

DOMESTIC POLICY IN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA UNDER MAO ZEDONG (MAO TSE TUNG)

Unit Structure :

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Domestic Policy in the People's Republic of China under Mao Tse Tung
- 1.3 Summary
- 1.4 Questions
- 1.5 References

1.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1. To introduce students to the study of the progress People's Republic of China and the leadership of Mao Tse Tung
- 2. To explain the significant economic progress, particularly in agriculture and industry
- 3. To highlight the key points of movements such as the Great Leap Forward
- 4. To give detailed information about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its consequences.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This paper is titled History of Asia, and in the first module, we'll look at how China changed over time. The major historical occurrences that impacted humanity in modern China have to be studied. These incidents have had an impact on how modern politics, society, the economy, religion, and culture have developed. Communists had a clear agenda for China's development after the Civil War, and they had planned for their rule to recommence.

1.2 DOMESTIC POLICY IN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA UNDER MAO TSE TUNG

A) Socialist Experiment

Following the Communists' victory over the Nationalists during the Civil War, they declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

Initially, the People's Republic had the appearance of a coalition government under the management of the majority of the people's Communist Party. China was ruled by so-called Natural Laws until the adoption of a regular Constitution in September 1954. In September 1954, a charter become followed by means of which the Communist authorities turned into formalized.

b) Socialist Experiment Agriculture:

Following the Communists' victory over the Nationalists during the Civil War, they declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Initially, the People's Republic had the appearance of a coalition government under the management of the majority of the people's Communist Party. China was ruled by so-called Natural Laws until the adoption of a regular Constitution in September 1954. Furthermore, despite the fact that China had a land area slightly larger than America, only about 15% of it was cultivated. Because few people lived in cities, there was an extremely high density of population in properly agricultural areas. Because peasants were living on a subsistence level, there was little savings and little money available for industrial investment. This scenario could be accelerated by the use of new farming practises, new technology, and mechanisation, or by accelerated organisation. The CCP decided to pursue the closing alternative in order to bring about economic transformation in China.

Agrarian Law of 1950: Following the restoration of agricultural production in 1949, the CCP implemented a nationwide land redistribution policy. This policy had already been implemented in some Communist-controlled areas prior to 1949. The land redistribution programme was expanded to cover the entire country with the passage of the Agrarian Reform Law in June 1950. The landlords' land, animals, tools, and other property, as well as the rich peasants', were confiscated.

a. Elimination of the Landlords: Though the land redistribution programme was intended to increase agricultural productivity, its primary goal became political, breaking the power of the owner magnificence. A large number of landlords who refused to surrender their land voluntarily were killed. This had a negative impact on the land's productivity. The CCP devised programmes to increase farm productivity and facilitate centralised decision-making, which ultimately resulted in land collectivisation.

b. Mutual-Aid Teams: The CCP introduced mutual-aid teams as a first step toward land collectivisation. These were based on the traditional Chinese practise of pooling resources, including animals and equipment, during the busy seasons of sowing and harvesting. Mutual-resource groups were typically formed by three to five households. They have gradually evolved into permanent mutually beneficial resource groups of six to ten households. However, peasants retained private ownership of their land, animals, and implements.

- c. Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives (APCs):** The formation of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives was the next step toward collectivisation (APCs). Each APC contained approximately 40 households. Collective control was established over land use, labour, and animals. Despite this, the peasants retained, at least in theory, possession of their land and were prepared to leave the cooperative if necessary. As a result, the APCs were best described as semi-socialists in worker. The earnings of peasants were determined by the inputs of labour.

The formation of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives was the next step toward collectivisation (APCs). Each APC contained approximately 40 households. Collective control was established over land use, labour, and animals. Despite this, the peasants retained, at least in theory, possession of their land and were prepared to leave the cooperative if necessary. As a result, the APCs were best described as semi-socialists in worker. The earnings of peasants were determined by the inputs of labour.

- d. Establishment of the Communes:** The CCP attempted to revolutionise the social and economic structure in 1958 by establishing communes. These communes were designed to function as basic units of Chinese society. Around 24,000 communes had been established in China by the end of the year. These communes protected approximately 500 million peasants. Each commune housed between 1,000 and 10,000 families. These communes were formed by combining small cooperative farms. Each commune formed an administrative unit, which aided in reducing some of the vital government's obligations. The establishment of communes was expected to boost agricultural production and accelerate China's transformation into a clearly Communist country.

However, the strict regimentation of life within communes and the unexpected destruction of all forms of individualism clearly sparked opposition and friction in the country. Some private asset rights were collectively restored with other incentives in December 1958. The peasants were also given twelve hours of leisure for eating and sleeping. Peasants' small private plots were restored to them in April 1959. The communes had gradually decentralised to the level of former APCs.

Socialist Experiment in Industry

- a. Challenges to transform urban economy:** Although Chinese Communism was born in the cities, it had been primarily a rural movement since 1927. In 1949, the Communist Party marched into Peking, Shanghai, Wuchang, and Canton and found itself in strange surroundings. To run the urban economy, then grow and expand it, CCP leaders needed to employ not only employees, but also people with important skills such as technicians, managers, and directors, as well as acquire some of those skills themselves.

b. Economic stability: China was more fortunate to have an abundance of natural resources, particularly coal and water. Oil and iron-ore reserves were moderately adequate. China's herbal assets have been sufficient to sustain the modern industrial financial system. However, for the exploitation and development of these assets, significant capital and system funding became required, which China lacked at the time. Under these circumstances, Communist planners decided to use the first period of peace to restore business and agricultural manufacturing to pre-conflict levels. They also aimed to achieve some economic stability by limiting inflation and rebuilding the delivery network. Following that, the CCP decided to adopt the vast outline of financial development on the model of Soviet Russia. That is, agricultural collectivization, industrialization, and the abolition of private enterprise.

The CCP needed to prevent the breakdown of city society immediately after the People's Republic of China's status quo. It had to keep its offerings and production going. In the long run, it became determined to greatly expand and improve the commercial quarter in order to make China a modern country.

c. State Enterprise: As the Communists moved into the cities, they took over businesses owned by previous Nationalist authorities as well as those owned by 'bureaucratic capitalists' (individuals who held essential positions within the Kuomintang, or have been intently related to it). By the mid-1950s, these corporations, along with new ones established by the government after 1949, constituted a large state region in terms of production and commerce.

d. Policy of 'Use, Restrict and Transform': Article 10 of the state charter discussed the kingdom's policy toward capitalist industry and commerce. The policy was changed to "use, restrict, and transform." The period of 'use' lasted from 1949 to 1951. The restriction was in effect from 1952 to 1953. During this time, the government restricted private organisations in terms of manufacturing, sales, and earnings. Restriction was also made easier by the party-led 'Five-Anti' campaign of 1952. This campaign aimed at bribery, tax evasion, robbery of state assets and state economic secrets, and fraud on government contracts. These measures had been used to limit capitalists' overall autonomy. This marketing campaign put nearly every agency at risk. The campaign penalised many people for flawlessly regular business practices.

At public trials, industrialists, traders, and businessmen were tried to accuse. Many people had committed suicide or had already done so. The fortunate ones escaped with high marks or a stint in a rehabilitative labour camp. In the end, the 'Five-Anti' marketing campaign was successful in reducing capitalists' monetary and political strength.

- e. **The length of 'transformation' lasted from 1954 to 1957.** This time period was broken down into ranges. Initially, the emphasis was on the gradual transformation of private organisations into joint state non-public corporations. The enterprise's owners and buyers have received 5% annual interest payments on their investment. This programme was accelerated in the latter half of 1955 and early 1956 as a result of the second level of development known as 'joint operation via complete trading activities'. As a result of 1956's assistance, not only agriculture, but also industry, were given full command.
- f. **First Five Year Plan (1953-57):** The First Five Year Plan, which began in 1953 and ended in 1957, was not made public until mid-1955. The Chinese adhered to annual plans for the first and a half years. According to Mao Tse Tung's estimates, China needed three Five Year Plans to transform into a socialist society, and forty or fifty years to build an effective country with a high degree of socialist industrialisation.
- g. **Development of Heavy Industry:** In the mid-1950s, Chinese economic policy was entirely based on the Soviet model of economic development. The primary goal changed into to broaden heavy enterprise, which included steel, machinery, and so on. As soon as possible. The large commercial base investment became a return on the rural surplus provided by collectivisation. Russian technicians assisted in the design and construction of large plants in a variety of locations. During the First Five Year Plan period, China made significant progress in heavy industrial development, particularly in iron and steel manufacturing, as well as alternative fuels, raw materials, electric powered electricity, and machine device manufacturing. For the first time China synthetic cars, trucks, jet aircrafts and ships. During the First Five Year Plan length the common annual rate of growth of business manufacturing become among 14 to 19 in step with cent. New roads had been built and railroads have been laid out, which had navy, political and financial cost.
- h. **Slow Growth of Agriculture:** China's economic policy was entirely based on the Soviet model of economic development in the mid-1950s. The primary goal was to broaden heavy enterprise, such as steel and machinery. As soon as possible, please. The substantial commercial base investment served as a return on the rural surplus generated by collectivisation. Russian engineers helped design and build large plants in a variety of locations. China made significant progress in heavy industrial development during the First Five Year Plan period, particularly in iron and steel manufacturing, as well as non-petroleum fuels, raw materials, electric powered electricity, and machine device production.
- i. **'Let Hundred Flowers Bloom':** Mao Tse Tung became confident in the sympathy of the people and the Communist party after the muse of the Communist state was firmly laid. This encouraged him to allow

some freedom of expression. Mao Tse Tung used the slogan 'Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend' in a speech on May 2, 1956.

Khrushchev's 'de-Stalinisation' speech in February 1956, as well as the Hungarian Uprising in October 1956, most likely triggered the CCP's insistence on greater freedom of thought and criticism. Mao Tse Tung added his speech 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Most of the People' on February 27, 1957. He advocated for the 'Hundred Flowers' motion in this speech. A decision by the Central Committee encouraged rectification of the celebration. Non-birthday celebration personnel have been encouraged to take part in criticising birthday celebration cadres and repairing the party's flaws.

However, the perceived grievance grew stronger than anticipated. Intellectuals and college students used this opportunity to criticise the Communist system, which became a hobby. They used Western democratic language to criticise the CCP's monopoly on power as well as the arrogant attitude of the birthday celebration contributors. Censorship was reinstated, and freedom of expression was restricted once more. A growing number of intellectuals are being sent to the countryside to work as guides.

Great Leap Forward

- a. Problems Faced by means of the Government:** Although industry, particularly heavy industry, expanded rapidly at one point during the First Five Year Plan, agriculture lagged far behind. Through 1957, attempts to increase output while also changing the entire land tenure machine through collectivisation resulted in only a widening of the gap between agricultural output and demand. This problem was exacerbated by declining Soviet aid and a loss of momentum in industrial growth.
- b. Programme:** In these circumstances, Mao Tse Tung announced the 'Great Leap Forward' plan for expanded economic growth at a National People's Congress meeting in February 1958. This programme reemphasized the significance of rural areas and guide paintings. Higher production goals were established for a variety of industries. The Communist regime declared its intention to outperform England's commercial output in fifteen years. To achieve this goal, agricultural productivity must be increased through large-scale irrigation projects and extensive cultivation. Individuals were required to work harder than ever before at their regular jobs, as well as to expect more effective responsibilities. Hundreds of thousands of peasants who spent their days farming have been forced to work in factories during the night. To improve management, wholesale mergers of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives (APCs) into larger entities have occurred. By the end of 1958, the Communist government claimed a hundred percent increase in agricultural manufacturing. Iron and metal output was said to have doubled.

- c. **Consequences:** The Great Leap Forward financial boom turned into a nightmare. Despite all of the legitimate boasts, the device's flaws were quickly revealed. The quality of the peasant's paintings began to suffer as a result of a lack of sleep and rest. Exhaustion and poor meals served in network mess halls, withdrawal of personal plots, and downgrading of circle of relatives' lifestyles all lowered peasant morale. They worked slowly and slaughtered farm animals. These factors reduced farm productivity.
 - d. **Concessions:** To deal with the problems caused by the Great Leap Forward, the Communist regime had no choice but to make certain concessions to the people. The authorities reversed a number of the program's harsh measures. Life in the commune became easier. Some non-public property rights of the peasants had been restored, and they had been given private plots to use as they pleased.
 - e. **'Walking with Two Legs' Policy:** As early as 1958, China observed the Soviet Union's version of financial development by focusing on heavy industry. The emphasis on heavy enterprise and cutting-edge era was maintained in the Second Five Year Plan (1958-1962), which was superseded by the Great Leap Forward. It did, however, deliver a policy of growing small-scale native industry, the use of indigenous techniques, and labor-intensive techniques. This programme became known as the "on foot with two legs" policy.
1. **End of the Great Leap Forward Programme:** Following the poor harvest of 1960, Communist authorities reduced investment in heavy industry in January 1961. Recognizing agricultural output deficiencies, Communist leaders delayed the Great Leap Forward programme. A new policy of started operating on the rural zone was developed. The Tenth Central Committee Congress, held in September 1962, stressed "agriculture as the groundwork of the national financial system." In this way, the Chinese maintained their departure from the Soviet Union's version of economic development, which had begun in 1958.

2. Social Reforms

By 1970, the Communist government had brought about positive fundamental changes in the social sphere, particularly in the family. In pre-Communist China, the circle of relatives became the most basic social unit. The eldest male member of the family held authority in the home. Individuals thus owed their loyalty to their families rather than the state. The women in the family were subservient to the men. Women were also not free to choose their life companions.

The rules of the Chinese traditional family shape began to erode in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This resulted from the beginning of industrialisation and the introduction of Western standards of private freedom and individual rights. This deterioration was accelerated by the overall collapse of authority that occurred following the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, as well as the decline of the republic due to civil conflict. The Nationalist authorities attempted to reform the social

structure. However, Westernisation was typically restricted to the wealthier instructions in urban areas.

After gaining political power, the CCP aimed to destroy the feudal form of traditional family structure while retaining the own family as a basic social unit. Girls had equal rights with men in the newly dependent circle of relatives. Many of the girls' traditional features have been adopted with the help of the kingdom. This freed them up for productive labour on farms and in industry. They had been granted marriage freedom, broadening the horizon of individual liberty. As a result, it became believed that people owed their loyalty not to their family, but to the collective and the country.

Women gained full equality with men in marriage, divorce, and possession of property under the Marriage Law of 1950. Keeping concubines, toddler marriage, and bride payment had all been prohibited. For both men and women, the minimum age for marriage was twenty and eighteen years, respectively. The couple registering with the local authorities made the marriage ceremony a simple affair. The enforcement of the Marriage Law was one of the primary responsibilities of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, whose Vice-Chairman was Teng Ying Chao, Chou En-lai's wife. The federation's main challenge was to ensure that the law was implemented in China's poorer regions.

3. Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

- a. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1969)** It was a political campaign launched in 1966 by Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse Tung to eliminate his political rivals and revolutionise Chinese society. Thousands died and millions were imprisoned or exiled as a result of the ensuing social chaos and political persecution.
- b. Interpretation of the Cultural Revolution:** There was no episode in Mao Tse Tung's long career that was more difficult to comprehend or more contentious than the Cultural Revolution. When it began in 1966, the Cultural Revolution was a situation that could be interpreted in a variety of ways. It became visible as an energy conflict between Mao Tse Tung and Liu Shao Chi, the president of the People's Republic of China.
- c. Justification of the Cultural Revolution by Mao Tse Tung:** Mao Tse Tung himself justified the Cultural Revolution. He believes that the revolution should be on multiple levels. The first level was political, in which the 'bourgeoisie' state was overthrown and the Communist birthday celebration, champion of the masses, involved electricity. Then comes the economic revolution, in which the capitalist financial system and the 'feudal' land gadget are first altered, and then replaced with the aid of new socialist forms of economic system and land tenure. This became completed in the years following the army victory, and culminated in the Commune system and, in fact, the total nationalisation of enterprise and trade. There was still one more degree,

according to Mao. The authorities have changed, and the economy has changed, but the Chinese themselves, their minds, tastes, outlook on life, and private hopes and ambitions have largely remained unchanged. Thus, the final step became a cultural revolution, in which these characteristics were to be remodelled, resulting in genuine socialists.

- d. **Background of the Cultural Revolution:** After the failure of the Great Leap Forward in 1960, Mao Tse Tung saw his power and influence dwindle. However, he retained control of the armed forces through his old friend, Li Piao, who served as War Minister. Irritated by the intellectuals' constant criticism, Mao requested a significant increase in the effort to destroy reactionary ideas at a private meeting of the Central Committee in September 1965. The general public of Central Committee contributors refused to conform to Mao's notion under Peng Chen's management. Mao felt a lack of confidence, and he suspected that there had been a plot against him. In the face of rising.
- e. **'Hai Rui Dismissed from Office':** The conflict between Mao Tse Tung and his warring parties reached a top in 1966. Wu Han, the Deputy Mayor of Peking, became an educator after joining the Communist Party with many other intellectuals in the 1950s. Wu Han wrote a play called Hai Rui Dismissed from Office in 1961. The play became the news item of a sensible and virtuous Ming dynasty official dedicated to the welfare of the people, who was removed from office by an egotistical emperor. This play was interpreted as a veiled criticism of the Great Leap Forward and Mao's dismissal of Defence Minister Peng Te Huai, who had criticised the programme and argued for additional minor regulations.
- f. **Call for Cultural Revolution:** Wu Han's allusive style turned into strongly attacked inside the Shanghai, Wen Hui Pao, which become below the direct supervision of Chiang Ching, Mao's spouse. In February 1966 Chiang Ching proclaimed Wu Han's play a "reactionary poisonous weed," and referred to as for assaults on other cultural works that criticised Mao's guidelines. In April 1966, the army's mouthpiece, Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily), posted a rousing call for a 'cultural revolution'. In May 1966, Nieh Yuan Tsu, the Communist birthday celebration secretary of the philosophy department at China's prestigious Peking University, fired any other beginning shot of the Cultural Revolution whilst she displayed a poster caution that the bourgeoisie, or elite managed the college. The poster referred to as for an all-out attack against elitist forces. By Mao's order, the poster changed into examine over country wide radio on 1 June 1966.

Mao Tse Tung also accepted editorials in the Communist Party newspaper criticising bourgeoisie elements in society. By doing so, he officially declared the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, though few noticed at the time that it would result in ten years of chaos and violence. Formally, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution lasted from August 1966 to April 1969.

- g. Red Guards:** In response to Mao's name, Peking high school students began forming organisations known as the Red Guards. Mao Tse Tung authorised the formation of these corporations. Following Mao Tse Tung's assistance, high school and college students throughout the United States formed other bands of Red Guards. The 11 million young Red Guards led a revolution that destroyed not only humans, but also numerous works of art, temples, and other cultural relics of China. These students began by criticising teachers, college directors, and leaders in positions of authority. On August 18, 1966, Mao personally gathered hundreds of thousands of Red Guards in Peking's Tiananmen Square. Schools were closed, and college students from across the country travelled. From 1966 to 1969, all schools and universities were closed. Mao urged scholars to "wreck the four olds": old thoughts, old ways of life, old customs, and old behaviour.
- h. Attack on Institutions:** As the Red Guards destroyed temples, artworks, books, and anything associated with traditional or foreign cultures, chaos and lawlessness spread throughout China. They raided the homes of professors and other intellectuals, confiscating or destroying Western-style clothing, books, and artwork, as well as anything else that irritated them. Radical leaders and Red Guards also persecuted artists, writers, and people with international connections. Victims had faced public shaming, humiliation, and physical abuse. Many of the victims who committed suicide or died as a result of Red Guard abuse were intellectuals, such as writer Lao She and historian Wu Han. Many others had been imprisoned or forced to perform menial labour. The police and military had been beneath orders now not to intrude.
- i. Attack on the Moderates:** On August 5, 1966, the Cultural Revolution's course began to shift. Mao Tse Tung himself issued a statement titled "Bombard the Headquarters." He made the point in this statement that there were people in the CCP at all levels, right up to the top, who were pursuing reactionary 'bourgeoisie' policies. As a result, radicals launched an attack on moderate government officials. The most prominent moderate was Liu Shao Chi, China's president at the time and Mao's chosen successor. Liu was accused of being "China's number one capitalist roader" and a traitor to Chairman Ma because of his pragmatic policies. He was imprisoned and died in prison in 1969. Those associated with Liu's policies, such as Deng Xiaoping, were removed from government positions and imprisoned or exiled. Lin Piao, a military leader who supported Mao's Cultural Revolution policies, was appointed as his successor in 1969.
- j. Restoration of Order:** The Communist birthday party shape gradually crumbled under the weight of the Cultural Revolution, leading to anarchy and lawlessness. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) remained the only disciplined structure within the United States of America. In 1967, the People's Liberation Army was called in to restore order after the Red Guard unleashed anarchy and mob violence. From

1967 to 1969, thousands died in violent clashes between Red Guard factions and between the Red Guards and the army. In a try to control the chaos, Mao and his supporters placed most authorities' companies underneath the manager of the Peoples Liberation Army.

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- k. Campaign to Purify Class Ranks:** Mao Tse Tung launched the 'Campaign to Purify Class Ranks,' a new segment of the Cultural Revolution. Beginning in 1969, city officials and intellectuals were dispatched to the geographical region to do hard labour and study Mao's works. Many urban youths between the ages of sixteen and nineteen have been sent to the nation-state, where they have been instructed to study from peasants. Family members have frequently been split up and forced to live in harsh conditions thousands of miles apart. Many young people stayed in the countryside for years because they couldn't get permission to return to their hometowns or cities.
- l. 'Barefoot Doctors':** Throughout the early 1970s, Mao maintained his goal of closing the economic gap between the city and the countryside. The children of the urban elite lived and worked alongside rural peasants. Children of peasants, workers, and soldiers attended reopened schools where they learned about Mao's works and peasant achievements. Thousands of students received rudimentary medical training and went to work as 'barefoot doctors' in the countryside. They provided basic health care to peasants who would not otherwise have access to medical facilities. New revolutionary ballet, opera, and literature, much of it produced under the patronage of Chiang Ching, replaced urban culture. The new work reflected peasant struggles while glorifying Chairman Mao.
- m. Death of three great leaders:** 1976 turned out to be a year of agony for China. LAI CHOU EN-LAI (1898-1976). Chou En-lai's death on January 8, 1976, was a tragic loss. He became the moderating influence through numerous political storms as a pillar of strength in each birthday party and authorities. Chou had saved the United States of America from total chaos during the Cultural Revolution's upheaval and had assisted the Gang of Four's hold close for ultimate power.
- n. Gang of Four:** Deep grief spread throughout the country following the deaths of three of its great leaders: Premier Chou En-lai in January, Marshal Chu Teh in July, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung in September. In July, a major earthquake destroyed the economic city of T'ang-shan, 150 miles southeast of Peking, and the Yellow River flooded seven times over the next two months. The succession disaster precipitated by Mao's wife Chiang Ch'ing and her friends, later dubbed the Gang of Four, impacted the human misery and political instability.
- o. End of the 'Gang of Four':** While most of the radical excesses of the Cultural Revolution had diminished by the mid-1970s, some of its rhetoric and policies continued even after Mao's death in 1976. Chiang Qing, the widow of Mao Tse Tung and the rest of the 'Gang of Four'

(Zhong Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwin) were arrested that year. With their arrest the Cultural Revolution officially came to an end. In 1981 the members of the 'Gang of Four' were convicted for their crimes. The Communist party leadership under Deng Xiaoping officially condemned the Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping laid the groundwork for what has since become known as the Four Modernizations: a comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology that would put China in the front ranks of the world by the end of the century.

p. The Deaths of National Leaders: CHOU EN-LAI (1898-1976). The dying of Chou En-Lai on January 8, 1976, have become an irreparable loss. A pillar of strength in both celebration and authorities, he emerge as the moderating have an effect on via numerous political storms. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, joined the Chinese Communist Youth Corps and later the Chinese Communist Party. He became a dedicated sup porter of Mao after the Tsunyi Conference of January 1935.

q. The tang shan earthquake. As if the deaths of national leaders and the political chaos of the succession war were not sufficient punishment for the country, on July 28, 1976, a major earthquake measuring 8.2 on the Richter scale struck T'ang-shan, a mining town of one.6 million people. A private government file listed 655,237 dead and 779,000 injured, though later figures provided by the Chinese Seismology Society were greatly reduced. The Gang's Plot: When the elected leader died, there was a succession crisis because there was no constitutional mechanism for the nonviolent transfer of electricity. As if the deaths of national leaders and the political chaos of the succession war were not enough punishment for the country, on July 28, 1976, a major earthquake measuring 8.2 on the Richter scale struck T'ang-shan, a mining town of one.6 million people. A private government file listed 655,237 dead and 779,000 injured, though later figures provided by the Chinese Seismology Society were greatly reduced. The Gang's Plot: When the elected leader died, there was a succession crisis because there was no constitutional mechanism for the nonviolent transfer of electricity.

6. Consequences of the Cultural Revolution:

- 1. Slowdown of the Chinese Economy:** The Cultural Revolution had far-reaching effects on all aspects of Chinese society. The years of chaos from 1966 to 1969 resulted in a slowdown and partial collapse of the Chinese financial system. Because agricultural markets were prohibited, peasants were pressed to promote all produce to the kingdom. Due to China's emphasis on self-reliance and concern about foreigners and overseas influence 'corrupting' the Chinese subculture, the possibility of monetary cooperation with the West became eliminated. This resulted in economic isolation and stagnation. In comparison, the economies of Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea all grew tremendously during the same time period.
- 2. Setback to Education:** Education has suffered a significant setback. An entire technology of young humans had their religious training

disrupted. A large number of high school and college students joined the Red Guards and completed revolution' for Chairman Mao. College front checks, which had been suspended in 1966, were not resumed until 1977. Many valuable books and art collections were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and many scholars from China's leading schools and faculties died as a result of abuse and assaults by the Red Guards.

- 3. Loss of Prestige of the CCP:** The Cultural Revolution caused significant damage to the Chinese Communist Party. The high-level power struggles and the insecurity of the party's coverage infuriated people from all walks of life. However, the CCP maintained control of the situation. Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s attempted to erase the Cultural Revolution's legacy.

1.3 SUMMARY

Under People's Republic of China Mao Tse Tung tried to bring prosperity to the China, but under so called leftist errors it brought Cultural Revolution. Even Mao Tse Tung, once known as 'The Great Helmsman' and the 'Red Sun,' was publicly chastised for his 'leftist errors' during the Cultural Revolution. Nonetheless, he was praised for his leadership in both the war against Japan and the civil war against the Kuomintang. Despite being reviled privately by many Chinese, Mao is widely regarded as a capable national leader today.

1.4 QUESTIONS

1. What was the domestic policy of People's Republic of China? Explain.
2. Describe about importance of Agrarian Laws.
3. What was the socialist experiment in the industry?
4. Elucidate the importance of Great Leap Forward.
5. What was the Great Proletariat Revolution? Explain its consequences.

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ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN CHINA UNDER DENG XIAOPING

Unit Structure :

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Economic Progress in China under Deng Xiaoping
- 2.3 Summery
- 2.4 Questions
- 2.5 References

2.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To acquaint students about the notable Economic progress initiated by programs and policies introduced by Deng Xiaoping
2. To introduce students to China's economic progress after Mao Tse Tung's leadership, that implied China's transformation to the greater power.
3. To highlight the key points of Deng Xiaoping's vision about introducing Economic Reforms

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes China's steady progress under Deng Xiaoping's management in strengthening the economy in China. We'll take a glance at how China has evolved over time. The major historical scenarios that impacted society in modern China must be studied. These events influenced the growth of modern politics, society, the economy, religion, and culture. Communists had a clear plan for China's post-Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution development, and they meant to restore their rule. The progress under Deng Xiaoping initiated through: Economic Reforms, moved towards Capitalist Economy, Ten Year Plan, Open Door Policy, Reforms in Agriculture, Reforms in Industry etc.

2.2 ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN CHINA UNDER DENG XIAOPING

1. **Emergence of Xiaoping:** Out of the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution Deng Xiaoping emerged as a sturdy leader. As each Mao Tse Tung and Chou En-lai have been sick, he became given greater responsibility in day-to-day sports of the Communist Party's Central Committee. Following the loss of life of Mao Tse Tung in 1976, Deng Xiaoping who taken into consideration become as a mild communist

leader took over the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Deng spearheaded political reforms in an attempt to bring balance to the US. And to gain strong help. Though the CCP's repressive guidelines eased extremely, the birthday party maintained a grip on political and social existence. However, in the monetary sphere Deng's reforms had enormous effect and through the twentieth century, China got here to project the US as the sector's best financial power. Deng Xiaoping delivered Four Modernizations: a complete modernization of agriculture, enterprise, national defence, and science and era that might positioned China within the front ranks of the sector by the cease of the century.

2. **Deng Xiaoping First initiative in Economic Reforms:** Following the quilt of the Cultural Revolution and the autumn of the 'Gang of Four', the Chinese Communist Party below the leadership of Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed the modernization programme initiated by using Chou En-lai in 1975. It also mentioned new guidelines for the motive of engaging in the Four Modernizations. By 1982 Deng Xiaoping had complete control of the CCP and the government. He wanted to make crucial changes in order that China may want to compete with the West. He became also of the opinion that it became important to begin keeping apart the authorities from the birthday celebration as he desired to install area regulations which would fluctuate from communist ideologies. The aim turned into to modernise China in order that it could compete with the West in purchaser items and industrial manufacturing. However, although Deng desired to put in region Western rules, he became nonetheless a communist and made positive that the political machine remained communist.
3. **Move towards Capitalist Economy:** Deng realized that without a capitalist-based financial system, China might now not prosper. Hence, he converted a nation-owned and operated economic system into one that allowed private assets, exceedingly open markets, and international commerce.

In order to growth economic productiveness, the new guidelines of the Chinese authorities under the manager of Deng Xiaoping pressured empowering the managers and financial selection-makers on the rate of party officers. Encouragement turned into to be given for the growth of the studies and schooling systems. Foreign trade was to be extended, and exchanges of students and "overseas experts" with evolved countries had been to be endorsed.

4. **Ten Year Plan:** This new coverage initiative changed into given final shape on the Fifth National People's Congress in February and March 1978. In this Congress Hua Kuo Feng presented the draft of an formidable ten-yr plan for the 1976-85 period. The Ten Year Plan focused on economic sectors with heavy enterprise. The purpose become to reach a stage at which China could be capable of guide itself and compete with the West. The opening up of China to the West with the aid of Mao Tse Tung and Chou En-Lai turned into

quite useful to the plan because it supplied some of the capital wished for the plan. The plan cantered on China's development, especially metallic production. Besides this, desires were set for natural useful resource extractions including oil, petroleum, coal, and nonferrous metals. In addition, the plan included enormous infrastructure development which worried electricity, railroads and water delivery. The plan proved to be too bold and the authorities couldn't come up with the money for the prices so in 1979 the goals of the plan had been changed. The plan would awareness at the Four Modernizations: agriculture, enterprise, technology and generation and the military.

5. **Positive Results:** The reform initiative undertaken on the Fifth National People's Congress had tremendous results. Between 1976 and 1978, the economy quickly recovered from the stagnation of the Cultural Revolution. Though the rural production was sluggish in 1977 due to 3 years of awful weather situations, China registered a report harvest in 1978. Similarly, commercial manufacturing jumped with the aid of 14 percentage in 1977 and by means of thirteen percentage in 1978.
6. **Open Door Policy:** The Party introduced the Open Door Policy in December 1978. This was a first-rate thing for the success of the Ten-Year Plan and the Four Modernizations. A high degree of capital was had to make the modifications and the Open Door Policy provided this capital. Also, China could gain from mastering and uploading technological know-how and technology via buying and selling with the West. China targeted on best of its merchandise, the diversification of its exports, and the devaluation of the Yuan and constructed up its foreign money reserves. In this way, China has become very appealing to buyers like Japan, West Germany, and the US.

Besides this, Coca-Cola announced that it might be establishing a plant in Shanghai. Early in 1979 Chinese government shifted its monetary approach to emphasize the manufacture of purchaser goods for sale overseas.

7. **Policy of 'Reform and Opening':** Deng Xiaoping did no longer originate the policy of "reform and establishing", which commenced under the management of Hua Kuo Feng after the loss of life of Mao Tse Tung in 1976. But Deng supplied the consistent hand, the clear direction, and the political talent for China to be successful. He enjoyed the support of senior cadres who realized that Mao's continuing revolutions delivered catastrophe, however, he had the judgment to tempo the reforms and hold the help of folks who feared the opening of markets, in addition to individuals who feared that the whole could be too slow. To prepare for modernization, Deng evolved closer relations with the leading modern-day international locations. He paved the manner for nearer family members in Europe in his go to France in 1975. He made the political decisions that paved the manner for the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Japan in 1978

after which went to Japan in October of that years in a triumphal go that received the aid of Japanese political and business leaders. He led the introduction of Japanese movies, literature, and tv series into China, helping the Chinese conquer their terrible emotions in Japan and learn from Japanese scientists, technicians, and commercial leaders.

He supervised the negotiations at the normalization of members of the family with the US till the very last levels in which he in my view completed negotiations. This turned into accompanied by his excursion to the United States in January 1979 in which he installed desirable relations with President Carter, congressional leaders, and enterprise leaders. As a part of the drive for monetary advancement and starting to the West, students have been sent to foreign nations to look, at authorities' prices. And in 1984, to enhance China's operating dating with overseas powers and foreign agencies, China adopted a patent regulation to guard overseas patents. Also under Deng, non-secular freedom was restored. Nine hundred Protestant churches and ninety Catholic Church buildings have been reopened.

8. **Reforms in Agriculture:** The purpose of reforms in agriculture turned into to boom in the yields of farmers. For this reason, the authorities wanted farmers to move away from traditional farming techniques. Instead of manual paintings, the government wanted the farmers to introduce mechanized farming. To increase productivity the authorities, deliberate to improving water supply to the farmers, promote the use of chemical fertilizers and aid private incentives and diversification.
9. **Household Responsibility System:** A big turning point became the implementation of the Household Responsibility System. Under this device despite the fact that there has been nonetheless no private possession of land, each farming household received a plot of land which the farming families should use as they wanted. Under this system, the farmers should have a contract with the nearby commune in which they needed to lease a certain quantity of workers and plant a specific quantity of plants. The farming households had managed over the labour within their families and could distribute this labour but they needed. All farming family surplus will be both sold or kept which became a notable gain to farmers. In exchange for the usage of the land for a period of 15 years, a quota that had been predetermined might lower back to the nearby commune.

The Household Responsibility System became very successful. By 1989, ninety per cent of households had been involved inside the system. The System allowed growing productiveness via more than what had been set via the Ten-Year Plan. Hence, China became the most important agricultural manufacturer. Improvement in agriculture caused multiplied productivity. Due to this elevated productiveness, factories were constructed and the communes saw the revival of neighbourhood crafts. In flip, the development and productiveness in

agriculture induced farmers to leave their family plots and plantings regionally within the factories.

- 10. Reforms in Industry:** The important attention of the monetary reforms delivered with the aid of the authorities underneath Deng Xiaoping in the area of enterprise turned into on capital construction and enhancing heavy industries. Hence, attention turned into interested in metal, iron, coal and oil production and the government invested 55 billion Yen on this zone. They're become a total of a hundred and twenty projects to be completed. However, the plan proved to be too ambitious to be carried out successfully. Thus, in 1979 it became readjusted
- 11. Industrial Responsibility System:** As within the case of agriculture, the Industrial Responsibility System turned into added inside the industry as nicely. Under this system, the supervisory frame of a State-Owned Enterprise might have a contract in which a percent of the production and earnings might visit the kingdom and the State-Owned Enterprise could preserve the excess. This improved the mind-set and motivation of business people which led to elevated productivity. In October 1984 the Resolution at the Reform of the Economic System was added.

Individual business enterprise also turned into allowed, after having truly disappeared for the duration of the Cultural Revolution. Independent cobblers, tailors, tinkers and companies once more have become not unusual attractions within the towns. Foreign-trade techniques were substantially eased, allowing character organizations and administrative departments outdoor the Ministry of Foreign Trade, renamed the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade in 1984, to interact in direct negotiations with foreign firms. A wide variety of cooperation, buying and selling and credit score preparations with foreign corporations have been legalized so that China could input the mainstream of global trade.

The formidable step undertaken through China underneath the leadership of Deng Xiaoping proved to achieve success. By 1987, the programme had executed notable outcomes in growing materials of food and different purchaser goods and had created a new weather of dynamism and possibility within the economic system. At the identical time, however, the reforms also created new troubles and tensions, leading to excessive wondering and political struggles over the programme's destiny.

- 12. Military Modernization:** China has the largest regular armed force within the international, numbering some 4,325,000. The army by myself includes 3,250,000 troops, and China's naval and air forces rank 0.33 across the world in terms of numbers. But, besides for wallet of in-depth improvement in the strategic region (e.g., nuclear bombs and ballistic missiles), Chinese navy generation remains a few twenty to thirty years behind the West. Troops are properly-skilled, tremendously motivated, and politically indoctrinated however

equipped with woefully inadequate weapons. The state of affairs, brought about by using a loss of funds and with the aid of underdeveloped era, worsened

13. **Strategic Forces:** Medium-range ballistic missiles: 30-forty CSS-1, six hundred-seven-hundred miles. Intermediate-range ballistic missiles: 30-40 CSS-2, 1750 miles
14. **Army:** three,250,000 men, 10 armoured divisions, 121 infantry divisions, and 150 impartial regiments.
15. **Navy:** three hundred,000 men, 30,000 Naval Air Force with seven hundred shore-primarily based aircraft, 38,000 Marines, 23 essential floor fight ships, and a instead massive quantity of submarines and destroyers with missile-launching capability.
16. **Air Force:** 400,000 men, 5,000 fight plane together with 4,000 MIG 17/19, and a small quantity of MIG 21 and F-nine warring parties.
17. **Period of Readjustment:** The first few years of the reform programme underneath Deng Xiaoping have been distinct as the "duration of readjustment". During this period key imbalances inside the economy had been to be corrected and a foundation turned into to be laid for a nicely-deliberate modernization of the financial system. The schedule of Hua Kuo Feng's ten-year plan was given up. However, many of its elements have been retained.

The important goals of the readjustment process have been to expand exports swiftly; overcome key deficiencies in transportation, communications, coal, iron, steel, building substances, and electric energy; and redress the imbalance between mild and heavy enterprise by using increasing the increase rate of light industry and lowering funding in heavy industry. The important policy improvements expanded the autonomy of organization managers, decreased emphasis on deliberate quotas, allowed corporations to supply items outside the plan on the market in the marketplace, and approved enterprises to test with the usage of bonuses to praise higher productiveness.

Agricultural production was stimulated by using reliable encouragement to establish free farmers' markets in city areas, as well as within the nation-state, and by way of permitting a few households to operate as "specialised families," devoting their efforts to producing a scarce commodity or provider on a earnings-making foundation.

Deng Xiaoping believed that the chaos inside the century before the Communists took electricity in 1949 and the chaos of the decade of the Cultural Revolution had retarded the financial boom of China.

2.3 SUMMARY

Under Deng Xiaoping's management economy in China started strengthening. China has evolved over time towards Economic progress in to the domestic affairs. Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms, transition to a capitalist economy, Ten Year Plan, Open Door Policy, agricultural reforms, industrial reforms, and other policies effected China's modernization in the twentieth century.

2.4 QUESTIONS

1. What was the Deng Xiaoping's ideas implemented for strengthening of Chinas Economy? Explain.
2. Describe about importance of Policy of 'Reform and Opening'.
3. Explain about Open Door Policy implemented by Deng Xiaoping.
4. Elucidate about the Deng Xiaoping's first initiative in Economic Reforms.
5. What was the Ten Years Plan? Explain

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FOREIGN POLICY OF CHINA WITH USSR

Unit Structure :

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Foreign Policy of China with USSR
- 3.3 Summary
- 3.4 Questions
- 3.5 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To acquaint the students with communist China's foreign policy toward the Soviet Union.
2. To explain the significant changes that occurred during and after Mao Tse Tung, Deng Xiaoping, and other leaders of Modern China
3. To educate students on the history of China's struggle for supremacy in international politics within the framework of Communism.
4. To familiarize students the socialist perspectives of China and Khrushchev's Policy of de-Stalinisation and China's reaction to it.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes China's Foreign Policy with USSR i.e., Union of Soviet Socialist Russia. As Cold War greatly implemented various strategies on various powers which were involved either involved in Axis powers or in Allied during Second World War. Major polar powers such as USA (United States of America) and USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Russia) were consistently tried to make countries under their influence. However, countries such a China played dynamic role being communist in the Asian region even dominated cold war politics in case of Chinese Criticism of Khrushchev's Visit to the US, China's Reaction to the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), China's Criticism of the NTBT, Differences over the Vietnam War made a great difference in international politics.

3.2 FOREIGN POLICY OF CHINA WITH THE USSR

Both China's remote and current history had been essential determinants of her overseas policy. For several thousand years, China considered herself politically, culturally, and economically advanced to her on the spot neighbours. More recent activities have re-emphasised China's

perception in her historic role to a paramount role in Asia and international affairs. These historical determinants are further reinforced by using ideological considerations. In the triumphing perception gadget of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Chinese Communist leaders are convinced that their U.S.A. is historically destined to be the standard bearer of revolution. China had been at the forefront of the warfare for the establishment of Communism on a worldwide scale.

After assuming political manage over China following the civil war in 1949, the Chinese Communists sought diplomatic popularity. Within seven months, the complete Communist bloc such as Yugoslavia and different nations together with Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Israel, the Netherlands, Switzerland, England, and 6 Asian nations, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan acknowledged the People's Republic of China. China additionally claimed membership of the United Nations, and the proper to a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council.

1. **Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship:** Close members of the family with Russia marked the early years of Chinese overseas policy. The Communist Government in China requested reputation from all Governments "inclined to look at the standards of equality, mutual benefit and mutual recognize of territorial integrity and sovereignty". Russia become one of the earliest nations to realise the Communist regime in China. Immediately after the established order of the new Chinese authorities in Peking in October 1949, Mao Tse Tung undertook his first visit outdoor the Chinese territory, to Moscow in December 1949, to negotiate useful resource and exchange agreements. Both China and Russia abrogated their old treaties and entered right into a thirty-12 months Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance in February 1950.
2. **Russian Advisers and Technicians in China:** Following the Treaty of Friendship, the Soviet Union despatched a large quantity of advisers and technicians to China to assist her in financial improvement along Communist strains. Direct navy and monetary assistance were additionally to Communist China. On the alternative hand, the Russian-constructed railway across Manchuria from Siberia to the ports of Darien and Port Arthur became to be mutually controlled by means of China and the Soviet Union. Mao Tse Tung and Chou En-Lai, in a telegram to Malenkov and Molotov after the death of Stalin, mentioned "the fraternal aid rendered by using the Soviet Union to the Chinese people."
3. **Sino-Soviet Differences:** The alliance among China and the Soviet Union, seemingly so sturdy in 1950, became cracking by 1960. China's electricity quite alarmed Russia which noticed an ability hazard to her management of the Communist World in addition to a danger to Soviet strength itself. The management of the communist world, after Stalin's death, need to have fallen at the shoulders of Mao

due to his seniority however to his dismay, Khrushchev emerged because the chief of the communist bloc.

4. **Khrushchev's Policy of de-Stalinisation:** In 1953, whilst Stalin died, a conflict for succession changed into one among Malenkov and Khrushchev. Khrushchev recommended a more difficult attitude closer to the West, an attitude that appropriate the Chinese interests. The management of the communist world, after Stalin's death, ought to have fallen on the shoulders of Mao due to his seniority but to his dismay, Khrushchev emerged as the chief of the communist bloc. Mao did not then oppose it because of his involvement in several home and foreign issues the fixing of which he acquired Khrushchev's help. In the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February 1956), Khrushchev made a blistering assault on Stalin. Initiated the manner of de-Stalinisation and thereby wounded Mao's best of 'hero-worship'. He also initiated the manner of liberalisation; advocated 'peaceful coexistence'; secure the Marxist-Leninist idea of the inevitability of struggle. This led to uncertainty within the communist global with regard to persevering with cold conflict scenario happening and on.
5. **China's Reaction to De-Stalinisation:** The first source of public war of words among China and the Soviet Union became de-Stalinisation in the Soviet Union. When Stalin died in 1953, it changed into no longer clear who might succeed him. However, all of his capacity successors were of the opinion that the Stalinist system needed some diploma of reform. By 1956 Nikita Khrushchev, who changed into in favour of extensive reform of the Soviet gadget emerged as the brand new chief in Moscow.
6. **Change in Attitude toward Eastern Europe:** Besides criticising Stalin as an man or woman, Khrushchev became dismantling some of Stalin's regulations. The Soviet Union started out to loosen up its preserve over other Communist international locations, specially in Eastern Europe. However, whilst the Hungarians took advantage of this relaxation and revolted towards the Soviet Union in November 1956, the Soviet Red Army entered Hungary to repair it to the Soviet bloc. To the Chinese, this regarded proof of Soviet incompetence. The Russians, then again, resented the Chinese presumption in trying to inform the Soviet Union a way to run Eastern Europe.
7. **China's Disapproval of the Policy of Peaceful Co-existence:** The bitterest controversy among China and the Soviet Union turned into over Khrushchev's policy of 'non-violent coexistence'. Khrushchev felt that it become time to improve relations with the Western democracies to increase change and decrease the hazard of struggle. As towards the Marxist Leninist principle of the inevitability of struggle, Khrushchev argued that the further growth of Communism in the world could be performed with the aid of peaceful political way, instead of through conflict. China disagreed with Khrushchev's doctrinal shift. Chinese Communists were of the opinion that violent

way alone may want to offer an inexpensive desire for success to the Communists, specifically in south-east Asian nations like South Vietnam.

The debate between the Soviet Union and China close to how Communist events in trendy ought to act inside the international as a whole consumed tons in their energy and time. The result was that the Russians came to the conclusion that the Chinese have been dangerously insane, even as the Chinese accused the Russians of cowards who had been forsaking the conventional Communist principle of revolution and becoming 'revisionists'.

8. **Mao's Stress on Vigorous Policy in the direction of the West:** The Soviet Union tested an Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) in August 1957 and released the sector's first space satellite in October of the equal 12 months. The Chinese noticed these technological successes as a manifestation of Soviet superiority over America. In October 1957, Mao Tse Tung attended a assembly of the world's Communist events held in Moscow following the celebrations of the Fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. He took the possibility to re-pressure his notion that 'the East wind prevails over the West wind', and pressed for a greater forceful overseas coverage, particularly towards the West. However, the Soviet leaders were unwilling to concede to his arguments.
9. **Russia's Neutrality During the 'Offshore Island' Crisis:** Soviet Union's reluctance to guide China's overseas policy targets turned into absolutely proven all through the 'offshore island' disaster. In August 1958, China determined to take the islands of Quemoy and Matsu from the manipulation of the Nationalist authorities based in Taiwan. A massive bombardment from the nearby mainland became opened and persevered for lots days. The United States came to the rescue of the Nationalist authorities by way of threatening intervention to shield Taiwan and the offshore islands. China was forced to retreat. Khrushchev maintained silence on the problem of the offshore islands during the crisis. This manifested a complete loss of coordination inside the Sino-Soviet foreign policy.
10. **Differing Views on the Great Leap Forward:** The rift among the 2 facets widened in 1958 by means of China's Great Leap Forward. China boasted the achievement of the communes because the 'buds of communism' and claimed that China might achieve communism earlier than its economically greater superior rival, the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Khrushchev criticised Chinese communes as 'old school, 'which could not paintings.
11. **Russian Neutrality in the course of the Tibetan Crisis:** There changed into an anti-Chinese revolt in Tibet in March 1959. The revolt changed into ruthlessly suppressed and the Dalai Lama sought refuge in India. India denounced the Chinese action. However, Khrushchev studiously remained neutral at some point of the Tibetan

crisis and in the Sino-Indian border dispute of 1959, which annoyed China in addition.

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- 12. Chinese Criticism of Khrushchev's Visit to the US:** In September 1959, unmindful of Chinese criticism, Khrushchev went to the US to seek advice from President Eisenhower at Camp David to defend Russian pursuits. Khrushchev flew from America directly to Peking to persuade the Chinese management concerning the blessings of the concept of 'non-violent coexistence' and to suggest that the Chinese should undertake the de facto reputation of 'Chinas' as a way to the Taiwan hassle, and to induce them now not to 'check by using pressure the stability of the capitalist machine'. However, China strongly criticised Khrushchev's go to the United States and Mao Tse Tung, who believed that each one electricity grew out of the barrel of the gun, gave Khrushchev cold reception.
- 13. Withdrawal of Soviet Experts from China:** From this time onwards, the space between the Soviet Union and China widened in addition. In 1960 the Chinese launched a bitter assault on Soviet guidelines. Following this Khrushchev ordered the withdrawal of Soviet specialists from China and cancelled all monetary resource. Each accused the opposite of ideological deviation from the genuine Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Their perspectives regarding struggle and peace, disarmament, non-alignment and neutrality had been diametrically opposed to every different.
- 14. China's Reaction to Khrushchev's Congratulatory Message to JFK:** When John F. Kennedy became elected the President of the US, Khrushchev sent him congratulatory messages in February 1961. The Chinese, who continued to oppose the coverage of 'non-violent coexistence', disapproved of this gesture of the Soviet leader and his try to set up detente with Kennedy. The Soviet Union attacked Albania, a staunch best friend of China, as a dogmatist and broke off diplomatic relations with it. On the opposite hand, China dubbed Yugoslavia as revisionist.
- 15. Russian Neutrality inside the Sino-Indian War (1962):** The rift between China and the Soviet Union deepened in 1962 with the Sino-Indian border warfare, in which the Soviet Union remained neutral, after which supplied fighter aircraft to India. The Chinese considered the diplomatic help given with the aid of the Soviet Union to India as a 'treachery'.
- 16. China's Reaction to the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962):** When the Cuban missile crisis took place almost concurrently with the Sino-Indian border struggle, China at first introduced its help for the Soviet choice to place missiles in Cuba. However, while Khrushchev subsidized down because of the United States strain on 27 October, Chinese leaders denounced the Soviet choice to area missiles in Cuba as 'adventurism', and the selection to take them out as 'capitulationism'.

- 17. Question of Sino-Soviet Border:** The question of the Sino-Soviet border also became a first-rate flash point in 1962. The Chinese accused Russia of incorporating into the Soviet Union extra than 60,000 Chinese residing in Sinkiang and refused to let them return home. By elevating the border query, the Chinese also cited the 'unequal treaties' imposed on China by Tsarist Russia.
- 18. China's Criticism of the NTBT:** The Chinese criticised the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, signed in Moscow through England, America, and the Soviet Union in July 1963. The Chinese leaders noticed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as a Soviet-West plot to preserve China and others out of the nuclear membership. Mao saw this as a clean indication that Khrushchev had selected the West over China. Still, there had been attempts at reconciliation between the two Communist nations. Boundary negotiations passed off in Peking in 1964. But the negotiations have been deadlocked due to war of words between the two.
- 19. Testing of the First Nuclear Device through China:** Khrushchev was ousted from electricity on 15 October 1964. On the following day, the Chinese announced that they had tested their first nuclear device. This proven the fast improve of Chinese era to the level of the maximum advanced commercial countries, without resource from any person of them, which includes Russia.
- 20. Differences over the Vietnam War:** Increasing anxiety over the Vietnam War, and whether or not China and the Soviet Union must engage in 'united motion', quickly have become the focal point of Sino-Soviet members of the family. China decided to prohibit Soviet resource through air to Vietnam from passing over Chinese territory. Mao Tse Tung strongly rejected Soviet proposals for united action. The Chinese and Albanians did not attend the twenty third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1966, as they dubbed it as 'revisionist'.
- 21. China's Criticism of the Russian Invasion of Czechoslovakia:** China criticised the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia within the summer of 1968. Chou En-lai accused the Soviet Union of looking to create puppets with the assist of weapons and compared the Soviet 'act of aggression with Hitler's beyond invasion of Czechoslovakia and with the USA' aggression towards Vietnam. The Breznev doctrine, affirming the right of the Soviet Union to take navy motion against any member of the socialist community turned into denounced by China as an 'outright doctrine of hegemony'.
- 22. Clash between Chinese and Russian Troops:** On 2 March 1969, preventing broke out over Damansky Island within the Ussuri River. From 1960 there have been several smaller incidents, but this became the first severe clash among Soviet and Chinese forces, ensuing in heavy Soviet casualties. The battle escalated along the Manchurian and Sinkiang frontiers. On eleven September 1969, Alexie Kosygin, the Soviet Premier, returning from the funeral of Ho Chi Minh in

Hanoi, stopped in Peking for talks with Chou En-lai. These airport conversations ended in an settlement for an immediate cease-hearth and withdrawal of troops. An settlement to maintain talks on border questions changed into finally reached on 7 October, and the talks were held in Peking on 20 October. However, because 1969 there has been no resolution to the border query. The treaty of friendship between China and Russia became allowed to lapse without a new settlement to take its location.

- 23. Rapprochement with the USA:** The bilateral Sino-Soviet relationship had not markedly changed in the period from 1969 to 1982. However, there have been a extensive alternate within the international surroundings. The worldview of Chinese leaders underwent a exchange. In the Seventies China succeeded in breaking through her isolation. By the early Seventies, most Western countries had acknowledged her. In 1971, China changed into finally admitted to the United Nations on its personal phrases, which supposed the exclusion of Taiwan. The amazing victory of Chinese international relations changed into the rapprochement with America in 1972. Mao Tse Tung met President Nixon and then President Ford, and good sized steps have been taken closer to the Sino-American normalization of members of the family.

After Mao's demise, the contention between the Soviet Union and China become not profound. However, the internal politics of either united states or greater in the worldwide discipline, wherein the national interests of the two states frequently clashed led to inflammation inside the courting between China and the Soviet Union.

- 24. Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia:** The first predominant disagreement changed into in Indo-China. The give up of the Vietnam War in 1975 left pro-Soviet regimes in power in Vietnam and Laos and a pro-Chinese regime in Cambodia. The Vietnamese have been at the beginning organized to disregard the murderous home rules of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. However, the persecution of ethnic Vietnamese groups and clashes along the border, led to the invasion of Cambodia by using Vietnam in 1978 resulting inside the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime. The Chinese vehemently denounced this act of Vietnam and released a "punitive" invasion of northern Vietnam, resulting within the Sino-Vietnamese War. The Soviet Union in turn denounced China but took no military action.
- 25. Intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan:** In 1979, the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan whilst the Communist regime in Afghanistan became in danger of being overthrown. The Chinese authorities, viewing this as part of a Soviet plot to encircle China, formed an alliance with the USA and Pakistan to help the Islamist resistance actions in Afghanistan and prevent the Soviet invasion. This became rather a hit. The interminable struggle in Afghanistan did a whole lot to weaken the Soviet device. China turned into. Also

involved in secretly supplying aid to the Contras fighting the Soviet-sponsored Sandinista government in Nicaragua. In 1982, rapidly before his demise, Leonid Brezhnev delivered a speech in Baku that way for changed into rather conciliatory closer to China. This opened the Chinese ministerial illustration at his funeral (1982) and coffee-key efforts at lowering tensions.

- 26. Gorbachev's try to repair everyday relations with China:** When Mikhail Gorbachev got here to strength inside the Soviet Union in 1985, he endeavoured to repair ordinary members of the family with China. Soviet army forces alongside the border had been significantly decreased, normal economic members of the family were resumed, and the border problem was quietly forgotten. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan removed the most important rivalry among the 2 states. However, the ideological problems of the 1960s had been no longer resolved, and legit relations between the 2 Communist events were now not resumed. The nevertheless cold relations between the Soviet Union and China induced many in the United States authorities under Ronald Reagan to remember China a natural counterbalance in opposition to the Soviet Union, resulting in American navy resource to the People's Liberation Army.

To cement improving members of the family, Gorbachev visited China in May 1989. An unintentional result of this summit turned into the excessive insurance by using overseas media of the Tiananmen Protests of 1989 and the following crackdown.

The Chinese authorities become sceptical of Gorbachev's reform programme, which led in the end to the fall apart of the Soviet Union and the cease of Communist Party rule in 1991. Since the Chinese authorities did no longer officially understand the Soviet Union as a fellow "socialist country", it had no authentic opinion on how Gorbachev must reform Soviet socialism. In non-public, Chinese management expressed the opinion that Gorbachev turned into silly to embark on political reform before enforcing economic reform, whereas Deng Xiaoping had applied economic reform without weakening Communist Party rule.

- 27. Collapse of the Soviet Union and development of Sino-Russian members of the family:** The crumble of the Soviet Union ended the Sino-Soviet split. Rather than a large Soviet invasion, the Chinese government became then extra worried approximately the USA intervention in guide of Taiwanese independence. Likewise, a weakened Russia changed into then extra worried about American tasks together with the growth of NATO and its intervention in the former Yugoslavia. Rather than a counterbalance in opposition to Russia, the USA started out to view China as a competitor.

Due to these factors within the new political panorama of the world, Russia and China advanced relations if you want to counter American strength. In 1992, the two countries declared that they were pursuing a

"positive partnership. In 1993, the two international locations signed a treaty that officially demarcated the border and formally ended all exquisite disputes. In 1996, they progressed in the direction of a "strategic partnership which led to the establishment of the Shanghai Five, later renamed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a free alliance at the side of states in Central Asia. In 2001, both China and Russia signed a treaty of "friendship and cooperation".

3.3 SUMMARY

Various strategies were implemented on various countries that were either Axis or Allied powers during World war -II as the Cold War progressed. Major polar powers such as the USA (United States of America) and the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Russia) have consistently attempted to create countries under their influence. However, countries such as China played dynamic roles as communists in the Asian region, even dominating cold war politics in cases such as Chinese Criticism of Khrushchev's Visit to the US, China's Reaction to the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), China's Criticism of the NTBT, and Differences over the Vietnam War.

3.4 QUESTIONS

1. What was the basic principle of China's foreign policy towards the Soviet Union? Explain.
2. Describe about importance of Khrushchev's Policy of de-Stalinisation.
3. What was the policy of Mao's in the direction of the West?
4. Elucidate about the China's Reaction to the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962).
5. Critically analyse the China's differences over the Vietnam War.

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AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF JAPAN

Unit Structure:

- 4.0 Objective
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.3 Impact of the Second World War on Japan
- 4.4 The Period of Allied Occupation–the SCAP Administration (1945-52)
- 4.5 The Political Programme of Occupied Japan
- 4.6 Social Programme of The Scap Administration
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4.0 OBJECTIVE

After going through this unit, the learner will be able to:

- Know the reconstruction programme in Japan after World War-II
- Understand the impact of World War- II on Japan.
- Review the SCAP administration in Japan.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Japan had participated in the Second World War on the side of the Central Powers. With the dropping of the first atom bomb on Hiroshima on 6 th August and the next on Nagasaki on 9 th August by the USA, Japan unconditionally surrendered before the Allies on 14 th August 1945 and the War came to an end. With the surrender of Japan, her fifty-year age of imperialism came to an end. Asia was freed from the Japanese militarism and imperialistic expansion. The war had serious evil effects on the national life of Japan.

4.3 IMPACT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR ON JAPAN

The impact of the war on Japan was felt everywhere. In mid 1945 Japan presented a picture of physical destruction, economic collapse, and social

and spiritual emptiness. Due to heavy bombardment during wartime, Japan had suffered huge loss of life and property. About 20 lakh people had been killed and 25 lakh houses had been totally or partly destroyed, in Tokyo alone, some 7 lakh houses had been destroyed. The industrial and commercial buildings of Japan, inclusive of the equipment also faced similar consequences. About 40 per cent of the urban area was lost. Inflation consumed the meagre savings of millions of people. In the economic field, the production system had collapsed. During the wartime, since all importance was given to the production of war equipments, other industrial production had considerably declined. Compared to the level of 1930-31, by 1945, production had declined by 70 per cent. Her merchant marine, the third largest in the world before the war, had all vanished. Her assets abroad, especially in the United States were frozen. Thus, Japan had reached the lowest ebb of her economic activity. Tremendous price hike, black marketing and social crime had become the order of the day. The influence of law had declined. Men defied authority, and gangsters terrorized the innocent people. The condition of the Japanese people, without housing, food, clothing and heating can well be imagined. But, the emotional damage was still greater. The national pride of Japan was tremendously hurt.

Even in such a situation, Japan had accepted the bitter truth of surrender and humiliation with great restraint. They owned responsibility for their defeat. Discipline is an inseparable part of Japanese life. Therefore, the Japanese people accepted the Emperor's humiliating order of surrender. It is on the strength of this discipline that Japan achieved the economic reconstruction of the war-torn Japanese life. The Japanese cooperated with the occupation machinery created by the Allied powers, and finally it led to the reconstruction of Japan in the postwar period. The Japanese adjusted themselves to the changed circumstances. Within a short period, like phoenix, Japan once again rose from the ashes of the Second World War, and ventured to conquer the world through her technological and economic might.

The post-war Japan is divided into two periods: (a) the period of Allied Occupation (1945-52), and (b) the period of Independent Japan (1952 to present times).

4.4 THE PERIOD OF ALLIED OCCUPATION – THE SCAP ADMINISTRATION (1945-52)

Although, all the Allied Powers had participated in framing the policy about post-war Japan, the USA had played the most vital role. The background of this policy was already created by the Cairo Declaration, Yalta Agreement, and Potsdam Declaration. A vast administrative machinery was created for the enforcement of this policy. Later at the Moscow conference of foreign ministers held in December 1945, it was decided to establish an eleven-nation Far Eastern Commission and a Four-Power Allied Council for Japan.

The Administrative Machinery of Allied Occupation:

The SCAP: On 6 th September 1945, the Allied troops occupied Japan and military administration began over there. The Allied Powers created a vast administrative machinery for Japan. General Douglas A. MacArthur of America was appointed as the “Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers” (SCAP). Russia insisted that there should be two Supreme Commanders, one of Russia and another of America. But, this demand was not agreed upon by the Allies.

The Far-Eastern Commission: It was appointed at Washington, consisting of members representing 11 countries who had participated in the war against Japan. These 11 countries were: America, Russia, England, France, Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, China and Phillipine. In 1949, the representatives of Burma and Pakistan were added into it. Its work was to decide the policies, principles and criteria of fulfilling Japanese responsibilities arising in the context of surrender, and to review the actions of SCAP. The responsibility of executing the decisions taken by the Far-Eastern Commission was of the SCAP. This execution was to be done not by the American troops but by the Japanese Emperor through Japanese government machinery. In addition, to assist and advice the SCAP, there was a small team of officers from American military and civil services. These officers were experts in different subjects.

The Allied Council for Japan: In addition of the Far-Eastern Commission, a body called “Allied Council for Japan” was created at Tokyo on the insistence of Russia. It comprised of four representatives, one each from Russia, America and China, and one collectively representing England, Australia, New Zealand and India. It was under the Presidency of the USA, and it was only an advisory and consultative body, having no executive powers.

The Central Liaison Office: The SCAP Administration created “Central Liaison Office” to bring about cooperation, understanding and coordination amongst various American and Japanese departments and officers. This office carried out about 1000 orders into execution within a year, with the help of the Japanese officers.

However, all this institutional apparatus remained only formal and nominal in nature, and all the real powers regarding the control of Japan remained with the USA i.e. the SCAP. . An appeal could be filed against his orders with the Far-Eastern Commission, but, in reality, his interpretation was regarded important. The Far-Eastern Commission and the Allied Council did not have any powers with regard to military action and territorial exchanges. In order to enable Japan to fulfil the conditions of surrender, the USA took up the responsibility of Japanese defense, and the Allied troops were stationed in Japan, which had to act under the guidance of the SCAP. In this context, advice of the Allied Council could be taken but, in case of a disagreement, the decision of the SCAP would be final.

Objectives of Allied Occupation of Japan:

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The chief objectives of the Allied Occupation were clearly outlined in two important documents: 1. The United States Initial Post- Surrender Policy for Japan (29 August 1945) and 2. The Basic Initial Post- Surrender Directive (8 November 1945). The aggressive militarism and imperialism of Japan had imposed the war on the Asian Continent. Therefore, the main objectives of the Allied occupation of Japan were: 1 to eradicate this very aggressive militarism and imperialism, so that Japan would not again become a menace to peace and security of the world, and 2 to bring about her democratization and demilitarization, so that the establishment of a peaceful and responsible self-government could be ensured. In relation to these two main objectives, the following objectives had been mentioned:

1. To destroy the aggressive nationalism in Japan.
2. To conduct an enquiry of the war criminals and heavily punish those who would be found guilty. Only the Japanese Emperor was an exception to this enquiry.
3. To dismiss the Japanese government officers and other leaders who had been responsible for the Japanese aggressive policies.
4. To recover war indemnity from Japan.
5. To democratize and secularize Japan.
6. To demilitarize and disarm Japan.
7. To destroy the Japanese industries producing war materials and equipments.
8. To disintegrate the Japanese Empire and to confine her territory to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and the nearby minor islands.
9. To bring about the necessary social, economic and political reforms, so that the democratic way of life could be developed in Japan.

For Example:

- (a) Establishing in Japan such peaceful and responsible government, which would respect the rights of other countries and would support the aims and objectives of the UNO.
- (b) Fostering democratic thoughts and tendencies among the Japanese population, developing democratic institutions and teaching the Japanese people how to respect individual liberties and fundamental human rights.
- (c) Distributing the national resources and the ownership of the means of production among the common people to the maximum level, and bringing about appropriate changes in labour unions, industrial projects, trade and agriculture for their democratization. (d)

Reforming the educational system and inculcating democratic values upon the minds of the Japanese youth.

Fulfilment of the Objectives:

In order to fulfill the aforesaid objectives, the SCAP Administration implemented the following political, economic and social programme:

4.5 THE POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF OCCUPIED JAPAN

The SCAP decided not to establish direct control on the Japanese people, but would retain the Japanese Government and act through it. Thus, MacArthur executed Occupation policies through the Japanese Emperor Hirohito, who ensured stability and continuity of authority. The SCAP worked through the bureaucracy and the traditional machinery in Japan.

Disarmament and Demilitarization:

Disarmament and demilitarization of Japan was the main objective behind the Japanese occupation. This process was completed with great speed and without any difficulty. The SCAP Administration made every possible effort for the destruction of Japan's war potential.

The industries producing war materials were destroyed. Japanese troops, stationed in foreign countries were called back and were disarmed. The war ministry, the naval ministry and the "Imperial General Staff" were dissolved. The internal defense bases were destroyed. All munitions, military equipments and aircrafts were confiscated and destroyed. A ban was imposed on the production of aircrafts, war materials and ammunitions. The programme of nuclear research was stopped. Industries such as, steel, chemicals and engineering, which were favourable for the production of war materials, were considerably curtailed. Military, quasi-military, ultra-nationalist, anti-foreign and terrorist organizations were dissolved. Thus, within a short period, the aggressive machinery of Japan was totally eradicated.

Enquiry of War criminals:

The programme of demilitarization also included the destruction of the authority and influence of those, who had been instrumental in promoting the martial power of Japan. Action had to be taken against the intellectual or spiritual sources of war. As soon as the Occupation began, arrests were made of suspected war criminals. To conduct an enquiry of the war criminals, an international war criminal enquiry tribunal was established at Tokyo in January 1946. Its judges represented those 11 countries, which had fought the war against Japan. Mr. Radha Winod Paul, a judge of the Calcutta High Court, represented India. The trial of war criminals continued from 1946-1948. Cases were lodged against 30 important Japanese leaders in this Court. Four charges were levelled against them: 1 Causing danger to World Peace, 2 killing several innocent people, 3 behaviour against humanity, and 4 atrocities and duress against people

during the wartime. The verdict of the tribunal came in December 1948. The wartime Prime Minister of Japan General Tojo and six other leaders were convicted and were sentenced to death. While several criminals were sentenced to life imprisonment. In each of the Far-Eastern countries, local enquiry tribunals were set up and more than 5000 criminals were given punishments. More than 1300 Japanese organizations, giving encouragement to aggressive militarism were dissolved. More than two lakh government officers working on different levels, and who were found to be directly or indirectly responsible for the aggressive policies of Japan, were dismissed. In addition, SCAP attempted wherever possible to recover looted property and return it to its rightful owners.

Disintegration of the Japanese Empire:

After the Meiji Reforms, whichever territories Japan had occupied by her expansionist activities since the end of the nineteenth century, had now to be given back by her. The decisions pertaining to the disintegration were taken in the Cairo conference of November 1943 and Potsdam conference (Germany) of February 1945. Kurile and Southern Sakhalin were returned to Russia. All the Chinese territory, occupied by Japan during the wartime, was freed from Japanese domination. The state of Manchucuo was annulled. Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadore Islands were kept back under Chinese suzerainty. The rail lines in Manchuria were given back to Russia. Korea ceased to be a part of the Japanese Empire.

The Pacific Islands of Marshals, Marianas, Carolines, Momin, and Ryukyu (Okinawa) were brought under the American control. Thus, By the Potsdam Declaration of July 1945, Japan was deprived of all the territories obtained by her during the previous 50 years, and Japan was once again reduced to the original four main islands of Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu, together with some minor adjacent islands. Thus, the Japanese Empire, driven by imperial instinct and built by military might collapsed.

Democratization of Japan:

Japan was under the Allied Occupation for six years from 1945 to 1951. During this period, General MacArthur exercised supreme powers. MacArthur became highly popular among the Japanese. On the other hand, the Japanese showed an excellent cooperation with MacArthur.

He took upon himself the difficult task of democratization of Japan. During the post-war period, establishment and consolidation of democratic institutions was one of the main objectives of the Allied Occupation. Even this responsibility was entrusted with the SCAP. There was a need of preparing a democratic form of constitution. However, till then, instead of dissolving the "Diet" i.e. the Japanese Parliament, the SCAP got several important laws passed through it. The Parliament had only nominal powers, and it simply passed the laws made by the SCAP. The "House of Peers" was dissolved and the privileges of the nobility were cancelled. The post of the Emperor was made nominal. Property of the ruling dynasty was nationalized. As a result, the Emperor had to depend for his expenses

upon the sanction of the Parliament. New laws were introduced in the industrial and labour field, educational system was reformed, Important changes were introduced in legal system, the ban on political parties was lifted up, the civic liberties like freedom of thought, expression, association and faith were granted, political leaders imprisoned by Japan during the time of militarism, were released, even the Communist leaders of Japan were released.

Now the Communist Party of Japan emerged as a legal political party, with well-trained leaders. This party was in a sound financial condition as against other parties. The industrial workers were very much influenced by their ideology and programme. In February 1947, the Communists tried to organize a general strike as a protest against the economic condition of workers. In 1949, when SCAP Administration adopted the programme of economic rehabilitation, the Communists resorted to violence, sabotage and a "Hate America" campaign, and on 30 th May 1950, the Communist demonstrators attacked the American citizens in Tokyo. The new electoral law was passed, which granted an equal franchise to all the Japanese men and women above the age of 20. All ultra nationalist, paramilitary, and terrorist organizations were suppressed. Certain categories of persons were prohibited from engaging in public affairs.

Secularization of Japan:

The earlier regime had taken support of religion to give ideological and divine justification to militarism. Shintoism was recognized as the State Religion. It was on this religious basis that the leaders of militarism had consolidated aggressive nationalism by making people wrongly believe that Japan is a divine state, the Japanese Emperor is a representative of God, the Japanese people are superior to other races and only they have the right to dominate over others. It was necessary to end this stand, in order to eradicate Japanese aggressive militarism. Shintoism and the doctrine of divinity of the Emperor were considered to be spiritual barriers in the development of democracy. The Diet cancelled the status of Shintoism as State Religion. It even cancelled the economic patronage given to Shintoism by the Government. Shintoism was recognized only as private personal affair. Religion was separated from politics and secular principles were upheld. Religious freedom was granted to all citizens. By an order issued on 1 st January 1946, the divine theory of kingship was cancelled.

The First Elections (1946):

In order to frame a new constitution, it was necessary to elect a new constitutional committee. By passing an act, the Diet accepted the system of Universal Adult Franchise. The first elections were conducted in 1946, on the basis of this act. Seventy-two per cent of the eligible voters cast their votes. Many political parties participated in them but no single party got a conclusive majority. The Liberal Party got the maximum i.e. 130, whereas, the Progressive party got 93 seats. As a result, a coalition

government of Liberal and Progressive Parties came to power and Yoshida Shingeru assumed the oath of Prime Ministership in May 1946.

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After a brief period of political uncertainty due to split in political parties and short-lived governments, Yoshida with the support of the Americans remained as the Premier of Japan for six years from 1948 to 1954. He adopted a programme of thorough rehabilitation, free enterprise and a pro-Western foreign policy.

The MacArthur Constitution of 1947:

As a matter of fact, the new Constitution was prepared by MacArthur, but in theory, it was proclaimed by the Japanese Emperor on 3 May 1947. In March 1946, the draft of the Constitution was published, and in October 1946, the constitution received the formal approval of the Diet. From 3rd May 1947, the new Constitution came into force. With this new constitution, the 58-year old rule of 1889 Meiji constitution got over. Broadly speaking, the new constitution established the British type of constitutional monarchical form of parliamentary democracy in Japan. The new constitution consisted of 31 articles. Provisions were made in it for the Japanese Legislature, Executive, Judiciary and Local Governments. The present constitution of Japan is largely based on SCAP draft.

Main Features of the New Constitution:

Demilitarization and democratization, which were the two main objectives of Allied, were prominently reflected in this constitution also and to realize them, the following features were incorporated into it.

1. Sovereignty of the People:

The Meiji Constitution was given by the Emperor, whereas, the new Constitution, at least in theory, had been prepared by the people and had been approved by the people. In the Meiji Constitution, all the ultimate authority had been concentrated in the hands of the Emperor, whereas, under the new Constitution, people were sovereign. They exercised their sovereignty through general elections. The Preamble of the Constitution mentioned that Government was the holy inheritance of the people, the Government got its rights from the people, these rights would be executed through the people's elected representatives, and their fruits also would be enjoyed by the people themselves. Thus, the people-oriented nature of the Constitution becomes clear. The basic principle of democracy, "Government of the people, by the people and for the people" was incorporated in the Constitution itself.

2. The Emperor's post became nominal:

With the sovereignty of the people, the Emperor became only a symbol of the unity and integrity of the state and the people. He derived his position from the will of the people. His jurisdiction was confined only to ceremonies and formal programmes. All the administrative rights were

taken away from him, and he continued to be the constitutional head only in name.

3. Parliamentary Democracy:

The Parliament comprised of representatives elected by the citizens through universal adult suffrage. The Parliament was bicameral – the Lower House and the Upper House. The duration of the Lower house or the House of Representatives was four years, whereas, the duration of the upper house or the House of Counsellors was of 6 years. The Lower house comprised of 467 representatives elected from 118 electoral fields, whereas, the Upper house comprised of 250 representatives, out of whom 150 were elected from the provinces and the remaining 100 were elected from the nationwide constituencies by the citizens. Therefore, each citizen was given the right to cast two votes. Every three years, half i.e. 125 of the Counsellors retired and had to be newly elected. Therefore, the Upper house never got dissolved. Only the Parliament had the right to make legislations and to pass the budget. The Diet exercised financial control. The Upper house had a limited veto power, and if the Upper house rejected a bill, it again went to the Lower house, and if the Lower house passed it for the second time by 2/3 rd majority, the upper house could not oppose it.

The constitutional amendment bill had to be passed in the joint sitting of both the houses with a 2/3 rd majority, then be submitted to a popular referendum. On the basis of the new constitution, the new parliament prepared “new civil service code” in 1947.

4. Responsible Form of Government:

The Cabinet comprised of civilian members only. The members of the cabinet of ministers were selected from among elected members of the

Parliament, and it was responsible not to the Emperor but to the Parliament. The Prime Minister was elected by the members of the Diet (Parliament) and the Emperor formally appointed him. It was obligatory that the Prime Minister must be a member of the Parliament. He selected the members of the Cabinet and majority of them had to be the members of the Parliament. There was a special condition in the constitution that no military officer could become any minister, including the Prime Minister.

5. Independent Judiciary:

According to the new constitution, an independent Judiciary was created. The Parliament and Cabinet were based on British model, whereas, the Judiciary was based on American model. At the apex of the Judiciary was the National Supreme Court. It had the right to interpret any law, resolution, act, order, administrative rule or decision, and to have a judicial review of its own verdicts. Further, it was also the “Court of Records”. The Judges were appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers, but these appointments had to be approved by the people in the next General

Elections. Thus, incompetent judges could be called back through the ballot box.

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6. Fundamental Rights:

The Constitution proclaimed a charter of fundamental rights. According to it, all citizens were granted the freedom of thought, expression, assembly, association, and faith etc. People were given the right to elect their representatives through secret ballot. They had the right to make an appeal to the government for the redress of their grievances, to establish labour unions, solve their disputes through collective bargaining, and have equal educational opportunity etc. The citizens could move the Judiciary for safeguarding these rights.

7. Decentralization of Authority:

To consolidate democracy, the authority of the government was decentralized. The local governments were made more responsive to public opinion. The jurisdiction of the local and regional officers was increased. The number of elected officials in local administration was increased. Provincial administration was entrusted with the popularly elected legislative assemblies, and with the Governors, elected by the members of the assembly. Local bodies like municipalities were given wide legislative powers. The mayor of the cities was directly elected by the voters. The police machinery of internal security was also decentralized and was placed under elected local police commissions.

Article 9, a Special Article: According to article 9 of the Constitution, Japan had denounced war and had agreed not to keep military forces, naval bases or air force. Japan, who once by her military strength had given a blow to the big powers of the world, had to accept such a condition. Thus, it becomes evident how the Allied Powers were eager to curb the aggressive militarism of Japan.

The Economic Programme of Allied Occupation:

The SCAP Administration undertook a programme of radical economic reforms. The new administration was well aware that democratic institutions could not be strengthened unless liberal atmosphere was created and a healthy and self-sufficient economy was developed in Japan. To revive the Japanese economy, it required huge foreign help. The USA decided to provide every possible help to Japan.

Encouragement to Industrial Progress:

The industrial system of Japan had suffered tremendously due to war. Even then, the industrial base of Japan was stronger than that of any other Far Eastern country. Japan was far ahead in the field of industrial technology. With the compulsory disarmament and demilitarization of Japan, the pressure of non-productive industries on economy was reduced, and greater attention could be paid to productive industries. Basically, the Japanese are hardworking and disciplined people. With the help of high-

quality technology and American financial assistance, Japan, soon emerged as the most industrialized nation in Asia. To boost Industrial development of Japan, foreign currency was made available in large quantity. The US Government encouraged the US industrialists to make large investments in Japan. The Truman administration of the USA poured into Japan the necessary aid such as food, fertilizers, chemicals, raw materials, machinery and various other requirements. Joint industrial projects were undertaken. Through the American aid, Japanese industry and railway were revived. Until the end of the Occupation, the USA gave economic help to Japan, amounting to over two billion dollars. They brought Senator Dodge from Detroit in America to advise the Japanese. His task was to help the Japanese to put their financial house in order by insisting on strict austerity and balanced budgets. As a result, there was a considerable increase in the GNP of Japan.

Eliminating the influence of the Zaibatsus:

For the democratization of Japanese economy, the decentralization of economic power was very essential. Wealthy Zaibatsus was the greatest hindrance in the way of economic decentralization. The class of Zaibatsus had greatly helped the military imperialists.

Therefore, the SCAP Administration had realized that democratization of economy would not be possible unless the influence of Zaibatsus on the economy was destroyed. So, the industrial property of four major business houses was frozen and instead, they were given interest-free but taxable government bonds. These ten-year bonds could not be sold. To break the economic power of the Zaibatsus, an order was issued on 6 th November 1945, by which all the Zaibatsus were dissolved, and their shares were handed over to the “Holding Company liquidation Commission”. Later on, they were sold to the people. A law was passed in 1947, by which The Zaibatsu family members were not allowed to be associated with the companies, for a period of ten years, which they once owned. Thus, decentralization of economic power was largely achieved. In 1947, an Anti-Monopoly Law was passed in order to eliminate the influence of the Zaibatsu. However, due to their tremendous wealth, the Zaibatsus continued to influence the economy from behind the curtain. The “Economic decentralization Law” of December 1947, intended to break up the big companies into small companies to create a new economic environment.

Passing of new Labour Laws:

Democratization of economy required liberal atmosphere in industries and protection of labour welfare. The laws passed in the industrial field, fixed the national minimum wages, and a 48-hour working week. The labour movement received a new direction. A new trade union law was passed in December 1945 on the line of the “American National Labour Relations Act” of 1935. It gave freedom to the trade unions and gave the workers the right to join trade unions, to bargain collectively, and to strike. The union leaders, who had been imprisoned since 1930 during the military regime,

were now released. As a result, by 1950, the membership of the trade unions rose to more than 50 lakhs. Federations of workers like “Federation of Labour” and Congress of Industrial unions” came into being. However, when the Communist Party began to use strike, sabotage and violence for political purposes, the SCAP had to take cognizance of it. Because these techniques created hindrances in the economic reconstruction of Japan. Therefore, strikes for political purposes were banned. Communists were purged from workers’ organizations. A law was passed prohibiting government employees from striking.

Agricultural Reforms:

The agricultural reforms attempted to provide rural employment and also to produce the food required by the nation. Prior to 1945, rural poverty was a serious economic problem before Japan. There were two basic reasons of rural poverty. 1 rapid growth of population compared to agricultural progress, and 2 unequal distribution of agricultural land. Obviously, the new administration provided utmost priority to agricultural reforms. They attempted to provide employment to rural population and produce food required by the nation. The influence of landed gentry in rural politics and economy was decreased. A land reform act was passed in October 1946. Its main objectives were: reducing feudalism in agricultural field, passing the ownership of land to the tillers of land, improving the economic condition of the farmers, giving them economic independence, freeing the tenants and agricultural labourers from the tyranny of landlords, and obtaining the cooperation of the peasants in the building up of democracy. In this context, several revolutionary changes were brought about. Ceiling on landholdings was imposed, and under no circumstances, a person would be allowed to hold more than ten acres of land. It was decided that all the absentee landlords would sell their entire land, and other landlords, keeping ten acres with themselves, would sell the excess land to the Government. The land thus becoming available to Government was then sold to the cultivators at a very moderate price and they were given the facility to pay the stipulated amount to government in installments over a period of 30 years. Fifty lakh acres of land was thus distributed among the cultivators. Every peasant was allowed to purchase 7/5 acres for self-cultivation and 2/5 acres for giving to tenant on rent. Thus, the ownership of 90 per cent land passed on to the tillers of land. A new big class of petty landowners came into existence, which proved to be even politically influential. To feed the growing population, the SCAP Administration made efforts to increase food production. It encouraged the peasants to make use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, insecticides and mechanical tools. Tenants were given greater protection of law. It was made obligatory that every agreement of leasing land must be in written form. The rate of rent was fixed to 25 per cent of total income from land. This was nearly half of the former rent. By 1955, 12 lakh acres of new land was brought under cultivation. The government objective of eradicating feudalism was achieved to a great extent. The result of all these reforms was that the rural indebtedness largely disappeared. However, the agricultural problem of Japan could not be fully solved because there were too many farmers for too little land. Therefore,

peasants were encouraged to adopt the subsidiary occupations like sericulture, cottage industry and fishing. The newly formed peasants' union attracted more than a million farmers as its members.

Other Economic Reforms:

The SCAP Administration introduced other measures like reducing government expenditure, restricting the bank-practice of giving loans at a very low interest rate, recovering taxes on regular basis, stabilizing the salaries and wages, controlling market prices, agricultural reforms, effective requisitioning of food grains, improving the food distribution system, balancing income and expenditure, and avoiding deficit budgeting etc. From 1948 however, instead of reformation, the Government emphasized on rehabilitation and reconstruction.

4.6 SOCIAL PROGRAMME OF THE SCAP ADMINISTRATION

Social Equality:

The new constitution had recognized equality of men and women. It was accepted in political and educational fields as well. Japanese law codes were revised to give women equality with men in all respects. Women were given right to inheritance, right to vote and right to get elected on the Diet. The basic unit recognized by Japanese law was changed from the 'household' to the individual. In the field of education, the reforms were directed to achieve equal educational opportunity to men and women.

Educational Reforms:

The new administration aimed at introducing radical reforms in the traditional system of Japanese education. Because the educational system of Japan was favourable for aggressive militarism. It had strong faith in the divinity of the Japanese Emperor and the racial superiority of the Japanese people. The school textbooks emphasized the militant traditions of Japan. The teaching community also maintained the imperialistic traditions. Thus, the educational environment was conducive to aggressive imperialism. Therefore, the educational reform programme emphasized on curbing the militaristic traditions.

The teachers actively preserving and supporting aggressive nationalism and militarism were sacked. About 1/4 th of teachers were purged under this campaign. The curricula were changed, new subjects were introduced and textbooks were newly rewritten. The traditional education emphasized upon strict obedience, blind faith about national leadership, and ethical education. It did not have any scope for independent thinking. As a result, it had been possible to make the attitude and tendency of the Japanese people favourable for militarism.

The new system emphasized on independent thinking and liberal education. Instead of ethical education, greater attention was paid towards

the study of social sciences. The period of compulsory education was extended from six years to nine years. Education was given a broader outlook. The introduction of new subjects required new trained teachers as it was based on the American lines. The teaching of Shintoism was prohibited in schools.

From 1948, the Japanese youth were provided greater opportunities to go to Western countries for education. The literacy rate in Japan was very high, but very few students got the opportunity of higher education. The new administration remodelled Japanese educational system on American lines. To bring about the decentralization of education, universities were established on regional basis. Earlier, the selection and appointment of teachers, curricula and textbooks were under the education department. But, now these things were placed under the local elected committees. The history of Japan was rewritten, so that students would not learn about the glorious careers of emperors but about the realities of the world like class struggle, exploitation etc.

Change in American Attitude towards Japan:

A number of factors contributed to a gradual change in the attitude of the United States towards Japan. The growing strength of Communism was posing a great threat to Democratic capitalistic countries. After 1948, the Cold War between the USA and the USSR got intensified and even the Far Eastern region came under its grip. Moreover, in October 1949, a Communist revolution had been successful in China. The Japanese Communists, along with the industrial workers and student organizations had launched the "Hate America" campaign from 1949. There was a great concern in America about the cost of subsidizing the Japanese economy. Checking the spread of Communism was the central theme of the US international policy. To check the growth of Communism in the Far East, the USA found it necessary that instead of treating Japan as an enemy country, it would be in her own interest to treat Japan as a friendly nation and obtain her cooperation. Out of this attitude, it was strongly felt in the USA that the Japanese Occupation should be ended, Japan should be given full independence and a Peace Treaty should be signed with her. Due to the Korean War of 1950, this stand got greater backing. The main aim behind the Allied Occupation of Japan was to curb the aggressive militant Imperialism of Japan, and that goal had been largely accomplished. Once the economic stability was restored, the presence of the Allied troops in Japan was found to be uncomfortable and humiliating to the Japanese people. It was not in the US interest to extend the period of Occupation and provoke the anger of the Japanese people. Owing to all these reasons, the USA took a lead in entering into a Peace Treaty with Japan.

The San Francisco Peace Treaty (1951):

In November 1950, the USA finalized the basic terms of a Peace Treaty to be made with Japan. According to them, the Allied Occupation was to come to an end, Japan was to have her fully independent Government, she was to be partly remilitarized for her internal defense, and efforts were to

be made to bring Japan closer to the Western countries. Soviet Russia and China opposed this Peace Treaty. On 5 th September 1951, a conference was held at San Francisco, in which representatives of 52 countries participated, out of which 49 countries signed the Peace Treaty with Japan. India, Burma and Yugoslavia did not participate in this conference. The Nationalist China and Communist China were not invited for this conference. Although, Soviet Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other Communist countries participated, they did not sign the Peace Treaty. The US representative John Foster Dulles played lion's role in drafting this treaty. Prime Minister Yoshida signed the treaty on the part of Japan. By this Treaty, Japan was accorded the status of a full sovereign independent nation. It was not kept binding on her to adhere to all the laws passed during the period of Occupation. Japan gave her consent to forgo all the territories, which she was deprived of in 1945 after the Second World War. The foreign armies stationed in Japan, were to be withdrawn within 90 days. She also agreed to recognize the principles of the UNO. Japan was allowed to partly develop her own troops for her internal defense. No economic sanctions were imposed on her.

End of Allied Occupation:

The Treaty of San Francisco came into force from 28th April 1952, and from that day, the period of Allied Occupation came to an end, and Japan again emerged as a sovereign independent nation. On the same day of signing the San Francisco Treaty, another agreement called the Mutual Security Pact was made between the USA and Japan. By this Pact, even after the termination of Allied Occupation, the American troops would continue to be stationed in Japan and America permanently took over the responsibility of providing external protection to Japan.

4.7 SUMMARY

The ambitious reform programme launched by the administration of Allied occupation under the supreme leadership of General Douglas MacArthur, was largely successful. The Japanese army had been demoralized due to the defeat and surrender in the Second World War. The image of the army in the Japanese life was badly affected. The Allied administration carried out the task of demilitarization with great discipline and restraint; therefore, it could be achieved without much difficulty. Although, the post of the Emperor was reduced to a nominal head, his historic institute was not abolished; therefore, strong resentment of the people could be avoided. Even the Emperor did not show much opposition to the changes taking place during the period of transition. The goal of Allied Occupation to consolidate democratic institutions and establish a socially and economically free society was achieved as per expectations. Several historians regard the Occupation years as “a major historic watershed for Japan, ranking next to the period of Meiji restoration as a time of fundamental change in institutions and values.” For many observers these years appeared to bring about Japan's final break with those feudal and Confucian values, which had remained as remnants of the Tokugawa old regime. One cannot deny that the Occupation was more

than a catalyst, though it was not the only force that pressed for change in the post-war Japan. The administrative skills, leadership, vision, enthusiasm and charisma of General MacArthur made him extremely popular among the Japanese.

American occupation
of Japan

4.8 QUESTIONS

1. Explain the administrative machinery of Allied Occupation in Japan.
2. What were the Objectives of the Allied Occupation in Japan?
3. How did the SCAP achieve its objectives?
4. Explain the main objectives of Allied Occupation of Japan, and bring out how they were accomplished.
5. Discuss the political programme of the SCAP Administration
6. How was a new Constitution for Japan framed? What were its main features?
7. Describe the Economic programme implemented by the SCAP.
8. Explain the social achievements of the Allied Administration.
9. Why did the American attitude towards Japan change? How Japan emerged to be an independent Nation?
10. Write short notes on the following:
 - (A) Effects of Second World War on Japan
 - (B) Allied Occupation of Japan
 - (C) Objectives of Allied Occupation
 - (D) Structure of Administrative Machinery
 - (E) Demilitarization and Democratization of Japan
 - (F) The new Constitution of 1947
 - (G) The Economic Reforms under Allied Occupation
 - (H) Development of Education
 - (I) End of Allied Occupation

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ECONOMIC MIRACLE IN JAPAN

Unit Structure:

- 5.0 Objective
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Initial Problems Before Independent Japan
- 5.3 The Economic Miracle
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 Questions
- 5.6 References

5.0 OBJECTIVE

After going through this unit, the students will be able to:

- Understand the various problems before Independent Japan.
- Study the economic Miracle in Japan.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

With the Treaty of San Francisco, the Allied Occupation of Japan came to an end and Japan emerged as an independent sovereign country from 1952. Now she got an opportunity to frame her own destiny through new political, economic and social programmes.

5.2 INITIAL PROBLEMS BEFORE INDEPENDENT JAPAN

The seven-year period of Allied Occupation was not sufficient to change the mindset of Japanese and establish democratic institutions on firm footing. Although, from 1947, the SCAP Administration had introduced several reforms with a view to consolidating democratic institutions, the Japanese people had not acquired sufficient experience to run the democratic institutions. Japan had not yet developed the transparent atmosphere necessary for the development of democratic machinery. Japan had achieved only a limited amount of economic development and stability. During the period of Allied Occupation, the Japanese polity and economy had been inevitably influenced by the USA. The Communist countries like Russia and China were against this US influence. Even some of the Japanese groups did not like this US influence. On the international scene, Japan stood on the borderline of Communist World

and the so-called Free World. In such a situation, Japan had to start her new life.

Introduction of further economic reforms, limited remilitarization of Japan for her internal defense, improvement of relations with the Communist Block and improvement of economic relations with other countries were the main problems before the Yoshida Government.

Yoshida's successor Prime Minister Hatoyama tried to develop economic and diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and Communist China, but while doing so, he took sufficient care not to offend the USA.

5.3 THE ECONOMIC MIRACLE

Initial Difficulties:

Establishing a progressive and stable economy was a challenge before the new government. But there were several obstacles in the way of achieving this goal. The industrial resources were limited and due to the defeat in the Second World War, Japan had to lose many important territories, which put further limitations on her economic development. Due to the loss of Korea, Manchuria, Formosa and the Pacific Islands, Japan was deprived of important mineral resources, sugar, rice and other food grains. Reduction in her oceanic field, adversely affected her fishing industry. Thus, while the factors favourable for economic development were reducing, there was a constant increase in the Japanese population. After the end of the Second World War, more than sixty lakh Japanese people returned home from colonies. The rate of population growth was also quite high. By the time the Allied Occupation came to an end, the population of Japan had reached nine crores. In such an adverse situation, Japan had to accomplish her economic development. However, the disciplined Japanese population was her greatest capital. With the help of this population and constant American aid, Japan could make the economic miracle.

Population Control:

In order to achieve rapid economic development, two important things had to be done: 1 population control, and 2 searches for new markets. Efforts were made to control population growth. Abortion was legalized in 1948 and the programme included a national campaign to encourage family planning. This programme was largely successful due to government encouragement and cooperation of the people. The population first got stabilized and there after grew slowly. Gains in economic output, therefore, were not offset by a rapidly expanding population, and steady industrial growth brought full employment and even labour shortages.

Growth of Commerce and Industries:

Japanese trade with the South-East Asian countries had discontinued after the end of Second World War. But, the dispute of war indemnity was solved and the markets of those countries were recaptured. Due to high quality of her finished goods, Japan could withstand foreign competition

and could capture new markets in the countries of Latin America, Africa and Europe. Due to the compulsory demilitarization of Japan, she could now save the huge expenditure incurred on armed forces. The expenditure on maintenance of the colonies was also saved. This money and energy could be employed in industrial development. During the wartime, her huge industrial field had been ravaged. Now government gave several concessions to rebuild new industrial units in those areas. As a result, a network of small industrial units with latest production techniques was created throughout the country. These units used the latest developments in technology, which were often more efficient than those of their foreign competitors. The development of consumer economy gave a significant boost to Japanese industries. She now began to concentrate on high-quality and high-technology products meant for domestic and foreign consumption. In all types of industries ranging from shipbuilding to electronics, and from textile to printing industry, Japan began her production on par with the most advanced Western countries. Industries like mining, coal, chemicals and machines and tools made remarkable progress. More people got employment in industries than in agriculture. Japan led the world in the production of steel, electronics, radio sets, automobiles and ships. The Japanese goods were less expensive compared to those produced by the Western countries, because skilled labour could be available in Japan at low wages. Thus, Japan rapidly captured even the markets of the Western countries by supplying high quality goods at a low price. The Japanese became enthusiastic followers of the American statistician W. Edward Deming's ideas on quality control and soon began producing goods that were more reliable and contained fewer flaws than those of the United States and Western Europe. Japan undoubtedly became the industrial leader of Asia.

In the field of power generation, Japan produced 50 per cent of the total electricity produced by the entire Asian continent excluding the Russian portion of Asia. Japan ranked fifth in steel production, fourth in cement production, third in total industrial production, and the first in commercial navy in the world. Japanese exports included high quality steel, precision optical equipment, automobiles, textiles, ships, colour television sets, and other electronic products. In the 1960s Japanese exports expanded at an annual rate of more than 15 per cent, and in 1965 Japan had a trade surplus.

Economic Prosperity:

An average increase in Gross Domestic Production of over 9.2 per cent per annum from 1953 to 1973 is a quantum of growth unparalleled in any other advanced country in the world. By 1960, food shortage had become the thing of the past. By 1961, the growth rate of industrial production in Japan reached the pre-war level, which is considered as a phenomenal economic growth, as Japan had lost about more than a half of her pre-war territories and had to take back about 50 million overseas Japanese. By 1963, Japan became one of the leading industrial nations of the world. She was successful in keeping the per capita output more than the rate of her population growth and the per capita income was about 20 per cent higher

than the pre-war level. It is astonishing to know that a defeated and nearly bankrupt nation could exceed the average income by three to four times, that of any other Asian country, and could boast of a higher income than that of Mexico, Turkey and Soviet Russia, in a span of ten years after independence. The key Government offices like the Ministry of Finance, the Bank of Japan, and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) played an important role in bringing economic prosperity to Japan. Japan was able to import advanced foreign technology at low cost. There was a youthful and well-educated workforce, a high domestic savings rate that provided ample capital, and an activist government and bureaucracy that provided guidance, support, and subsidies. All these factors were favourable for rapid and sustained economic growth of Japan.

Another significant factor was Ikeda Hayato's Income Doubling Plan of 1960. This plan reaffirmed the government's responsibility for social welfare, vocational training, and education. The gross national product had nearly doubled during the decade after independence. The per capita rate of growth was around 8 per cent. The standard of living substantially increased, as by 1960, practically every home had a radio set and nearly half of the population owned television sets and washing machines. In 1960, the Japanese Government expected to double the national income by 1970. After 1970, the Japanese yen dislodged even the American dollar in the international market. Japan emerged as the most prosperous nation in Asia.

Growth of Agricultural Sector:

The progress was not restricted to the industrial field alone, the farm output increased by about 40 per cent. Independent Japan passed the "Agricultural Labour Law" in 1952 and thus confirmed the SCAP legislation in that direction. Rents were paid in cash and the tenant was guaranteed security of tenure on the basis of a written contract. There was less of leasing the land and more of investment of capital into farming. Mechanization in the large size holdings increased the yield. The changing patterns of urban food consumption provided an expanded market for cash crops, fruits and vegetables, and meat products. Even then, due to the limited availability of agricultural land, the peasants had to search for income from non-agricultural sources. During the period of 15 years, (1952-1967), production in the fields of agriculture, fishing and forest work increased by over 40 per cent.

Foreign Policy:

The focusing of the new foreign policy was on obtaining maximum foreign aid and promoting export trade. Though the Peace Treaty between the USA and Japan was signed, it did not bring about the solution to Japanese problems. It was merely the formal beginning of Japan's efforts as a sovereign state to chart her course at home and abroad in the post-war world. The relations between Japan and Soviet Russia were not very cordial. Japan's strong tie with the USA during and after the Occupation was a hindrance in the way of improving relations between Japan and

Soviet Russia. However, after a compromise agreement in 1956, the relations began to improve. The American pressure prevented Japan from cultivating cordial relations with Communist China. However, Japan maintained friendly relations with the Nationalist Government of Chiang-Kai-Shek in Taiwan. Japan's attempts to cultivate good relations with countries of South-East Asia also did not succeed due to the bitterness created by the Japanese occupation of those countries during the Second World War.

However, Japan's relations with India were consistently cordial. Japan became a member of the UNO in December 1956 and slowly her relations with other countries improved in her interest. Relations with Germany were established in 1955 purely on commercial basis.

Foreign Relations leading to Economic Development:

Japanese foreign policy and her economic development went hand-in-hand. Many factors contributed to this economic miracle. The character of the Japanese people, their capacity to work hard and their high technical skill were obviously very significant factors.

Improvement of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and China, leading to the development of commercial relations with them was also an important factor. Commercial treaties were signed with other Western countries as well. The contribution of the United States to the spectacular development in the economic field was the largest single factor for the prosperity of independent Japan. Further, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 brightened her prospects for exports. As the staging area for the United Nations forces on the Korean Peninsula, Japan profited indirectly from the war. The American Government placed orders for goods and services necessary for the war effort that gave Japan an indirect aid of about four billion dollars. The United States sponsored Japan's membership of "General Agreement on Tariff and Trade" (GATT), Development Assistance Group (DAG) and Organization in Economic Cooperation and Development. The United States thus helped Japan to bring her into the world market. By 1957, the USA spent over fifty crore dollars per annum in Japan. The American sponsorship, technical assistance and a generous tariff policy enabled Japan to maintain an increasing volume of world trade and at the same time, keep control over her domestic consumption. The new industrial policy that emerged out of the "Ministry of Trade and Industry" (MITI) of 1959 changed the structure of the Japanese economy. It began to concentrate on high-quality and high-technology products meant for domestic and foreign consumption. Ikeda Hayato's "Income Doubling Plan" of 1960 reaffirmed the Government's responsibility for social welfare, vocational training and education. Improvement in transportation such as, cargo-handling methods and bulk transport by large ore carriers and tankers helped Japan to export her products to far off countries. During this period, the domestic market of Japan was expanding to an unprecedented level. But, Japan had to control domestic demand, as she had to purchase raw materials needed for industrial development.

Temporary slowing down of Japanese Economy:

The era of rapid economic growth ended in the early 1970s, when Japan's economy underwent a sudden slowdown. This was due to two external events. In 1971 the United States abandoned the system of fixed foreign exchange rates. This change caused the value of the yen to rise, and consequently, Japanese exports fell. In 1973 an increase in crude oil prices caused recessions in countries around the world. In Japan price increase. Japan soon overcame these difficulties, but growth continued only at a much slower rate. Meanwhile, Japan began to face the problems of an industrialized society. These included urban congestion, pollution, and environmental degradation and dissatisfaction with increasing land price.

Recovery of the Economy:

During the 1970s and 1980s, Japan tried to integrate its economy more effectively into the global system. Japan became a firm advocate of international free trade. She tried to create a measure of energy through the increased use of nuclear power generation. Laws were passed in the Diet to combat environmental pollution.

By the 1980s the Japanese economy had become one of the worlds largest and most sophisticated. Her per capita income had surpassed that of the United States, The Japanese economy successfully met the problems of the recessions created by increased oil prices in 1972-74 and 1979-81. This enabled Japan to increase the volume of exports.

Reconstructing Japanese Economy:

Mounting Japanese trade surpluses increased friction between Japan and its trading partners in Europe and the United States. Japan was accused that she advocated free trade abroad but maintained a closed market at home. There were also complaints that Japan sold goods abroad at lower than domestic prices. The government and bureaucracy responded to these accusations by making efforts to 'open' Japan. Restrictions on many agricultural products were lifted. Japan's financial markets were deregulated and liberalized. By the end of the decade formal barriers to trade had been largely removed.

5.4 SUMMARY

Japan unbelievable economic recovery within a short period after her devastating experience during the Second World War can be considered more than an 'Economic Miracle. It goes to the credit of the Japanese leadership in particular and the people in general that they could pull out the nation from humiliating defeat and utter destruction. In this respect, the role played by General MacArthur cannot be ignored. The Economic Miracle brought about by discipline and hard work by the Japanese replaced their pre-War militarism into an economic imperialism. Japanese products, by their quality and competitiveness captured the world and penetrated into the remotest markets of the globe.

Following the Economic Miracle Japan came to be counted as one of the most powerful economies of the world.

Economic Miracle in
Japan

5.5 QUESTIONS

1. Once Japan became independent, what were the initial difficulties before her?
2. What do you understand by the term 'Economic Miracle'? How was it achieved?
3. Discuss the economic progress made by Japan during the Post-Occupation period.
4. Describe the progress made in the fields of commerce and industry by Japan during the Post-Occupation period.
5. Explain the effects of the Economic Miracle on the Japanese life.
6. Discuss the Japanese achievements in agriculture, commerce and industry.
7. How Japanese foreign policy helped to achieve the Economic Miracle?
8. Write short notes on the following:
 - (A) Progress in Agriculture
 - (B) Export trade
 - (C) Industrial development
 - (D) Foreign policy

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FOREIGN POLICY OF JAPAN WITH THE USA

Unit Structure:

- 6.0 Objective
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 The Yoshida doctrine of 1951
- 6.3 Guiding Principles of Foreign Policy
- 6.4 Japanese Efforts to improve relations with other countries
- 6.5 Foreign Relations leading to Economic Development
- 6.6 US Efforts to Improve Relations
- 6.7 Summary
- 6.8 Questions
- 6.9 References

6.0 OBJECTIVE

After going through this unit, the learner will be able to understand to:

- Understand the foreign policy of Japan.
- Review the foreign relations to economic development.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Non-involvement in political events of the world became the central theme of Japanese foreign policy together with very rapid growth of her industrial exports. Soon Japan emerged to be one of the four largest economies in the world. The focusing of the new foreign policy was on maintaining political neutrality in foreign affairs while expanding economic relations wherever possible and obtaining maximum foreign aid and promoting export trade. This policy could be successful due to the military protection provided by the USA. Though the Peace Treaty between the USA and Japan was signed on 8 th September 1951 at San Francisco, it did not bring about the solution to Japanese problems. It was merely the formal beginning of Japan's efforts as a sovereign state to chart her course at home and abroad in the post-war world. Along with the Peace Treaty, Japan also entered into a Security pact with the USA in 1951, by which the US troops were allowed to be stationed on Japanese soil for the protection of Japan against any internal or external threats.

Friendly and cooperative relations with the USA is the cornerstone of Japan's foreign policy. The main difficulty was how to establish and improve relations with other countries without offending and alienating the USA. This foreign policy is based on principles like freedom, democracy, human rights, rule of the law, international peace and stability, security and cultural exchange. As her economic power increased, Japan could not remain aloof for a long period on international scene. She had to play a prominent role on global basis.

6.2 THE YOSHIDA DOCTRINE OF 1951

Japan has close economic and military relations with the USA. America is the major market for Japanese exports and the major source of Japanese imports, and is committed to defending the USA with military bases in Japan. The Japanese Prime Minister Shejiru Yoshida (1948-1954) formed a strategy known as the Yoshida doctrine of 1951. It shaped the Japanese foreign policy for the future. It reiterated that 1. Japan is firmly allied with the USA in the Cold War against Communism, 2. Japan relies on American military strength and therefore, limits its own defense forces to a minimum, and 3. Japan emphasizes economic diplomacy in her world affairs. The Yoshida doctrine was accepted by the United States.

However, this approach has changed from time-to-time. Although initially Japan agreed to keep minimum military forces and has renounced her right to declare a war, now she spends huge portion of her budget on her defense and maintains latest self-defense forces which rank as the world's strongest military forces.

6.3 GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of Japan was based upon certain guiding principles – 1. Close cooperation with the United States for both security and economic reasons; 2. Promotion of a free- trade system congenial to Japan's own economic needs; 3. International cooperation through the United Nations Organization (UNO); 4. To establish its credibility as a peaceful member of the world community. National security was entrusted to the protective shield and nuclear umbrella of the United States; 5. To remove the suspicion and resentment for Japan, which prevailed in the mind of the neighbouring countries; 6. To oppose terrorism in any form and in any country.

6.4 JAPANESE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

The relations between Japan and Soviet Russia were not very cordial. The relations were strained due to Japanese rejection of Russian control over the Southern Kuril Islands. Japan's strong tie with the USA during and after the Occupation was a hindrance in the way of improving relations between Japan and Soviet Russia. However, after a compromise agreement in 1956, the relations began to improve. The American pressure prevented Japan from cultivating cordial relations with Communist China.

However, Japan maintained friendly relations with the Nationalist Government of Chiang-Kai-Shek in Taiwan. Japan's attempts to cultivate good relations with countries of South-East Asia also did not succeed due to the bitterness created by the Japanese occupation of those countries during the Second World War. However, Japan's relations with India were consistently cordial. Japan became a member of the UNO in December 1956 and slowly her relations with other countries improved in her interest. Relations with Germany were established in 1955 purely on commercial basis.

6.5 FOREIGN RELATIONS LEADING TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Japanese foreign policy and her economic development went hand-in-hand. Many factors contributed to this economic miracle. The character of the Japanese people, their capacity to work hard and their high technical skill were obviously very significant factors.

Improvement of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and China, leading to the development of commercial relations with them was also an important factor. Commercial treaties were signed with other Western countries as well. Even during the post-occupation period, the USA continued to pour money in Japan. The contribution of the United States to the spectacular development in the economic field was the largest single factor for the prosperity of independent Japan. Further, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 brightened her prospects for exports. As the staging area for the United Nations forces on the Korean Peninsula, Japan profited indirectly from the war. The American Government placed orders for goods and services necessary for the war effort that gave Japan an indirect aid of about four billion dollars. The United States sponsored Japan's membership of "General Agreement on Tariff and Trade" (GATT), Development Assistance Group (DAG) and Organization in Economic Cooperation and Development. The United States thus helped Japan to bring her into the world market. By 1957, the USA spent over fifty crore dollars per annum in Japan. The American sponsorship, technical assistance and a generous tariff policy enabled Japan to maintain an increasing volume of world trade and at the same time, keep control over her domestic consumption.

foreign relations leading to economic development:

Although Japan had signed the Security Treaty with the USA in 1951, it did not specify the date of its abrogation. It did not place Japan on equal footing. From 1952, the treaty came to be strongly opposed by many Japanese. Protests were staged in different parts of Japan against the ongoing presence of American naval basis and American troops even though the foreign occupation had officially ended. Moreover, America had not returned some of the Japanese islands like Okinawa and Bonin occupied by her. The protests in Tokyo turned violent, coming to be remembered as "Bloody May Day". In response to this situation, the Japanese Government began to push for the revision of the treaty. When

the USA proposed to expand her air base at Sunagawa to the south of Tokyo, the Japanese people vehemently opposed it. At last, during the Prime Ministership of Nobusuke Kishi, the Eisenhower administration agreed to significantly withdraw the American troops from Japan and revised the Security Treaty in January 1960. It placed Japan on equal footing. Now the treaty could be abrogated by either power by giving one-year prior notice.

6.6 U. S. EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS

Although the revised treaty was far better, some of the Japanese were not happy with it. They demanded not ratification but total abrogation of the treaty and ending the US-Japan alliance entirely. So, the protest march continued. The Security Treaty crisis significantly damaged U.S.-Japan relations. So, the new US President John F. Kennedy and new Japanese Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda worked to repair the damage. They both met at Washington in 1961. At the Summit, Kennedy promised Ikeda that he would henceforth treat Japan more like a close ally such as Great Britain. Kennedy appointed sympathetic Japan expert and Harvard professor Edwin O. Reischauer as ambassador to Japan, rather than a career diplomat. Reischauer worked to repair the recent rift in US-Japan relations. In June 1968, the USA returned the Bonin Islands to Japan. In 1972, the USA returned the Okinawa Island to Japan.

Mounting Pressure of Public opinion leads to Changing Foreign Policy:

From 1970 the pressure of the Japanese public opinion was mounting on the government that without disturbing relations with the United States, Japan must take greater initiative in international matters independent of the USA. Japan's phenomenal economic growth had made her a ranking world economic power and had generated a sense of pride and self-esteem among the younger generation. They believed that it is now high time that the strong economic power of Japan turns into a strong political power. However, the growing international trade of Japan was taken by many countries as an economic aggression. The political scenario on the international front also demanded that Japan should re-think of her foreign policy. Two external events adversely affected the growth of Japanese economy. In 1971 President Nixon gave two shocks to Japan. Without consulting Japan, he announced his visit to China. He also increased the export duty by 10 percent, which would adversely affect the Japanese exports to USA. The United States abandoned the system of fixed foreign exchange rates. This change caused the value of the yen to rise, and consequently, Japanese exports fell. In 1973 an increase in crude oil prices caused recessions in countries around the world. In Japan, it caused price increase. Thus, although the basic relations between Japan and the USA continued, there were mounting frictions due to economic rivalry. Changes in the power relationships in the Asia-Pacific quadrilateral—made up of Japan, the People's Republic of China, the United States, and the Soviet Union also called for re-examination of policies. The events like the failure of the United States in Vietnam War and the subsequent

withdrawal of the US troops from Indo-China, and the expanding Soviet military power in the Western Pacific required a re-evaluation of Japan's security position and overall role in Asia.

The Japanese people started questioning the credibility of the United States ability to protect Japanese interests. The shift therefore required autonomous framing of foreign policy. Japan began to depend less on Western countries for her resources. For example, oil was obtained directly from the producing countries in the Middle East and not from the Western-controlled multinational companies. Other important raw materials also increasingly came from countries other than the United States and its allies, while trade with the United States as a share of total trade significantly dropped during the decade of the 1970s. Thus, the oil crises of the 1970s prompted Japan to adopt less passive and more independent foreign policy.

Improvement in mutual Relations:

After 1982 however, the Japan-US relations began to improve owing to several unhappy international events. The leaders of Japan welcomed the reassertion of United States military power in Asian and world affairs following the Islamic revolution in Iran, the Teheran hostage crisis, and the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan. The Soviet expansionist policy on international level alarmed the democratic capitalist group. Japan supported the USA in imposing economic sanctions on Soviet Russia. Japanese leaders played a strong supporting role in checking the expansion of Soviet economic and political power and her allies in sensitive areas among the developing world countries. Japan quickly responded to the US request of foreign assistance to the countries of Middle-east and Central Asia. Japan provided economic aid to Pakistan, Turkey, Egypt, Oman, Jordan and Jamaica. Soon Japan emerged to be the second largest donor of foreign aid. The realignment of United States and Japanese currencies in the mid-1980s increased the growth of Japanese trade, aid, and investment, especially in Asia. Japan became the world's largest creditor, an increasingly active investor in the United States, and a major contributor to international debt relief, financial institutions, and other assistance efforts. Japan began to play an important role in International bodies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. On the request of the UNO, Japan sent her peace keeping force to certain countries. The US-Japan Nuclear Cooperation Agreement was signed in 1987, which was an agreement concerning the peaceful use of nuclear energy. It would benefit both.

Collapse of Soviet Union increases Japanese Importance:

The collapse of the Soviet Union led to the independence of several republics and East European countries. Internally they faced several economic and political problems for which they expected Japanese help. These former communist countries were anxiously seeking aid, trade, and technical benefits from Japan. Whereas, the USA had been unsuccessful in

Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan. Thus, the power of the United States was also waning.

Therefore, the USA increasingly looked towards Japan to shoulder the responsibility of helping the East European countries in their transformation. Japanese industries and enterprises were among the most capable in the world. High savings and investment rates and high-quality education solidified Japan into an international leader.

6.7 SUMMARY

The foreign policy of Japan was slowly evolving through the decades. Initially, Japan depended on the USA for her military and economic help. So, Japan adopted a submissive and neutral foreign policy. Japan entered into the Peace Treaty and the Security Pact with the USA. Under the American help and protection, Japan made tremendous progress in all the aspects of her economy. Now the new generation of Japan demanded that Japan should end her submissive policy and should independently play an assertive role on global basis. Japan could not remain unaffected from the political events which were taking place on international scene. The Growing economic power of Japan began to creat friction and rivalry between Japan and the USA. The United States tried to create several hindrances in the way of Japanese progress. However, at last, the USA herself required increasing Japanese help and support. Therefore, Japan began to play a prominent role as an international leader.

6.8 QUESTIONS

1. What were the guiding principles on which the foreign policy was based? How far were they successful?
2. Explain the Japan-US relations during the post-occupation period.
3. Describe the rapid economic progress made by Japan under the US help and protection.
4. Why did the public opinion demand revision of Japanese foreign policy?
5. What factors led to the emergence of Japan as an international leader?
6. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) The peace Treaty of 1951
 - (b) The Security Pact of 1951
 - (c) Basic principles of Japanese foreign policy
 - (d) The Yoshida Doctrine of 1951
 - (e) Revision of the Security Pact

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COLD WAR AND VIETNAM

Unit Structure:

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Ancient Vietnam
- 7.3 National Resistance Movement: The Early Phase
- 7.4 National Resistance Movement- The Mature Phase
- 7.5 Second Indochina War 1964-1975
- 7.6 Summary
- 7.7 Bibliography

7.0 OBJECTIVES:

After going through this unit, the learners will be able to understand

- To know the ancient historical background of Vietnam.
- To understand the national movement of Vietnam.
- To review the Cold War and Vietnam conflict.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a country in Southeast Asia which has China, Cambodia, and Laos as its neighbours. During the colonial times it had Thailand as its neighbour. As per interpolated U.N. data 2021 it has a population of 9.85 crores. It is located in the Indo-China peninsula. And has a land border with neighbouring countries measuring 4500 kilometres. From north to south it measures 1,650 kilometres. There are two major deltaic regions in the country: The Red River delta called the northern delta and the Mekong delta called the Southern delta. The coastline of the country measures 3,260 kilometres. Apart from a few well-known islands about 3000 islets in Tonkin gulf belong to the country.



<https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/vietnam-political-map.htm>

7.2 ANCIENT VIETNAM

Vietnam had many names in the ancient period. The Chinese had named it Nan-Yueh and the Tonking area as Chiao Chih. In the seventh century it was called Annam which is a Chinese term with the meaning ‘the pacified south’. When the Vietnamese overthrew the direct Chinese rule of Northern Vietnam in the 10th Century they called the country Dai-Co-Viet (country of the Great Viet People)

The Hindu Funan kingdom comprised parts of Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand. It existed between the 1st and the 6th century C.E. when it merged with the state of Chenla. In the coastal region in Central Vietnam the kingdom of Lin Yi was in existence since 192 C.E. In about the 7th century the kingdom of Champa or the Chams rose.. Indrapura, Amravati,

Vijaya, Kauthara and Panduranga were important coastal cities during the period. Shaivite sect was the prevailing religion and Sanskrit inscriptions are available. The Champa power reached its zenith in about 9th to 10th Century C.E. The influence of Chams spread over southern and central Vietnam. In the 14th century, There was constant fighting between the Dai Viet in north Vietnam and the Chams. They faced many invasions from neighbours and by the 15th century they were wiped out by the Vietnamese from the north. By the 17th century the entire Cham territory was conquered by the Vietnamese.

In the 16th century the European missionaries landed in Vietnam. The locals welcomed them for many reasons including trade. The Portuguese had established regular trading connections in Annam and Tonkin in the 16th century. In the 17th Century the Jesuits landed in Northern Vietnam from Japan. In the 17th Century the English East India Company made attempts to start a factory in North Vietnam but beyond a point they were not successful. The French East India Company in 1668 established its formal presence in Indochina. Over time the French gradually expanded their influence in and around the country including Cambodia and Laos. Their soldiers guarded their territorial interest, their traders protected their commercial interest, and their priests oversaw conversion to Catholicism.

Emperor Gia Long (1762-1820) founded the last ruling dynasty namely the Nguyen dynasty in Vietnam with his ascension to power in 1802. He had many challenges to his rule, and he sought and got the help of French Catholic Bishop Pierre Pigneau de Behaine who campaigned for help in both Pondicherry and Paris. Gia Long, in the meanwhile, conquered Saigon through alliance and military action. He stabilised his rule in Saigon which at that time was called Cochin China by the Portuguese. The French Engineers had built a citadel and a palace where Gia Long could live securely. Though Pierre Pigneau was given a high position, he maintained a balance between the Vietnamese and the French. In 1792 when Nguyen Hue Quang Trung of North Vietnam died. Gia Long seized the opportunity to conquer North Vietnam too and became the emperor of the Unified Vietnam in 1802.

Gia Long wanted all three religions namely, the Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity to maintain harmony within the region. Despite such avowed tolerance in religious policy, Gia Long harshly treated the new converts to Christianity. He could not forgive Behaine for converting prince Canh to Christianity. The crown prince Minh Mang (1820-1841) who succeeded to power was a practitioner of Confucianism and during his rule a large-scale persecution of Christians took place in Vietnam. In response to this Napoleon III planned an invasion in 1857. He envisaged a trade empire based in Mekong. Over time, the French adopted the policy of punishing locals through battles and other violent measures if any of these three groups were hurt by the Vietnamese in anyway. This also gave them opportunities to expand territorially in Vietnam. They took part in local wars supporting one or the other side and exacting territories as prize for their participation. In 1858 a French expedition reached Vietnam to fight with the king's army. In 1859 it captured Saigon. After three years of

fight they signed a treaty in 1862 according to which the Vietnamese emperor had cede three provinces to the French in Cochin China including Saigon. By signing the treaty Vietnam had agreed to be the political protectorate and it gave right to the French to navigate through the Mekong river. In 1863 the French made Cambodia their protectorate. By 1867 more territories were placed under the French control in the Cochin China region. They entered the Red River Delta in north in 1873 but could not capture the region till another decade. In 1882 under the leadership of Captain Henri Rivieri French army explored the Red River Delta but Henri Rivieri was killed in the pursuit. The French government in Saigon tried to exploit the situation by imposing its rule in about 1882. In August 1883 the French and the Vietnamese Government signed a treaty by which Northern Vietnam (Tonkin), and the Central Vietnam (Annam) became French protectorates. Already Cochin China or Saigon was a colony and by about 1893 Laos was conquered by the French, and they unified all these regions and called it Indochina.

As the French conquered the north, there were frequent clashes between them and the Chinese. On 28th March 1885 they were beaten by the Chinese forces at Langson. They reacted by attacking Keelung in Formosa (Taiwan). A treaty was signed on 9th June 1885 recognising the French protectorate over Annam and Tonkin. The provisions of the same treaty stated that French traders could trade with South China. They got the right to construct the railways line from Hanoi to Kunming. This treaty completed the French conquest of Vietnam.

During colonial rule, the French were on a civilising mission in the territories they controlled. They made criminal justice more lenient; they officially changed the script from Chinese to Roman.

Paul Daumer, who became the governor of Indochina in 1897 made Vietnamese bear the cost of administering the country. French was made as the lingua franca of the country. He facilitated a market for French products in Vietnam. Opium sale was made legal, and the government started collecting tax for the same. The French Government made Vietnam the largest rice exporting country in the world. It also became a leading nation in rubber plantation. Many Vietnamese became Catholics and they spoke French fluently. They became well versed in French History and Literature. But this trend also gave rise to Vietnamese nationalism against French rule. Violent incursions against French governance took place throughout the colonial period.

7.3 NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT: THE EARLY PHASE

Due to the occupation of Vietnam by China previously, the Vietnamese were always freedom loving. This was more prevalent in the rural areas. Resistance to the French rule started as soon as the French rule began in Cochin China in 1862. It became so widespread in 1885 when the French conquered Annam. Cautiously since 1895 and quite fiercely since 1909 the French hounded the resistance movements leaders and members and

murdered them one by one. The Boxer movement in China in 1899 which opposed western presence and domination had a profound influence on Vietnam. During this period people read the translated versions of the writings of John Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau etc., They were also inspired by the revolutionary leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh were two Vietnamese leaders who were most influenced by the revolutionary movement of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Phan Boi Chau started the Reformation Society which stood for revolutionary monarchism. This society wanted to restore monarchy on the model of Japanese monarchy which did not stand in the way of development of the constitutional government. Phan Boi Chau secretly went to Japan where he met Chinese revolutionaries including Sun Yat Sen. He learnt from them the techniques of starting a revolution. His work 'History of the loss of Vietnam' became extremely popular. He made Canton his base to start his revolutionary activities. He founded 'the Association for the Restoration of Vietnam'. In 1914 he decided to establish a revolutionary army. This led to his arrest by the Government of Canton. Due to Sun Yat Sen's efforts, he was released in 1917. Through his efforts forty Vietnamese were admitted to the famous Whampoa military academy. In 1925 he was taken to Hanoi and there he was sentenced to death. But there was a widespread protest against this sentence and hence, it was reduced to life imprisonment. He was in jail till his death in 1940.

7.4 NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT- THE MATURE PHASE

The liberal western thought caught on in Vietnam and the French medium of instruction enabled the change in the mindset of the Vietnamese. The privileged middle and upper class who studied French history, literature and philosophy were impressed by the French Revolution and the subsequent 1830 and 1848 revolutions. They wanted similar changes in Vietnam. It is these western educated young men who crossed over to China and established the Association for the Restoration of Vietnam. They also organised many small uprisings in north Vietnam. The royal family supported them. The 1916 uprising led to the exile of the king and the crown prince. More than a lakh soldiers served the French army during World War I. When they returned home they wanted political presence for the Vietnamese. It was after this war that the nationalists of Vietnam turned to communism. The nationalists were trained in China in the art of resistance. One of the leaders, Duong Van Gieu, met J. Nehru during one of the sessions of the League of Nations in 1927 and attended the Indian National Congress session in 1928.

7.4.1 Formation of VNQDD Party -

The VNQDD or the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang (the Nationalist Party of Vietnam) was founded in Hanoi in 1927. It adopted the principles of nationalism of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The members of VNQDD wanted Phan

Boi Chau to lead the new party since he was jailed Nguyen Thai Hoc, a teacher, was made as their leader.

7.4.2 Ho Chi Minh Early Life -

Ho Chi Minh was born in 1890 in Hoang Tru, his mother's village in Central Vietnam. His original name was Nguyen Sinh Cung. He had many aliases. From 1895, he grew up in his paternal hometown in Kim Lien. His father Nguyen Sinh Huy was a scholar and a revolutionary. He was enrolled in Quoc Hoo College in Hue.

Ho Chi Minh became a cabin boy in the French merchant navy and travelled around the world starting from 1911. 'He applied for the French Colonial Administrative School, but his application was rejected'. During his stay, he worked as a cleaner, waiter, and film retoucher. He spent most of his free time in public libraries reading history books and newspapers to familiarise himself with Western society and politics. After doing many small jobs in England and France he was considered as a good pamphleteer. In England while he worked in a hotel, he was also a member of the secret society called Overseas Workers Union. As per some sources, in 1912, Ho Chi Minh travelled to the United States and seemed to have stayed here till 1918.

7.4.3 Political education in France -

Ho Chi Minh lived in France from 1919. He tried to attend the Treaty of Versailles meeting to press the Allies that Vietnam should be given self-determination. His other demands included general amnesty for Vietnamese political prisoners, equal rights for the French and the Vietnamese, prevention of criminal justice system being misused to punish Vietnamese patriots, freedom of thought, association, assembly, movement and of travelling abroad, right to education, to open technical and vocational schools for the Vietnamese, freedom of press and appointment of a Vietnamese representative in Paris to settle issues concerning Vietnamese. It was a heartbreaking moment for him when he realized that the doctrine of self-determination introduced by the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson was to be applied to Europeans in general and East Europeans in particular and not to non-Europeans. This disillusionment led to him to embrace communism especially under the influence of Marcel Cachin. Thereafter, he became very active in the French Socialist party.

In 1920 Ho Chi Minh voted for the Third International and communism. After reading Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" he was drawn to communism. French reluctance to give the same rights that they advocated for themselves and to other European nations led to Ho becoming a communist. In 1923 the French Communist party sent him to Russia for further training. There he represented the French Communist Party at the Peasant International in October 1923. In 1924 he attended the fifth congress of the Communist International as a delegate. In the same year he was sent to Canton as translator to Mikhael Borodin (the Russian advisor to the Kuomintang Party).

From Canton HO Chi Minh formed the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. Many young revolutionaries joined this association. This association became very popular in a short while that revolutionaries from other organisations joined it. Ho Chi Minh trained about 250 young members in the methods of Marxist revolutionary techniques. He got some of them enrolled in the Whampoa military academy and others to the USSR to study Marxism. These young cadets later became the leaders of the Indochina Communist Party.

Two years later Ho went to Bangkok where Comintern South Seas Bureau was established. Here he trained the Vietnamese immigrants. In 1930 he merged three communist factions into one and named it as Vietnamese Communist Party. This was shortly afterwards renamed as Indochina Communist Party. Ho was appointed as the head of Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern. In 1930 his party organised a revolt against the French government but many got either killed or arrested. Ho fled to Hong Kong where he was arrested the next year. The next few years he was believed to have been in the USSR recovering from illness. He returned to China in 1938 as an advisor to the Chinese Communist Party.

In 1930 VNQDD (Vietnamese Nationalist Party) also revolted against the French government called the Yen Bai uprisings. The military garrison posted in Yen Bai mutinied, but the French government crushed it so severely that the VNQDD was destroyed. It is believed thousands were killed or arrested in these two uprisings. The impact of these two uprisings on Vietnamese masses was strong. Some French government officials believed that there should be reforms. The popular front government of France recognized the Communist Party of Indochina in 1936 and released all political prisoners. But when the Popular Front Government fell in France, the bonhomie with the communists in Indochina ended.

In September 1932 Prince Bao Dai was brought from France when he was eighteen years of age to titularly rule Indochina. Pham Quynh became the Chief of Cabinet and Ngo Din Diem; a nationalist became the interior minister. Despite these changes the French government kept full control over China and made the king and his ministers puppets. This forced Ngo Dinh Diem to leave the country in frustration.

In 1940 the Vichy government of France and the Governor General of Indochina signed an accord with Japan. This accord allowed the French government to continue in Indochina while many of the natural resources and military hardware went under the control of Japan. In 1941 Japan used Indochina to attack Malaysia, Hongkong, Philippines and Indonesia. Despite the accord in March 1945 Japan imprisoned the French government functionaries. During the second world war USSR and Nationalist China joined the allies. This rare combination led to HO Chi Minh being released from a Chinese prison to start a resistance movement against the Vichy government which was supported by the Japanese. The logistics including the military hardware was provided by the American Government.

7.4.4 Viet Minh -

In March 1941 the ICP's Central Committee met and formed a new organisation called the Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi or in short the Viet Minh or the Vietnam Independence League. It tried to unite all patriots without any distinction for the liberation of Vietnam. This organisation had wider appeal amongst the masses in general, since, people had associated capitalism and democracy with the colonialists in general and the French in particular, the nationalists espousing such values were suspiciously looked upon by the people. Hence, when a communist organisation united everyone to liberate the country from the imperialists there was a lot of enthusiasm for it. In March 1945 Japan took over the direct administrative control of Vietnam. At that time a severe famine broke out in the country. Rescue measures were scarce and both the Japanese and the French governments were ineffective. Viet Minh rose to the occasion and arranged distribution of rice. It also organised guerrilla bases and administrative control over three provinces. The Japanese government asked the emperor to abdicate the 1884 protectorate treaty with France and declare the country as independent.

7.4.5 Democratic Republic of Vietnam -

When Japan surrendered on 7th August 1945 Viet Minh emerged as the future power centre. The National Congress of Viet Minh elected a National Liberation Committee which became the provisional government under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. On 26th August 1945 the Viet Minh took over Hanoi. King Bo Dai abdicated power. On 2nd September 1945 Ho formally announced the birth Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He tried to appear a nationalist leader by inviting other nationalists to share power. But the new republic was not recognized by any world power. At the Potsdam conference, the Allies had decided that the Nationalist China should occupy Vietnam up to the sixteenth parallel and Britain should occupy the rest of the country. Both the Chinese and the British arrived in Vietnam to take charge of their respective portions. General Douglas Gracey released all French authorities who were imprisoned by the Japanese and armed them with weapons and also weaponized the surrendered Japanese making them take over public buildings in Saigon to prevent communist takeover of Southern Vietnam. King Bo Dai appealed to the French President Charles De Gaulle not to take over Vietnam but it was ignored. The VNQDD and the Dong Min Hoi helped by the Chinese army, controlled North Vietnam while the Viet Minh controlled the Central and South Eastern coast of Vietnam. On 23rd September the French flags flew on the public buildings of Saigon. In October 1945 French Commander Philippe Leclerc arrived in Saigon and together with General Gracey he forced the withdrawal of Viet Minh from Saigon. Shortly afterwards, the British concluded a treaty which recognized the French as the legitimate power south of 16th Parallel of Vietnam. Viet Minh had deep roots in the rural areas and General Leclerc captured most towns and cities in the south forcing the Viet Minh forces to start guerilla warfare.

Ho Chi Minh started negotiations with the French. He wanted to end the Chinese occupation of North Vietnam. On 11th November 1945 Ho announced the dissolution of the Indochina Communist Party. He offered alliance with VNQDD in the forthcoming National Assembly elections in January 1946. He signed a treaty with the French allowing them to send a limited number of French troops to take over north Vietnam. Elections were held the same month and the Viet Minh won with two thirds majority. But the French were not willing to honour the election. Ho Chi Minh tried unsuccessfully to get the support of the U.S. government but failed. In March 1946 the French took control of North Vietnam, they then proceeded to free Tonkin from the Chinese influence but failed. The French government signed an agreement with Ho stating that the Republic of Vietnam was a free state within the French Union. Towards the end of May 1946 Ho left for France to negotiate with the French government for freeing the country. Shortly after his departure the French High Commissioner declared that the agreement between the French Government and Ho did not include Southern Vietnam.

7.4.6 First Indochina War: 1946-54 -

In October 1946 Ho Chi Minh returned to North Vietnam. In November Viet Minh demanded that all the three regions of Vietnam be merged into one unit. Battle broke out shortly in November and the French government was determined to teach a lesson to the communists. The French bombarded the coastal city of Haiphong and killed a large number of Vietnamese civilians. The American Government was in a dilemma as whether to support Ho in his effort or not. They fully favoured the independence Movement of Vietnam but feared that the outcome would be the establishment of a communist government which would be controlled by Moscow.

The Viet Minh started their offensive in December attacking the French forces stationed in Hanoi. Ho Chi Minh appealed to countrymen to rise against French imperialism. France tried to calm down Southern Vietnam by giving concessions to Vietnamese in Saigon by giving autonomy in internal governance. By February 1947 the French were able to push the Viet Minh forces out of major cities in the north. Ho tried very hard to get the support of the U.S. government but France pressured the Americans not to yield to it.

In November 1947, the French government tried to take over Viet Minh strongholds in northern Hanoi but failed. They tried again and briefly succeeded in capturing the areas dominated by the Viet Minh. Throughout 1948 the Viet Minh forces resorted to guerilla attacks on the French troops and population. They enjoyed a large civilian support.

In March 1949, the Elysee accord was signed by the French Government and king Bao Dai's government which was under the patronage of the French. As per the accord the whole of Vietnam was united under the governance of Bao Dai but the French government retained defence and external affairs.

In October 1949 the Communist government was formed in China. In January 1950 the new government sent advisors to assist Viet Minh in its efforts for liberation. Ho Chi Minh visited China and Moscow to gain support for the freedom movement. While China was ready to give military assistance, Stalin declined to commit.

The French requested American aid to fight against the Viet Minh forces. A U.S. intelligence report predicted that the Bao Dai government hardly had the support of the people which the Viet Minh enjoyed. By May 1950, in an effort to contain the spread of communism in SouthEast Asia, the U.S. government declared military aid to the Bao Dai government. In June 1950 the Korean War began. This firmed up the American views on spread of communism and towards the end of June 1950 American military aid reached the Bao Dai government.

Viet Minh forces attacked and took Dong Khe in north Vietnam which was under the control of the French. Viet Minh had a series of successes in its offensives against the French forces in north Vietnam. The war dragged on as it became a part of the struggle in the cold war between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. By the beginning of 1954 the U.S. aid to the Bao Dai government was about three billion dollars. Even that did not serve the purpose as the Viet Minh forces were determined and they started confronting the French in major battles.

7.4.7 The Battle of Dien Bien Phu -

The fifth military commander of the French army in Vietnam vowed to break up the enemy forces in Indochina. He believed that the Viet Minh were only good at guerilla warfare and in conventional warfare the French forces would be able to destroy the Viet Minh. So, he lured the Viet Minh to a pitched battle at a remote location called Dien Bien Phu in Laos. The French expected an easy victory. But the determined Viet Minh forces had lugged the military hardware by foot and on bicycles and surrounded the French forces atop the hills around the location. The French troops were besieged by the Viet Minh and when the air force tried to rescue the French forces, the Viet Minh shot them from the hill tops. U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles wanted to use nuclear weapons against the Vietnamese to evacuate the French but Britain refused to support this. There was a huge loss of life on both sides. Viet Minh had a spectacular victory despite the losses and the French forces and government were thoroughly demoralised.

7.4.8 The Geneva Settlement 1954 -

On 21st July 1954 the Geneva agreements divided Vietnam along the seventeenth parallel into two zones until a viable final settlement. The question of reunification of both the parties was to be decided by a nationwide election to be held in 1956. Viet Minh reluctantly accepted the settlement. Both China and USSR pressured Ho Chi Minh to accept this as they wanted peaceful coexistence with capitalistic nations at that time and China believed in non-consolidation of power amongst the neighbours. The U.S.A. refused to sign the accords. These accords created two parts

out of the landmass of Vietnam namely the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the State of Vietnam or South Vietnam. It also created separate countries of Laos and Cambodia. With this the French domination in Vietnam ended.

7.4.9 SEATO -

Shortly after the Geneva settlement U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made the united action strategy wherein he made Britain and France sign the Manila pact which would counter Geneva accords in spirit. On 8th September 1954 all the three countries along with Australia New Zealand along with three Asian countries; Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand established the SouthEast Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO). The non-aligned members such as India, Burma, Cambodia and Indonesia opposed this new formation. The establishment of SEATO formally began the cold war era in Southeast Asia.

7.4.10 The Two Vietnams -

After the 1954 accords the North Vietnam was ruled by Viet Minh whereas the South Vietnam was led by Bao Dai with Ngo Dinh Diem as his prime minister. Diem, being a nationalist did not like the communist takeover of the country. He was supported by the U.S. Government which feared that the communist takeover of Vietnam might lead to a domino effect in other Southeast Asian and East Asian countries. To prevent that it started giving economic and military aid to South Vietnam and in general it supported the government of Diem.

Ngo Dinh Diem being a nationalist and the one who had lost his family members to machinations of the Viet Minh, were not inclined to patch up with Ho Chi Minh. He faced many challenges to his authority. At that time South Vietnam was under the control of three religious military sects. Within six months of assuming power Diem crushed the three sects. On 23rd October 1955 he held a referendum in which he asked for people's mandate to become the President of the country. Having received it, he removed Bao Dai from power and elevated his position as the President of the country. After the election on 4th March 1956 a new constitution was drafted. In all these Diem was supported by the United States. But after the initial promise he was given to nepotism. He elevated his relatives to all top positions. He reneged on the promise of conducting an election to decide on the future of Vietnam as per the guidelines given in the Geneva accords. About a million people belonging to the catholic sect migrated from north to south Vietnam. Over time, these were given much preference in Job opportunities. His viceregal hate for the communists made him target them unnecessarily. In 1957 he started the "denounce communists and mopping up" campaign using emergency powers. His brother Ngo Din Nhu led the secret police service which imprisoned thousands of communists in concentration camp-like holdings where many were poisoned to death. In May 1959 Diem established special military tribunals where people who were charged with economic offences or disruption of security were sentenced to death within three days of arrest.

Though he introduced land reforms in rural areas the beneficiaries were his supporters and Catholics who migrated from the north.

On the other hand, in Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh was respected for his simplicity, lack of family, and honesty. Despite being ruthless, masses believed he was ascetic. People fondly called him uncle Ho. He had a mass appeal that was unmatched.

Ho after coming to power tried to implement his promise of agrarian reforms and redistribution of lands. He used forced labour to build infrastructure especially, roads. After Americans and the French left, the Viet Minh government did not have the technology to mine coal which was the major source of income for the country. Over a million Vietnamese, mostly Catholics migrated to South Vietnam during this period. Land reform was resumed in 1956. The first five-year plan was unveiled in 1961-66. Ho introduced the Russian Socialist model as the role model for the country. The Viet Minh government introduced Agrarian Cooperatives. Every aspect of the economy was controlled by the state and even those businesses which were run by the private sector were turned into public-private partnerships. Peoples' purchasing power reduced over time and became the lowest during the Second Indochina War period. Despite these issues Ho's personal popularity never waned.

On 13th May 1959, the Ho Chi Minh's Lao Dong (workers) party's central committee in Hanoi declared that time had come to struggle heroically to smash the government of south Vietnam. The party leaders resolved to create unified Vietnam through all appropriate means. In December 1960 National Liberation Front was established in south Vietnam by the southern Communists. The Diem's regime called this group the Viet Nam Cong San or the Vietnamese Communists in short Viet Cong. The Viet Cong forces depended on arms supply from North Vietnam through a trail called the Ho Chi Minh trail which was routed through Laos and Cambodia to South Vietnam from the north. They generally used guerilla tactics during their fight. On 1st January 1962 the People's Revolutionary Party was established as part of the NLF which was directed by the Lao Dong party from the north. By 1963 NLF became a gigantic organisation of many wings. These wings resisted the political power of the Diem government at many levels. But starting from mid-1963, armed struggle gained momentum as Diem's government started using sophisticated weapons to fight against the NLF.

7.4.11 The Buddhist Resistance -

A number of Buddhist monks and nuns in south were against Diem's rule as they felt it was against the majority Buddhists. Even during the French rule there was an underlying tension that the French government was giving a lot of privileges to the Catholics. During Diem's rule it became more pronounced. On 7th May 1963 Archbishop Ngo Dinh Thuc forbade the display of Buddhist flags to commemorate the birth of Lord Buddha. When Buddhists protested against this they were tear gassed and some were shot down. The protests through suicide started with Thich Quang

Duc, a venerable monk dousing himself with gasoline and lighting self. This was filmed and the news spread to the whole world. This adverse publicity bothered the U.S. Government so much they stopped backing Diem's government. There was an army coup in Southern Vietnam which caught and hung Diem and his brother Nhu on 1st November 1963. The instability in the south continued with one general after another claiming power.

7.5 SECOND INDOCHINA WAR 1964-1975

7.5.1 Gulf of Tonkin Incident -

President Johnson believed that what was happening in Vietnam was not its internal matter and without U.S. intervention one by one all Southeast Asian Countries would fall for communism. On 2nd August 1964 he announced that U.S. destroyers Maddox and Turner Joy had been attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats. The U.S. aircraft retaliated by bombing Vietnamese strategic locations. Immediately afterwards, the U.S. Congress unanimously authorised the U.S. President to 'take all necessary actions against enemy forces to prevent further aggression.' Johnson sent a force of half million soldiers to fight in Vietnam in an undeclared war. This resolution was in force for six years. Later in 1968 the Pentagon papers admitted that the news of Vietnamese torpedos attacking U.S. destroyers in 1964 was not true. Nonetheless, it started the Second Indochina War which lasted till 1975 and Vietnam went through untold sufferings through this period.

7.5.2 Operation Rolling Thunder – 7th February 1965 -

U.S. forces started bombing of north Vietnamese military installations and staging areas. This continued on a regular basis. The objective of this mission was to cripple north Vietnam's economy, stop the weapon supply to south Vietnam and bring north Vietnam to a negotiated settlement. But the outcome was not successful as North Vietnam's economy was agrarian and as such there was no one spot that Americans could damage. Also, during monsoon season there was no clear sky to bomb specific targets. But these offensives made the North Vietnamese even more determined to fight.

In 1965-66 South Vietnam became more stable under the Presidency of General Nguyen Van Thieu. Until the end of the war the U.S. government supported Thieu's government. By 1965 the U.S. had sent 5 lakh soldiers to South Vietnam. They adopted a tactic of search and destroy the enemy in the south through bombing, chemical defoliation, psychological warfare, and counter-insurgency measures. The presence of foreign troops led to militarization of south Vietnam society. Youth joined the NLF either voluntarily or by force. There was a lot of corruption amongst American military contractors. The aid given by the U.S. government was spent on support services for the American army.

7.5.3 Tet Offensive -

In 1968 the north Vietnam government with the consent of Ho had decided to attack during Tet festival season. It had planned a coordinated attack on over hundred cities and military outposts in south Vietnam. Though Viet Cong suffered heavy losses, the spectacular nature of the offensive stunned the U.S. forces. Though they along with South Vietnam forces managed to stave off capture of these places by the Viet Cong, it eroded the support of American public to this war and led to the eventual but gradual withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. The U.S. administration decided to disengage from the war with honour.

In terms of human casualties up to 1971 the war led to the death of 3,35,000 civilians, double the number were wounded. By 1975 about 5 million refugees were living in Cambodia. About 58,220 American soldiers were killed, as per U.S. calculation 2 to 2.5 lakh south Vietnamese soldiers and 4 to 6.6 lakh NLF soldiers had died in the war.

By 1967 it was clear to Ho Chi Minh that he did not have much time to live. He was suffering from tuberculosis. He gradually withdrew from active politics. In 1969 Ho suffered a heart attack. On 2nd September 1969 Ho died at his home in Hanoi due to heart failure.

7.5.4 U.S. withdrawal from the war -

The U.S. realised the futility of the war as early as 1967 but they could not stop there. They refused to accept the truth that they were fighting in a foreign soil with a force that was willing to sacrifice all for the sake of homeland. In 1967 two American generals questioned the rationale of continuing with the war and this had a spiralling effect. Exponentially, a large number of American masses started questioning the wisdom of participating in this war. From the Tet offensive to the signing of the Paris accord the U.S. government seemed to have followed a two-track plan. The U.S. government would negotiate a military settlement while the south Vietnam government should negotiate with NLF for a political settlement. In 1972 with the help of Pakistan, first Henry Kissinger and later Richard Nixon met the Chinese President with an agreement that the Chinese would not attack Taiwan and would tolerate U.S. presence in Vietnam for a while.

With these strategies on hand, the U.S. started attacking select spots and cities in north Vietnam. From 1970-73 U.S. started bombing both Laos and Cambodia to expunge the presence of Viet Cong military in these places. Its avowed objective was to capture the underground office of military headquarters of south Vietnam but they could not find it. By 1972 the cost of waging this war by the U.S. government was about 20 million dollars. The total tonnage of bombing surpassed U.S. bombing during the second world war.

7.5.5 The Paris Accords- 1973 -

The Paris accords was signed by four countries; North Vietnam, the government of South Vietnam, the communists of South Vietnam and the United States Government on 27th January 1973. It brought about a ceasefire in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The provisions of the agreement included complete withdrawal of American troops from Indochina. Return of prisoners of war. A democratic solution to the South Vietnam question: The South Vietnam government and the South Vietnam communists were to resolve their issue through mutual consultations. Reunification could be considered through consultation between north and south. The U.S. would pay for the reconstruction of north Vietnam.

7.5.6 Reasons for the failure of the U.S. in Vietnam -

The foremost reason for the failure of the U.S. was entering a war in a foreign soil to contain the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. It was not a good enough reason to start or win a war. Whereas for the Vietnamese it was the question of homeland and their identity and the fear of losing their homeland to foreigners and hence, they had better motive to fight the war. The other reasons were backing the corrupt Diem regime and ignoring corruption within the U.S. army.

After the exit of the U.S. troops the South Vietnamese government survived for some time and finally collapsed in 1975. Immediately, the North Vietnam government troops and the Viet Cong moved into Saigon on 30th April 1975. The American soldiers present there had to be evacuated. On 3rd July 1976 the national assembly of Vietnam reunified both the territories and renamed Saigon as Ho Chi Minh city. With this the Vietnam war ended.

7.6 SUMMARY

By the early 1920s nationalist parties began to demand independence. After the world War II French protectorate continue their imperialistic policy and domain in north and south vetuare but during the cold war the superpower USA and USSR was trying to interval in vetuare. The civil war so there north and south vetuare become serious Issues because both the super power was involved in nationality in 1973 USA.

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INDONESIA

Unit Structure:

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Etymology
- 8.3 History of Indonesia till 1900
- 8.4 Indonesian National Movement and the Colonial Response 1900-1945
- 8.5 Return of the Dutch and the Indonesian National Revolution 1945-49
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8.0 OBJECTIVES

Indonesia

After going through this unit, the learners will be able to

- Understand the history of Indonesia.
- Know the national movement of of Indonesia.
- Review the domestic policy of Indonesia.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Indonesia is a country in Southeast Asia. Comprising 17,508 islands. It is the world's largest archipelagic state. With an estimated population of around 27.64 crore people as per 2021 U.N. data. It is the world's fourth most populous country and the most populous Muslim-majority nation; however, no reference is made to Islam in the Indonesian constitution. Indonesia is a republic, with an elected legislature and president. The nation's capital city is Jakarta. The country shares land borders with Papua New Guinea, East Timor and Malaysia. Other neighboring countries include Singapore, the Philippines, Australia, and the Indian territory of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.



<https://www.infoplease.com/atlas/asia/indonesia-map>

Indonesia had trade relations with other countries, especially with India and China since, the beginning of the common era. Local rulers gradually adopted Indian cultural, religious, and political models from the early centuries of CE. Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms flourished there. Indonesian history has been influenced by foreign powers drawn to its natural resources. Muslim traders brought Islam, and European powers fought one another to monopolize trade in the Spice Islands of Maluku in about 16th century. Following three and a half centuries of Dutch colonialism, Indonesia secured its independence after World War II. Indonesia's history has since been turbulent, with challenges posed by

natural disasters, corruption, separatism, a democratization process, and periods of rapid economic change.

Across its many islands, Indonesia consists of distinct ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups. The Javanese are the largest and most politically dominant ethnic group. As a unitary state and a nation, Indonesia has developed a shared identity defined by a national language, ethnic diversity, religious pluralism within a majority Muslim population, and a history of colonialism and rebellion against it. Indonesia's national motto, 'Bhinnekatunggalika' ('Unity in Diversity' literally, 'many, yet one'), articulates the diversity that shapes the country. However, sectarian tensions and separatism have led to violent confrontations that have undermined political and economic stability. Despite its large population and densely populated regions, Indonesia has vast areas of wilderness that support the world's second highest level of biodiversity. The country is richly endowed with natural resources, yet poverty is a defining feature of contemporary Indonesia.

8.2 ETYMOLOGY

The term Indonesia was first coined in the middle of the 19th century. A British geographer by name James Richard Logan coined the name to refer to the vast archipelago with thousands of islands. The name implies in Greek 'Indos' for India and 'nesos' for island. For many Europeans Indonesia was in cultural terms an extension of Indian sub-continent. The British used the term 'Further India' to refer to Indonesia. The Dutch after colonization called the islands Nederland Indie or Netherlands East Indies which meant Dutch India.

From the early 1900 the word Indonesia was more frequently used by the western elites outside of Netherlands. In 1913 SuwardiSuryaningrat named the press bureau started in Netherlands by the name Indonesisch Press Bureau. By late 1920s the nationalist movement used the name to signify the independent country and the cultural identity they wanted to create. The Dutch colonial authority wanted to deny either of the identities and hence, insisted on calling the country Netherlands East Indies. Due to this Indonesia not only had to fight against colonialism, but it also had to fight for a name.

8.3 HISTORY OF INDONESIA TILL 1900

By1900 the colonial Dutch state had loosely integrated the archipelagic state. There were states which were under the direct Dutch control and there were other states called the Native states which had accepted the Dutch suzerainty. The organs of central government were strengthened through introducing new policies in public administration and through educational policies. Towards the late 19th century, the government-built railways, expanded the existing ports, improved communication links, introduced electricity and gas in main cities. The state-run schools were established in 1848. By 1882 there were 300 primary schools in Java and

400 in the outer islands. The Christian missionary organisations did a commendable service to the cause of education.

Indonesia

8.4 INDONESIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE COLONIAL RESPONSE 1900-1945

In 1901 the Dutch queen Netherlands' ethical obligation and moral responsibility towards the people of the Indies and heralded the introduction of ethical policy. The avowed aim was to improve the welfare of the Indonesian people and they were to be brought into closer contact with the ethically and morally superior Dutch civilization. To achieve these new features in administration such as Agriculture advisory services, improved irrigation facilities, improved research programmes etc. However, the impact of 1930 Great Depression watered down such policies. But the introduction of ethical policy by the Dutch government in turn stirred thoughts on national and cultural assimilation amongst the young people of Indonesia. In 1928 in the Second All Indonesia Youth Congress the youth took a pledge that they would recognize Indonesian language as the language of unity. The 1930s saw the spread of library movement and public schools. Apart from these the small Dutch community that existed in Indonesia along with the Eurasians introduced western style of living and culture in major cities. The Chinese minority in the country were influenced by the upheavals in China. They were comparatively more prosperous but identified with the culture of mainland China. The ethnic Arabs on the other hand were more supportive of Indonesian nationalism.

The reaction to attitude of the dominant minorities was the emergence of Indonesian nationalism. The earlier anti-Dutch movements had declined by 1920 and were replaced by the modern Indonesia focused movements. The most important and the earliest of these were the *Budi Utomo* and the *IndischePartij*. Students who popularized the Budi Utomo movement believed in modern education and attaining status through merit. In a short period, the movement attracted membership nationwide and it also took up national issues. Differences in opinion amongst the members of *Budi Utomo* led to similar such movements and all were focusing on national issues. The *IndischePartij* party was more nationalist and radical as compared to the former. But both the movements were based on Islam and reformation. Following these *Sarekat Islam* was formed in 1912. Founded initially by Islamic traders, it had wide membership from farmers, and industrial labourers. In 1920 the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was formed. Sarket Islam and PKI were in direct confrontation with each other to attract new members and for political dominance. In 1923 these two organisations merged to form PartaiSarekat Islam Indonesia. In 1925 this party organized a series of strikes and the government retaliated by arresting 13000 people. One among the arrested was Mohammad Hatta who along with Sukarno proclaimed Indonesian independence in 1945. Hatta did his early education in Islamic schools and later moved to Netherlands to pursue higher education. He was a thinker and a planner.

Once, in Netherlands he took active part in Indische Vereniging (Indies Association)

Sukarno was born in 1901 to a Muslim Javanese father and Hindu Balinese mother. He was more influenced by the urban Javanese culture. Between 1915-20 he attended Dutch language school and this school molded his thoughts. He was also influenced by the Surabaya branch of Theosophical Society. He was a voracious reader and read books on western philosophy and ideology. He was also a good orator. Through his family connections he was in touch with various leaders of Indonesian national movement. He pursued higher education in Bandung. In 1926 he formed the Bandung study club which was political in its approach with Indonesian independence as its ultimate goal. In 1927 he transformed the Bandung Study Club into the Indonesian Nationalist Association or the PNI (Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia). Its goal was to achieve Independence to Indonesia. The ideology of the PNI was Marhaenism which can be loosely described as socialism. It believed in community rights rather than individual rights. In 1927 he united all political parties under the umbrella of the Union of Political Organisations of the Indonesian People or PPPKI (Permufakatan Per him punan Politik Bangsa an Indonesia). The Dutch community living in Indonesia found the activities of Sukarno alarming and hence, he was arrested in 1929. He was sentenced to four years in prison. Immediately after his arrest the party dissolved itself.

In 1931 Sutan Sjahrir, who had recently returned Indonesia started Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia, or Indonesian National Education, or the new PNI . In 1932 Hatta joined the New PNI. The party espoused socialist ideology. When Sukarno was released from prison he tried to revive the old PNI.

The Great depression of 1929 had its impact on Indonesia in 1931-32, the economy tumbled and as cost cutting measure the Dutch government reduced salaries of employees and this led to naval mutiny in 1933. The Dutch Governor implicating Sukarno in that mutiny imprisoned him. Similarly, both Hatta and Sjahrir were imprisoned sent to one of the islands. After this the government quickly arrested leaders of other national parties.

In 1936 Soetardjo, one of the leftist members of Volksraad presented a petition to the Volksraad calling for the convening of a conference to arrange Indonesian autonomy within a Dutch-Indonesian union within ten years. In 1938, the Dutch government in Hague rejected this proposal. Around this time, Fascism was in rise in the west. Some Indonesian leaders called for a joint action of both the Dutch government and Indonesian political parties against the rising tide of fascism. But the Dutch government did not pay heed to it as it did not want to accept conditional cooperation by the Indonesian political parties.

On 10th May 1940 Germany raided Netherlands and dragged it into the Second World War. On 10th January 1942 Japanese forces invaded Java

and Sumatra. The Dutch surrendered on 8th March 1942. The Japanese required resources such as oil, tin, and rubber from Indonesia. Initially they were trading with Indonesia and when the Dutch government put an embargo on trade Japan raided Indonesia. Japan started a new programme called Greater East Asia coprosperity sphere with Japan as the core country. It claimed that that it would be non-exploitative economic and cultural union of states with Japan as the protector of Asians.

The Indonesian political organisations which had resented the recent actions of the Dutch government were attracted to the promises of the invading army. Also, the way Dutch surrendered to the Japanese made the Indonesians realise that the Dutch were not as invincible as they thought it would be. It also gave the Indonesian military an opportunity to train in political and administrative affairs. But it brought in a lot of economic hardship. The Japanese government maintained authoritarian rule. Food and other necessities were confiscated by the invaders. This led to food shortage and starvation. Millions of Indonesians were used as construction workers during war time in other parts of Southeast Asia, they were called the *Romushas*. All these led to people resenting Japanese rule. Both Sukarno and Hatta agreed to cooperate with the Japanese in 1942. The Japanese used Sukarno's mass appeal to recruit Romushas. This tarnished his image. In October 1943 the Japanese organized the Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims. They also began organizing Indonesians into military and paramilitary units to fight against the allied powers. It created a military force called Defenders of the Fatherland (PETA) in 1943. In 1944 it created a Muslim armed force, the army of God and attached it to Masyumi. The kind of Nationalism promoted by Japan was one that predisposed Indonesia to an authoritarian and militaristic political culture. On 7th November 1944, when Japan was on the verge of losing the World War it favoured giving independence for Indonesia though no definite date was set for the same.

Under pressure from radical and politicised youth groups Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed Indonesian Independence on 17th August 1945 two days after the Japanese Emperor surrendered officially to the Allied powers. A Republican government was established in Jakarta. A Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP) was appointed to assist the President. Similar committees were established at provincial and regency levels. Three days after Japanese surrender KNIP announced Sukarno as the President and Hatta as the Vice President of Indonesia. The kings of central islands pledged affiliation to the Republican government whereas the kings of outer islands wanted the Dutch rule to continue. In November 1945, a parliamentary form of government was established and Sjahrir was appointed Prime Minister.

8.5 RETURN OF THE DUTCH AND THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION 1945-49

Towards the end of the war Netherlands claimed power in Indonesia. It was significantly weakened due to the war and it took a loan from the

United States to claim Indonesia. It returned Indonesia only in early 1946. The country was placed under the charge of British admiral Lord Mountbatten, supreme commander of Allied powers.

The conflict between the Allied powers and the Indonesians lasted for four years and it led to sporadic armed conflict between the two. The Republican government had to fight against the Dutch prisoners, Dutch colonial troops (KNIL), Chinese, Indo-Europeans and Japanese. In October 1945 the Japanese tried to reconquer power. The British forces resisted the Japanese and the Indonesians resisted both. The British tried to evacuate Indo-Europeans from central Java and they aerial bombed the Indonesians. They left Indonesia in November 1946 and by this time the Dutch army landed to recapture the archipelago. With British assistance, the Dutch landed their Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) forces in Jakarta and other key centers. The Dutch forces used terror techniques to kill over 3000 republicans. Despite these their domination prevailed only in cities and towns and the rural areas were hardly controlled by the Dutch. The Linggarjati Agreement, brokered by the British and concluded in November 1946, saw the Netherlands recognize the Republic as the de-facto authority over Java, Madura, and Sumatra. Both parties agreed to the formation of the 'United States of Indonesia' by 1 January 1949, a semi-autonomous federal state with the Monarchy of the Netherlands at its head. But this failed and the Dutch launched a major offensive in May that year called the police action. This was followed by Operatie Product in July 1947. The Dutch forces drove Republican troops out of parts of Sumatra, and East and West Java. The Republicans were confined to the Yogyakarta region of Java. The Dutch gained control of lucrative Sumatran plantations, and oil and coal installations, and in Java, control of all deep-water ports. International reaction was not favourable to the Dutch. Both India and Australia supported the Republicans. The United Nations Security Council got directly involved in the conflict, establishing a Good Offices Committee to sponsor further negotiations. A ceasefire, called for by UN resolution, was ordered by the Dutch and Sukarno on 4 August 1947. The United Nations Security Council brokered the Renville Agreement in attempt to rectify the collapsed Linggarjati Agreement. The new agreement recognized a ceasefire along the *Van Mook* line, an artificial line which connected the Dutch areas. It also required referenda to be held on the political future of the Dutch held areas. Though it was more advantageous to the Dutch, the Republicans agreed to it as they had run out of ammunition to fight. This earned American goodwill for the Indonesian struggle.

The Dutch did not honour the ceasefire agreement. They captured more areas and the Indonesians clashed with the Dutch troops regularly. Van Mook the Dutch Governor General of Indonesia in March 1948 announced the formation of a provisional government for Federal Indonesia. In December 1948 they launched the second police action. In their subsequent battles with the Republicans the Dutch realized that they had no people's support. There was a lot of violence during this period perpetrated by both the sides. Also, there were some regional factions

which fought against both the Dutch and the Republicans. The Republicans recaptured some of the areas they had lost to the Dutch.

U.S.A. worked with the UN to broker peace in Indonesia in December 1949. On 27 December 1949 sovereignty was transferred by the Dutch to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, the archipelago stretching from northern Sumatra in the west to the Moluccu islands in the east was united and was made independent.

8.6 UNITARY INDONESIA 1950-59

The independence agreement was also called the Round Table Conference agreement. Both sides had some misgivings regarding the agreement. Netherlands agreed to the agreement based on four principles:

- 1) The new nation would be structured as a federal system called the United States of Indonesia. It would maintain ties with Holland on several issues.
- 2) West Irian should be temporarily with Holland and its status should be determined shortly
- 3) Indonesia was asked to repay the debt incurred by Holland on account of the wars it indulged in the country
- 4) The Dutch and foreign investments made in Indonesia should be recognized and the concessions and rights given to these companies under colonial law should not be contested.

Within a year the Federal state structure was discarded in favour of unitary state. Indonesia opted for a strong and centralized federal government. It was called the Republic of United States of Indonesia (RUSI). By August 1950 all individual governments were merged, and the country adopted a provisional constitution. The RUSI consisted of 16 states with the Republic of Indonesia being the leading state. Its army was the core of the federal army. Its leaders Sukarno and Hatta were the well-known leaders of the country.

The provisional constitution established a parliamentary system. It had a unicameral house with the head of the largest elected party becoming the Prime Minister. The role of the President was nominal and ceremonial. He appointed the Prime Minister who in turn formed the cabinet and the government. The executive was responsible to the legislature. The constitution being provisional, it talked about the formation of a constitution assembly which would draft the new constitution.

Sukarno became the President of the country, and he was recognized as the father of the nation. Mohmmad Hatta became the Vice President till he resigned in 1956. In the early 1950s there was a coalition government with Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI) in alliance with the Masyumi party. Between August 1950 and 1957 six coalition government were formed. Though the army had played a crucial role in the independence of

Indonesia in 1950, it was factionalised and was fighting its internal battles. It did interfere with political systems a few times but was on the whole, stayed away from the active politics during this period.

The 1955 elections were a game changer. In the elections about 30 political parties contested. Though PNI got the maximum vote, PKI which was the traditional Muslim communist party called the Partai Komunis Indonesia got more votes than expected to come to the third position. This caused a lot of discomfort to PNI the party in power. The new prime minister Ali Sastroamidjojo left out PKI candidates. Also, majority of the candidates were from the rural areas of Java. This was resented by people of other islands especially the people of Sumatra. The cost of living of the island of Java was much cheaper as compared to the other islands. This created regional discontent.

The parliamentary democratic system espoused by the provisional constitution started declining by 1957. In October 1956 President Sukarno savagely criticized the existing political system. He blamed the political parties for the malaise in the country. He made a public declaration of the political system that should replace the existing parliamentary democracy. He was never attached to the idea of liberal democracy. He believed that parliamentary system was inherently divisive causing people to direct their energies against each other. He talked about the unity of countrymen during the revolution against the Dutch rule between 1945-99 and wished to bring back the spirit in the country. The leaders of the outer islands and the army generals had shared a common dismay at the Pro-Java policies of the central government. The army attempted military coup a few times to capture power but failed. Mohammed Hatta resigned from the office on 1st December 1956. Various parts of Sumatra were captured by local army units. The army territorial commander of Eastern Indonesia declared martial law and the chief of army staff issued a charter of demands to the central government. Prime Minister Ali found this to be very difficult to handle. Hence, he resigned on 14th March 1957.

President Sukarno declared martial law in Indonesia. He started a wider debate in the country about which political system would suit the nation thereby signaling to the people that he was willing to take an active role in country's politics. He talked of cooperation amongst all political parties and appointing National council. In April 1957 he appointed members of cabinet headed by Prime Minister Djuanda Kartawidjaja. In May 1957, he established the National Council (Dewan Nasional) which he chaired. With this move he signalled his direct intervention into the political system of the day. But the army did not run the day-to-day administration. In fact, it became a center of power without direct responsibility to the organs of the government or the people. It banned political activities of all parties, it outlawed strikes, it created its own mass organization such as the National Front for liberation of West Irian in 1958. It gained economic power by taking over Dutch companies in the country.

In early 1958 a full-scale regional rebellion against the central government erupted in Sumatra. This group headed called the PRRI Revolutionary

Government by Sjafruddin. It demanded restriction of powers of the President and reinstating Mohammed Hatta. The Central Government easily put down this rebellion with the help of the army. This increased the prestige of the Sukarno-army alliance and reduced that of his opponents.

The era of parliamentary democracy ended when the parties in power could not agree on a new constitution. The provisional constitution prevailed as the constituent assembly couldn't finalise the features of the constitution. The Masyumi party and the Nahdlatul Ulama wanted Islam as the basis of the constitution while the other parties wanted secularism as the basis. These parties promoted Pantja Sila or the five principles as the basis of the constitution. Also, they could not decide on the nature of center-state relationship. So, President Sukarno through a decree, abolished parliamentary democracy and restored the 1945 constitution on 5th July 1959.

8.7 GUIDED DEMOCRACY 1959-66

President Sukarno made two specific proposals during his 1957 speeches. He called for the establishment of a National Council to be responsible for setting the broad outlines of national policy. The council was to be a non-party assembly. Its membership was to be based on functional groups which included farmers, labourers, women, artists, the military, students and so on. He wanted to establish a cabinet which was represented by all parties. In 1959 the new interim People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara, MPRS) was formed. The 1945 constitution gave him vast powers. He stressed on deliberation and consensus.

Formally, President Sukarno had all powers but in reality, he shared powers with the army. Sukarno was in charge of ideology, foreign affairs and public policies. The army was in control of regional government, Dutch companies that were nationalized, some areas of administration and internal security.

As Ideology Sukarno propagated the following:

- 1) NASACOM – Nationalism, Islam and Marxism under his leadership.
- 2) He believed that Society was a joint endeavour by different functional groups such as workers, peasants, officials, intellectuals, soldiers, students, and women. National goals could be achieved only when regional and narrow interests were made subservient to larger goal.
- 3) He rejected the idea that there were class divisions of any significance in the country. He believed that a poor Indonesian peasant who owned a small plot of land as well as his tools and animals cannot be termed Proletariat.
- 4) He believed that the poor peasants of Indonesia (Marhaen) needed compassion and sympathy from state and from the rest of the society.

- 5) In terms of foreign policy, he wished that Indonesians see themselves as part of a global movement against colonialism, imperialism, and exploitation.
- 6) He believed as former colony and now a founding member of Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia had a special responsibility to lead the New Emerging Forces (NEFOS) against the Old Established Forces (OLDEFOS).

In the United Nations speech in 1960 he called the new trend “Building the World a new”. According to him for the first time in modern history the colonialist countries were outnumbered by anti-colonialist countries. A new world order and a new United Nations should be created reflecting this new reality.

8.8 GUIDED DEMOCRACY AND FOREIGN POLICY OF INDONESIA AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE: APRIL 1955

In April 1955, 29 governments of Afro-Asian countries gathered in Bandung to discuss the role of third world countries during the cold war, economic development, and de-colonisation. The core principles of the Bandung Conference were political self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, and equality. The governments of Burma, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka were the founding members and the co-organisers of the Bandung Conference. Towards the end of the conference, the participating nations signed a communique assuring each other of the promotion of economic and cultural cooperation, protection of human rights and the principle of self-determination, a call for an end to racial discrimination wherever it occurred, and a reiteration of the importance of peaceful coexistence. This conference became the forerunner to the Non-Aligned Movement which took place at Belgrade in 1961.

8.9 LIBERATION OF WEST NEW GUINEA (WEST IRIAN) 1961-63

Sukarno was opposed to the Dutch occupation of West New Guinea. In 1961 when the Dutch government tried to have a separate political structure Sukarno announced that they would not be averse to a military campaign called The Supreme Command for the Liberation of West Irian (KOTI). Major General Suharto was the field officer. United States supported Indonesia in this issue and on 1st October 1962 the administration of Western New Guinea was transferred to the U.N. which in turn transferred power to Indonesia in 1963.

8.10 CONFRONTATION WITH MALAYSIA 1963-65

Malaysia was carved out former British colonies and protectorates as a federation in 1963. It comprised of Malay Peninsula, the Island of

Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak of Northern Borneo. Sukarno objected to this plan as he saw Malaysia as a neo-colony of the British and the continuance of Malay sultans in power was tantamount to undemocratic forces hanging on to position. He also believed that Indonesia should have been consulted before the creation of Malaysian federation. He organized armed incursions in west and east Malaysia. When Malaysia was admitted as the member of the U.N.S.C. Indonesia left the UN and tried to organize an alternative conference called the New Emerging Forces (CONEFO).

8.11 DOMESTIC POLICIES OF INDONESIA

In 1960 Sukarno banned Masyumi and PSI parties on the ground of rebellion against the government. The leaders were either arrested or were forced to go on exile. Newspapers with dissented from the government policies were banned. Though it was not a totalitarian state Sukarno's rule had much resonance with the authoritarian rule. One of the striking features of guided democracy was the lack of government policy regarding governance. It was a more ideological state, and everyone was expected to confirm to the state ideology. No decision was taken without the President's consent. Public architecture in Jakarta became a symbol of Presidential authority. There was a renewed interest in form and ceremonial splendour while constructing monuments.

8.12 SUKARNO AND THE ARMY'S POWER STRUGGLE

The army and Sukarno had an alliance while fighting for Indonesian independence. The struggle made them realise that they needed each other to retain power. Due to his leadership during the struggle Sukarno was considered as the leader and father of the country. In turn, Sukarno needed the army as he had no party to back him, to control the fissiparous elements of the country, to end parliamentary democracy and to usher in guided democracy. In 1960 all parties were banned for a while as one of Sukarno's ally PKI heavily criticized both the cabinet and the army. In 1963 he pressurized army to reverse martial law which was enforced in the country. To have full control over the country, Sukarno encouraged divisions within and amongst the ranks of the army.

8.13 SUKARNO'S RELATIONS WITH POLITICAL PARTIES

In 1959 President Sukarno issued a regulation to the political parties pressurizing them to accept the 1945 constitution and the principle of Pantija Sila. It prohibited acceptance of foreign aid and gave the President the authority to ban a party that rebelled against the government. But he did not ban parties altogether and allowed PNI, NU and PKI limited powers and functioning. But President's concessions to PKI made army believe that it was its biggest contender.

8.14 GUIDED DEMOCRACY AND MASS ORGANISATIONS

One of the most active ones was the National front established in 1960. This was conceived to be a single future political party which would subsume all other political parties in the country. Its role was to rally the people behind the ideologies and programmes of the government of Indonesia. It was at that time conceived as tool for completion of the revolution. One by one individuals, large organisations and later political parties were allowed to join. Army to had its presence within the organization. There was a power struggle between political parties and the army within the National front. The main contenders for power were the PKI and the army but by 1964 PKI had real control over the National front.

Labour unions were another example of mass organisations. These unions were federations of many individual labour unions. These unions were very political, and the members provided the mass base for political activity of parties. Towards the end of 1950s there were 3.7 million members in these unions.

8.15 BUREACRACY IN GUIDED DEMOCRACY

The bureaucracy in guided democracy was a bloated one which was given to elitism and groupism. By 1960 there a little over 8 lakh civil servants in the country. There was no clearly laid down responsibilities for each department with the result overlapping and contrary decisions were made quite often. Multiple regulations and licenses became the norm of the day. There was an inherent competition between the administrators (those trained in civil service) and solidarity makers (those who played an important role during the revolution). It was the solidarity makers who had an upper hand over administration. With the decline of political parties, the bureaucracy became more and more political.

8.16 GUIDED DEMOCRACY AND INDONESIAN ECONOMY

Sukarno argued that Indonesia's insignificant position and influence in the world economy and the consequent poverty despite its natural resources was due to the global imperial order called NEKOLIM (neo-colonialists, colonialist, and imperialists). He believed that United Kingdom and USA led these powers and the Indonesian action of nationalization of Dutch property in the country in 1957 was a step towards breaking the power of NEKOLIM.

Sukarno coined terms such as TAVIP (The year of living dangerously and Berdikari (standing on one's own feet). The economic policies during this period were guided by these two terms.

Five issues dominated the debates on Indonesian economy from 1950-1966. They were building an integrated economy which took cognizance of the economic imbalances between Java and the other islands, the role and position of indigenous Indonesians in the economy, the role of the state in the economy, economic growth, and wealth distribution, and financing the construction of the national economy. The three cherished values of guided economy were the growth of state enterprise, national planning and building an egalitarian society. In the early 1950s the capital was in ruins due to continuous wars the country had faced opposing the Dutch. Underinvestment, corruption and lack of expertise had worsened the issue. Revenue declined during the period resulting in declining government intervention in improving the economy. War in West Irian led to further drain in economy. Guided economy was one of the chief principles of Guided Democracy, but it was considered subordinate to the political principles. Sukarno believed that important function of maintenance of economy was political. He believed that once the political system is stable economy could be easily improved. In 1963 he changed this policy to give weightage to the opinion of the economists. The economy improved slightly because of this. But this measure was short lived. By 1965 the foreign debt became 2.1 billion. In the early years of guided democracy, no budget was proposed. Inflation increased, infrastructure crumbled, and agricultural production declined.

8.17 FALL OF GUIDED DEMOCRACY AND SUKARNO

The crisis in Guided Democracy intensified in 1965. There was a strong rumor that army's senior generals were planning a coup-de-tat against Sukarno. On 30th September 1965 a '30th September Movement' took place in which senior generals were arrested. It was announced that Revolutionary Councils would soon be established in Jakarta and the provinces would carry out Sukarno's policies and maintain the integrity of Guided Democracy. Little later another announcement was made that the Central Revolutionary Council had taken over all powers till elections. Some of the generals were kidnapped. It was suspected that both Sukarno and PKI's leader Aidit were involved. On 1st October 1965 some military generals were either shot dead or bayoneted or captured. In turn, the army avenged this action by plotting a revenge action. Leader of counter-coup operation was Major -General Suharto. He quickly gained control of the radio station and other buildings in Central Jakarta. By evening he issued ultimatum to the rebels to leave the airbase. On 2nd October the 30th September Movement was over. Sukarno continued as before giving the impression that Guided Democracy would continue like before. Suharto gradually assumed more power and moved ahead cautiously. He became interim army commander thereby rejecting Sukarno's appointment of an army commander. On 3rd October Sukarno was forced to entrust with Suharto the responsibility of restoring order. On 8th October 1965 PKI was banned. On 14th October Sukarno formally, appointed Suharto as the army commander. This appointment gave him enormous power to take any action to restore action.

8.18 MASS ACTION AND MASSACRES

The army attributed the coup attempt to the PKI. Around half a million of its members and supporters were killed. The party members and the public did not anticipate the scale of ferocity of the revenge attacks. Within days, the killing of PKI members began. Towards the end of 1965 a large number of PKI members were massacred. By March 1966 the killings had subsided but erupted periodically till 1969. The destruction of PKI led to weakening of Sukarno's position as otherwise he did not have party base. At the same time though Suharto was preparing for a new order the blueprint of it was not ready and in the intervening period he could not completely abandon guided democracy. Sukarno's attempt to strengthen his position by broadening the base of Guided Democracy coalition did not take off. During this period Suharto was taking firm measures to remove Sukarno from power. In January 1966 the student and youth groups had mounted street demonstrations against price rise, economic distress. Again, in February they took to violent demonstrations and the disturbance spread. Unable to bring order out of chaos and not wanting to risk his close aids' life on 11th March 1966 signed an order instructing Suharto to take all measures considered necessary to guarantee security, calm and stability of the government and the revolution, and to guarantee personal safety and authority of the President. Sukarno's close aides were charged with corruption and mismanagement and were sentenced to death. Later Suharto was appointed as acting president and Sukarno was kept under house arrest in Jakarta till his death on 21st June 1970.

8.19 SUHARTO'S NEW ORDER AND BEYOND

Suharto's New Order government set the achievement of political and economic stability, and then economic development, as its major broad policy objectives. Suharto's government eliminated communism and any kind of opposition. With help of western educated economists, he tried to reset the economy. Contrary to Sukarno's ideology western aid and oil production were encouraged. From 630% in 1966 inflation reduced to 9% in 1972 and he had achieved steady economic growth. There was limited civil liberties. The country rejoined United Nations and in 1967 it became the founding member of ASEAN. In 1976 it forcibly annexed East Timor which was a colony of the Portuguese. Suharto was re-elected several times. The country's growth percentage rose to a steady 7%, In 1997 Indonesia got into financial crisis due to 100% foreign direct investment. The financial crisis weakened state institutions and led to anti-government riots which in turn resulted in Suharto resigning from his position in May 1998. He was succeeded by B.J. Habibie.

8.20 SUMMARY

Indonesian nationalism has carried the nation to a point in history that was exciting and optimistic, yet also chaotic and dangerous, and the newly emerged nation's issues were created.

The Dutch rejected their declaration of independence and armed conflict and negotiation was started to get independence. There were many internal issues addressed by the new government after independence. It includes the political structure and its adaptation. Dr. Ahmed Sukarno provided strong leadership but many internal issues and challenges faced by him also. After that, Suharto tried to control the situation of crises but he also failed, and due to financial crises, the state economy was affected, and many institutions became weak. Therefore, he was forced to resign in 1998 and Mr. B.J. Habibie was succeeded by him. All these points were covered in this unit.

8.21 QUESTIONS

- 1) 1)Discuss the course of Indonesian independence.
- 2) Assess the nature and characteristics of parliamentary democracy in Indonesia.
- 3) critically examine the features of guided democracy in Indonesia.

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ASEAN

Unit Structure:

- 9.1 Objectives
- 9.2 Introduction
- 9.3 Background to the establishment of the ASEAN: Economies and Production
- 9.4 Social Implications
- 9.5 Authority and Opposition
- 9.6 Association of Southeast Asian Nations:
- 9.7 Conclusion
- 9.8 Check Your Progress
- 9.9 Questions
- 9.10 References

9.1 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the historical setting in which ASEAN was established
- The understanding of the need of the Southeast Asian Countries to start their own organization as distinct from NAM
- Aims, objectives, and organization of ASEAN
- The achievements of ASEAN
- The challenges faced by ASEAN



Flag of ASEAN. Motto: One vision One Identity One Community

A regional political grouping, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), founded in 1967 by Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines, had little impact by the early 1970s on the foreign and economic policies of the member nations. However, regional and world developments in the 1970s, including foreign involvement on a massive scale in Southeast Asia and dominated development, the fall of Indochina to communism and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, steered Singapore and its neighbors toward a new spirit of cooperation.

Before Second World War Southeast Asia was never seen as a cohesive geo-political unit, this had led to a situation in which regional unity and an association based on it was an unthinkable option. The concept of Southeast Asia as a political entity emerged almost by accident from World War II during the Quebec conference in August 1943 when the Western allies decided to establish a separate Southeast Asia Command (SEAC) embracing Burma, Malaya, Sumatra and Thailand. In the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 the jurisdiction of SEAC was extended to Netherlands East Indies and Indochina excluding North Vietnam, Philippines, and Laos. In March 1947 the United Nations established *The United Nation's Economic Commission for Asia and Far East* with its head quarters in Bangkok. This was an important step in providing a regional organization. While Britain looked forward to a continued role as informal leader of South and Southeast Asia, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru wanted an organization independent of any colonial supervision in the same region. This led to him organizing the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in March 1947. But the Southeast Asian Countries were reluctant to form a South and Southeast Asian Association to oppose Western imperialism at the initiative of India. They were partly worried of being dominated by an Asian nation and this led to the failure of this initiative.

Many tensions in the Southeast Asian region acted as impediment to regional co-operation of Southeast Asian Nations. Though free of colonial dominations, most countries faced internal strife. Occasionally colonial rule strengthened existing political structures but more often it had the opposite effect and led to divisiveness in many of the erstwhile colonies. Some were disappointed that political freedom did not immediately usher in economic prosperity as was expected by the local population. In some countries the colonial powers maintained both military and trade ties. Between 1949 to 1959 Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Malaya attained independence. Singapore at the same period attained self government. But these years coincided with the cold war period and its spillover could be seen in Southeast Asia. The newly independent Southeast Asian Countries often aligned with Western or Communist blocs to face internal struggles. This power bloc rivalry created lot of tension and almost shook the foundations of the fledgling democracies. This led to formation of Southeast Asian Treaty organization (SEATO) backed by the United States and the left-wing movements supported by

Russia and China. This led to further acrimony and resentment. The United States and Britain were the two main pillars of SEATO, but this organization roused intense suspicion amongst the communist countries such as China and Vietnam. Even amongst the non-communist countries it was seen as a foreign dominated organization. This led to the realization that Asians needed an association for themselves. This in turn led to the organization of Bandung Conference in 1955 and establishment of Non-Aligned Movement thereafter. But the increasing membership to NAM from African and European states shifted its focus away from Asia and its relevance to Southeast Asian Countries became vague. It was in this context that a regional association for Southeast Asian Countries was mooted.

In 1961 Association of Southeast Asia (ASA) comprising of Thailand, the Philippines and Malaya was established stressing on economic co-operation. Its aim was to keep communism at bay through economic prosperity and regional co-operation. But Sukarno of Indonesia opposed ASA. Also, the proposed Malaysian Federation drove a wedge between ASA partners. Philippines laid claim to Northern Borneo or Sabah. ASA remained dormant during the conflict period between Malaysia and Indonesia. It existed till 1966 though was not active. By this time Indonesia was trying hard to forge friendship with Malaysia burying the past differences but it did not want to be part of ASA. It wanted to create a new organization for the whole of Southeast Asia.

9.3 BACKGROUND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASEAN: ECONOMIES AND PRODUCTION

The new states of Southeast Asia, then, were increasingly internally integrated in ways that often defied both geography and long held practice. This development had both a political and an economic aspect. Politically, the colonial powers and the 'neo-imperial' states of Southeast Asia consolidated their territories through force of arms, persuasion, the technology of railways and the telegraph, and peopled its corners with their administrative representatives. Economically, the early twentieth century saw the growth of incipient national economies. In the Netherlands Indies, for example, efforts were made to redirect trade to new colonial centers rather than customary nodes of shipment such as Singapore. Through this process of turning the archipelago 'inside out, away from mainland Southeast Asia towards the small offshore island of Java the products of what the Dutch called the Outer Regions were increasingly channeled through Batavia, by means of Koninklijke *Paketaart Maatschappij* (KPM), which was the regional shipping line in the Indonesian Archipelago, whose services extended to South Africa in the west and Australia in the east, and China in the north. Similarly, once tin and rubber assumed their signal importance in Malaya, the British attention moved beyond the strategic imperatives which had driven their initial engagement to begin the construction of colonial Malayan economy.

Under the persistent imperatives of the Industrial Revolution and trade liberalization, the old monopoly trading systems, both indigenous and colonial, faded into irrelevance. The overweening impulse of the colonial powers from the late nineteenth century onwards was the production in their colonies of a limited number, but vast quantities, of tropical consumption goods 'condiments, food, and milk products and primary products for industry (rubber, tin, oil). Java produced ever larger quantities of sugar as the Dutch applied the newest technologies to cane production and sugar manufacture, even as they retained the archaic format of requisitioning small tracts of peasant rice land for cane cultivation and employing contingents of cheap peasant labour to harvest and transport cane to the mill. In the Outer Regions, most spectacularly in the vast and newly developed plantation areas of East Sumatra, centered on Medan, the Dutch planted tobacco, rubber, and palm oil, beginning the process of turning the regions outside Java into the colony's economic powerhouse. In the Philippines, sugar poured from the plantations established in Luzon and especially in the island of Negros, and in Bicol the humble abaca plant was cultivated to meet industrial world's insatiable appetite for cordage hemp rope or the 'Manila rope'. In the lands north of Saigon, vast tracts of land were devoted to rubber production. To produce industrial products like tin and rubber British Malaya organized the transfer of large number of Chinese and Indian immigrants respectively to work the tin mines and tap the trees in rubber plantations. To feed them, the British imported huge quantities of rice from the rapidly developing rice frontier of Lower Burma, the Central Plain of Siam, and the Mekong delta region of southern Vietnam. In these three monoculture rice-bowls, smallholder peasant rice cultivation expanded dramatically in the late nineteenth century, as increased security and certainty, greater freedom from traditional imposts like corvee labour, and slavery, enhanced mobility, much improved infrastructure such as roads, canals, drainage systems, dykes, irrigation facilities, milling capacity and especially accelerating international demand for rice and much enhanced marketing and credit networks built upon and further stimulated peasant production on a scale unprecedented in both magnitude and duration. The same imperative drove peasant smallholder to produce rubber in Sumatra and Malaya, and copra (dried coconut kernels) in eastern Indonesia and the Philippines.

Production came not just from cultivation but also from mining and gathering. By the early twentieth century, the demands of the second industrial revolution promoted the oil industry in places like Sumatra and northern Burma and the ever more efficient application of new and expensive technology, in the form of the giant dredge, to suck tin from the soil in Malaya. Coal production from the mines of northern Vietnam increased more than fourfold in the two and a half decades after 1913. The teak forests of Siam and Burma were exploited for their fine timbers, producing between them almost a quarter of a million tons of teak for export around the turn of the twentieth century.

The colonies were expected to consume the products of the industrialized world, particularly machine-woven textiles, and industrial manufactures. What ensued was not far short of a revolution for many Southeast Asians.

Now they sold most of what they produced and purchased on the market much of what they had to consume; domestic industry, notably textile production, declined and in many places disappeared altogether.

9.4 SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

All these developments stimulated an extraordinary increase in Southeast Asia's population. Thus, Java's population, perhaps 5 million in 1800, had reached 29 million a hundred years later and 42 million by 1930. The 7.6 million people in the Philippines in 1903 had more than doubled in number to almost 16 million by 1939. Sumatra's population almost doubled between 1900 and 1930. A small part of this increase was the result of immigration from outside the region, especially from southern China, but much the greater part was attributable to natural factor, to a rapid reduction in mortality.

There were other serious social implications of these dramatic changes. As the formerly empty frontiers of the region filled with people and industry, the need for extension of agriculture increased. In Lower Burma the area devoted to rice grew tenfold between 1855 and 1940, and the employment of intensive methods of agriculture. But it could provide only temporary relief. One another consequence of rapid increase in population growth was a consequent rapid growth in land fragmentation, in tenancy, in landlessness, in credit dependency, in general territorial mobility, and in the variety of occupations practiced. Peasants who had previously devoted much of their time as owner-occupiers in the cycles of rice production now found themselves employed part of the year as paid labourers in harvesting and in off-farm work in fields, factories, and other sites of employment, often distant from their places of residence.

9.5 AUTHORITY AND OPPOSITION

During the colonial period, manufacturing itself remained seriously underdeveloped. It involved low-level consumer manufacturing activities such as ice, soap, cigarettes, and building materials manufacture, and for the large part associated with export product processing such as cane and rice milling, tin smelting, rubber processing and engineering and repairs to service those industries.

Only to alleviate the impact of 1930s depression the need to develop greater manufacturing self-sufficiency was thought about.

Notwithstanding the dimensions of the changes engineered, the imposition of colonial control rested upon weak foundations. As the reach of their imperialistic control expanded, the colonists' capacity to impose their will through force alone declined. The development of colonial armies, often peopled by ethnic minorities whose status and rewards were firmly tied to the maintenance of colonial power, increased. Thus, the Ambonese in the Netherlands Indies and Karens in Burma were enlisted in army mainly for internal policing rather than as defense against external threat. The colonial authority rested on an opaque wall built between the ruler and the

ruled. The white supremacist ideology was upheld and the white man's burden was emphasized upon at this time. Not trusting their own ideology, the western nations practiced the divide and rule policy everywhere and, in the process, upheld the rights of old landholders and elites. The old elites became new bureaucracies in many states and under the direction of the western masters mediated between the ruler and the ruled. Only later would these brokering bureaucracies be remodeled along more modern and 'rational' lines.

The positions held by the new bureaucracies facilitated social mobility, and enabled them with wealth, privilege, and prestige within their society. It was much preferable to be a bureaucrat rather than a businessman; in much of the region, the task of business fell to 'outsiders' like Chinese traders and Tamil Indian Chettiars.

Political consciousness began to grow as these states developed a sense of cultural identity through shared language, traditions, and memories of a glorious pre-colonial past. In Siam, this brought in a strong sense of cultural nationalism with love and respect for king's rule and power. Many indigenous political movements were modelled on the western political movements and sometimes even borrowing aspects of Indian National movement. Examples include Young Men's Buddhist Association of Burma. Many of these movements were opposed to not only colonial oppression but were also against outsider domination such as Chinese and Indian merchants' domination in these countries' economy.

Thus, the Southeast Asian countries over time adopted a political structure which was a curious mix of liberal Western political thinking, aggressive nationalism, Marxism with rapid economic growth. They needed an association to represent their emerging identity which was different from other Asian identities, and which especially would de-hyphenate them from the South Asian identity.

9.6 ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS

ASEAN is a political, Social, economic, and cultural organization formed on 8th of August 1967 by countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand through Bangkok declaration which was signed by Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia and the Foreign Ministers of other four countries in August 1967.

In 1976 the Melanesian state of Papua New Guinea was accorded observer status. On 8th January 1984 Brunei Darussalam joined the association as its sixth member. On 28th July 1995 Vietnam became the seventh member. Laos and Myanmar joined on 23rd July 1997. On 30th April 1999 Cambodia joined the association.

Throughout 1970s the organization worked for economic co-operation. There was a set back in mid 1980s to this goal but it was revived in 1991 after the proposal from Thailand for regional free trade area. In 1990

Malaysia proposed the creation of an East Asia Economic Caucus comprising of the existing members of ASEAN as well as the people's republic of China, Japan and South Korea. This proposal was strongly opposed by the United States and Japan hence it did not take shape. In 1992 the Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) agreement was signed as a schedule for phasing tariffs to increase the region's effectiveness to face global market. After East Asian Financial crisis of 1997, a Malaysian proposal called Chiang Mai Initiative was revived which called for better co-operation between economies of ASEAN and the countries of China, Japan and South Korea.

On 15th December 1995 the South East Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty was signed by the member countries turning South East Asia into a nuclear weapon free zone. This treaty was ratified on 28th March 1997. It became fully effective on 21st June 2001.

Objectives of the ASEAN:

The ASEAN declaration states that the purposes and principles of the Association are: (1) to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region. (2) to promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region and adherence to the principles of United Nations Charter.

Purpose of ASEAN:

- a) To maintain and enhance peace, security and stability and strengthen peace-oriented values in the region
- b) To enhance regional resilience through greater co-operation
- c) To preserve South East Asia as a nuclear weapons free zone and weapons of mass destruction free zone
- d) To ensure people of ASEAN live in peace
- e) To create single market and production base that is stable, prosperous and competitive.
- f) To alleviate poverty through mutual assistance and cooperation
- g) To strengthen democracy, enhance good governance and rule of law and to protect human rights
- h) To respond effectively in accordance with principles of comprehensive security
- i) To promote sustainable development to ensure the protection of region's environment
- j) To develop human resources through closer cooperation in education, life-long learning and in science & technology

- k) To enhance well being and livelihood of people of ASEAN through equitable access to opportunities for human development, social welfare, and justice
- l) To build a secure drug-free environment in ASEAN
- m) To promote community building and integration
- n) To preserve diverse culture and heritage of the region
- o) To have proactive role for ASEAN while dealing with external powers

Principles of ASEAN:

ASEAN member states reaffirm to adhere to fundamental principles contained in the declaration

The member states act in accordance with the following principles: -

- a) Respect for independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity
- b) Collective responsibility in regional peace, security and prosperity
- c) Renunciation of aggression in any manner inconsistent with international law
- d) Reliance on peaceful settlement of disputes
- e) Non-interference in Internal affairs of ASEAN member states
- f) Respect for the right of every member state to lead its national existence free from external inference, subversion and coercion
- g) Enhanced consultations on matters seriously affecting the common interest of ASEAN
- h) Adherence to the rule of law, good governance, the principles of democracy and constitutional government
- i) Respect for fundamental freedoms, the promotions and protection of human rights and promotion of social justice
- j) Upholding of UN charter and international law including Internal Humanitarian Law, subscribed to by ASEAN member states
- k) Absent from participation in any policy or activity including the use of the territory which threatens the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political and economic stability of ASEAN member states.
- l) Respect for the different cultures, languages and religions of people of ASEAN
- j) Adherence to multilateral trade routes and ASEAN based rules for effective implementation

Rights & Regulations:

- a) Member states have equal rights and obligations
- b) Member states shall take appropriate measures including enactment of appropriate domestic legislation to effectively implement the provisions and comply with the obligations of membership

Admission to new members is based on:

- a) Location in the recognized geographical region of South East Asia
- b) Recognition by ASEAN member states
- c) To abide by the ASEAN charter
- d) Its willingness to carry out the obligations of membership

Organs of ASEAN:

1) ASEAN Summit:

- a) It is the supreme policy making body of ASEAN
- b) It deliberates, provides policy guidance and takes decision on key issues
- c) Important matters are referred to it by the ASEAN Coordinating Council, ASEAN Community Councils and ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies
- d) It addresses emergency situation affecting ASEAN
- e) It authorizes the establishment and dissolution of Sectoral Ministerial Bodies and other ASEAN Institutions.

ASEAN Coordinating Council:

It comprises of Foreign Ministers of the member states. It meets at least twice a year.

- a) ASEAN Coordinating Council prepares the meetings of the ASEAN summit
- b) To coordinate the implementation of agreements and decisions of the ASEAN summit
- c) Coordinate reports of ASEAN Community Councils to the ASEAN community
- d) Consider the annual reports of the Secretary General on the work of ASEAN
- e) Approves appointment of Deputy Secretary General

ASEAN Community Councils:

- a) The ASEAN Community Council shall comprise of the ASEAN Political Security Community Council, ASEAN Economic Community Council and ASEAN Socio-cultural Community Council.
- b) Each community council shall have under its purview relevant ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies
- c) Each ASEAN Community Council shall ensure implementation of the relevant decisions of the ASEAN summit
- d) It submits reports and recommendations to ASEAN summit on matters under its purview

ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies:

- a) Function in accordance with their respective established mandate
- b) Strengthen cooperation in their respective fields in support of ASEAN integration and community building
- c) Submit reports and recommendations to their respective community councils

Secretary General of ASEAN And ASEAN Secretariat:

The Secretary General shall be appointed by ASEAN summit for a non-renewable term of office of five years.

Secretary General shall:

- a) Carry out duties in accordance with the charter
- b) Facilitate and monitor progress in the implementation of ASEAN agreements
- c) Participate in the meetings of ASEAN summit, ASEAN Community Council, ASEAN Coordinating Council, ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies, and other relevant meetings
- d) Be the Chief Administrative Officer of the ASEAN
- e) Be assisted by four Deputy Secretary Generals of different nationalities

Committee for Permanent Representatives to ASEAN:

Each member state shall appoint a permanent representative with the rank of Ambassador based in Jakarta

Permanent Representative Committee shall:

- a) Support the work of ASEAN community councils and ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies

- b) Coordinate with National Secretariats and other ASEAN Sectoral Ministerial Bodies
- c) Facilitate ASEAN cooperation with external partners

ASEAN National Secretariats:

Each ASEAN member state establishes a National secretariat

- a) To serve as National Focal Point
- b) Be repository of information on all ASEAN matters at national level
- c) Coordinate and support the national preparations of ASEAN meetings

ASEAN Human Rights Body:

ASEAN Human Rights Body shall operate in accordance with terms determined by ASEAN Foreign ministers meeting

ASEAN Foundation:

ASEAN Foundation shall support Secretary General and collaborate with relevant bodies to support ASEAN community building by promoting people to people interaction, close collaboration among the business sector, civil society, academic and other stake holders in ASEAN

It is accountable to Secretary General and submit reports to ASEAN summit

Decision Making and Unresolved Issues:

Decision making is through consultation and consensus. If there is dispute it is to be resolved through the prescribed dispute settlement mechanisms specified in the Treaty of Amity & Cooperation in South East Asia and its rules of procedure.

If it still remains unresolved it should be referred to the ASEAN summit.

Developments in ASEAN:

- ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea, Manila, 22 July 1992
- Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone, Bangkok
- 15 December 1997
- ASEAN Vision 2020, Kuala Lumpur, 15 December 1997
- Declaration of ASEAN Concord II, Bali, 7 October 2003.

In recognition of security interdependence in the Asia-Pacific region, ASEAN established the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994 including countries such as The Russian Federation, Singapore, Thailand, the United States, and Viet Nam. The present participants in the ARF include: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China,

European Union, India, Indonesia, Japan, Democratic Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea (ROK), Lao PDR, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines.

The ASEAN Vision 2020:

The ASEAN vision 2020 agreed on a shared vision of ASEAN as a concert of South East Asian Nations.

ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

The ASEAN Economic Community shall be the end-goal of economic integration measures as outlined in the ASEAN Vision 2020. Its goal is to create a stable, prosperous and highly competitive ASEAN economic region in which there is a free flow of goods, services, investment and a freer flow of capital, equitable economic development and reduced poverty and socio-economic disparities in year 2020.

ASEAN SOCIO-CULTURAL COMMUNITY

The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community, in consonance with the goal set by ASEAN Vision 2020, envisages a Southeast Asia bonded together in partnership as a community of caring societies and founded on a common regional identity.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The ASEAN Vision 2020 affirmed an outward-looking ASEAN playing a pivotal role in the international community and advancing ASEAN's common interests.

India became a sectoral dialogue partner of ASEAN in 1992. The sectors were trade, investment, tourism and science and technology.

Besides, India has also been involved in a continuous effort to upgrade the bilateral relationships with the ASEAN member countries. For example, India has entered into an agreement with Thailand for a free trade area (FTA). This was followed with a similar agreement with Singapore in a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA).

Simultaneously, sub-regional cooperation has accelerated too. The Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) and the BIMST-EC (Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Thailand Economic Cooperation) are indicators to this effect.

ASEAN at Crossroads:

On the 41st session of ASEAN held in Singapore in August 2008, its Secretary General Dr. Surin Pitsuwan talked about getting the new charter to the ASEAN ratified by all member states that is aimed at changing the way ASEAN deals with everything from human rights to Southeast Asia's economy. It is precisely for this reason ASEAN finds itself in crossroads. Seven-member states have signed in agreement while others have not done it.

Some scholars believe that ASEAN should move from consensus building body to one which actually binds member states. It has to show that it can function as a united diplomatic and legal body. ASEAN has so far stayed out of member state's internal affairs but now international pressure is mounting on it that Myanmar should be booked over its human rights record. Some feel that the bloc has too much diversity, much more than European Union: from authoritarian capitalism to state imposed communism to monarchy to full fledged democracy. There is also a feeling that bloc needs to be more assertive on international stage. The supporters ASEAN feel that barring human rights record ASEAN has achieved much in terms of technology, agriculture, environment, health, education or trade.

9.7 SUMMARY

ASEAN is a regional forum modeled on the United Nations charter. It is a forum where collectively the members of the South East Asian Nations get together, voice their concerns, and sort out the collective challenges facing the region. It so far, addressed only regional issues. Now it is bringing in a new charter that would help it address various issues such as drugs, human rights abuse, etc which were hitherto considered an internal matter of the member nations.

9.9 QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a detailed note on the reasons why ASEAN was founded. Were the issues resolved through the formation of ASEAN?
- 2) What were the Objectives, Purpose, and organs of ASEAN?
- 3) Assess the contribution of the organs of ASEAN. Also, discuss the challenges faced by Southeast Asian countries today and how ASEAN is trying to resolve them.

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ARAB ISRAEL CONFLICT (1948 - 2000)

Unit Structure :

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Factors Responsible for Arab Israel conflict
- 10.3 Progression of the Arab-Israeli Conflict
- 10.4 Egypt-Israel Peace Efforts
- 10.5 Summary
- 10.6 Questions
- 10.7 References

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit the student will be able to

- 1) Understand the factors responsible for Arab Israel Conflict
- 2) Grasp the progression of the Arab-Israeli Conflict
- 3) Know about Egypt-Israel Peace Efforts

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Arab Israel Conflict is one of the major conflicts after the Second World War. The creation of a new Jew nation in Palestine is the prominent cause of this issue. The sources of the Arab-Israeli conflict can be traced to a complex of interrelated events. The most important of these events was the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Until the end of the nineteenth century the number of Jews inhabiting Palestine was the homeland of Arabs for many years. The creation of a new Jew state in Palestine was the root cause of this feud.

10.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR ARAB ISRAEL CONFLICT

There was no such rivalry between Arab and Jews. The Jews were persecuted by western European countries and Russia because of their separate identity based on religion, race and language. The Second World War brought horrific calamities to Jews as they have been persecuted by Hitler on the mass level. They felt the need for a separate homeland as their ultimate destiny. The origin of the Arab-Israeli problem goes back almost

2000 years. In 71 AD, the Romans had driven out the Jews from Palestine, which was then their homeland. In fact, small groups of Jews stayed behind in Palestine, and over the following 1700 years, there was a gradual trickle of Jews returning from exile. They migrated to Palestine an ancient homeland of Jews. This was the beginning of trouble as Arabs have been living in Palestine for many years.

Jewish Immigration to Palestine:

In 1897 some Jews living in Europe established the World Zionist Organization at Basel in Switzerland. Zionists believed that Jews ought to be able to go back to Palestine and have a national homeland' or a Jewish state. Jews had been facing persecution in Russia, France and Germany, and a Jewish state would provide a safe refuge for Jews from all over the world. The problem was that Palestine was occupied by Arabs, who were alarmed at the prospect of losing their land to the Jews.

Balfour Declaration:

British facilitated the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. British Foreign Minister, Arthur Balfour announced in 1917 that Britain supported the idea of a Jewish national home in Palestine. After 1919, when Palestine became a British mandate, large numbers of Jews started to settle in Palestine. The Arabs protested bitterly against the British plan of creating a national home for the Jews in Palestine. They demanded an independent Palestine for the Arabs, and an end to the immigration of Jews into Palestine. Therefore, the clash between Zionism's aims and the national interests of the Arab people of Palestine was the original cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which remains to this day at its core. The British did not imagine that their generous offer to create conditions for the Jewish State in Palestine would involve West Asia in one of the longest conflicts of modern times. The British government stated in 1922 that there was no intention that the Jews should occupy the whole of Palestine and that there would be no interference with the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. The British hoped to encourage Jews and Arabs to live together peacefully in the same state. However, this British expectation could not be realized.

Division of Palestine and Creation of the State of Israel:

The immigration of Jews into Palestine greatly increased following the Nazi persecution of Jews in Germany after 1933. Around, 1940 about half the population of Palestine was Jewish. The Peel Commission appointed by the British government proposed the division of Palestine into two separate states, one Arab and one Jewish. However, the Arabs did not want the presence of Jews in Palestine, and rejected the idea. The British tried again in 1939, offering an independent Arab state within ten years, and Jewish immigration was limited to 10,000 a year. The Jews rejected this proposal. The Second World War made the condition much worse. There were thousands of Jewish refugees from Hitler's Europe desperately looking for somewhere to go. In 1945 the United States pressurized Britain to allow 100,000 Jews into Palestine. David Ben Gurion, one of

the Jewish leaders, supported this demand. However, the British refused to yield to the US pressure, as they did not want to offend the Arabs.

Jewish Attacks against Arabs and the British:

The Jewish had suffered at the hands of the Nazis and hence they were determined to fight for their 'national home'. They began terrorist activities against both Arabs and the British. One of the most remarkable incidents was the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, which the British were using as their headquarters. In this terrorist act, ninety-one people were killed and many more injured. The British responded quickly by arresting some Jewish leaders.

Declaration of Independent Jewish State:

England was weakened by the strain of the Second World War hence it felt unable to bring about a settlement to the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine. Ernest Bevin, the Labour Foreign Secretary, questioned the United Nations to deal with the problem, and in November 1947 the UN voted to divide Palestine, setting aside roughly half of it to form an independent Jewish state. Early in 1948, the British decided to withdraw from Palestine and let the UN carry out its own plan. Although the fighting was already going on between Jews and Arabs, the British withdrew all their troops from Palestine. In May 1948, Ben Gurion declared the independence of the new state of Israel.

10.3 PROGRESSION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The Arab-Israeli War (1948) :

When the formidable coalition of the Arab states declared war on the newly born state of Israel, most people expected Arabs victory easily. However, Israelis defeated Arabs and even captured more of Palestinian land than the UN partition had given them. They gained about three-quarters of Palestine plus the Egyptian port of Eilat on the Red Sea. Arabs were divided among themselves and poorly equipped. King Abdullah of Jordan was more interested in seizing the area of Palestine west of the River Jordan known as the West Bank, so that he could make it part of his own state, than in giving it to the Palestinian Arabs. The most tragic consequence of the war was that the Palestinian Arabs became the innocent victims who found themselves without a state or a homeland. Some were in the new Jewish state of Israel, others who lived in the area grabbed by King Abdullah, found themselves living in Jordan. Nearly a million Arabs fled into Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria where they had to live in refugee camps in miserable conditions. Jerusalem was divided between Israel and Jordan. Arabs refused to recognize the legality and independence of Israel, and they regarded this war as only the first round in the struggle to destroy Israel and liberate Palestine.

The Suez War (1956):

Nasser, the president of Egypt wanted to have best of both worlds decided to keep equal distance from both America and USSR and tried to extract maximum benefit for his country. In December 1955, it was announced that the World Bank would provide a loan of 20 million dollars towards the building of the Aswan High Dam, to add to an American loan of 56 million dollars and a British contribution of 14 million dollars. The Western loan was conditional as the West demanded that Nasser should break his ties with the communists, a condition that he was not prepared to meet. This led to the withdrawal of the promised aid by the United States and England. Nasser immediately retaliated by nationalizing the Suez Canal intending to use the income from it to finance the dam.

Nasser's action was seen by Britain as an illegal and irresponsible threat to a vital international waterway and a move of great strategic danger. Nasser increased his attacks on Israel and in October formed a joint military command with Syria and Jordan. At this point the French, further angered by Egyptian support for rebels in Algeria, proposed a plan, whereby Israel should counterattack in the Sinai peninsula, thus giving the British and French a reason to reoccupy the Canal zone on the pretext of protecting international waters. The war began with the planned Israeli invasion of Egypt on 29 October 1956. This was a brilliant success, and within a week the Israelis had captured the entire Sinai Peninsula. The attacks caused an outcry from the rest of the world, and the Americans, who were afraid of upsetting all the Arabs and forcing them into closer ties with the Soviet Union, refused to support Britain, although they had earlier hinted that support would be forthcoming. With the pressure of world opinion against them, Britain, France and Israel agreed to withdraw, while UN troops moved in to police the frontier between Egypt and Israel. The Suez War was a complete humiliation for Britain and France.

Foundation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO):

The bitterness between Israel and her neighbours continued. In 1964 the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded. Another secret organizational Fatah (the Conquest) was also set up and guerilla groups made increasing numbers of attacks on Jewish settlements. In Syria political upheavals brought the Ba'ath party to power in 1966. It supported al Fatah, the Palestinian Liberation Movement, a more effective guerrilla force than the fedayeen. In late 1966 the Syrian border became the scene of bombardments and reprisal raids, and Nasser pledged his support to Syria in the event of an Israeli invasion. Nasser called for the withdrawal of the UN Emergency Force, received promises of support from Saudi Arabia, Algeria and Iraq, and made a treaty with King Hussein of Jordan. He also closed the Straits of Tiran. The Arab world followed Nasser's lead, expecting to arrive at the end of Arab-Israeli conflict by means of the eradication of the Jewish homeland. Following these developments, Arab troops gathered on the frontiers of Israel.

The Six-Day War of 1967:

The Arab states joined together again in a determined attempt to destroy Israel. The lead was taken by Iraq, Syria and Egypt. Levi Eshkol, the Prime Minister of Israel appointed General Moshe Dayan, hero of the 1956 Sinai campaign, as Minister of Defense in 1967. Preferring attack to defense, Moshe Dayan ordered a surprise attack on the Egyptian Air Force while it was on the ground, followed by an immediate assault on all fronts. Deprived of air cover, the Arab forces were rolled back on all fronts. In six days, the Israelis occupied the Gaza Strip and the whole of Sinai Peninsula up to the east bank of the Suez Canal, the rest of Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. By the time that the UN Security Council could arrange a cease-fire, the Arabs had suffered a major psychological and military defeat, and the Israelis were in a position from which they would not retreat without a guarantee of permanent recognition and security. For the Israelis the Six Day War was a great success. This time they had ignored a UN order to return the captured territory from the neighbouring Arab states. This acted as a series of buffer zones between Israel and the Arab states, and meant that it would be much easier to defend Israel. However, it did bring a new problem of dealing about a million extra Arabs who now found themselves under Israeli rule. Many of them were living in the refugee camps set up in 1948 on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

The War of Attrition (1970):

Even when the war was not fought between two countries, a war of attrition, of air raids, outrages and terrorism continued. Pressure was brought to bear on the Arab states by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) under its leader Yasir Arafat, for some further action. When very little happened, a more extreme group within the PLO, called the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, embarked on a series of terrorist attacks to draw world attention to the grave injustice being done to the Arabs of Palestine. They hi-jacked airliners and flew three of them to Amman, the capital of Jordan, where they were blown up (1970). This was embarrassing for King Hussein of Jordan, who now favoured a negotiated peace, and in September 1970 he expelled all PLO members based in Jordan. In 1972 innocent passengers were gunned down at Tel Aviv airport. Terrorist attacks reached a horrifying climax when some members of the Israeli team were murdered at the 1972 Munich Olympics by the Palestinian terrorists.

The Yom Kippur War of 1973:

Anwar Sadat, the President of Egypt was prepared to work either with the United States or the Soviet Union, but he hoped to win American support for the Arabs, so that the Americans would persuade the Israelis to agree to a peace settlement. However, the Americans refused to get involved. Having failed to get the American support to his peace initiative, Sadat, together with Syria, decided to attack Israel again, hoping that this would force the Americans to act as mediators. The Egyptians were feeling more

confident because they now had modern Russian weapons and Russian experts had trained their army. In 1973, Egypt and Syria launched a new attack on Israel on 6 October, Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar, hoping to catch the Israelis off guard. After some early Arab successes, the Israelis, using mainly American weapons, were able to turn the tables. USA and the USSR decided it was time to intervene to try to bring about a peace settlement. Acting with UN co-operation, they organized a ceasefire, which both sides accepted. An important development during the war was that the Arab oil-producing states tried to bring pressure to bear on the United States and on Western European states which were friendly to Israel, by reducing oil supplies.

10.4 EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE EFFORTS

The Arab-Israeli conflicts and periodical wars had added to the number of refugees and found no new home for the Palestinians. President Sadat had become convinced that Israel could not be destroyed by force, and that it was foolish to keep on wasting Egypt's resources in fruitless wars. President Nixon visited West Asia and in return Sadat visited Washington. In November 1977, Sadat paid a visit to Israel and addressed the Knesset, the Israeli parliament. The Israeli Prime Minister paid a return visit to Egypt the following month.

The Intifada:

A large-scale uprising by the Palestinians in the occupied territories began in December 1987. It was known as Intifada. This 'shaking' (intifada in Arabic) came after 20 years of Israeli occupation but was sparked by an increase in unemployment among Palestinian Arabs. The intifada took a number of different forms: boycott of Israeli goods, attacks against Israeli civilians and settlers, demonstrations to show public support for Palestinian nationhood, and stone throwing by youths against Israeli soldiers. Israel's reaction was one of armed suppression of the revolt, including the use of rigorous tactics by the Israeli military, whose severity was condemned not only by the Palestinians but also by many Israelis.

Peace Initiative between Israel and the PLO:

The election of a less aggressive Labour government in Israel in June 1992 raised hopes for better relations with the Palestinians. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres both believed in negotiation, and were prepared to make concessions in order to achieve a lasting peace. Yasir Arafat, the PLO leader, responded and talks opened between Israel and the PLO. But there was so much mutual suspicion and distrust after all the years of hostility that progress was difficult. However, both sides persevered and by early 1996, remarkable changes had taken place.

Formal Recognition of the PLO by Israel:

Events in the Middle East took a surprising turn in 1993. After secret negotiations, Prime Minister Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat flew

to Washington, DC, and agreed to the signing of a historic peace agreement. This was the first major breakthrough. By this peace accord Israel formally recognized the PLO; the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist and promised to give up terrorism; Israel agreed to allow Palestinian self-rule, first in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho, and later in other areas of the West Bank not settled by Jews. Extremist groups on both sides opposed the agreement. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine still wanted a completely independent Palestinian state. Israeli settlers on the West Bank were against all concessions to the PLO. However, the moderate leaders on both sides showed great courage and determination, and two years later they took an even more momentous step forward.

The Taba Agreement:

In September 1995, Rabin and Arafat signed the Taba Agreement on the lawns of the White House in Washington. This agreement promised self-rule for the Palestinians. As part of this peace package, Israel agreed to withdraw its troops from most of the West Bank in stages over several years, handing over both civil and security powers to the PLO. This would end Israeli control of the areas, which they had held since 1967. The areas would be ruled by a parliament or Palestinian Council of 88 members to be elected early in 1996 by all West Bankers and Arab residents of Jerusalem aged over 18. All Palestinian prisoners held by Israel (about 6000) would be released, in three phases.

Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin:

Most of the world's leaders welcomed this brave attempt to bring peace to the troubled region. But once again extremists on both sides claimed that their leaders were guilty of 'shameful surrender'. Yigal Amir, a Jewish student hostile to the peace process, and particularly to the handover of land to the Palestinians assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin shortly after addressing a peace rally on 4 November 1995 as he left a peace rally in Tel Aviv. Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres succeeded Rabin.

The Wye Accord:

By February 1998 the United States was growing impatient with Israel's hardening policy. After heavy American lobbying, Israel signed a new peace accord with the Palestinians, the so-called Wye Accord, in October 1998. Under its terms, Israel began further troop withdrawals from the West Bank, and the first Palestinian airport was opened in the Gaza Strip in November. However, Netanyahu then suspended its terms, claiming Palestinian noncompliance.

The Sharm el-Sheikh Agreement:

Already a successful politician and renowned for his courage and bravery, US president Barak Obama seemed the right man to boost the Arab-Israeli peace process. He immediately confirmed his commitment to implement

the Wye Accord in a revised version. After several weeks of negotiations, the Israeli government and the Palestinian authorities signed a revised version of the Wye Accord, the so-called Sharm el-Sheikh Agreement, in Egypt, in September 1999. The document was intended to project the way toward the final peace agreement, to be concluded by September 2000, and was accepted by the Israeli Cabinet.

Violence in West Bank and Gaza Strip:

Intensive negotiations, the so-called final status or 'permanent status talks were begun between Israel and the Palestinians in the West Bank town of Ramallah in November, but were soon suspended. Days after the talks broke down again in May 2000, Barak announced his cabinet's approval to hand over three villages on the outskirts of East Jerusalem. The transfer was immediately postponed when the bloodiest violence for four years erupted in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

10.5 SUMMARY

The Jews were persecuted by western European countries and Russia because of their separate identity based on religion, race and language. In 1897 some Jews living in Europe established the World Zionist Organization at Basel in Switzerland. In 1945 the United States pressurized Britain to allow 100,000 Jews into Palestine. The formidable coalition of the Arab states declared war on the newly born state of Israel in 1948. The most tragic consequence of the war was that the Palestinian Arabs became the innocent victims who found themselves without a state or a homeland. Even when the war was not fought between two countries, a war of attrition, of air raids, outrages and terrorism continued. The peace between two countries is not yet established but the efforts in that direction are in progress.

10.6 QUESTIONS

- 1) Trace the factors responsible for Arab-Israeli conflict.
- 2) Give an account of the Arab-Israeli wars from 1948 to 1973. What were their impact on both the Arabs and Israelis?
- 3) Examine the peace process between Egypt and Israel.
- 4) Discuss the various attempts made to end Arab Israel conflict. What was their outcome?

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Arab Israel Conflict
(1948 - 2000)



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IRANIAN REVOLUTION OF 1979

Unit structure :

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Factors Responsible for Revolution in Iran
- 11.3 Course of the Revolution
- 11.4 Suppression of Liberalism
- 11.5 Summary
- 11.6 Questions
- 11.7 References

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit the student will be able to

- 1) Understand factors responsible for revolution in Iran
- 2) Comprehend important events in Iranian revolution
- 3) Grasp the impacts of Iranian revolution

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The revolution in Iran that swept away the Pahlavi monarchy in January 1979. This revolution was religious and political in nature. The revolution was led by the religious leader of the Muslims cleric Ayatollah Khomeini from his exile in Paris. The revolution brought the Muslim clergy in the forefront of the Iranian politics. Ayatollah Khomeini controlled both politics and religion decided to organize the Iranian society strictly according to the Shiite Islamic principles. Accordingly, the regime of the Ayatollah became much more autocratic and repressive than that of the Shah.

11.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR REVOLUTION IN IRAN

Absolute Monarchy in Iran :

The Muhammad Reza Shah promoted absolute monarchy in Iran. Five palaces maintained for the royal family exemplified the luxurious living of the Shah and his family. A multi-million dollar extravaganza at Persepolis

glorified the monarchy in 1971 to celebrate the 2,500th anniversary of Persian monarchy. While rooting the monarchy in the past, the Shah hoped to modernize the nation.

Huge Military Expenditure:

The Shah built up modern and sophisticated military machinery in Iran. Additional income from oil led to increased spending especially on defense. By 1975 Iran was spending on defense a larger proportion of national income than any country in the world except Israel. The results of this spending were reflected in the deficit in the balance of payments of nearly one billion dollars in 1975. Seemingly equating modernization with militarization, between 1959 and 1978 the Shah spent thirty six billion dollars on arms, about half of them purchased from the United States. In order to pay for the sophisticated planes, missiles, and supporting equipment, he raised the price of oil in 1974. Expansion of land, air and naval forces made Iran the strongest military power in the Persian Gulf area.

Widespread Poverty in Iran:

Shah's much advertised reform programme did little to alleviate the poverty of the majority of his subjects. In 1979 one-tenth of the population controlled half of the wealth in Iran. Social services were inadequate and inferior. Sixty per cent of the adult population was illiterate. Wasteful expenditure and corruption flourished and inflation rose to new heights. This resulted in the usual cyclic nightmare: demand for goods, inadequate supply, rising prices and further wage demands. The Shah, who had dealt sternly with the landed aristocracy in the early 1960's, showed signs of his displeasure with the new, ostentatious and corrupt rich. He came up with schemes for handing over half the ownership and profits of industry to the workers. Nonetheless, wages remained unsatisfactory and Teheran became a crowded town of five million for whom housing was shamefully inadequate.

Downfall of Muhammad Musaddiq:

Prime Minister Muhammad Musaddiq, a nationalist leader, precipitated an international crisis in 1951 when he secured authorization from parliament to nationalize the petroleum industry. Western opposition to any assertion of economic independence was complicated by Anglo-American rivalry. Averse to prolonged negotiations, the United States government cut off aid to Tehran and persuaded the British in effecting a boycott, which denied Iran access to oil tankers and oil markets. The consequent shutdown of the huge Anglo-Iranian refinery at Abadan brought the Iranian government to the point of bankruptcy. In August 1953 a CIA directed coup overthrew the government, replacing Musaddiq with a former Nazi collaborator and restoring the Shah to his throne. Under a new agreement, forty per cent of Iran's petroleum industry was allotted to five American companies.

Autocratic Rule of the Shah:

The fall of Musaddiq was a victory for the Shah. Musaddiq's left-wing supporters were persecuted and the Shah gradually asserted the paramountcy of the throne, first through military rule, which lasted until 1957, and then through a series of prime ministers who were either submissive or dismissed. The death of the Shah's only brother in 1954 jeopardized the Pahlavi dynasty. This prompted the heirless Shah to divorce his second wife and marry a third, who bore him a son a year later. Thus, being strengthened, the Shah began to implement a policy of land distribution and reform which proved so unpopular with the landowning classes and the Majlis, in which they were well represented, that the Shah dispensed with parliament for the two years from 1961 to 1963. In 1963 he felt strong enough to hold a plebiscite, which confirmed his personal ascendancy and the decline of the power of the provincial notables. The personal rule and policies of the Shah led to a lot of discontent among the urban politicians, the tribal chiefs and the educated young. However, oil revenues increased and Iran's gross national product began to register annual increases to the extent of seven per cent.

Opposition from conservatives:

The weakness of the regime of the Shah was the uncertainty that surrounded an autocracy with an infant heir. The Shah began to face opposition from the conservative mullahs, the anger of radical students and other protesters, which even one of the world's most ferocious secret police apparatuses could not silence. He was obsessively concerned with left-wing conspiracies. However, he could not visualize the threat from clerical radicalism that was growing in Iran. Moreover, the Shah became dangerously ignorant of the state of affair of his own country. He was unaware of the savagery of his secret police, SAVAK, and blatant economic and social inequality that existed in his country.

11.3 COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION

Discontent spread throughout the Iranian population in the late 1970's when an economic slump halted industrial projects and rising unemployment was accompanied by a fifty per cent rate of inflation. January 1978 inaugurated a year of riots and bloody clashes. Crowds of millions demonstrated in the streets. More than eight thousand people were killed as the police cracked down on protesters. In September 1978, the Shah imposed martial law and appointed a military governor, confident that, with the army behind him, he could overcome the storm of protest. But strike in the oilfields and violent eruptions led by university students paralyzed the government and brought the economy to a standstill. When it became evident that the army was not without sympathy for the revolutionaries, the Shah was forced to vacate his throne. When in January 1979 the Shah asked Dr Shahpur Bakhtiar to assume the premiership, Bakhtiar consented only upon condition that the Shah leave the country. On 16 January 1979, the Shah left Iran by plane 'on a vacation', and a Revolutionary Council was installed in his place.

The chief revolutionary figure in Iran was a seventy-eight year old Islamic theologian, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. He was a life-long enemy of the Pahlavi dynasty and its material values. He became a leader of those who opposed secular government and the modernization of Iran. After harshly suppressed riots in the early 1960's Khomeini had fled in 1964 to Turkey and thence to Iraq and finally to France, from where he continued to foster opposition to the Shah. He entertained a personal bitterness against the Shah as he had refused permission to the Ayatollah to return to Iran for the funeral of one of his sons. After a month following the flight of the Shah, Bakhtiar also fled from Iran. Following these events, Khomeini, now an ageing and obdurate moralist and nationalist returned to Iran to tumultuous welcome. On his re-entry into Iran, Khomeini inaugurated an autocratic rule, which lasted unchallenged until his death ten years later.

Khomeini proclaimed an Islamic republic and instituted a regime even more intolerant than the Shah's, although possibly less murderous. With the assistance of Revolutionary Council, Khomeini issued decrees for the nation. Before long, every secular or moderate leader was eliminated, and Khomeini drafted a new constitution designed to remake society in rigid conformity with Islamic law and Shiite tradition. The constitution provided for a popularly elected president but made all officials subject to supervision and removal by the religious authorities. Although SAVAK was abolished, a special police force was created to eliminate any opposition and enforce behavioural codes. Women lost what few rights they had ever possessed. Reduced in the eyes of the law to possessions of their husbands. They were forbidden to appear in public unless concealed by the veil and tent like chador. Khomeini suppressed dissidents as ruthlessly as had the Shah. It appeared that a secular tyranny had been replaced by religious fanaticism. He rejected both the concept of the nation state and the present international system, which he viewed with stark simplicity as a dualistic struggle between good and evil forces. To him the United States represented 'Great Satan', the Soviet Union 'Lesser Satan', which together oppressed the world's peoples and must be opposed with physical and moral force.

11.4 SUPPRESSION OF LIBERALISM

Khomeini appointed as Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, a liberal Muslim intellectual with a scientific education who had been imprisoned by the Shah, but there was in fact no central government. Bazargan was harassed from left and right, by Kurdish and Arab minorities. Ayatollah, who retired to the holy city of Qum dominated the political scene by conflicting pronouncements. He also allowed a kind of religious hooliganism to prevail. Local Islamic committees spent their time rounding up and executing those who were considered to be opposed to the Islamic revolution. The Shah's authority and partisans had evaporated with his flight, which turned him into a figure of suspicion. The memory of the Shah's restoration to his throne in 1953 by the Americans began to haunt

the Islamic revolutionaries when the Shah went to the United States from Egypt via Mexico in search of the best medical treatment for the cancer, which would soon kill him. Many in Iran feared that his arrival in New York forebode another American attempt to put him back on his throne.

The Hostage Crisis:

In November 1979, a group of Islamic militants seized the United States embassy in Teheran and took fifty-two hostages. This coup was partly directed against Bazargan, but more overtly against the United States. This incident alarmed Russians who feared retaliatory American action in Iran at a time when their own hold over their puppets in neighbouring Afghanistan was becoming insecure. It was also useful to Khomeini in rallying the splintered fragments of Iranian society behind himself. Throughout the hostage crisis Ayatollah supported the hostage-takers, who were keen to lay hands on the Shah and humiliate the United States. Bazargan, and after him, Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, who was appointed president in 1980, were in favour of settling the hostage crisis amicably and restoring normal relations with the United States in order to unfreeze Iranian assets in American banks and get spare parts for weapons. Bani-Sadr was forced into exile by a fresh wave of terror in 1981. After 444 days, the release of the American hostages was obtained only after long, repeatedly stalemated, and humiliating negotiations.

Anti-US Stand:

In external affairs Iran was extremely critical of the United States. It declared open support for the Hizbollah in Lebanon but denied wider charges of subversion and terrorism, for which the Americans could not produce evidence. Clinton branded Iran a threat to the Middle East and the world and imposed sanctions on companies, which traded with or in Iran. Iran aimed to assert its regional power by rebuilding its armaments after the war with Iraq and pressing its interests in Central Asia as well as in traditional areas in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf. It barely concealed its intention to develop a nuclear armoury, thus challenging Israel's monopoly in the Middle East.

Ayatollah Ali Khamenei:

Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, lacked Khomeini's personal magic, his religious credentials and his reputation for learning. He was neither referred to as the Imam nor accorded the supreme rank *marja* until after his promotion to Ayatollah. He was the keeper of the true Islamic flame in succession to Khomeini, the senior figure in a land where the spiritual crown vied with the constitutional head of the state.

Ali Akbar Rafsanjani:

Ali Akbar Rafsanjani, consolidated his relations with the military and won a comfortable victory in elections for the Majlis in 1992. He pacified Western governments by helping in the release of hostages in Lebanon and tried to attract Western bankers and industrialists.

When Rafsanjani's term ended in 1997 Muhammad Khatami succeeded him as the president of Iran. He surprisingly defeated Khamenei's favoured candidate by a large margin. Khatami was known to be a moderate and was evidently disposed to relax internal tensions rather than impose on all the rigorous conservatism of a dogmatic and intolerant minority. He had strong support from the rising generations and the unemployed, who numbered a quarter or more of the workforce. However, his clerical opponents were entrenched in the Majlis and the judiciary, the National Security Council and the Council of Guardians. Khatami improved relations with the Arab world and Europeans and even made approving remarks about some aspects of American culture, but he remained constrained by the religious right and by the slump in the price of oil, which provided ninety per cent of Iran's export earnings.

Mahmud Ahmadinejad:

Ahmadinejad generally held a more conservative view at the domestic level than his reformist predecessor Mohammad Khatami. Domestically, Ahmadinejad's economic policies also contributed to the growing polarization. Cheap loans and large-scale spending on infrastructure and other projects as well as subsidies on fuel, food, and other commodities.

11.5 SUMMARY

The political movement in Iran took nationwide form and many strikes and demonstrations brought instability. Khomeini the hardliner Islamic cleric became the ultimate ruler of Iran. The sharia law was accepted by new regime against western democratic and western cultural influence. Ayatollah, who retired to the holy city of Qum dominated the political scene by conflicting pronouncements. He also allowed a kind of religious hooliganism to prevail. Local Islamic committees spent their time rounding up and executing those who were considered to be opposed to the Islamic revolution. In external affairs Iran was extremely critical and abusive of the United States.

11.6 QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain the factors responsible for Revolution of 1979 in Iran.
- 2) Give an account of the role played by Ayatollah Khomeini in the Revolution of 1979 in Iran.
- 3) Narrate the political developments in Iran after the Revolution of 1979.
- 4) What was the impact of the Iranian revolution on her society and economy?

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OIL POLITICS AND OPEC

Unit Structure :

12.0 Objectives

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Background of oil politics

12.3 America's Involvement Iran and Iraq

12.4 OPEC

12.5 OPEC's retaliation against West for their support to Israel

12.6 Summary

12.7 Questions

12.8 References

12.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit the student will be able to

- 1) Understand factors responsible for revolution in Iran
- 2) Comprehend important events in Oil Politics and establishment of OPEC
- 3) Grasp the impacts of establishment of OPEC

12.1 INTRODUCTION

The US and other Western countries have used a lot of Gulf oil resources in twentieth century. Oil was first discovered in the United States in 1859. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it supplied only 4% of the world energy, but after several decades it became the most important energy source. Today, oil supplies about 40% of the world energy and 96% of the world transportation energy.

In the second half of the twentieth century, Arab oil-producing countries tried to put pressure on the United States and the Western European states that favored Israel by reducing oil supplies. This led to a severe shortage of oil, especially in Europe. At the same time, the oil producing countries were aware that the supply of oil was not unlimited. As a way to conserve these natural resources, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) began to increase oil prices by controlling oil production. This led to a spike in inflation and an energy supply crisis in the industrialized nations of the world.

12.2 BACKGROUND OF OIL POLITICS

The era of oil politics began in the middle of the nineteenth century. Britain had established Anglo Persian Oil Company in 1909 to exploit oil resources in Iran. America was also hopeful to utilize this resource hence an agreement was signed between the Persian government and standard oil company in 1921. Britain had also landed troops in Basra (now Iraq) in 1914 to strengthen its foothold in the oil-rich Gulf. Britain occupied Iraq in 1918. Along with England America and Russia has also played an important role in oil politics in the Gulf. America and Britain had to depend on the Gulf for oil then. But Russia itself has oil reserves. Nevertheless, during the Cold War, Russia made many interventions to challenge the US in the Gulf. The Gulf has turned into a battlefield in the clash between the two superpowers. Standard Oil of California formed a company called California Arabian Standard Oil. West Asia's oil reserves have fascinated global power and capital since the early twentieth century. In 1938 America discovered oil at Dammam in Saudi Arabia. On March 3, 1938, the first oil well was finally discovered in gulf region by American company. Since then, the US has been trying to gain control over the oil in the Gulf, especially in Saudi Arabia. In turn, the US and Saudi Arabia established a strong oil relationship. These were the most important relations of the twentieth century, which dominated the post-Cold War period. This is where the era of oil politics started. Maintaining the security of not only Saudi Arabia but also the entire Gulf and how the oil can flow freely to the United States remained a key issue for the United States. Of course, these attempts to maintain American dominance in the Gulf were met with bloody opposition. Since the 1970s, the Gulf has been a permanent battlefield and has brought to the world the horrors of bloodshed, violence, kidnapping and terrorism. From here, for the next 60-70 years, world wars for oil would take place in this theater. The monstrous faces of superpowers like America, Britain, and Russia would come to the fore. The blood of millions of innocent citizens were going to rot on this land. Terrible moves were to be made to gain control of these oil reserves and many weak countries were also to be sacrificed. The first chapter of Oil Politics was launched.

Gulf countries did not have the technology to extract oil. American companies took advantage of it. At that time, politics was heated over how to keep oil prices as high as possible. Manipulation of oil prices was done by increasing or decreasing oil production. This would hit the world in an instant. Even till now i.e. till 2014 when oil prices were as high as \$115 per barrel. Now the hands of the clock have turned upside down. Today, oil prices have collapsed and tactics are on how to keep them lower. The purpose is the same.

12.3 AMERICA'S INVOLVEMENT IRAN AND IRAQ

Prime Minister of Iran, Muhammad Musaddiq, a nationalist leader, precipitated an international crisis in 1951 when he secured authorization from parliament to nationalize the petroleum industry. Western opposition

to any assertion of economic independence was complicated by Anglo-American rivalry. Averse to prolonged negotiations, the United States government cut off aid to Tehran and persuaded the British in effecting a boycott, which denied Iran access to oil tankers and oil markets. The consequent shutdown of the huge Anglo-Iranian refinery at Abadan brought the Iranian government to the point of bankruptcy. In August 1953 a CIA-directed coup overthrew the government, replacing Musaddiq with a former Nazi collaborator and restoring the Shah to his throne. Under a new agreement, forty percent of Iran's petroleum industry was allotted to five American companies.

The Iran-Iraq war

With the heavy dependence of the western industrialized nations on Middle Eastern oil, naturally, western governments have maintained a strategic military presence in the region. Before the Iraqi invasion, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia were hosting nearly 45,000 United States troops, the US military has always maintained an aircraft carrier in the region to enable it respond to breaking events with speed. The resentment over the presence of American troops in the region has helped spawn anti-American sentiments. The Iran-Iraq war, which lasted eight years from 1980 to 1988, was based on gaining control over oil. It was the world's longest-running war and, ostensibly sparked by Iraq's invasion of Iran, its primary motivation was to gain control of Iran's oil reserves. It was America that called for this war. Both sides suffered heavy losses in that war. Still no result.

Maintaining the security of not only Saudi Arabia but also the entire Gulf and how the oil can flow freely to the United States remained a key issue for the United States. Of course, these attempts to maintain American dominance in the Gulf were met with bloody opposition. Even after oil was discovered in 1908 at Masjid e Suleiman in northwest Persia (now Iran), geologists were unanimous that there was no oil in the Gulf. Oil was in great demand during World War II. More recently, the US invasion of Iraq in 2004 and the presence of US troops there is the last phase of US militarism in West Asia. Although the invasion was the longest, most destructive, and most destructive of any previous military incursion, its real purpose was to hold America's grip on Iraq's oil. For forty years, the oil in this land has played a major role in the wars. Oil and war are integrated in the Gulf. Wars have to be seen as the only inevitability of politics.

It is obvious as the world is dependent on only two fuels, petrol and diesel. Hardly anyone has created the kind of upheaval that oil prices have caused around the world. Major oil-producing countries are Saudi Arabia, Iran, Russia and USA. These countries took the world by storm with their decisions on oil production and oil prices. The history of oil politics over the past five decades is a terrifying yet fascinating one. Each country has played its own role in the oil scene.

Before the mid-twentieth century, oil was discovered in the Gulf countries. From there, an oil politics began. Sometimes wars were fought, strategies were devised and regimes of weak countries were overthrown. Many intelligence agencies like CIA in America, KGB in Russia have hatched conspiracies as cleverly as they are terrifying and have done things like hijacking airplanes.

Underlying the politics of oil is the undeclared war being played out over oil prices. Saudi Arabia is the country with the largest oil reserves in the world. Of course, the role of Saudi Arabia in determining oil prices has always been important. Major oil producing countries made repeated moves to establish control over the oil market.

12.4 OPEC

On September 14, 1960, five major oil-producing countries of the world established the OPEC organization. Those five countries were Iran, Iraq, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait. Very soon, other countries also became members of this organization and the number of members reached 13. OPEC countries account for 44 percent of the world's mineral oil reserves and 80 percent of total production. Apart from this, Russia, the world's second largest producer of petroleum, became a member of this organization in 2016 and OPEC Plus was formed. In the beginning, the purpose behind the establishment of this organization was to stabilize the price of mineral oil in the world market, to achieve the interests of oil producers and consumers, but later on, this organization dominated the world market by doing politics only for its own interests and continued to arbitrarily control the production and prices of mineral oil. The principal aim of the organization, according to its Statute, is the determination of the best means for safeguarding their interests, individually and collectively; devising ways and means of ensuring the stabilization of prices in international oil markets to eliminate harmful and unnecessary fluctuations; giving due regard at all times to the interests of the producing nations and to the necessity of securing a steady income to the producing countries; an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consuming nations, and a fair return on their capital to those investing in the petroleum industry.

12.5 OPEC'S RETALIATION AGAINST WEST FOR THEIR SUPPORT TO ISRAEL

The United States has taken many actions to keep the OPEC organization dominated by the Gulf countries under its reins and has started to destabilize the countries by fueling the internal politics of these Gulf countries. However, this organization was able to retain its importance. After the involvement of Russia, the situation changed further. The persistent Arab-Israeli conflict finally prompted a response that transformed OPEC from a mere cartel into a formidable political force. After the Six Day War of 1967, the Arab members of OPEC formed a separate, overlapping group, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, for the purpose of centering policy and exerting pressure on the West over its support of Israel. Egypt and Syria, though

not major oil-exporting countries, joined the latter group to help achieve its objectives.

First Oil Shock 1973

In October 1973, members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) suddenly announced an oil embargo. The world was shocked. Overnight, petrol prices rose by \$3 to \$12 per barrel. The world economy and world politics had many radical consequences. This event was later described as the first oil shock. Since then, the world has realized how the existence of the world revolves around petrol and diesel. OPEC decisions have had considerable effect on international oil prices. OPEC refused to supply oil to western countries that had supported Israel in the Yom Kippur War in 1973 against Egypt and Syria, which they fought.

This refusal caused a huge increase in the price of oil, which lasted five months, starting on October 17, 1973, and ending on March 18, 1974. OPEC nations then agreed, on January 7, 1975, to raise crude oil prices by 10 %. At that time, OPEC nations including many who had recently nationalized their oil industries joined the call for a new international economic order to be started by coalitions of primary producers. After the 1973 oil embargo put by OPEC, Western Europe and Japan began changed their policy of supporting Israel and began to follow more pro-Arab policies. This change further strained the Western alliance system as in comparison of Europe the United States was self-reliant in oil. US imported only 12% of its oil from the Middle East (compared with 80% for the Europeans and over 90% for Japan), remained staunchly committed to its backing of Israel.

The second oil shock 1979

The second oil shock of the 1970s was connected with political actions in the Middle East. The Iranian Revolution began in early 1978 and ended a year later. The reign of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi collapsed and Ayatollah Khomeini took control the Islamic republic. In conjunction with the revolution, Iranian oil output declined by 4.8 million barrels per day (7 percent of world production at the time) by January 1979. However, this supply interruption may not have been the most important factor pushing oil prices higher. Rather, the Iranian disruption may have prompted a fear of further disruptions and spurred widespread speculative hoarding. Oil prices increased rapidly around 1979, more than doubling between April 1979 and April 1980. According to one estimation, surge in oil demand coming both from a flourishing global economy and a sharp increase in precautionary demand was responsible for much of the increase in the cost of oil during the crisis. Through early 1978, the Federal Reserve System, a central banking system in America had maintained a highly accommodative stand of monetary policy, hoping to tackle rising unemployment. Eventually, though, the policies showed little success in stifling the fall in the unemployment rate and likely promoted an environment that allowed the rising energy prices to be transmitted into more general inflation. Consumer inflation, which had already begun to accelerate in the United States, continued to rise from below 5 percent in early 1976 to nearly 7 percent by March 1979.

Despite increasing concern among the public and members of the FOMC about the declining value of the dollar and rising pace of inflation, the committee remained hesitant to raise interest rates too aggressively, fearful of stifling fragile economic growth. The Fed raised the federal funds rate from 6.9 percent in April 1978 to 10 percent by the end of the year. The increase was a clear move to try to curb rising inflation. However, modern economic historians now see the increases as timid and insufficient to stem a surge in inflationary pressure, which had already become entrenched in the American psyche and economy. Twelve-month consumer price index inflation rose to 9 percent by the end of 1979.

The Carter administration's decision to appoint Paul Volcker as Federal Reserve chairman in August 1979 was a strong endorsement of using more aggressive monetary policy to try to break inflation's stranglehold on the US economy. Volcker and the policy-setting FOMC made taming inflation their top priority, even if it came at the detriment of short-term employment. The policies ultimately proved successful in breaking the cycle of stagflation in the United States. Volcker guided the Fed in raising the federal funds rate from 11 percent at the time he took office to a peak of 19 percent in 1981, and the policy moves successfully lowered the rate of twelve-month inflation from a peak of nearly 15 percent to 4 percent by the end of 1982. Though the Fed's resolve under Volcker was effective in reducing inflation, the monetary contraction combined with the impact from the oil price shock pushed the economy into the most severe recession since the Great Depression.

Invasion of Iraq and Libya Until the nationalized the US oil companies in Iraq, Saddam was America's favourite. In 1981, Donald Rumsfeld himself provided him with toys of biological weapons. He later took the lives of millions with these weapons. Inhuman torture done. But nobody said anything. Further, if he had not nationalized the American oil companies, his human rights violations would not have been reported. There is no doubt that Gaddafi was brutal. He was rampantly violating human rights, no one will disagree with that. But as long as it was profitable for the oil companies his inhumanity was overlooked. Thus, oil politics played instrumental role in spreading new colonialism in form of western countries intervention in gulf region.

12.6 SUMMARY

The politics of oil emerged in the twentieth century as one of the most critical dimension shaping domestic and global life. Arab oil-producing countries tried to put pressure on the United States and the Western European states that favored Israel by reducing oil supplies. This led to a severe shortage of oil, especially in Europe. The United States has taken many actions to keep the OPEC organization dominated by the Gulf countries under its reins and has started to destabilize the countries by fueling the internal politics of these Gulf countries. However, this organization was able to retain its importance. After the involvement of Russia, the situation changed further.

12.7 QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain the factors responsible for oil politics in modern era.
- 2) Describe the role of America in oil politic.
- 3) Narrate the developments leading to the foundation of OPEC.
- 4) How oil politics influenced the politic in the world?

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