial moment in which another world war might have been triggered off.

### **Decline of cold war:**

Cuban crisis became a turning point in the history of cold war. Nuclear Test Ban Treaties, Hot line communication facilities, mutual visits of leaders of the world, De Gaulle's strenuous efforts for protecting the interests of France, Greece's exit from NATO due to Cypress crisis and all other factors have contributed to the decline of cold war.

Now, after the disintegration of U.S.S.R. into various independent nations, the possibility of such severe race for arms and competition in various fields leading to encounters between two power blocs have declined to a considerable extent.

## 39 . Foreign Policy of India Since Independence

(57) Give an account of the salient features of Indian Foreign policy.

Independent India was led by Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister, till his death in May 1964. He was the architect of India's foreign policy. The following were its basic principles (1) World peace (2) Non - Alignment movement (3) Emancipation of the slaves. (4) Abolition of racialism (5) Individual and National Liberty and its maintenance (6) Eradication of Poverty and Disease in the world.

### World Peace:

India's endeavours in the abolition of war and preservation of peace in the world is explicit from the following sources.

1. The Constitution of India clearly explains its avowed object of International peace and security
2. Its active role in the League of Nations and U.N.O. could prove its contribution to the world peace.
3. India earnestly endeavoured for the liberation of Indonesia from the paramountcy of Dutchmen. India supported the freedom movement led by Dr. Sukarno and argued for it in the U.N.O. It convened a U.N. conference at Delhi in 1949 in which 17 members participated.
4. When the Korean war broke out in 1950, Nehru condemned the naked aggression of North Korea over the South Korea. India insisted that Communist China should be admitted in the U.N.O. Indian troop was also stationed in the 38th parallel to supervise the process of ceasefire.
5. In the same way as per the Geneva pact, India took up the work of supervising the ceasefire in the Vietnam war along with other countries like Canada and Poland.
6. At the time of Suez crisis. India interceded with America and Russia and thereby prevented the crisis from becoming another global war in 1956.



7. When Congo won independence from Belgium, it got involved in a civil war in 1960. The Premier Lumumba appealed for U.N.O's assistance. India sent its Brigadier Rajeswar Dayal to lead the peace keeping force of U.N.O. to Congo. This force suppressed the civil war and preserved the integrity of Congo.
8. India extended its support to the liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique against the Portuguese.
9. In spite of China's aggression on India in Oct. 1962, it did not sever its diplomatic relations completely and further it fought for the admission of the same China in U.N.O.
10. Though U.N.O. is unable to solve the Kashmir issue India has left the 'Azad Kashmir' still unrecovered in the hands of Pakistan only with a view to maintain international peace. This alone can amply prove Indian love for world peace.

#### **Non - Alignment Movement:**

Jawaharlal Nehru enunciated this principle by keeping the two blocs of countries in mind which caused the outbreak of world wars. Nehru found the polarisation among the countries of the world into communist and capitalist bloc. Hence he decided not to ally with any group of countries. He wanted to bring all such countries which do not like to join any of the camps under a single banner. The first conference of the Non - Aligned countries took place in 1961 at Belgrade in Yugoslavia. Nasser of Egypt and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia cooperated for the success of this movement. So far seven conferences have been conducted. India became a venue of the conference in 1983. Now there are more than 100 countries of the world in this movement. The latest conference took place at Jakarta in Indonesia in 1992. The Non - Aligned countries are a challenge to the world powers and they function as a third bloc to be reckoned with.

#### **Emancipation of Slaves:**

India could never tolerate the imperialistic countries exploiting their colonies. Even before independence, Indian National

Congress organised an Asian conference at Delhi in 1947 in which it gave a warning to the Western colonial powers not to establish any more new colonies. Further India extends its hands to any country which strives for its freedom in any corner of the world and also fights for them in the world body U.N.O. One such incident is Bangla Desh's liberation from Pakistan in 1971.

#### **Abolition of Racial discrimination:**

It is quite natural that India which practices Democracy, Equality and Equal opportunity, opposes the racial discrimination. Gandhiji fought against such discrimination in Africa even while he was young. India stands in the front in her condemnation of 'Apartheid' of South Africa and in opposing the White minority regime in Rhodesia. India extends its support to the Negro agitations organised against the discrimination of white men in the United States.

#### **Preservation of Individual and National liberty:**

India never hesitated to offer its support to the liberation movements in the world. Similarly it had acted with firm determination in preserving the individual liberty also. Individual liberty and National liberty are considered to be equally important by India.

#### **Indo - U.S. relations:**

Both these countries had developed mutual good will and understanding even before India's independence. America liberally offered its economic aid to India which was in the grip of severe famine in 1950-51. U.S.A. helped India in the successful implementation of her first five year plan 1951-56. But India did not enter into any of the military pacts organised by U.S.A. namely NATO, SEATO, or CENTO.

India could not connive at the American armed interference in Vietnam and hence condemned it.

America had offered its help in finance and armaments to Pakistan whenever Indo - Pak wars were fought.

Yet when China encroached on the north eastern borders of India in 1962, America had fully supported the Indian stand.

During the Bangladesh war, Richard Nixon extended American's complete help to Pakistan. In addition to it, U.S.A. stopped all kinds of aids which she had been rendering to India till then.

But after the visit of Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State to India, the relations once again began to sprout out in 1974. It got further strengthened when Jimmy Carter was elected the President in 1976 and his visit to India in 1979 intensified the cordial relationship between the two countries.

When America established one of its strategic base in Diego Garcia an island in the Indian Ocean, India opposed it saying that it would be a danger to the Asian peace. U.S.A. rejected the request of India to declare the Indian Ocean as a "Nuclear free zone".

#### **Indo - Russian relationship:**

There was no diplomatic relationship with India during the tenure of Stalin. Khrushchev who succeeded him sowed the seeds of relationship. The Non - Aligned principle and Panch Sheela doctrine were readily welcome by Russia. During the Indo-Sino war, Russia openly supported India despite China was a communist country. During the Indo-Pak wars Russia had been uniformly supporting India. In the 1965 Indo - Pak war, India got the ultimate victory. Yet to bring about permanent solution, Kosygin the Russian Premier convened a conference of the leaders of the two nations in Tashkent. A Treaty was signed at Tashkent on 10th Jan, 1966 by Lal Bahadur Sastri and Marshal Ayub Khan of Pakistan.

#### **Indo - Russian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and cooperation:**

The flower of Indo - Russia blossomed on 9th Aug 1971 when a treaty was signed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Alexei Kosygin at Delhi. It was the Indo - Russian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and cooperation. 1971 was a golden period in the history of Indo - Soviet relations. This treaty was agreed for a period of 20 years and to be renewed after it. This treaty was a great boon to India because it was put to acid test immediately when Indo - Pak war broke out on Dec 3, 1971 on the issue of Bangladesh. Russia stood on the side of India and protected it. Russia routed out all the conspiracies of America to put an end to the war in the U.N.O.

### **Economic and Technological Assistance:**

Russia had been generously offering economic and technological assistance to India. It installed an iron and steel industry at Bhilai in 1955. It has helped to start more than 70 multifarious industrial concerns in India. Loans to the tune of more than 1022 crores of Rupees were given at the very minimum rate of interest. Russia had permitted its launching pads for the Indian satellites Aryabhata in 1975 and Baskara in 1981. The first Indian astronaut Rakesh Sharma was sent to the space in the Russian Rocket Soyuz.

### **Indo - Pak relations:**

Though India and Pakistan were born of the same country they are at loggerheads right from their inception. India stands as a secular democracy whereas Pakistan is a Muslim theocratic state. Their relationship is based on mutual suspicion, hatred and jealousy. The following are the bases for their conflict.

1. Pakistan claims Kashmir which has acceded to India.
2. India, a non-aligned country has condemned Pakistan which has joined in the military pact of SEATO.
3. The allocation of Sind river water and the construction of Farakka Dam are opposed by Pakistan.
4. When China encroached on the North Eastern borders of India, Pakistan supported China.
5. India was accused of interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan during the Bangladesh war.

### **Indo - Pak wars:**

When India won independence, efforts were taken to merge the native states with India. Lord Atlee, the Premier of England expressed the desire of His Majesty's Government that all the states would find their proper place in either of the Dominions i.e. India and Pakistan. Kashmir was a Muslim dominated state under a Hindu King Maharaja Hari Singh. Pakistan leaders wanted him to accede to Pakistan. They despatched irregular armies to grab the state by force. The Maharaja appealed for Indian help and signed the instrument of accession to India. The Indian armies were hurriedly despatched to save the state from aggression. The state was freed from the Pakistani danger, but cease-fire was

ordered when 1/3 of Kashmir was still in the enemy's hands. That portion was called "Azad Kashmir" and Pakistan had formed a puppet government there.

Pakistan decided to seize Kashmir, by any means. It launched its attack on Aug 1965. Pakistan's aggression was halted and Indian army also penetrated in some parts of Pakistan. The Battle of Tanks, fought at Kemkaran became a historic event because Pakistani Patton Tanks were destroyed in large numbers in a single day. Indian Air force possessing 'Knot' types had brought about much havoc in Pakistan. U' Thant the Secretary General interfered and brought about cease fire. However Kosygin arranged for an accord between India and Pakistan for a lasting and permanent solution at Tashkent on 10 Jan. 1966. Lal Bahadur and Ayub Khan signed the Accord.

### **Liberation of Bangladesh 1971:**

Bengali speaking East Pakistanis declared the birth of their new Nation Bangladesh under their leader Sheik Mujibur Rahman on 25 Mar 1971. The liberation troops called "Mukthi Vahini" and the Pakistan army had direct confrontations so many times. Since the results of such skirmishes were quite unfavourable, President Yahya Khan declared direct war upon India on 4th Dec. 1971, with a view to defend her boundaries and also to support the liberation of Bangladesh. India recognised Bangladesh as an independent nation and also retaliated the attacks of Pakistan on 6th Dec. 1971.

Hence a full scale war was fought between India and Pakistan. America sent 'Lander Prise' a ship carrying Atomic weapons to Bay of Bengal in order to support Pakistan. As per the Indo - Soviet Treaty of 1971, Russia too sent some of the warships to the Bay and repulsed the attempts of U.S. Pakistan finally surrendered on 16th Dec. 1971. Later to resolve all their problems India and Pakistan signed a treaty at Simla in June 1972. Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Z.A. Bhutto were the signatories to the Treaty.

Pakistan is instigating the extermists in India so as to bring about disintegration and now and then is causing many troubles to the peace and tranquility of Kashmir. This continued during the premiership of Mrs. Benazir Bhutto and also Nawaz Sherief.

### **Indo - Sino Relations:**

Peoples Republic of China was formed by the Chinese communists under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung in 1949. When all the other countries were reluctant to recognize it, India recognised it as a sovereign independent country in 1950. Further India insisted that Peoples China should be admitted in U.N.O. instead of Nationalist China under Chiang Kai Sheik in Formosa.

When the Chinese troops occupied Tibet in 1950, India was shocked to witness a naked aggression. Yet India concluded a treaty with China in 1954 and recognised Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

In 1954, Both India and China enunciated and accepted the popular principles called "Panch Sheel Principles". They were 1. Respecting the boundaries of other countries, 2. Non - aggression, 3. Non - interference in the internal affairs of other countries, 4. Equality and Mutual cooperation, 5. Peaceful co-existence.

A conference of Asia - African countries was held in 1955 at Bandung of Indonesia in which 29 countries participated. Jawaharlal Nehru highlighted the value of Panch Sheel Principles the conference.

Tibetans rose up in rebellion against the Chinese imperialism at Lhasa on 9th Mar, 1957. The Tibetan cabinet declared Tibet's independence. The revolt was easily suppressed. Dalai Lama, the Buddhist leader of Tibet entered into India seeking refuge. India offered political assylum to him. Provoked by this China started attacking territorial outposts on North Eastern border.

By Oct. 20th 1962, China launched an open aggression on India with its army of 30,000 troops. Major wars were fought in Ladakh of Kashmir and Nefa of Assam. China seized 41,441 sq. k.m. area from Indian territory. India met with several reverses. But China stopped the war unilaterally on 21 Nov. 1962 just because world opinion was against its naked aggression.

When Indo - Pak war was being fought in 1965, China wanted to fight against India in order to show its support to Pakistan. It gave a warning to India that the Indian border security out posts should be removed from Sino - Sikkim borders within three days.

Otherwise war would be declared on India. But before that, cease fire was agreed between India and Pakistan and hence China was disappointed.

China followed the same Anti - India policy even during the Bangladesh liberation war in 1971.

The External Affairs Minister of Janata Rule, Vajpayee visited China in 1979. It renewed the normal relationship between the two countries.

By 1981, the Chinese External affairs Minister, Huang Hua visited India. After 20 years of gap this event was a mile stone in the relationship between India and China.

#### **Estimate:**

It is evident that India is a land aspiring and endeavouring for world Peace. Yet India had to fight wars in 1959, 62, 65, 71 with Pakistan and China. These were thrust upon India. India fought such wars only to ascertain its security and to preserve its territorial integrity. India advocates disarmament and arms limitation policies to the world. India opposes atomic bombs. Yet it has successfully conducted Atomic experiments. It wants to utilise atom only for constructive purposes. Having faith upon the peaceful coexistence principle, India has not joined in any of the military pacts. It has organised the countries which do not want to become a member of the warring camps in the world and leads the movement of Non-Aligned countries. India had given prime importance to the welfare of the humanity, world peace and morality rather than to its own self welfare.

### **33. Foreign Policy of U.S.A. Since the Second World War**

(51) Estimate the foreign policy of U.S.A. after the Second World War.

After its civil war in 1861-65 U.S.A. rose to eminence and became a powerful Nation recognised both in the American continent and also in the whole world. It joined in the I World War against Germany in 1917 and brought it to an end; It convened the Washington conference in 1921 in order to determine the naval ratio between different Nations and earned the respects of the Nations. When Japan aggressed on Manchuria in 1931, U.S.A. could not do anything to prevent it.

But its conditions had changed after the second Global war. Even while the II World War was going on, it decided to found an institution which would establish and maintain international peace and relieve the people of the world from the scourge of war. It realised that European balance of power had been tampered with in the II World War. It also realised that the old powers like Britain and France could not come out successfully from their war torn economy and also that Russia had progressed to the path of power after the postwar reconstruction. U.S.A.'s foreign policy was just based upon the above realities.

#### **U.S. and Cold War:**

Two power blocs were created in the world after the II World War. One on the side of U.S.A. and the other on the side of Russia. Mounting tension prevailed perpetually between these two blocs. This was called by the term cold war. Cold War waves began to blow between these two blocs because of the following factors. The disappearance of the common enemy namely Germany, ideological conflict in capitalism versus communism, the policy of Iron curtain and Cominform formed by Russia. During this period of cold war U.S.A. pursued her foreign policy in the following way.



1. All the presidents and their secretaries of state irrespective of their party followed an anti - communist policy in their foreign affairs. They considered themselves to be the leaders of the free world and fought against communism as their divine right.
2. U.S. announced a policy of economic assistance to the war torn west European countries in 1947 so that such countries could be saved from falling as victims of communist traps of Russia. This was enunciated by its Secretary of State George Marshall and hence this policy was also called as Marshall Plan. U.S.A. spent 10,000 crores of dollars within two years in aiding such west European countries. But the Pro-Russian East European countries did not get such assistance.
3. President Truman promulgated a policy offering military assistance to any country which wanted to be saved from communist peril. Greece and Turkey which were on the verge of communist trap appealed for help and got it. This was called as Truman Doctrine. He also enunciated another policy in 1949 called "Point Four Programme" for offering technical assistance to the developing nations. This was also aimed at stemming the growing communist influence and to develop American influence in such countries.
4. The growing tension between Soviet Union and America manifested itself in Berlin in June 1948. When Russia stopped all rail and road communications between the Western Germany and Berlin hoping to freeze the western allies out of their half of Berlin. U.S.A. replied it with her famous Berlin Air-lift. She supplied the Germans of their part of Berlin, the food, coal and other raw materials they required through Air-lift. Thus Russian Berlin blockade was overcome and made Russia to admit her failure.

5. U.S.A. established an organisation based on military pact in 1949 April known as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation with a view to prevent Russia from attaining a domineering status in the world. As per this Treaty, if any member country is attacked, all the other countries would offer military help to the member in distress. It reduced the danger from Russia to a considerable extent. U.S.A., Britain, France, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Italy, Iceland, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway and Portugal were the members of NATO.
6. In the civil war that ensued after the Second World War. Mao Tse Tung got victory in China. In spite of large assistance offered by U.S.A. Chiang Kai Shek could not succeed and further he had to escape to Formosa.
7. Korea was bifurcated into North and South on the basis of 38th parallel. In 1950, North Korea invaded the South. Since the war continued and became intensified. U.S. President Truman recalled Mac Arthur. U.N.O. interfered and solved the Korean problem in 1952.
8. In order to save the countries of South East Asia from communist menace. U.S.A. formed an organisation called South East Asian Treaty (SEATO) in 1954.
9. Troubles from communist infiltration continued in Vietnam. Vietnam too was bifurcated into North and South on the basis of 17th Parallel. Since Russia aided the North and U.S.A. assisted the South, war continued unabated. America took the war as a personal challenge. She recruited her lakhs of youth for Vietnam war. Yet she could not subdue the Vietcongs, the communist guerrillas. It became evident that people inspired by the spirit of freedom could never be cowed down by any force. Hence America ordered for retreat in 1973, as per Paris Pact.
10. In order to strengthen her position against the Soviet Union in the middle east the American Government

concluded a military alliance of mutual defence between Turkey and Iraq on 24th Feb. 1955. This was known as Baghdad Pact or Cento.

#### **American role in other affairs:**

U.S.A. supported the cause of Pakistan against that of India in the Kashmir issue.

America's U2 reconnaissance plane was shot down by Russia. The plane was launched to survey secretly the Russia military bases and armaments. Khrushchev, the Russian Premier condemned this attitude of Americans and refused to attend the Paris conference meant for world leaders.

U.S.A. interfered in the Cuban problem also. Fidel Castro, a leftist communist became the President in 1959. He followed a Pro-Russia policy and permitted Soviet Union to set up her launching pad for missiles in Cuba. Viewing this very seriously. U.S. President John F. Kennedy urged with caution the withdrawal of vessels carrying the missiles. Khrushchev finally yielded and ordered for its withdrawal. Somehow, the world was saved from the destruction which would have been caused by atomic warfare if the Cuban problem was not solved.

During the tenure of President Nixon, U.S. Soviet relationship became cordial due to the good offices of Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State. His diplomatic efforts resulted in the tearing up of Iron curtain of Russia and Bamboo curtain of China. He visited Moscow and had talks with Kosygin, the Premier and Brezhnev the President of the Communist Party of Russia. His visit resulted in the conclusion of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. Further the intensity of cold war also was much reduced.

At present after the disintegration of U.S.S.R. America had been supporting Boris Eltsin, the President of Russia. George Bush the Republican President and his Democratic successor Bill Clinton supported him because he happened to have sounded the death knell of communism in Russia. As a result, the cold war has lost its poisonous tentacles.

## 37. Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia Since The Second World War

(55) Discuss the important features of Soviet Foreign Policy after World War II.

Stalin introduced certain drastic changes in the foreign policy of Soviet Russia after 1945. Though Russia allied and co-operated with the powers like Britain and U.S.A. during the war period with a view to defeat Hitler, Stalin decided to follow just a contrary policy after the war. Three essential features could be perceived in it.

1. Extension of Soviet influence on the Eastern Europe.
2. Severance of relations with Western powers.
3. Bifurcation of the world into two opposing camps; One under communist Russia and another under capitalist America.

**Russia and East European countries:** One of the remarkable repercussions of the II world war was the drastic development of communism and the astounding progress of Soviet Russia. While the Western countries were trying to introduce democracies in the countries captured from Germany, Soviet Union was busy with inciting the communists of East European countries like Poland, Albania, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia to capture power. All those countries were brought under the control of Russia. Russia also forbade those countries from having any economic, commercial and transport relationship with the western countries. Condemning this policy of Stalin, Winston Churchill called Russia an "Iron curtain country".

**Expulsion of Yugoslavia from Cominform:** Marshall Tito had established authority in Yugoslavia without Russian help and had always assumed a somewhat independent position. He was condemned in 1945 by Stalin on the ground that he was guilty of a variety of deviations from the true faith of Marxism-Leninism and expelled from the Cominform. All attempts to overthrow him failed. Tito asked for Anglo-American help in the economic and military fields and got the same. Tito earned fame as a leader of the Non-aligned

countries. Tito still continued the communist doctrines but it was more inclined towards the west than to Soviet Union.

**Yalta conference (1945):** The three top leaders of II world war period, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met at Yalta in the Crimean Peninsula in 1945 to discuss about the future course of action after defeating Nazist and Fascist forces. They decided to divide Germany into four regions and should be left under the control of countries like Britain, France, U.S.A. & U.S.S.R. But Berlin alone would left to the care of U.S.S.R. though ownership rights are given to all the four powers.

**Potsdam Treaty (1945 June):** After the down fall of Germany, Stalin, Truman and Attlee met at Postdam near Berlin in June 1945. According to the agreement, East Germany was entrusted to Russia and Berlin to all the four powers. There was a dispute about the future government in Germany. Western countries wanted to have a unified Germany whereas Russia wanted to keep East Germany separate and also under communism. When another conference to decide about it was organised at Moscow in 1947, enmity and hatred between Russia and other western powers began to grow.

**Berlin Blockade:** Berlin became another centre where growing tension between Soviet Union and Western countries manifested itself. The western countries wanted to unite western zone of Germany entrusted to their care on the basis of economy and also tried to form a federal government there. They introduced a new currency called Mark. Russia objected to this measure saying that it was contrary to the Potsdam treaty. Further Russia claimed Berlin as its exclusive right and closed all railway and road communications between the western zone and Berlin. By this action, Russia hoped either to freeze the western allies out of their half of Berlin or to compel them to give up their new policy for Western Germany. However neither of the two happened.

The western countries replied it with their famous Berlin airlift. They carried all the food, coal and other raw materials required for west Berlin through airlift from June 1948 to May 1949. The air-lift was stopped when the Russia lifted the blockade and admitted their failure.

**Partition of Germany:** When the proposal of unified Germany could not be fulfilled, the western powers united their parts of Germany and formed German Federal Democracy in 1949 with Bonn as its capital city. Russia too formed German Democratic Republic in the Eastern Germany with Berlin as its capital. This partition appeared to be permanent due to the cold war between U.S. and U.S.S.R. But with the decadence of communism in East European countries, both Germanys got united in 1992.

**Cominform:** U.S.A. announced Marshall plan in order to enable the war torn European countries to obtain economic recovery in June 1947. This was formulated by George, C. Marshall, the U.S. Secretary of State. It really aimed at checking the growing influence of communism. Russia objected to this plan saying that it would infringe the economic independence and sovereignty of European countries. She left no stone unturned to cripple the economic recovery of the west. She recognised the Cominform by joining all the countries under her control and thereby tried to repulse the Marshall plan of U.S.A.

**Expulsion of Russia from Iran:** In order to protect Iran from falling a prey to Nazi vultures, Anglo-Russian army captured Iran. In the Tehran conference held in Nov. 1943 both the countries offered guarantees towards Iran's Independence. British forces evacuated from Iran immediately after the world war. But U.S.S.R. instead of vacating from Iran, it tried to establish a communist regime in the state Azerbaijan. Iran appealed to U.N.O. for help. Russia got out of Iran in 1947 when the same was demanded by U.N.O.

**Russo-Chinese relations:** Russia founded the Chinese Communist Party and also helped its leader Mao Tse Tung to establish the communist rule in Peking on 1 October 1949. The first country to recognise Peoples Republic of China by Mao was the same Russia. Such was the spectacular help of Russia to China. Both the countries entered into a thirty years treaty of Friendship and Mutual help in 1950. But this relationship did not last long. Boundary disputes, ideological cleavages caused mutual distrust and enmity which ultimately made these countries to work on opposite directions.

**Korean Crisis:** After the fall of Japan, Korea was liberated in 1945. South Korea was put under the control of America and North Korea under Soviet Russia. In the North Korea a communist peoples Republic was established by Russia. In June 25, 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. The matter was put before the Security Council and the latter directed North Korea to withdraw her troops from South Korea. As North Korea refused to withdraw, the Security Council passed a resolution by which North Korea was branded as the aggressor and a recommendation to take action on the basis of collective security. The U.N. forces under Mac Arthur halted the offensive of North Korea. In July 1953, a truce agreement was signed and hostilities ended.

**Soviet - U.S. confrontations:** There were several occasions when both Russia and America had direct confrontations but none of them had escalated into a world war because both of them knew fully well about the grave consequences of it. Ideological conflict and differences of opinion on several international matters are the basic causes for such confrontations. America, and its capitalist bloc of countries had taken several measures to contain the growing communist influence. One such measure was Marshall Plan. The other one was NATO formed in Washington on 4th April 1949. Another military pact formed to save Turkey, Iran and Pakistan from the hands of Russia was Central East Nations Treaty Organisation. (CENTO) One more military pact concluded to save countries like Pakistan, Thailand, Phillipines and Australia from Russian communism was South East Asian Treaty organisation (SEATO).

**Warsaw Pact:** To oppose such military pacts concluded under the leadership of America, Russia formed a Warsaw Pact in May 1955 in which eight nations Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania and U.S.S.R. were signatories. They decided to set up a joint command of the armed forces of the states.

**Cuban crisis:** Fidel Castro, the President of Cuba was a diehard communist and accepted enormous help from U.S.S.R. for the development of his country. Russia decided to set up an atomic

base in Cuba. Since Cuba is geographically situated very close to U.S.A. President John F. Kennedy declared that such military base would be a menace to the security of U.S.A. He also warned Russia to stop the ships carrying the Atomic missiles bound for Cuba and also to remove such installations in the island. Since Khrushchev was a believer of peaceful coexistence ordered the Russian ships to withdraw after obtaining a promise that U.S.A. would not invade Cuba. Khrushchev's wise and diplomatic move had saved the world from the scourges of another world war.

**Vietnam War:** As per the Geneva Conference held in 1954. Vietnam was bifurcated into North and South Vietnam on the basis of 17th parallel. North Vietnam was entrusted to the care of Vietnam and a National Republic was established in South Vietnam. Dien Diem became the President of the South Vietnam Republic. He was opposed by the Vietcongs, the communists of South Vietnam. Hence there ensued a civil war. U.S.A. in its policy of the containment of communism interfered in South Vietnam political affairs and brought in enormous war weapons and large number of American soldiers. War continued from 1956 onwards.

To fight against South Vietnamese government troops and American forces, Russia offered unlimited assistance to its communist supporters namely Vietcongs who were experts in guerilla warfare. As a result of this America's efforts ended in fiasco, Lyndon B. Johnson, the President of U.S.A. stopped the war activities in March 1968 and started negotiations at Paris. But war continued while talks, were going on. Finally cease fire was agreed in 1973. Henry Kissinger, the U.S. Secretary of State took sincere efforts in this regard. America stepped out of Vietnam. Again in 1974 Vietcongs attacked South Vietnam and captured the capital city Saigon. Vietnam Republic was established in 1976.

**Russia in Africa:** Russia had been offering its support to the liberation of all colonies. When Belgium declared independence to Congo, civil war, started due to the instigation of foreigners. Russia intervened in the Congo problem and offered its support and assistance to Lumumba, the Premier. U.N.O. also sent its peace keeping forces and restored peace. When Angola and Mozambique rose up in rebellion against the imperialism of



Portugal, Russia extended its support to their liberation and as a result of it those countries established communist regimes in 1975.

**Russia and West Asian Countries:** When Israel emerged in 1948, Russia recognised it. Because Israel was born, the people of Palestine lost their country and became nomads. Palestine Liberation Organisation was formed just to obtain them their native land. Yasser Arafat is the leader of the P.L.O. nowadays. Russia had extended its full support to the Palestenians. Whereas America offers its help to Isreal, Russia had brought about a number of resolutions in favour of Palestinians and Arabs in U.N.O.

**Russo - Egyptian relations:** During the Suez crisis, Russia offered its support to Egypt. She offered technical and financial assistance for the construction of Aswan Dam and also installed a hydro electric project in it. After the demise of Nasser, there seemed to be a breach in the relations between the two countries. It was so because Nasser's successor Anwar Sadat had developed pro American foreign policy then a Pro-Russian policy.

**Russian interference in Afghanistan:** Afghanistan is situated on the borders of Russia. Plans and plots had been formed a century ago to swallow this country by Russia. But that became possible only in 1979 December. Russia despatched a huge army of 85,000 troops just to protect the pro-communist Babrak Karmal's Revolutionary Government in Afghanistan. Such interference hastened the circumstances of cold war between America and Russia.

**Russia with Poland:** Poland is a member of war pact countries. The Free Trade unions there were functioning under Lechwalesa who was an anti-communist. Russia demanded the Premier of Poland Jarugelsil to put the Trade union under control. Further Jarugelsil declared military dictatorship because the Trade unions activities were detrimental to the Government of Poland on 13th Dec. 1981. Russia approved such measure of the Premier. This happened while Brezhnev was the President of U.S.S.R. America accused Russia for having brought about a military dictatorship in Poland. As a result the fissure between America and Russia became wider.

**Russia and India:** The seeds of Indo-Soviet relations were sown by Jawaharlal Nehru. His clear and reasonable foreign policy had attracted Russia very much. Nehru visited Russia in 1955. Similarly Premier Bulganin, and secretary of Russian communist party also visited India. Because of this mutual understanding cordiality developed.

Under such circumstances, Russia took a clear stand in her foreign policy to support India during Indo-Chinese war in 1962. Normally a communist country should have supported another communist country, China. As such the support extended by Russia to India could never be forgotten by Indians. In the same way Russia supported India even in the Indo Pak war in 1965. At the end of the war Kosygin wanted to bring about a long lasting friendship between India and Pakistan for which he arranged for a peace talks at Tashkent on 4th Jan 1966. Lal Bahadur and Ayub Khan signed in a treaty. This was called as Tashkent Accord.

Russia concluded a Treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation with India in 1971 for a period of 20 years. It had been encouraging India in her policy of non-alignment. The technological and financial assistance offered to India especially in the construction of Bhilai and Bokaro would stand in green memory of the people of India.

**Estimate:** Of late, the foreign policy of Russia became highly amenable especially during Gorbachov. The cold war between America had almost disappeared because Russia had begun to understand the world problems in proper perspective with a view to international peace and unity. But the disintegration of U.S.S.R. recently has left America alone as a world power.

**Q. 55.** How has the Zionist problem influenced the course of international politics in the Middle East.

*or*

**Q. 56.** Give a brief history of Palestine from 1936 onwards.

*or*

**Q. 57.** Give a brief account of the progress of Arab nationalism since the close of the First World War and discuss its effects with special reference to Palestine.

The age-long dream of a national home took its first concrete form in 1897 when a continental Jew Theodore Herzl organized the Zionist Movement. It was a colonizing movement and made a special appeal to the poor among the Jews who formed the majority. When immigration began to flow into Palestine, it at once roused the antagonism of the Arabs who were the principal occupants of the land. Their opposition, to start with, was primarily economical. They feared that with their higher degree of education and general knowledge, greater industry, and the infinite resources of World Jewry, the Zionists would swamp the Arabs and eventually displace them.

**Balfour Declaration.** World War I furnished a further opportunity for the advance of the Zionist Movement. Great Britain which, along with Allied and Associated Powers, was fighting Turkey did its best in rousing Arabs and Jews, against their Turkish overlords. Eminent Jews such as Lord Rothschild and Dr. Chaim Weizmann made a notable contribution to the British victory. They also appealed to the Christian conscience of Britain and to the principle of the self-determination of nations which was much in vogue those days. The outcome of it all was the famous Balfour Declaration of November 1917 which said :

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country."

The Arabs, who were at this time the allies of Britain in fighting Turks, greatly resented the Declaration. Britain promptly made several promises to the Arabs, both orally and in writing, that nothing would be done to whittle down the economic and political independence of the Arab population. It was also said that if Palestine were to become Jewish politically as well as racially, it could only be done with the consent of the Arabs. The Zionists interpreted the Declaration to mean a definite British promise to help the Jews to found a national home of their own in Palestine. The Arabs naturally interpreted it differently; and both parties to the dispute could quote chapter and verse in support of their respective interpretations.

When the War was over, contrary to Arab expectation that a large

independent Arab State would be formed in Western Asia under British patronage, Britain came out in favour of the Mandatory system for the distribution of some of the Areas in this region, including Palestine, among some of the victorious allies. The British mandate in Palestine started in 1920 and was recognized by the U.S.A. in a special treaty with Britain. Dr. Weizmann, the Zionist leader, who had opened negotiations with Emir Feisal of Iraq, as early as 1918 was doing his best to induce the Arab leaders to concede Palestine to the Jews. He even claimed that Feisal had promised Palestine to the Jews once the rest of Arab-Asia became free. Later on, however, the Emir denied having come to such an agreement with the Zionists.

In 1922, Mr. Churchill declared that the Balfour Declaration did not mean "the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take.....an interest and pride."

**British Mandate in Palestine.** Britain's mandate in Palestine was not a signal success. Having made contrary commitments to the Jews and Arabs, Britain was in a delicate position. The Arabs were determined to leave no more Jewish immigration into Palestine, and the Zionists were equally determined to bring more and more immigrants into the country and buy up land from the poor unenterprising Arabs. The Arabs at times had recourse to non-co-operation. Because of such non-co-operation the British could not set up an elective council and the British High Commissioner governed practically as an "all powerful Sultan." To all intents and purposes Palestine became a colony of Britain. Strong criticism of Britain's policy was voiced by the innocuous League of Nations. Riots and strikes marked the British administration of Palestine.

Britain appointed a series of commissions. In all seven commissions were appointed in a space of twenty-six years. The Peel Commission (1937) pronounced the mandate a failure. It recommended the partition of Palestine into three areas—(1) a large area under Arab control, (2) a small area along the coast under Jewish control, (3) finally Jerusalem under direct British control. But this scheme was not acceptable to either party. Arabs indulged in terrorist activities and Jews equally retaliated.

**Palestinian Problems.** Professor Richard W. Van Alstyne in his 'Current History' observes:

"Between 1917 and 1942 the Jewish population of Palestine rose more than ten-fold. Once land passed to the Jew, no Arab could buy it back. The Jewish Agency, which arranged for the selection of colonizers and the settling of them on land, did a splendid piece of work."

"The Jews in Palestine have accomplished a unique feat in the history of civilization," writes the same authority, "it is probably the best instance of a successful planned society." Tel Aviv soon became a first class Jewish town, in sharp contrast to the Arab town of Jaffa. Towns

were built and industries established. The Hebrew language was resurrected and made to build up a Jewish culture out of the best that European Jewry could offer. As early as 1925 a Hebrew university was established and opened by no less a person than Lord Balfour himself.

But these changes did not in the least ease the Arab-Jewish conflict. The Jews were determined to utilize the foothold they had gained under the mandate into an opportunity for transforming the whole of Palestine into a Jewish State. The Arabs on the other hand were equally determined to throw out the Jews.

Then came World War II and the Jews fully co-operated with the Allies and the Arabs showed more or less neutral attitude. At the end of the War, realizing that she was no longer as strong as before, Britain announced her intention to get out of Palestine and throw the matter into the lap of the United Nations. The American Jews put considerable pressure on the U.S. Government to let the Jews go forward with their nation-building activities in Palestine. President Truman did his best to help the Jews. Mr. Ernest Bevin, Labour Foreign Secretary, openly criticised U.S.A. of having wrecked the British policy in Palestine. The Palestine problem was brought by the U.K. in the first General Assembly. The Jews and the Arabs were invited to explain their case. The outcome of the deliberations was the appointment of a U.N. Committee to visit Palestine and other areas involved. The Committee visited Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Trans-Jordan. The majority report favoured the formation of a Jewish State and an Arab State with Jerusalem under a special international regime. The three were to be linked together into one economic union. The General Assembly of the United Nations voted in favour of the majority plan.

Britain now announced her intention to terminate her mandate over Palestine on May 15, 1948, although she had been given time up to 1st August according to the General Assembly plan. Both Jews and Arabs went forward with their plans. Arabs opposed partition in any form. They wanted Palestine to be declared a unitary sovereign state with an Arab majority and a Jewish minority.

Partition being unacceptable to both parties, the Arabs resorted to direct action in order to prevent its consummation. Extremists among Jews continued irresponsible acts of violence. The United States proposed in March 1948 that Palestine be placed temporarily under the Trusteeship Council. The Assembly met on April 16 and decided to appoint a United Nations Mediator who was to use his good offices in working out a peaceful adjustment of the situation in Palestine. Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden was appointed to fulfil this task.

**Creation of Israel.** Soon after the U.K. terminated its mandate, the Jewish Agency declared the new State of Israel on May 14, 1948. As the Arab States thought of fighting the Jews, President Truman hastened to recognize the provisional government as the de facto authority of the new State.

Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan and Egypt jointly attacked Israel. The Security Council called upon the parties to cease hostilities. A cease fire agreement was reached on June 4, 1948, but actually fighting did not stop.

**Bernadotte proposals.** Bernadotte went to Palestine and asked the U.N. to appoint truce observers which was soon done. He strived hard to arrive at an acceptable solution; but before he could give that solution to the U.N. he was murdered by 'Jewish irregulars.' His recommendations were published after his death. They were:

- (1) Negeb was to be defined as Arab territory.
- (2) Galilee was to be defined as Jewish territory.
- (3) The Arab territory of Palestine was to be merged with the territory of Trans-Jordan.
- (4) The port of Haifa was to be declared a free port.
- (5) As also the airport of Lydda.
- (6) Jerusalem was to be treated separately and be placed under effective international control.
- (7) The right of unimpeded access of Jerusalem by road, rail or air was to be fully respected by all parties.
- (8) The political, economic, social, and religious rights of Arabs in the Jewish territory of Palestine and of all Jews in the Arab territory of Palestine were to be guaranteed.
- (9) A Palestinian Commission was to be appointed.

The U.N. now appointed Dr. Ralph Bunche, an American Negro, to succeed Bernadotte. Largely as a result of the tact and patience of Dr. Bunche, armistice agreements were signed between Israel on the one side and Egypt, Lebanon and Trans-Jordan on the other. In 1949 Israel became a member of the United Nations.

**Egyptian-Israeli clash (1956).** The last 20 years, ever since Israel came into being, have been years of uneasy peace for her. Egypt and other Arab States are still hostile to her. In November, 1956 once again Israel clashed with Egypt and gave a show of her strength. Egyptian army was defeated though Britain played a more dominant part in this struggle. The Arabs under Nasser want to crush Israel once and for all. After the 1956 clash an armed force of the U.N. is lying in the Gaza strip to prevent any armed hostilities between Egypt and Israel. However the Israeli Government and people are going on with their progress.

Israel felt disturbed at the Union of Egypt and Syria (1957) as a United Arab Republic, thus formed could pose a serious threat to her security. Egypt also tried to force a pro-Nasser government in Jordan. In Iraq, Abdul Karem Kassim came to power and withdrew from the Baghdad Pact. In 1956, Israel received equipment from the United States to start a nuclear reactor. Rumours are in vogue that she would soon manufacture an atom bomb. Israel surprised the Arab world by launching her first weather rocket in July 5, 1961.

After 1960, Israel tried to establish friendly relations with the newly independent States of Africa. By 1964, she had entered into friendship and trade agreements with atleast 35 Afro-Asian States and 1000 Israeli experts were helping them in technical fields. Students came from many countries to study in Israeli Universities.

Egypt counteracted and at the Casablanca Conference of January 1961, leaders of Libya, Algeria, Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Morocco and U.A.R. described Israel as an instrument of imperialism. Israel was excluded from the big Afro-Asian Conferences.

Israel has not been allowed the use of Suez Canal. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold attempted a workable compromise, but he failed due to Nasser's arrogance.

**June 1967 War.** The Arab-Israeli relations have never improved since 1956. The Egyptian Government did not allow the use of the Suez Canal to the Israeli ships. In 1956, Britain and France withdrew their armies from the area of the Suez when United Nations Emergency Force has been posted in the Gaza area to prevent further confrontation between Egypt and Israel. But in 1967, Nasser asked U.N. armies to leave and U. Thant decided rather hastily to order it. At the same time Egypt closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping. Massive military preparations were made by Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq to revenge the defeat of 1956. Fearing attack Israel struck on the air fields of these Arab States on June 1, 1967, and completely crippled Arab air power. Within seven days the entire area east of Suez Canal came under Israeli hands. Israel occupied Jerusalem and reached the Jordan river. Syria too suffered heavy losses. The Security Council asked the parties to cease-fire and return to June 1, 1967 positions, the latter being rejected by Israel. U.N. General Assembly too appealed the parties to restore pre-war territorial positions. But Israel is not ready to withdraw unless specific guarantees are given regarding her inviolability. U.N. appointed Mr. Gunnar Jarring as her special envoy to arrange a negotiated settlement. Jarring has failed to bring the two parties nearer.

The main contention of the defeated Arab States is that Israel should not be allowed to enjoy the fruits of war. It should vacate the areas occupied in the June War. Israel, on the other hand, wants a permanent peace settlement. For which she has suggested face to face talks with the Arabs. Arabs were not ready to face Israel on a conference table.

**1973 War.** Full-fledged war broke out again in the Middle East in October 1973 with Arab forces engaged in battle with Israel on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. On October 22, the Security Council called for a ceasefire and called on the parties to carry out resolution 242 (1967).

On 21 December, 1973, the Peace conference on the Middle East was convened in Geneva under the Co-Chairmanship of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Egypt and Israel agreed to the disengagement of their forces on

January 18, 1974 and on May 31, 1974 Israel and Syria agreed for the same.

In November the General Assembly asserted the inalienable rights of Palestinian people in Palestine to unhindered self-determination, national independence and sovereignty.

**Results.** The Arab countries reacted sharply and used oil as a weapon for the first time in war. They decided to prohibit the supply of oil to those states who supported Israel.

As a result the economy of all industrial states was left to the mercy of the Arabs. They also increased oil prices and cut oil production.

The United States felt the seriousness of the situation and the shuttle diplomacy of U.S. Secretary of State Kessinger started. He held several round of talks with Egypt, Israel, Syria. United States felt that Israel must vacate the gains of 1967 war and at the same must be assured secure borders.

**U.S. Efforts.** Efforts of President Carter and Secretary of State Vance led to meeting between the Israeli P.M. Begin and Egyptian President Sadaat at Tel Aviv and Cairo in 1977 and early 1978. Finally in September 1978 Begin and Sadaat met at Camp David in the U.S. and signed an agreement on September 17, 1978.

#### **Camp David Agreement—Main Proposals.**

1. The agreement states that the "parties are determined to reach a just, comprehensive and durable settlement of the Middle-East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

2. **West Bank and Gaza**—Egypt, Israel, Jordan and representatives of Palestinian people should negotiate on the resolution of the Palestinian issue. For this:—

(a) There should be transectional agreements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding 5 years.

(b) Israeli military and Curbian administration shall be withdrawn as soon as self-governing authority has been freely elected by the people of these areas.

(c) Egypt, Israel and Jordan will agree on the modalities for establishing the elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza.

(d) When the self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza is established, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of West Bank and Gaza.

(e) All necessary measures will be taken to ensure to the security of Israel and its neighbours during the transitional period and beyond.

3. **Egypt and Israel**—Both undertake not to resort to the threat or use of force to settle disputes. Any disputes shall be settled by peaceful means in accordance with Article 33 of the U.N. Charter.



Both will establish normal relations and this will include (a) full recognition (b) abolishing economic boycotts (c) protection to each other's nationals. Both shall negotiate a peace treaty in 3 months.

**Results.** The Camp David Agreement was a daring step towards peace. Although it was condemned by PLO, Syria, Iraq and the Russians Sadaat saw in it a step towards peace and progress. Subsequent talks between Egypt and Israel had led to vacation of large parts of Sinai by Israel. The Arabs have tried to pressurize Egypt. At the nonaligned meeting in Havana, she was virtually to be expelled.

But the agreement is only a step towards peace and much has still to be done to find a lasting solution of the Arab—Israeli dispute.

**Q. 58. Give a brief history of Anglo-Egyptian relations since 1922.**

The Anglo-Egyptian relations after the First War are of considerable importance. After the armistice the Egyptians were amazed to find that they have not been invited to present their case before the Paris Conference. The Leader of the Nationalist Party Zaghlul Pasha resolutely put himself at the head of a delegation which prepared to embark for Paris to present Egypt's case for independence. The British arrested the delegation and shipped it to Malta. This act precipitated an insurrection (1919). The rioting was so severe that an army under General Allenby was required to restore order. Eventually the imprisoned delegates were released and a mission of investigation under Lord Milner was dispatched to Egypt. Milner Mission recommended that Egypt be given independence with a number of restrictions. When the proposals were incorporated in a treaty and offered to Egypt in 1921, the Nationalists rejected them.

**Egypt declared independent (1922).** Rioting broke out again. Zaghlul was rearrested and sent to Gibraltar and Allenby once more utilized his troops. On February 28, 1922, Britain unilaterally declared its proposals. Egypt was proclaimed "an independent sovereign state." The following points were however "absolutely reserved to the discretion of His Majesty's Government": the defence of Suez, the defence of Egypt against foreign aggression, the protection of foreigners and their interests in Egypt, and the control of the Sudan. A constitution was promulgated for the new kingdom in 1923 and parliamentary elections were held. The Nationalists were overwhelmingly polled and Zaghlul became Premier (January 1924).

**British C-in-C killed.** Another crisis occurred in November 1924, when Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan and Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army, was murdered in Cairo. Zaghlul expressed horror at this crime and promised to give severe penalties to the assassins. The British, however, issued a severe ultimatum. They demanded an official apology, the punishment of the criminals, the suppression of political demonstrations, an indemnity and the immediate withdrawal of all Egyptian soldiers from the Sudan. They further