
UNIT 2 SOME CONCEPTS : IMPERIALISM, NATIONALISM, FASCISM, REVOLUTION

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2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, which discusses four important concepts, we will be able to :

- analyse the concept of imperialism;
- relate colonialism with international relations;
- explain neo-colonialism which is the contemporary form of imperialism;
- describe the significance and meaning of nationalism;
- recall various kinds and stages of nationalism;
- explain the meaning of Fascism;
- recall the causes that were responsible for the rise of fascism after World War I.
- analyse the meaning and significance of revolutions; and
- describe some of the major revolutions like Industrial revolution, French Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The term **imperialism** denotes domination of one political system over another. Imperialism is a phenomenon which grew out of capitalism and decisively influenced the course of international relations. Essentially, imperialism is a consequence of the economic and political processes of our times that at least twice led to world wars in the 20th century.

Nationalism is one of the most important concepts. Nationalism is a feeling which binds a people together. It enables people to fight for their freedom and for protection of the national interest of their state. Modern nation-state is the result of vigorous nationalism. Today, every state talks of national aspirations, national hopes, national fear and national conflict. Nationalism has been described as the master key for the understanding of international relations.

Fascism, as political theory is associated with Mussolini, the Italian dictator of the inter war period. Unlike most other political doctrines such as Marxism and Individualism, Fascism was more a programme of action than an ideology. It emerged mainly as a reaction against injustice alleged to have been done to Italy and Germany. While Germany felt humiliated by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles signed at the Peace Conference at Paris, Italy was disappointed that it was not sufficiently rewarded for all the contribution it had made to the war on the Allied side. As a result, people in these two countries wanted their governments to follow a more aggressive policy which was pursued by the fascists. Fascism is totalitarian in approach. It is against the principles of democracy, socialism and even individualism.

Revolution is a sudden break from the existing system. It is a concept of social change indicating over-all change of the system. The Industrial revolution in Britain, brought about significant changes in that country's socio-economic structure and gave birth to capitalism. It also had far-reaching impact on countries of Europe who began a race for colonialism. It was, indirectly, responsible for rapid growth of imperialism. The French and the American revolutions brought into focus democracy, liberty and equality. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 changed the face of Russia and brought into existence the socialist system.

In this unit we will briefly read about the concepts of imperialism, nationalism, fascism and revolution.

2.2 IMPERIALISM

Palmer and Perkins write that it is almost impossible to give a generally acceptable definition of imperialism. They say : "Imperialism can be discussed, denounced, defended, and died for, but it cannot be defined in any generally acceptable way." Imperialism was regarded by the Western countries as essential in terms of the "White Man's Burden". But, it was universally condemned in the countries of Asia and Africa who were victims of imperialism. Political domination and economic exploitation of one country by another clearly explains the meaning of imperialism. Despite Palmer and Perkins' views about definition of imperialism, we find different scholars giving different, often divergent, definitions of imperialism.

2.2.1 Meaning of Imperialism

According to Moritz Julius Bonn, "Imperialism is a policy which aims at creating, organising and maintaining an empire; that is, a state of vast size composed of various more or less distinct national units and subject to a single centralized will." Charles A Beard wrote : "Imperialism is employment of the engines of government and diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates, and/or spheres of influence occupied usually by other races or peoples, and to promote industrial, trade, and investment opportunities" A clear yet crisp definition was given by P.T. Moon. He wrote, "Imperialism means domination of non-European native races by totally dissimilar European nations." Thus, Moon clearly indicates domination of coloured peoples of Asia and Africa by the Europeans who considered themselves superior and their colonial administration as burden on the white man. Though Beard excludes all economic motivations, the history of imperialism definitely points to economic exploitation as a primary drive in expansion of the empire by the Western countries.

Morgenthau, the eminent realist scholar who considers all politics as struggle for power, scraps the condition of economic motivation. He defines imperialism in terms of expansion of a State's power beyond its borders. Schumpeter regards imperialism as a force "ancient in inception, decadent and self-conscious in an age of rationalism, yet still powerful enough to lord it over its rival, the upstart capitalism." The Marxist writers do not agree with the view that imperialism is a rival of capitalism. For them, as Lenin said, imperialism is not only entirely economic, but also a rather precise stage (the highest) in the development of capitalism.

Motivation for imperialism has generally been economic in nature : to gain economic advantage from exploitation of a colony. It invariably resulted in empire building, though some western writers prefer to separate **economic motivation** from **desire for a vast empire**. Palmer and Perkins attempt to explain, what they call good and bad imperialisms; though from the point of view of the Third World countries, there could never be a good imperialism because exploitation cannot be good to anybody.

The apparent victory of capitalism and eclipse of socialism in Eastern Europe do not suggest that imperialism has become less exploitative and more beneficial to these new democracies which were born in these circumstance. Further, many studies carried out by international organizations like ILO, FAO, WHO (of the UN) and even by World Bank, IMF etc. present data which clearly show that there has been capital transfers and decline in standards of living among the people in the Third World countries indicating that "the imperialist exploitation and domination of these countries is more through than ever". All these have however been possible owing to an adverse international political economy in which the Third World countries were subjected to unequal terms of trade, ever-expanding transnational corporations and the external debt trap.

In an influential study (**Imperialism – A Historical Survey**) Harry Magdoff has concluded that the phenomenon of imperialism as represented by the hegemony of monopoly capital and the aggressive capitalist nation-state (Lenin) continues unabated; the structures and forms of exploitation only have changed. Magdoff observed three major changes which have recently come up in the imperialist exploitation :

1. the integration of military production with the dominant industrial sectors.
2. the rising importance of the multi-national corporations which drive towards world-wide control of the most profitable and newest industries in both the periphery and the advanced countries; and
3. the priority of the interests of the military multi-national industry in the affairs of the state

These new changes in imperialist exploitation are noteworthy since if anything, the exploitation of the countries in the periphery (the Third World) has only intensified. It is definitely not the other way. The end of the Western colonialism gave such formulations which may be summed up as "end of imperialism".

John Strachey, Michael Barratt Brown, Hamza Alavi, among others, argued in favour of imperialism diluting its thrusts of exploitation. In point of fact, all these arguments are more ideological than real as was demonstrated by Paul Sweezy in his famous article on "Imperialism in the 1990s". Responding to Alavi's opinion of a "**new imperialism**" which **does not export capital** (considered an essential feature of Imperialism) but remains confined to the **control of the world market**, Sweezy demonstrated that, beginning in the 1960s, "multi-national corporations moved their manufacturing facilities to lower-wage countries". In other words, the MNC control of the Third World economy is not confined to the latter's markets only; it is there in all areas of production and financing as well.

The recent wave of globalization and other economic reform measures with focus on further liberalization, bear out this new form of imperialism which has emerged in the wake of eclipse of socialism, its main challenger. Imperialism has not ended, it has only taken a new form, a new route but for the same goal : exploitation of the poor and dependent countries of the Third World.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Define imperialism.

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2) Identify new changes in imperialist exploitation.

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2.2.2 Development of Imperialism

History reveals that the world has gone through many stages of development. We know that the history of humankind is related to the development of society and social structures. Capitalism generally developed out of feudalism, and was responsible for colonisation and imperialism.

Feudalism prevailed before the 16th-17th Century. In Europe, feudalism was generally associated with medieval states based on aristocracies (run by Kings and nobles) who controlled the economic and political power of the State. The Church too had an important role in the functioning of the feudal state. Feudalism as a system began to decay in different parts of Europe, beginning from England in the thirteenth century. The industrial revolution, the growth of towns, inter-feudal wars etc. led to this decline. Social life in Europe thus began to change. This also involved a change from the feudal type economic organisation to a different one where the control was no longer with the land owning aristocracies. Independent groups of merchants and traders began dominating the economy. This meant, thus, the growth of new classes which formed the basis for **mercantile capitalism**. The latter was a transition from feudalism to capitalism, which was prevalent between the 16th and 19th centuries. The kind of transformation made by each nation out of feudalism differed. For example in England capitalism grew faster than in any other European nations. France followed this transition and later Germany, Russia and others did the same. Thus each transition was a unique experience. Industrialization in Europe led the capitalists to look for raw materials and markets outside Europe. This search fueled imperial penetrations into Asia and Africa.

Capitalism can be defined as a system in which goods and services are produced for exchange in the market so that profit is made. The form of capital in the capitalist system is different from that of the feudal system where merchant capital was dominant. Under capitalism productive capital dominates, that is capital invested in labour power. Labour power is what the worker has to sell in exchange for money in order to survive. This labour power is then organised in the production process to produce new commodities for making more profit. Thus the capital of the merchants and financiers (banks, money-lenders, etc.) circulated and is invested for commodity production. The function of this merchant/finance capital is determined and based on the need of productive capital. Labour power thus becomes like a commodity which can be bought and sold according to market prices.

The growth of capitalism had an important effect on the social and political life of people and social systems just as it had on their economic life. Capitalism brought about the formation of two large classes – the capitalist class (bourgeoisie) and the working class. In addition to these there also grew a number of smaller classes. It also gave rise to new political systems wherein besides landed aristocracies, other classes also shared State power as in England. Similarly it led to the overthrow of the French landed aristocracy and brought into being the French Republic. Thus with capitalism began an era of private enterprise in the economic sphere and popular participation in the exercise of State power in the political sphere.

2.2.3 What is Colonialism?

An important element in the development of capitalism was the need for its continuous expansion. So, even as feudalism began to decline and the transition to capitalism began to take place, the emerging states were constantly looking for new sources of revenue. This search for revenue and profit led to the search for and the seizure of wealth from other societies. This necessitated state sponsored discoveries of new lands parts of the world unknown to the European empires. Thus for instance Marco Polo's and Christopher Columbus's search for India, the discovery of the Pacific Islands, the Americas, the entry into the Indian Ocean and China seas. New sea routes took the explorers to reach New Zealand and Australia. The discovery of sea routes around the world led to a remarkable circle of exchange of goods. Unimagined wealth from these new lands such as precious metals, spices, silk, etc. entered the European markets. This flow of wealth had many results : Europe could live in a style of great luxury. Capitalism got a push or impetus of growth from 'outside' (new regions); the rush for plunder, conquest and colonisation of the pre-capitalist or agrarian societies of Asia, Africa, and America reached a climax. The need to find, capture and control settlements which were later declared as colonies was an important task of individual entrepreneurs, companies and states. Thus the 16th century saw the expansion of European states, led by explorers and merchants. Also active in this field were wayward entrepreneurs who were active in plundering goods from the East for sale in the European markets. Many merchants built armouries and raised battalions for their own protection and for exploiting the new colonies. For instance the Portuguese traders even sold "protection services" to others, for sailing in the sea undisturbed. All these led ultimately to the establishment of colonial rule over many lands in Latin America, Caribbean Islands, Africa, Asia.

Colonialism is an important characteristic of the new capitalism which was developing at a fast pace. The wealth arising out of colonial exploitation was different from the wealth which came from feudal imperial gains. Whereas in the latter case, living was wasteful for few and unproductive for many, the former was engaged in promoting productive relations of capitalism which generated more wealth for enjoyment of many. Colonialism implied a specific relation between the colonised country and the colonising power, whereas conquest which was the basis of feudal imperial gains (e.g. for the Mughals, Ottomans etc.) meant only sheer annexation without any obligations on the conqueror. It meant a relationship of both

political and economic control by the colonising country over the colony. The countries which were colonised and those which were colonisers were themselves at different stages of development. For example, when Spain and Portugal colonised Latin America, they were feudal societies. When Britain, France, and Germany were colonising Africa (towards the end of the nineteenth century), they were industrial capitalist countries.

In modern times, most of the empires except for the Chinese and the Japanese were under the European colonial control. How did the Europeans come to dominate Asia and Africa? This could largely be possible because of better technology, better firepower and discipline which enabled the Europeans to take on the people in the far-off lands. These colonial empires had a peak period during 1880-1940, when the colonial empires were established. The colonisation phenomenon in Asia was fueled by motivations for trade in luxury goods of the orient, to begin with. But over the years, expansion of markets to sell their industrial products went hand in hand with, exploitation of natural resources and cheap human labour, thus colonial expansion took place. After World War I, the German colonies were distributed among the Victorious Allies as "mandates" whereas World War II saw the Italian Colonies in Africa being placed under the British as "trust territories". Similarly, the Pacific islands held by Japan were annexed by the USA. Only Namibia remained under the white rule as the last colony till it attained independence on 21st March 1990. Otherwise, Portugal can claim to be the first and about the last among the European powers in this colonial race.

2.2.4 Neo-Colonialism

The structure of the world and the nature of international relations underwent a complete change after World War II. The war had destroyed the European economies and shaken up their very foundations. The break-up of the British, French, Belgian and the Dutch colonial empires had begun and their complete disintegration became inevitable. These once 'great powers' were shaken to the roots and they lost their earlier importance. Their place was quickly taken over by the United States of America which became the dominant international capitalist power after 1945.

Imperialism began taking on a new form. Before the war, United States capitalism had shown its 'dominant' imperialist character towards the countries of Central America and the Caribbean as also in the Philippines and some Pacific Islands. After the emergence of new ex-colonial states in Asia and Africa, which were politically independent but economically weak, American economic, political and military activity started extending to these areas.

The instruments of foreign policy that the US employed were economic aid, political and military support to the regimes allied to US. These regimes were often dictatorial in character and opposed people's movements inside. The USA extended willing and active support to regimes, or movements which suppressed or opposed 'leftist' or pro-communist movements and governments. Economic aid doled out by USA, and the US - dominated World Bank was to ensure policies that fell in line with US foreign policy. World Bank policies encourage mainly private enterprise and were against nationalisation of enterprises. These policies exerted by the USA confirmed its role as the main power in a new form of imperialism - an imperialism without colonies or 'direct control'. This came to be known popularly as 'neo-colonialism'.

Neo-colonialism was also called 'economic imperialism' which meant that economically powerful states could, through economic leverage, control other less developed countries on the basis of aid, trade, and international economic policies.

Neo-colonialism has acquired new and more threatening dimensions after the cold war. During the cold war period there was some sort of competition between the two super powers in regard to economic and military assistance given to the countries who

were subjected to a new type of imperialism. Two important developments have taken place in the last decade of the twentieth century. The cold war had ended, the former Soviet Union disintegrated, leaving the United States in the unique commanding position. Secondly, a number of countries, including India and China, have embarked upon the policy of economic liberalization, Russia and East European countries have adopted the system of market economy. In this scenario, capitalist and developed countries of the West are more vigorously pursuing the policy of neo-colonialism such as economic and military assistance, and multinational corporations are being openly used to establish domination over the developing countries.

Economic liberalization has weakened the hold of the state over economies. The Soviet concept of planning is being diluted and market forces encouraged to regulate and control economic development. Multinational corporations have entered the third world countries in a very big way. Foreign banks in India offer much better service attracting affluent people and adversely affecting the domestic banking institutions. MNCs with large funds at their disposal attract even common man, to buy their products, through massive advertisements. As more and more people get attracted to the products of MNCs, many local companies are being eliminated. Closure of domestic companies increases foreign strangle hold over local economy.

Third world countries who take frequent loans from the World Bank and countries like USA, Germany and Japan have to accept the conditionalities imposed by them. As the temptation to develop on borrowed money increases, developing countries get into debt-trap subjecting them to a new type of imperialism or neo-colonialism.

The state controlled economic development process has failed in most of the countries. After the eclipse of socialism in Russia, people are rushing for western goods and western style of living causing unprecedented inflation. If the former Soviet Union and erstwhile socialist countries of eastern Europe were forced to allow the operation of market forces, the developing countries of the South could not avoid economic liberalization. But liberalisation has encouraged domination by western countries and MNCs which is an important cause for concern. This is because the developing countries have to compromise with their sovereign right of decision-making and accept the conditions imposed upon them. The large amount of money which is paid every year as interest on the foreign and World Bank loans further aggravates the situation and neo-colonialism continues to grow even as political leadership keeps on talking of independence and sovereignty.

We may conclude with the classic definition of neo-colonialism given by one of Africa's leading figures of independence, Kwame Nkrumah, the founder President of Ghana. In Nkrumah's own words :

"The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. The methods and form of this direction, can take various shapes. For example, in an extreme case, the troops of an imperial power may garrison the territory, of the neo-colonial state and control its government. More often, however, neo-colonialist control is exercised through economic or monetary means. The neo-colonial state may be obliged to take the manufactured products of the imperialist power to the exclusion of competing products from elsewhere. Control over government policy in the neo-colonial state may be secured by payments towards the cost of running the state, by the provision of civil servant in positions where they can dictate policy, and by monetary control over foreign exchange through the imposition of a banking system controlled by the imperial power." (Neo-colonialism : The Last Stage of Imperialism, 1965).

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Trace the development of imperialism.

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2) What was the role of capitalism in the process of colonialism?

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3) What is Neo-colonialism?

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2.3 NATIONALISM

The terms 'nation', 'nationality' and 'nationalism' are used most commonly but not always with a clear understanding of their meanings. As Carlton J.H. Hayes said : "So much is nationalism a common place in the modes of thought and action of the civilised populations of the contemporary world that most men take nationalism for granted." People imagine that it is the "most natural thing in the universe." But, the concept of nationalism is far from being clear to most of us who use this term. Every state considers its national interest as paramount; and all the struggle for power is for protection and promotion of national interest. Nationalism usually promotes patriotism. For dependent peoples, as we were before 1947, nationalism is the spirit which enables struggle for freedom against foreign rulers. But, sometimes nationalism takes precedence even over moral beliefs as was the case in Hitler's Nazi Germany. Nationalism in Germany was interpreted to mean expansion of the Third Reich and expulsion of Jews; in Israel it meant struggle for survival in the face of Arab opposition; and Pakistani nationalism is essentially confined to anti-India tirades particularly on Kashmir.

2.3.1 The Concept of Nationalism

"For students of international politics", wrote Sharp and Kurk, "an understanding of nationalism is as indispensable as the possession of a master key to a person seeking to enter all the various doors in a building." Thus, for Sharp and Kurk, nationalism is the master key for understanding of international politics. The total behaviour of state system today is largely explained "in terms of **national** hopes, **national** fears, **national** ambitions, and **national** conflicts." Since modern state is a 'nation-state', it seeks to promote nationalism as its leaders might interpret. As Palmer and Perkins point out, "In its most virulent form it has commanded virtually the total allegiance of men and some of the most inhuman acts of this age have been wrapped in the mystical and religious trappings of nationalism". Thus, nationalism may be used as a tool for noble cause to unite a people for common good or it may be misused, as by some of the dictators to commit even the most inhuman acts like genocide. Namibian nationalism against South Africa's imperialism prior to 1990 falls in the first category; whereas Hitler's policy towards Jews can be safely put in the second category.

In the limited space available in this section, the concept of nationalism can be explained very briefly. The term **nation** may be understood before **nationalism** can be fully comprehended. One of the most satisfactory definitions of **nation** was given by Ernest Barker. He wrote : "A nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, who normally are drawn from different races, but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history" Barker mentioned common religious belief and common language as generally binding forces, but what is more important is that they "cherish a common will, and accordingly form, or tend to form, a separate State for the expression and realization of that will." Such a State, if formed, is known as a 'nation-state'.

In common usage the terms state and nation are often used interchangeably. That is how we use the term **international**, rather than **inter-state**. But, as most of the political units that now exist have become **nation-states**, the distinction between state and nation has narrowed down. Hans Morgenthau suggests, "the nation needs a state. 'One nation - one state' is thus the political postulate of nationalism, the nation state is its idea." Nationality is one of the main courses of nationalism. It implies either national character and the spirit of belonging to a nation or a group of people possessed of such a spirit. So, then, how can we explain the concept of nationalism?

Among the most prominent students of nationalism are J.H. Hayes and Hans Kohn. Nationalism, according to Hayes consists of "a modern emotional fusion and exaggeration of two very old phenomena – nationality and patriotism." Thus, nationality which is a feeling of being bound together and patriotism constitute nationalism. Kohn says that "nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness." Today, this state of mind, a common bond coupled with patriotism, an act of consciousness is the core of the concept of nationalism. Nationalism has become common form of political life all over the world, and relations among nations is the content of international relations. But, as Kohn wrote "everywhere nationalism differs in character according to the specific historic conditions and the peculiar social structure of each country. As the concept of nationalism has spread, the individual has begun to be counted less and nation-state has become all powerful."

The concept of nationalism implies a feeling of oneness among a large group of section of people. Professor Snyder wrote that it was not easy to define nationalism in simple language, yet he describes the following explanation of nationalism as the least objectionable. He wrote : "..... nationalism, a product of political, economic, social and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history, is a condition of mind,

feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area" Commenting adversely on the concept Snyder wrote that nationalism "is neither wholly logical nor rational. Its roots lie in the illogical, irrational and fantastic world of the unconscious." In simpler language, nationalism is a conditioned sentiment uniting people in a common bond.

2.3.2 Stages of Nationalism

Nationalism has been variously classified by different western Scholars. It has been described as "good" and "bad"; "constructive" and "destructive"; and "material" and "spiritual". These descriptions are based on quality of nationalism which is very difficult to justifiably explain. However, different stages of nationalism were suggested by many, including Quincy Wright. He discussed successively medieval, monarchical, revolutionary, liberal and totalitarian nationalisms. He did not give much attention to cultural or humanitarian nationalism. But, Hayes has dealt with "economic factors in nationalism" in detail. Four stages of nationalism were described by Professor Snyder. He called them **integrative nationalism** (1815-1871); **disruptive nationalism** (1871-1890), **aggressive nationalism** (1900-1945), and **contemporary nationalism** (since 1945). During the first stage, nationalism resulted in integration or reunification of Germany and of Italy. During the second stage, subject nationalities as within Austria - Hungary sought their nation-states. Snyder says that the two world wars were the result of aggressive nationalism of the third phase. During the early period of fourth stage Asian and African colonies of European Powers secured their independent nationhood.

Modern nationalism is said to have originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe, and America. It became a general European movement in the nineteenth century particularly after the Napoleonic era. The early nationalism has been described as monarchical. It was the French revolution which introduced the concept of popular democracy resting on the will of the people and of the "rights of man and of the citizen." The nationalism which Napoleon generated among his enemies has been described by Hayes as "traditional nationalism". Similarly, Czar Alexander of Russia who emerged in 1815 as "the great hope of traditional nationalism" championed a Holy Alliance for a better world for peoples and nations.

The liberal nationalism of nineteenth century achieved the unification of Germany and of Italy. Other European countries such as Belgium and Greece won nationhood after national uprisings. Nationalism was till then regarded as an European phenomenon. It soon spread to Asia and Africa. Palmer and Perkins wrote nationalism during "greater part of nineteenth century" was linked with other movements such as democracy, romanticism, industrialism, imperialism and liberalism. Liberal nationalism declined by the beginning of the twentieth century as great power rivalry became common and eventually resulted in the First World War.

It was argued that nationalism was both cause and product of the First World War. As Sydney B. Fay wrote : "nationalism paved the way of statesmen and prepared the minds of peoples for the World war Its immediate cause was the murderous activity of a secret nationalistic society of Yugoslavs Its most obvious immediate result was the triumph of the principles of national self-determination in central and eastern Europe" After the First World War, "the facade of internationalism" proved ineffective and **totalitarian nationalism** took over in several countries. It was led by men like Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. In the post-second World War period, **national liberation movements**, a new form of nationalism shook the foundations of imperialism and resulted in acceleration of the process of decolonization. Most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries threw away imperialism, and nationalism based on democracy, popular will, liberty and justice resulted as over 100 new nation-states came into existence.

Check Your Progress 3

Some Concepts : Imperialism,
Nationalism, Fascism, Revolution

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Describe briefly the concept of nationalism.

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2) Mention various kinds and stages of nationalism.

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2.4 FASCISM

Fascism, as mentioned in the introduction to this unit, does not represent an ideology. It was a theory based on certain programmes of action adopted in Italy by the Fascist Party under the leadership of Mussolini. Later, similar programmes were adopted by Hitler's Nazi party in Germany. The term 'Fascism' has its origin in the Latin word 'Fasio' which means a 'bundle of sticks'. In the ancient Rome, 'bundle of sticks and axe' were the symbols of state authority. 'Bundle of sticks' indicated **discipline and unity**, while 'axe' symbolised power. Thus, the principal objective of Fascism was restoration of lost glory and honour of the nation through military power and potential. Massive rearmament became the most important means of achieving the objective of national honour. Let us briefly mention the major features of Fascist programme.

2.4.1 Essential Features of Fascism

Fascists were strongly nationalist in their outlook. They wanted to make Italy as powerful as she was in the days of ancient Roman Empire. But their nationalism was narrow. They advocated war and imperialistic expansion and a powerful state to realise these objectives. According to Fascism, state and nation are the ultimate moral beings. Thus, **aggressive nationalism** was the most important creed of Fascism.

Fascism was against **parliamentary democracy**. It considered democracy as a weak form of government, incapable of handling the complicated economic and political problems. Fascists did not tolerate any opposition. They wanted total obedience to the party and the leader. Mussolini was declared their II Duce, the leader. Nothing could be done against him or contrary to his wishes. In other words, Fascism, believed in one party totalitarian regime.

Fascists were strongly **opposed to socialism** of all variety. They hated the communists and wanted to free the world of "Communist menace". They advocated

free enterprise. Their programme was supported by the capitalists. But Fascists did not support individualism, or *laissez faire*, either. They did not want individual to be in a position to challenge the state. They did not want a powerless state. The Fascist state, therefore, was absolute, omnipotent and all comprehensive.

Fascists were **against internationalism** or world order. Their nationalism was of extreme type. By implication, the League of Nations did not deserve the support of Fascist Italy. However, Mussolini maintained the facade of faith in the League until his Ethiopian adventure in 1935-36.

Fascists **advocated war**. They had no faith in disarmament. Wars can be successfully fought only through armaments. War was, thus, glorified. Mussolini wrote : "Only war carries human energies to the highest level and puts the seal of nobility upon peoples who have the courage to undertake it." Thus, both Mussolini and his German counterpart Hitler expanded territories of their countries by wars.

Thus, Fascism has no clear-cut ideology. As a theory, Fascism advocated 'militant nationalism'. It believed in the use of force, promotion of imperialism and colonialism and massive rearmament. It rejected democracy and peaceful means of settlement of international disputes. Fascism was a 'conservative reaction' against the rising tide of socialism. Fascism was a creed of totalitarianism, which Mussolini defined as : "All in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."

2.4.2 Fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain

Fascism first appeared in Italy when Mussolini organised and led the Fascist Party to power. Italians were disgusted with the performance of their post-World War I governments which could not protect the national honour and failed to promote national interest. The country, on the other hand, was torn by labour unrest engineered by the leftists. In this situation, Mussolini prepared a large force of volunteers, gave them military training and aroused the nationalistic sentiments of the people. The Fascist programmes for internal peace and external glory appealed to people. They rallied behind Mussolini, who threatened to seize power. In this situation, king Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini to form a cabinet, which he did on October 31, 1922. He soon destroyed all opposition and assumed dictatorial powers. Fascism remained at the helm of Italian affairs till 1943.

When we discuss rise of Fascism we generally limit ourselves to Fascism takeover of Italy. But in Germany and Spain, groups with similar kind of ideas and programmes of action came to power. National Socialist Party (or, Nazi Party) led by Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany in the early 1930. Nazism was the product of German humiliation by England, France and their allies at the Paris Peace Conference. Like the Italian Fascists, Hitler's Nazi party also advocated rearmament, war and revision of peace treaties. Nazis, like Fascists, were against parliamentary democracy, socialism, League of Nations and peaceful settlement of disputes.

Soon after Hitler's dictatorship was established in Germany, strong signs of similar adventurism were noticed in some other European countries also. In France, in 1935-36, conditions resembling those in Italy (before the advent of Mussolini) prevailed, and animosity between the leftists and the rightists was so acute that there was a clear possibility of emergence of a dictatorship. The situation was saved by a timely action by all democrats, leftist groups, socialists and even communists who formed the **Front Populaire**, which won the elections held in April - May, 1936. The Front formed a government under the **Prime Ministership** of Leon Blum.

In neighbouring Belgium about the same time, a Fascist group led by Degrelle introduced violence and vulgarity in public life. It opposed Belgium's alliance with France, on the ground of the latter's alliance with Communist Soviet Union. Under their influence, Belgium announced that it was reverting to its former status of a

neutral state. This was regarded as a 'defection' by Belgium from the Locarno Alliance. Although Fascism could not seize power in Belgium yet it did make a significant bid.

In Rumania, a fascist party, known as the Iron Guard, was formed under the leadership of Corneliu Codreanu. This party was a reaction to prevailing economic crisis in the country and total mismanagement by the Rumanian Government. Like Italian Blackshirts (Fascists) and German Storm - troopers (Nazis), the Rumanian Iron Guards organised attacks on parliamentary politicians, Jews and the working classes. King Carol of Rumania failed to crush the Fascists and finally established his own dictatorship.

In Poland, also there were clearly visible signs of Fascism. In 1937, the Government of Poland was organised, on the Fascist model, as a Camp of National Unity. An open conflict emerged between the government on the one hand and peasants and workers on the other. A civil war was averted only when the government promised electoral reforms. Due to growing threat from Germany, situation was saved and reconciliation brought about.

Spain, however, could not save itself. A dictatorship was established by General Primo de Riveira in 1923. But there was such a state of lawlessness in Spain that Riveira resigned in 1930 out of sheer desperation. Next year, King Alfonso XIII abdicated and a republic was proclaimed. But, even the elected government failed to restore order in the country. Spain like France, voted for a Popular front (leftist) government in 1935. This precipitated a crisis in the country. A large number of military officers openly threatened the government saying that unless general disorder was stopped by the Government of President Azana, the army would seize power to restore order. Fearing trouble, Azana retired a number of officers and transferred many others to far off places. One such officer was General Franco who was sent to Canary Islands.

A policeman was murdered by Spanish Fascists on July 12, 1936. In retaliation the country's top Fascist leader Calvo Sotelo was killed by the Policemen. This was the signal for the outbreak of a civil war in Spain. General Franco arrived in Spanish Morocco a few days later and proclaimed mutiny in Spain.

Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany provided massive financial and military assistance to rebels led by General Franco, and Soviet Union gave help to the Central government. The civil war which went on for nearly three years ended in March 1939 with decisive victory for the fascists under the leadership of General Franco. Thus Spain joined the Fascist camp of Italy and Germany.

Thus, at least three European countries actually adopted Fascism during the inter-war period. However, Italy was the pioneer and its leader Mussolini was the first advocate of Fascism. That is why rise of Fascism is generally associated with Italy and Mussolini.

2.4.3 Mussolini – From Socialist to Fascist

Benito Mussolini was born in 1893. He was initially influenced by his father's Socialist views. He went to Switzerland and later to Austria. But due to his radical activities he was forced to leave these countries.

After coming back from Austria, Mussolini, for some time, kept on propagating socialism. When war broke out in 1914, Mussolini supported neutrality of his country. By 1915 he gave up his socialist ideas and started supporting the demand for Italian entry in the war.

Mussolini became a strong critic of the Peace Treaties. He called a meeting of his friends and ex-servicemen and all those who had during 1914-15 pleaded for Italian intervention in the war. He now organised them in the Fascist party and gave a call

for securing justice for Italy and getting rid of socialists, communists, and the weak government.

Most of the Fascists came from rich propertied class, young sons of businessmen, unemployed ex-soldiers and discontented professionals and a large number of students became ardent supporters and followers of Mussolini. Fascists were totally opposed to communists. They were financed mostly by capitalists. During 1920-21 almost civil war conditions prevailed in the country. The government was a silent spectator as Mussolini led the masses to believe that their future lay secure only with him and his party. Premier Giolitti was forced to resign in July 1921. He was replaced by Luigi Facta, who was as weak as his predecessor was.

2.4.4 Causes of the Rise of Fascism in Italy

You have read about the meaning of Fascism. You have also understood the programme of action adopted by Fascists in Italy and Germany. We have stated that Fascism lacked ideology. It was reaction to certain circumstances. We have very briefly discussed how and why Fascism was adopted by Italians and later by Germans. In this section we will understand the cause of rise of Fascism in Italy and its domestic and foreign policies.

Italy had joined Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1882, thus converting the Dual Alliance into the Triple Alliance. It was a combination against Russia and France. But, Italy was not keen on permanently associating itself with Austria-Hungary with whom it had certain border disputes. Italy had the ambition of bringing Libya, in North Africa into her empire. When France assured Italy that it would not oppose Italy in its designs on Libya, Italy promised France in 1902 that it would not fight against France in case of a Franco-German war. But Italy did not formally disassociate itself from the Triple Alliance. When the World War I broke out Italy declared her neutrality. However, fair amount of disagreement developed among the Italians on the question of intervention in the War. The socialists, who had 80 members in the Italian Parliament, supported the government's decision of neutrality. But, there were many, capitalists, manufacturers of armaments and right-wing political groups, who favoured intervention. Finally, Italy entered the war on the side of Allies against the Central Powers. The Allies promised Italy that certain territories at the cost of Germany and Austria-Hungary would be given to her in the event of Allied victory. The territories promised to Italy included South Tyrol upto the Brenner pass, Trieste, Fiume, Gorizia and several Dalmatian Islands. Thus with an expectation of her territorial expansion Italy defected from the Triple Alliance and entered the war on May 23, 1915.

Italy emerged victorious after the war. Towards the final stages of the war Italians had made a notable contribution to the Allied victory. However, Italy discovered soon after the war that the cost of war was far more exacting than they had anticipated. It was estimated that about 70,00,000 Italian soldiers were killed in the war and about 1,000,000 were wounded. Her economic losses were also disturbing. In these circumstances the last hope of Italians was the Paris Peace Conference. They expected to get all the promised territories. But that did not happen. Wilson's idealism stood in the way of realisation of her dreams. Italians blamed England and France for betrayal. They were emotionally disturbed when they found that they were being denied even Fiume. Thus while the Paris Conference was still on, Italian poet Gabriele d' Annunzio organised a coup, and led a band of young men (black shirted volunteers) in a chartered boat and captured Fiume. This was strongly resented by the Paris Conference. Prime Minister Orlando who failed to secure justice to Italy at the Peace Conference, was replaced in 1920 by Giolitti. The new Prime Minister did not approve of the ultra-nationalism of the poet. Giolitti concluded a treaty at Rapallo in 1920 with Yugoslavia, and returned Fiume to Yugoslavia. This action of the Giolitti government made it very unpopular in the country, and became an important cause of the rise of Fascism.

Another issue which made the Giolitti Government unpopular was the Albanian problem. Albania, a small country just across the Adriatic Sea, has two important neighbours—Greece and Yugoslavia. Albania was occupied by the Allied troops during the war. After the war, Italy wanted to rule Albania as a mandated territory. Paris Conference did not accept this demand. Even the proposal to divide Albania between Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy was rejected. But Italian Army continued to occupy Albania by the middle of 1920 there were so many internal problems in Italy that Prime Minister Giolitti was forced to withdraw his troops from Albania which annoyed the Italians.

Besides, most of the territory in the Near East, promised to Italy in 1915 by England and France, was either given to Greece or was allowed to be retained by Turkey. In Africa, mandates were established over several former German colonies by Britain, France and Belgium. Italy did not get any colony. She merely got some extension of her colonies of Libya and Somaliland. Italian people felt frustrated at this mismanagement of country's foreign claims. The prevailing mood in Italy was best expressed by the phrase, 'mutilated victory'.

Economic situation of Italy was also chaotic. Millions of men were retrenched from the armed forces. Unemployment, budget deficit and prices of essential commodities were increasing rapidly. This situation was conducive to the rise of socialist forces. In the 1919 parliamentary elections the socialists secured 156 seats. But they often voted against government measures, creating parliamentary stalemate. Communists and their sympathisers, on the other hand, frequently organised agitations and demonstrations. During 1919 and 1920 as many as 35,00,000 working days were lost due to strikes, lockouts and agitations.

Government was unable to handle these crisis. If parliamentary democracy failed to solve the problems, communism could not offer an alternative while it provoked general unrest in the Italian society and economy. In these circumstances of transition, Fascist leadership could convince the people that Italy needed a government that would be strong, effective, nationalistic and not committed to Marxism. It was in this background that Benito Mussolini 'seized power' and established the Fascist regime in Italy.

2.4.5 Neo-Fascism in Europe

Towards the end of the cold war, the Fascist and Nazi forces had begun to raise their heads once again. This time they are not rigid in dogma as they were during the inter-war years. Fascism had been an "extreme and desperate attempt of the nation state" and of parasitic connected to it by imposing totalitarian regime and exalting nationalism." This comment by the 'Federalist' was made in 1994 to highlight the dangers of a neo-fascist movement in Italy and elsewhere. Fascism has been described as a crude and tribal ideology. Neo-Fascists have been trying to organise as a political force of extreme right. For the first time since the Second World War, some members of neo-fascist party called 'Alleanza Nazionale' (National Alliance) were admitted to the Italian Government early in 1994. The Alleanza Nazionale denies being a neo-fascist grouping, yet its essential component is 'Movimento Sociale Italiano' (Italian Social Movement) which was founded in the post Second World War years on clear Fascist policies, though it has always been divided into 'hard-line' and 'respectable' wings. After joining the government neo-fascists strongly emphasized their moderate nature. In the post-cold war united Germany has also experienced the rise of neo-nazis though they have not been able to gain entry in the German Government. Fascism was originally founded on the negative values of man's oppression of man, of national hatred and intolerance. It was led by a charismatic leader who had aroused the ultra-nationalist sentiments of the people in the 1920s on the basis of alleged injustice done to Italy by the peace makers at Versailles. In the post-cold war years, neither are there charismatic leaders

of extreme right in Italy or in Germany, thus not justifying ultra-nationalism. However, neo-fascism cannot be easily dismissed. It may once again raise its ugly head.

Fascism thus emerged in 1922 as a response to the declining political institutions of Italy and hence represents a set of programmes for action, rather than an ideology. It is useful however to remember that almost every European country developed at least one fascist party or movement, which still continues to be the case. These experiments at fascism, whether old or new, only show that there is hardly any case for a "generic fascism" though one may more accurately speak of 'fascist-style regimes'. The Nazi Germany was definitely modelled on Italian fascism but many would disagree to put them together under fascism'. How little these two fascist regimes had in common can be had from the instance of quick failure of their union during World War II. The Nazi variation however provided then and continues to provide now ideological fodder (racism, violence, brutality) to various fascistic experiments old and new. A fascist party or movement is thus experimental in nature and does rigidly follow any given ideology, though sharing some characteristic features in common with such experiments undertaken in Italy, Germany, Spain, Rumania and other countries.

Check Your Progress 4

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Mention three essential features of Fascism.

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2) What were the causes of rise of fascism in Italy?

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2.5 REVOLUTIONS

Revolutions have influenced both domestic and international politics on different occasions. A sudden and total change in the social order in a country is called a revolution. Thus peaceful events like the Glorious Revolution of England of 1688 as well as the violent outburst, as the French Revolution of 1789 have had a reaching impact on politics – both national and international. The revolutions have had political, social as well as economic dimensions. Thus, a revolution may mean a sudden, fundamental and major transformation. As Carl, J. Friedrich says, in its core meaning, revolution "constitutes a challenge to the established political order and the eventual establishment of a new order radically different from the preceding one". But, the real problem in giving a precise definition of revolution is that the term

revolution is often interchangeably used for upheaval, coup 'd' etat, rebellion, revolt, etc. Each one of these terms has a specific meaning which is different from the term revolution. We cannot go into the meaning of terms other than revolution in this section.

2.5.1 What is a Revolution?

It is universally believed that 'profound change' in social order constitutes the basic idea of revolution. But it is not easy to describe what is meant by profound change, and how widespread the change should be to qualify to be called a revolution. It is suggested that Martin Luther's movement against the Pope was a 'religious revolution', because it introduced Protestantism, which caused profound change in the Christian Society. Similarly the famous 'industrial revolution' changed the basic structure of British economy as the era of feudalism was replaced by the new socio-economic order called capitalism. These revolutions left no segment of society untouched. Writing about widespread change Barbara Salvendy says: "Events such as the Chinese Revolution, that introduce changes in everything from the educational system to the land tenure patterns clearly qualify as revolutions" There is a general belief that revolutions involve force and violence. This is generally true, but not an absolute condition.

Revolution to the French Scholar, Mounier means "a combination of rather far reaching changes intended virtually to erase the real illness of a society that has reached an *impasse* The result is what counts? not how romantic or how restrained the language is." Thus, what is important is the end, not the means. Mounier adds : "It is enough to know the operation is a major and vital one, bound to meet violent resistance, which in turn provokes counter - violence." This definition of revolution implies that the real illness of the society must be erased, and the process of curing the illness is often violent. This is what happened during the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution. It is generally believed that revolutions are caused mainly by socio-economic considerations, yet there are scholars like Bertrand de Jouvenel who insist that revolution is essentially a political event.

Revolution has been variously defined. Samuel P. Huntington says that revolution is "a rapid, fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society." In the words of Hannah Arendt, the concept of revolution is inextricably bound up with the notion that history suddenly begins to adopt a new course. In fact, revolution is a transition from one epoch to another. The above definitions and views emphasise that values, social structure and institutions undergo a total change. Besides, power is transferred from one group of people to another by legal means or through violence. But, the Marxism view of revolution emphasises change in class domination.

2.5.2 Some Major Revolutions

The above discussion on meaning and definition of revolution brings us to conclude that a revolution is an activity that is aimed at replacing a system which has outlived its utility and the change becomes acceptable by virtue of its necessity. Revolution, we have said, cause profound change. So it is not a limited *reform*. Besides, revolution brings about sudden, not gradual change. The means applied to achieve such a sudden change vary from purely constitutional or non-violent to those totally violent. The means applied to achieve such a sudden change vary from purely constitutional or non-violent to those totally violent. The world has witnessed many revolutions in different societies. They vary in nature and scope.

Certain revolutions may be classified as liberal or democratic revolutions. Thus, the French Revolution of 1789 brought about widespread change in the relationship between individual and the state. It emphasised liberty, equality and fraternity and proclaimed the right of man.

Before 1789 France was an absolute monarchy. The kings were all powerful people who did not enjoy any rights. There was no separation of powers. Discontentment had reached a climax. The revolution began in Paris where a mob stormed the city, overpowered the guards and set the prisoners free. They shouted "liberty", "equality" and "fraternity" as rallying slogans. Soon the old order was replaced and a new revolutionary government was set up. Several constitutions were drawn up during the next decade, but all Frenchmen were given right to vote. The electors even acquired the power to issue formal instructions to their elected deputies. It inaugurated liberal democratic traditions in France.

Earlier, when the people of 13 colonies in America rose against their British colonial masters and issued the famous Declaration of Independence in July, 1776, a democratic revolution was ushered in. They overthrew the British rule after a bitter struggle, framed their own constitution and created the United States of America in 1776. The American Revolution was thus a liberal revolution which established democratic government in the United States.

The glorious revolution of 1689 in Britain was a bloodless, yet profound change from monarchy to democracy. After the death of Charles II in 1685, his younger brother James II became the King, but he ruled only for three years. He assumed the power to veto the bills without the consent of Parliament, which displeased the leaders of Parliament. Prince William of Orange was encouraged to wage a war against England. When he invaded England with a huge army, James II fled to France after realising that he had been isolated. Thus a glorious, bloodless, revolution was achieved in that country. William and Mary became the rulers of Britain and they accepted the Bill of Rights as proposed by the Parliament. It was agreed that the King would not impose any taxes without the prior consent of the Parliament, that the monarch would summon the Parliament at least once a year, and that no army would be maintained without the prior approval of the Parliament. The three above mentioned revolutions changed the pattern of governance and the people concerned acquired rights and power to rule over themselves.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 falls in a different category. It did not merely change the rulers of Russia; it introduced real, widespread and profound changes in the social order of that country. The rule of the Czar was autocratic and totally undemocratic. Economy was in the hands of feudal lords and, to a lesser extent, the capitalists. Economic exploitation of workers and peasants was the common feature of pre-revolutionary Russia. People were underfed and most of them were not even literate. The Russian Duma (legislature) had forced the Czar to abdicate in February, 1917, but did nothing to satisfy the aspirations of the people. The Provisional Government set up by the Duma decided to continue with the war even as the soldiers were not in a position to fight. In this background, Lenin led the Red Guards on October 25, 1917, and seized power. His Government ended the war with Germany, and introduced massive changes in the socio-economic structure. Power was acquired by the Bolsheviks on behalf of the working people, and a dictatorship of the proletariat led to the creation of first socialist state. Unlike liberal revolutions, the Bolshevik Revolution completely changed the Russian social, economic and political systems.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was another example of the socialist revolution. But, unlike the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution came after a bitter and prolonged civil war against the corrupt regime of Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Revolution was brought about as a result of active participation of peasants, workers, soldiers and intellectuals. Mao Tse-tung led the revolution which paved the way for 'profound change' in Chinese economy as well as politics.

Some people describe even Hitler's seizure of power in Germany as a revolution of sorts. The so called Nazi revolution was actually a negative case. It destroyed democracy and led to the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship. Therefore, the change brought about had negative outcomes.

To conclude, a revolution may be described as a process in which the power is transferred from a discredited regime to an authority that enjoys support of the people. It means change of socio-economic and political order in such a widespread manner that an entirely new order emerges in place of the old order. A revolution is not an isolated event; it is a series of events. It is not merely concerned with the overthrow of an established order; it is equally concerned with the establishment of a new order. The process is often violent, but profound change can be brought about even without the use of force.

Check Your Progress 4

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain the concept of revolution.

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2.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit you have read briefly about four important concepts. The term Imperialism refers to domination of one country over another. In the early stages imperialism was known as colonialism. In practice, imperialism meant, as Moon said, domination of non-European people by totally dissimilar European nations. Colonialism meant economic exploitation of colonies by the capitalist countries of the West. Colonialism has been described as international expression of Capitalism, or as Lenin said, imperialism is the (highest) stage in the development of capitalism. After the Second World War, process of decolonisation began in a big way, and almost all the erstwhile colonies gained independence. But, even now capitalist countries are maintaining their exploitative hold over newly independent countries. This new form of Colonialism is known as neo-colonialism.

Nationalism has been described as the master key of international politics. Nationalism is a feeling created by oneness of those who feel bound by the link of common religion, race, language, culture or tradition. In a country that is not independent, nationalism unites the people in their struggle for freedom. But, in independent societies, a common bond coupled with patriotism, is the core of nationalism. Modern nationalism is said to have originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and America. Nationalism has been misused at times by rulers like Hitler to arouse people's sentiments against certain other countries.

Fascism was a theory based on certain programmes of action. It does not have a defined ideology. Its approach is generally negative. It originated in post - First World War Italy; and was later adopted by Germany in the name of Nazism. It subscribes to ultra-nationalism. It is against socialism, democracy, disarmament and even individualism. It does not reject religion. It praises war and projects one person as supreme leader. Fascism was largely responsible for the Second World War.

Revolutions have influenced both domestic and international politics on different occasions. A revolution implies profound change in social order. Revolution can be defined as a rapid, fundamental, and violent change in the dominant values and myths of a society. Revolution is a transition from one epoch to another. Revolutions have been both peaceful and violent. Some of the revolutions that have brought about 'profound change' include the Glorious Revolution, industrial revolution, the French Revolution, American Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia.

2.7 KEY WORDS

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| White Man's Burden | : European countries which had established their colonial empires said that the colonies of Asia and Africa through burdens on the (white) imperial Powers, still they actually enjoyed governing them. |
| Domination | : Total control of some states over the other less developed countries. |
| Rationalism | : Based on reason and science, free from tradition and superstition. |
| Capitalism | : A system in which goods and services are produced for sale in the market so that maximum profit is earned. |
| Multi-National Corporations | : Giant sized companies usually incorporated in one or the other Western capitalist country. They operate in several developing countries; motive is maximum profit; in the process economies of developing countries are adversely affected. |
| Cou d' etat | : Sudden military take over of power. |
| Impasse | : Situation of unresolved disagreement; no decision is possible due to hard attitudes of persons or groups. |

2.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

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| Lenin, V.I., | : Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism (in Selected Works) |
| Owen, Roger and Bob Sutcliffe | : Studies in the Theory of Imperialism. |
| Carr, E.H. | : Bolshevik Revolution. |
| Moon, Parker, T., | : Imperialism and World Politics. |
| Hobson J.A. | : Imperialism, A Study. |
| Hayes, Carlton, J. | : "Nationalism" in Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences. |
| Palmer and Perkins | : International Relations. |

2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Imperialism is a system of domination by one country over the others; domination of non-European people by European states; expansion of state Power beyond its borders. For Lenin, it was a precise stage of capitalism.

Harry Magdoff's identification of three major changes.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Feudalism began to decline with industrial revolution in England, growth of towns and inter-feudal conflicts. Capitalism that replaced feudalism spread out its wings in search of raw materials and markets outside Europe. This was responsible for development of imperialism as colonialists acquired political power.
- 2) Colonialism was a direct outcome of capitalism. Wealth arising out of colonial exploitation was further turned into capital and colonizing countries established both political and economic control over the colonies. Capitalism had a direct link with colonialism.
- 3) Imperialism in a new form that emerged after Second World War is called neo-colonialism. It is economic exploitation, and consequent political domination, of independent and sovereign Afro-Asian countries by Western capitalist countries.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) A feeling of oneness among a large section of people; a production of political, economic and social and cultural factors leading to condition of mind, or feeling, for unity. It is a conditioned sentiment uniting people in a common bond.
- 2) Snyder suggests four stages : integrative nationalism, disruptive nationalism, aggressive nationalism, and contemporary nationalism. Its kinds are : good (Indian freedom struggle) or bad (Hitler's) constructive and destructive, material and spiritual.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Any three features : Ultra – nationalistic; totalitarian; against socialism, anti-democratic; against disarmament; supports war as an institution; against individualism; believes in one nation, one party, one leader.
- 2) The Italians believed that injustice was done to them at Paris Peace Conference; post - First World War governments were weak, and sacrificed national interest; communist activities brought economic progress to a halt; lawlessness could not be checked by government.

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) Revolution is sudden change in social, economic and political order. It is often violent, but force is not always used. It brings about 'profound change' in values and myths of a society.