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**IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN THE POST-COLD
WAR ERA : ^{the} NEO NAZISM
IN GERMANY**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*



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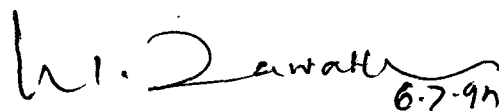
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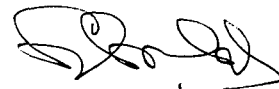
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation work "Ideo-logical Trends in Post-Cold War Era : ^{the} Neo-Nazism^{in Germany.}" is a research work done by Mr. Rajendra Prasad submitted for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in International Politics of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi during 1992-94 under my guidance and supervision. This is his original work and has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree to him.


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CHAPTER ONE

IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA : NEO NAZISM

INTRODUCTION

Systematic study of human life begins more than about thousands years ago. Probably the Greek thinkers were first who provided a systematic approach to know about human beings. Politics is one of the oldest disciplines which tries to explain complexities of human life. But politics has a history full of ups and downs. The discipline is not shaped overnight. Actually the discipline has not acquired its due shape. Present shape of the discipline is a result of thousands of years of systematic change and development.

Among the basic concept of politics, ideology is of recent origin, Probably about two or three hundred years old. The term ideology was first used by one of the French philosophers, Destutt De Tracy, during the time of French revolution.¹

The term ideology which was coined by Tracy, is a single word but many realities are associated with this term.

1. Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

The term has no universal meaning as such. As Rousseau puts it, the nomads of the desert reflecting on the close connection between language and mode of life, a hundred different words for camel. It is tempting to assert that with the word ideology in our times the converse is the case.²

Presently, two meanings are associated with the term ideology. First : it usually specifies a system of beliefs or attitudes which are usually held by various social groups. The nature of social groups which are linked with ideologies, varies with the political and sociological conviction of any particular sociologist. Second : Ideology normally implies that these beliefs need an assessment, not so much on their own terms, as by practical effects they tend to promote. Real importance of ideology is more symptomatic than literal.³

If ideology is analysed as a system of beliefs then it can be said that the theoretical interest in this general reality is somewhat older than the term ideology. Probably we can go back to the times of Bacon. In his criticism in

2. ed. A. De Crespigny and J. Cronin : Ideologies of Politics. Oxford University Press (1984).

3. _____ Ibid.

Novum Organum the term first time finds its general acceptance. Actually here Bacon uses the term "idola".⁴ There is an unbroken line of descent in the European intellectual tradition running from Bacon's idola to the modern concept of ideology.

In the 17th and 18th century Europe, especially in the French thinking; ideology occupied the central stage. But still the term "ideology" was not used. Tracy was the first person who used the term. The term ideology was supposed to provide the foundation for all other sciences. It was expected to investigate and to describe the manner in which our ideas, thought and the thought process was constituted.

Nepolean used the term in the negative sense. He used the term for those individuals who stood in his way towards dictatorship. Probably from now the term 'ideology' was used in more abstract and absurd way.

In the development of politics as a science or discipline, the role played by that of Karl Marx, is very important. He gave his own theory related to ideology in 1840 when he noticed that social groups carry a system of outlook, which is more implicit, and less explicit. Systems

4. Idola means a set of ideas here.

that limit conceptual horizon they influence not only the answer man find but also the questions which they ask. Actually this idea was first propounded by Hegel, but Marx used the term ideology for the same explanation and thus, it is considered as a contribution of Marx to the social sciences. With the spreading of Marxist ideas, the word ideology became more popular and was widely used by social scientists for explaining problems of human life and the pattern related to any particular group of individuals. But this is also true; even Marx never used the term in any one particular sense. Rather it was used in various senses. By careful study of Marxian texts atleast three interpretations of the term ideology can be drawn.

(i) Ideology as false consciousness.

(ii) Ideology as a relation of economic infrastructure.

(iii) Ideology as an organic and necessary part of all societies.

After the publication of 'The German Ideology' some writers depicted ideology as a deformed and inverted reflection of the real. The ideology was considered as pure emptiness, and illusion which is ignorant of its own material foundation. Lucacs in one of his books 'History and class consciousness' has defined ideology as false con-

consciousness.⁵ Its falsity lies in its partiality, it is unable to seize the total meaning of society and history. He contrasts ideology with true consciousness, the bearer of which is proletariat class. Within its own self-consciousness the proletariat carries the knowledge of the total socio-historical process. The victory of which abolish all particular standpoints. This idea of Lucacs contrasts with Lenin's espousal of science.⁶ To identify 'false consciousness' with all partial or restricted outlooks is to cast doubt on the specialization that any science necessarily implies.

The above viewpoint is supported by a number of western philosophers. Marcus, Sartre and Habermass were a few who criticized specialization in the name of some totalizing consciousness. This view is very close to the view of neo-Hegelian Frankfurt School.⁷

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5. If life determines consciousness and not consciousness life, then each mode of life will generate its own characteristic form of consciousness. Whether or not some form of determinism is true. How can one know the truth that the world is as ones consciousness represents it.
 6. Lenin was a supporter of scientific view of society.
 7. The school of thought primarily based on Marxist analysis of consciousness.

In the works of Bernstein, the term ideology has been defined as mere reflection of economic infrastructure. In the name of anti-Hegelianism he has reduced ideology to an epiphenomenon. (A mechanical reflection of the movement of economic base). Ideology follows fatalistic unfolding of history, without possessing any real potency. The term is massively de-politicised. Prevalence of this view was one of the reasons of the inability of the socialists of Germany to confront the ideological onslaught of the Nazis.

Two important neo-Marxists Gramsci and Althusser depict ideology as more than a system of ideas, a material existence within such social institutions as the church etc. Ideology is articulated and acquired within the practices of these institutions. Rather than being primarily a conscious formulation, it functions as a veritable unconsciousness. It determines behaviour and habits, it organizes man and produces social relations.⁸ Gramsci and Althusser viewed ideology as a necessary component of all societies.

Marxists never claimed to have monopoly over the term ideology. In recent times the term has been linked to the sociological knowledge and also with the works of Karl Manheim, a prominent sociologist. For Manheim most mode of

8. Behaviour of an individual has some relation with the society. Which is determined by his place in society.

thought can not be understood without knowing their social context.⁹ The conclusions of logic and exact sciences are true for everyone, crossing the limits of time and space. But in social sciences conclusions are true for a limited number of persons or groups that too in any given point of time. Because similar situations and social perspective are the most important determinants of human behaviour, to which social sciences are related. Manheim directs strong argument against the rigidly individualistic assumption of classical epistemology. For Manheim individuals do not develop ideas on their own. The perspective which informs any individual with ideas are the product of social circumstances. The question arises, what is the status of such sociological theories which pronounce that all such theory is relative. To protect his theory, Manheim insists that because a mode of thought is socially determined; it is not necessarily thereby condemned to falsify.

Manheim further says, a theory may be a product of a particular class interest. This view of Manheim provides him some space; but he still needs to go forward in order to give his own theory of ideology. Like Lucacs, he tries to

9. To understand ideas; one has to understand the circumstances in which they are originated.

locate a particular social group that will be prone to truth. For Lucacs, Proletariat was the candidate, but for Manheim it is the intelligentsia. If all social theory is the product of particular social perspective, then that social stratum whose style of life is least entrenched within any perspective, has the best chances of perceiving some truth. For Manheim the intelligentsia in modern world, an unattached Middle stratum, unanchored and relatively classless; is admirably suited to the call of the truth.¹⁰ Manheim is consistent here. He shows some concern for definitional clarity; when he distinguishes between two possible uses of the term 'ideology'. Between what he calls the particular conception of ideology and the total conception of ideology.

The particular conception of ideology is used simply as a negative evaluation. An opponent's arguments are regarded as ideological, they are dismissed as lies or errors. This view has more affinity with a psychological than a sociological dimension. But sometimes it is not clear whether he is using the term in its particular or total application. He is capable of using the term in senses that are not exactly

10. For Manheim intellectual class is not a class as such in itself. Because it projects the thinking of every strata of society.

reducible to either the particular or total conception for example, ideology means conservative as contrasted with Utopian. He was not aware of his ambivalent usage.

Briefly, ideology can be defined as any systematic and all embracing political doctrine, which claims to give a complete and universally applicable theory of man and society and to derive therefrom a programme of political action. In this very sense ideology has been used repeatedly here and onwards.

Nazism as an ideology

The Nazi/Fascist ideology has its genesis in the ideas of Nietzsche an European philosopher of 19th century. Who was greatly influenced by Spencer. Spencer was of the view that if life is a struggle for existence in which fittest survives, then strength is the ultimate virtue and weakness only fault.¹¹ The Good is that which Survives, which wins and the Bad is that which gives way and fails. Besides Spencer, Darwin also influenced Nietzsche. Who was of the view that men who could think clearly soon perceived what the profoundest mind of every age had known : that in this battle of life, what needed is not goodness but strength, not humility but pride, not altruism but resolute

11. Durant (Will) : The Story of Philosophy.

intelligence, that equality and democracy are against the grain of selection and survival, that not masses but geniuses are the goal of evolution, that not justices but power is the arbiter of all differences and destinies.¹² This is why Nietzsche believe nothing could be more significant than a personality like Bismark. Who was a man who knew the realities of life. He said bluntly that there is no altruism among nations and that modern issues are not to be decided by votes and rhetoric but by blood & Iron.

For a brief period of time Nietzsche served in Army. But there his activities were more of a philosopher than of a soldier. So he left army in equal illusion about the life of a soldier, when he joined it. He started writing. In one of his essays "Richard Wagner in Bayreuth" he says, that Wagner was a man who has never heard of the word fear. Wagner signifies the morning sacrament on the day of battle. This was the voice of youthful worship, the voice of almost a femininely refined spirit who saw in Wagner something of what masculine decisiveness and courage which went in the conception of superman. But the worshiper was a philosopher too and recognised in Wagner a certain dictatorial egotism

12. Durant (Will) : The Story of Philosophy pp.

offensive to an aristocratic soul. When the idea of superman came to his mind, he collected all the arguments of his earlier works and tried to destroy the old morality and prepare the way for the morality of superman.

He observes Schlecht and Bose two German words for bad. First is applied by the upper classes for lower one and Bose is vice-versa. Schlecht means ordinary, common or vulgar and worthless. Bose means unfamiliar, irregular, miscalculable, dangerous etc. further there are two contradictory evaluations of human behaviour. A Hermen Moral and a Herden Moral,¹³ A morality of masters and a morality of subordinates. The former was the accepted standard in classical antiquity, especially among the Romans, for whom virtue was manhood, courage, enterprise and bravery. But from Asia and from the Jews in the days of their political subjugation came the other standard.

Subjection breeds humility, helplessness breeds altruism, which is an appeal for help. Under this herd morality love of danger and power gave way to love of security and peace. Strength was replaced by cunning and open by secrete revenge; sternness by pity, initiative by imitation. Honour

13. Terms Schlecht, Bose, Hermen Moral, Herden Moral are used by Nietzsche for ordinary, Irregular, Morality of Masters and Morality of ruled. (The Story of Western Philosophy by Will Durant). "L

is pegom, Roman, feudal, aristocratic, and conscience is Jewish, Christian, bourgeois, democratic. First one was good for Nietzsche while second bad Prophets made the view of a subject class, an universal ethic, the world and flesh become synonyms of evil and poverty proof of virtue.

In a strong man there is very little attempt to conceal desire under the cover of reason. They simply argue " I will". In the uncorrupted and vigor of the master soul, desire is its own justification and conscience, pity or remorse can find no entrance. But in modern world where Christian and Jewish views prevail; even the strong one now ashamed of their strength and wealth and started looking for reason. Aristocratic virtues are dying. Nietzsche says Europe is invaded by a new-Buddhism. Even morality of present is a morality of pity-ful Buddhist. The morality of present day Europe is Best for herds. The strong are not allowed to act on their own; they are expected to act like weak people.

The virtue of herds infects the leaders and break them into common clay. Nietzsche says moral system must be compelled first of all to bow inferiors before superiors. He further says different functions require different qualities and the evil virtues of the strong are as necessary in the society as the good virtues of weak. The best thing in

man is strength of will, power and permanence of passion, without which anything is not possible. Greed, envy and hatred are indispensable items in the process of struggle, selection and survival. Evil is to good as variation to heredity as innovation and experiment to causation, there is no development without an almost-criminal violation of precedents and order. If evil were not good it would have disappeared. We must beware of being too good.¹⁴

Nietzsche further says just as morality lies not in kindness but in strength, goal of human effort should not be elevation of all but the development of finer and stronger individuals. Not mankind but the superman is the goal. Probably this was the idea behind the concept of racial superiority. Which is one of the important factors of fascist ideology. Nietzsche says that mankind is an abstraction. Which does not exist, for him only individuals exist. He says a society which is parallel to a laboratory should not exist. Because for him society is an instrument for the enhancement^{of} power and personality of individual. It does not provide space for experiments. He is against the idea of natural selection because he think nature usually

14. Roy (MN) : Fascism; Its Philosophy, Profession and Practice Ch. III.

protects mediocre-persons superiors are usually not taken care of; so human selection is important, only than superman will survive. If we put this view in today's international politics than we can easily compare superman with superpowers. And the consumerist culture which is prevailing today emphasises more on well being of stronger nations than on weak ones.

Nietzsche further says without good birth nobility is impossible. Intellect alone does not ennoble, on the contrary something is always needed to ennoble intellect. Besides good blood, best schooling is also needed. A school where a person can learn to laugh heartily. Philosophers should be graded according to their capacity of laughter. There will be no moralic acid in this education of the superman, an asceticism of the will is important but no condemnation of the flesh. Such a man would be beyond good and evil, he would not hesitate to be Bose if his purpose should require it, he would be fearless rather than good and that is the need. For Nietzsche war is good because powerful persons fight without fear. Energy; intellect and pride-make the superman. But they must be harmonized : the passion of will become power only when they are selected and unified by some great purpose which moulds a chaos of desire into the power of a personality.

At the beginning of twentieth century a new tendency based on the ideas of Nietzsche was emerging. Which was totalitarian in nature. on the one hand it was a response to the imperialist expansionism. Which was based on the theory of racial superiority. On the other hand it was an attempt to establish a state which could respond to the might of USA.

In 1941, Hitler said, "for me the object is to exploit the advantages of continental hegemony. When we are masters of the Europe, we will have a dominant position in the world. A hundred and thirty million people in the Reich 90 million in Ukraine and added to this, the other states of the new Europe and we will be four hundred million as compared to 130 millions in America."¹⁵

Nazis had a feeling that soon USA & USSR will be emerging as two blocs in world politics. They will confront each other to hold maximum power and influence in world politics. The policy of mutual destruction will compel them to support only surviving power, that is Germany. Actually Germany needs a periphery to exploit. So it may become a super power. This is why Nazis preached for a strong and territorially big nation state. For which they

15. Quoted from one of the speeches by Hitler on Nazi expansionism.

supported policy of expansionism based on war. They said what (then) India was for Britain, Russia will be for Germany.

Fascism was addressed as radical and authoritarian at the beginning of this century. Since 1930 a broad tendency towards right wing authoritarianism emerged in the Italy and the Germany. They were against egalitarianism. They were against all existing political sectors i.e., left, right and centre, anti-Liberal, Anti-communist and anti-conservative. But were willing to undertake temporary alliance with Right.

Fascism was a generational revolt against the old system. It was a result of the dissatisfaction of the new generation from older political process which for them was no more relevant for progress. This new style of politics of 1920's & 1930's was attractive to certain social groups, which were salient among the founding nucleus of fascist parties.

Ideology in International Politics

Scholars of international politics believe that ideology constitutes the backbone of foreign policy of a state and strives for its effective implementation. Prof. Holsti has said "ideologies have not only established foreign policy

goals, evaluate criteria and justification for action but also have important effects on perceptual process as well".

In the 20th century international politics, the ideology occupied the central stage. Because with the end of first world war the entire world was divided on ideological basis. On the one hand there were liberals and the other side of fence was occupied by totalitarians. But by the second world war the international relation was not important phenomenon. Because one country was least interested in the matters of others. But after the end of second world war an imagined threat was felt by democrats against the totalitarians, especially communist bloc. This imagined threat led to cold war. Which was a war of two dominant ideologies i.e., liberal and communist.

But this tussle between two ideologies lead them to nowhere; rather it divided the world beyond human imagination. The political elite in these two blocs felt that the cold war is not paying any good results, rather it is hampering economic and technological development. Thus they felt the need of peaceful co-existence. The end of the cold war affected not only the two antagonistic ideological blocs but also influenced other floating ideologies.

For a long time scholars of international politics are arguing about decline of ideology. Prof. Daniel Bell says

that the ideological fires in the west have cooled down and ideology which was once the road to action has become a dead end. Prof. Fukuyama argues in his book "End of History.." that ideology has ended. The end of cold war and dismantling of Soviet Union has virtually put an end to the ideological tension. In most of the East European countries the communists have been ousted from power and a trend towards liberalisation is very distinct.

CHAPTER TWO

POST-COLD WAR SCENARIO AND IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS

In the 20th century, human life has gone through major changes. This is the era of technological development, change in economic way of life, major demographic changes in almost all parts of the world, ecological degradation and globalisation of a universal culture pattern. In international politics, the 20th century is remarkable in the sense that a number of events diverted the direction of progress of history. Most important of these events were Bolshevik revolution of 1917; World War I; World War II and finally the end of cold war followed by the demise of the Soviet Union. Actually all the above events have had a role in providing a definite shape to human history; but the last one, i.e., the end of the cold war, followed by the demise of the USSR, is of current interest to the students of international politics. Because even after about 5 years of the end of cold war, it is not yet known what would be the shape of the world after a few years from now.

The end of the cold war is of such importance that some scholars of international politics have addressed it as the "end of the history"; while some others have described it as the "end of the ideology"; yet another group of scholars of international politics have characterise it as the victory of "liberalism over Marxism".

Francis Fukuyama has said The most important development of the last quarter of 20th century has been the revelation of enormous weakness at the core of world's seemingly strong dictatorships. Whether they be of military authoritarian Right or the communist totalitarian left. Throughout the world, strong governments have been failing over the last two decades.¹

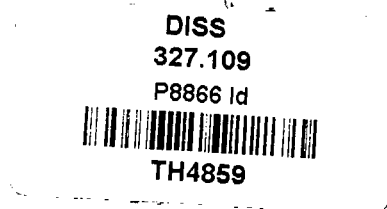
Question arises why the cold war was that important. The answer of this question is multicorned; as various scholars have analysed it in their own way. For example, Walliday believes that the cold war was a contest between rival social systems. In simpler way and in books of elementary international politics, cold war is described as a situation of conflict where rival groups are involved in diplomatic struggle etc. To explain briefly, what cold war is; it can be said that the second world war led to a complete social, economic and political collapse in central Europe, primarily and other parts of the world in general.

To do away with the outcome of these, the two major powers took a path of diplomatic struggle. (Which divided entire world in two hostile groups). Some of these players of cold war emerged as winners and others as losers.

1. F.Fukuyama : End of the history and the last man.

After 1989 a cataclysm of great proportions occurred. It brought to an end not only of the cold war but also the challenge of Bolshevik revolution to the liberals. It also brings to an end a longer period of international history in which a movement of contestation of hegemonic capitalist form was identifiable. 1989 brought up an end to the trends started in 1789 with the French revolution.

Although the underlying concept of the end of history is open to challenge because of the concept of agency it presupposes. The argument of Fukuyama is; that what is new about contemporary situation is that there is only one set of answers now acceptable on the world scale are valid. The end of the cold war has provided way for four historical trends to emerge, which will dominate world politics in future for most of the time; until history takes some other turn. First of these four historical trends is that relation between great powers has been changed. Now these powers are not hostile towards each other as they were earlier. Second; The end of communism as a political force is distinct. In most of the communist countries of the past a trend towards capitalism is seen. Which can not be exactly termed as a trend towards liberalism. Third; Soviet alliance has broken up. On one hand, it has created a situation in which, with the break-up of pre-existing order;



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new regional alliances and new potential hegemony have emerged. For example in Europe-Germany; and Turkey in central Asia. In the far east the realignments are less important because Soviet power was weaker, but it had encouraged and coincided with an increase in both Chinese and Japanese power. The collapse of communism has broken up a regime that prevailed since the end of World War II; in terms of which the existing map of world was maintained.

Since 1989, fusion and fission both have come to the fore; the fusion of the Yemens and Germans will be followed; although with some delay by that of Korea. On the other hand, fission has been the fate of the multi ethnic state of the former communist system, with the result that in the space of two years over twenty new sovereign states have come to existence.

Fourth; The end of the cold war has provided a way for the emergence of global democracy. This is in essence the argument of Francis Fukuyama. The end of communism has underlined the extent to which the old, alternative revolutionary path of political development is not attractive. Yet; the attainment of democratic system is not a rapid or once-and-for-all process, but takes a long period of transition to attain and no one can be sure if a democratic system is established for atleast a generation. This alone would

entail that if the broad argument of the liberal democratic teleologist Fukuyama is valid, then the historical account they gave is simplified and far too benign and unilinear.

After the collapse of communism, while the left authoritarian model has been discredited, there is no unanimity among capitalist states that democracy or some kind of America-Europe model is desirable. Because in most of the countries where western model of democracy was put into practice; either it failed or produced inefficiency of various kinds in political system of the country. The reason behind this was that the social conditions prevailing in such societies were not conducive for western type of political institutions. Even political analysts of the day have started questioning; whether prevailing political institutions in western democracies will survive for a longer time. This is because now a days the social-economic conditions of these societies are different from them, when these institutions were first formed.

There are various explanations related to the end of the cold war; for which the environment started taking shape from as early as 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in Kremlin. The armed race, the democratic upsurge of people, the economic exhaustion of communism are a few of the explanations related to the end of the cold war. But

the arms race itself cannot be an explanation; since economy and its complexities can not be explained by it. Kennedy's thesis that "imperial overstretch" can explain the decline of hegemonic system-may have validity for other system's failure but it is not relevant in case of Soviet system's failure.² Its third world involvement were not a major source of economic or political weakening; rather it was the blockade at the centre that accounted for system's failure. There was resistance from below but remarkably little. In comparison to west, Soviet system was not working at its very best. But from its own point of view; it has achieved tremendous results.

What led to the end of cold war was not that the ruled would not go on being ruled in the old way but rather that the rulers could not go on ruling the old way. The inability to compete with US militarily; the growing gridlock of the command economy and its inability to innovate and sustain earlier levels of growth and the growing realisation among the elites of Soviet Union that the west was drawing ahead were the reason for the failure of socialism.

For a quite long period of time realist school of thought was one of the dominant school of thoughts in inter-

2. Paul Kennedy : Preparing for the 21st century.

national politics. The scholars of this school believe that international security is the ability to deter or neutralize threats of national power, rendering them harmless. For them stability and order through a balance of power is important.³ Where such a balance can not be created other devices such as military and economic alliances; containment etc are used. In case of failure of these methods, realists were in favour of use of force. Destabilization of opponents and sometimes even friends; comes first exerting external and internal pressures such as embargoes, suspension of credits; disinformation campaign; supporting political and military opponents and diplomatic threat. Actually the era followed by end of second world war is dominated by such a political scenario. Above mentioned methods of power politics is followed by military intervention and intimidation. Countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lebanon, Dominican republic, Vietnam, Guatemala, Chile, etc were the victims of such interventions during the cold war era. Even after the end of the cold war the situation is not changed in any substantial way. Because even after 1989, the rate of such interventions are very high.

3. End of cold war & security in Asia Pacific Region.

The realism has contributed to perpetuate the disorderly world which justifies itself. Very little room is left for developing alternatives to power politics and limiting the reach of aggrandizing states. The weak and oppressed states must learn to accommodate the strong or face extinction. Thus, national security conflicts directly with global security. The search for absolute security intensifies inter-state violence, with profoundly adverse consequences for human beings. Resources from satisfying peoples need are diverted in the interest of the state.⁴ For realists, the nation is more important than the individuals. Morgenthau says; "In politics nation and not humanity is ultimate fact".

Realists persists in interpreting the world in the cold-war terms; i.e. East-West relation. But the key issues are increasingly North-South relationship or relations between developed and developing nations of the world. Actually Realists underestimated enormous impact of development of the third world on the world politics.⁵ For example although revolutionary nationalism in Vietnam, Economic nationalism in the Middle East had a tremendous

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

impact on world politics. Realists have hardly emphasised them; not only this they have also overestimated ability of big powers to control and manipulate third world politics. Excessive attention to the east-west relations and persistent belief that history belongs to great powers have diverted resources of great powers from other areas; leaving them underdeveloped. So in a sense for the confrontation between world powers; third world nations were paying. In mutual confrontation of both, the world powers were gainer while third world was sole loser.

The Arms race between the two world powers was costing the third world dearly. Because due to massive cost involved in arms race, most of the available resources were used; leaving other important sectors in resource crunch. The resources which were to be used in modernization of industry, maintenance of social services and improvement of soil quality and productivity were used in manufacturing of arms. Simultaneously most dangerous contribution was made in environmental degradation. In place of doing away with trade imbalance; more imbalance was created. Which widened the gap between developed and developing countries.

Until the outbreak of World War I; Realists could usually count on balance of power politics to keep the lid on unwanted violence. but the post-Vietnam era shows imbal-

ance, disunity, fragility in relationships among allies. Clashes of national interest, usually are based on economic and security grounds. Now national power is no longer measurable in purely or even in primarily military terms. today; food, information, energy, capital etc are important ingredients of power. Actually these are the factors which make any nation strong or weak. Probably this is the reason, superpowers are now less interested in military expansionism; as they were during the cold war era. Now Economic expansionism is recently in agenda of World Politics. For example in 5th decade of the century annual expenditure of US; abroad was \$12 billion; now it has crossed to \$300 billion. In 1989 the value of all forms of US holding & abroad were over \$ 1.4 trillion. The things which began as a very tentative postwar corporate expansion; has become a global movement of capital, technology, labour and information etc. At the time of end of 2nd world war, investment abroad was considered highly risky; of course foreign trade from domestic industries was a preferred route. But now a days foreign investment is considered very important. The corporations live or die by expansion in the global marketplace. Although expenditure abroad is still risky but chances of operation are superior.

Nowadays important fear among western countries is of nationalism; especially when it assumes revolutionary form as in China, Cuba, Algeria and Nicaragua. Opportunities to invest and trade may be foreclosed. For example scholars like Samuel P. Huntington; in one of his recent and very important Article. "Clash of civilisations", argues that in the post cold war era fundamental source of conflict will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflict of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilisations. The clash of civilization will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future."⁶ Although the above view of Huntington is countered by some scholars; for example Fouad Ajami who says "Huntington finds his civilizations whole and intact, watertight under an eternal sky. Buried alive, as it were during cold war days."⁷ But there is an amount of truth in what Huntington has said. Because if we consider post cold war era then

6. Samuel P. Huntington: The clash of civilizations.

7. Fouad Ajami : But they said, we will not Hearken.

definitely it can be said that multiethnic states are crumbling. And minority ethnic groups throughout the world are attacked by majority groups. Religious fundamentalism is on rise in almost every part of the world. Probably western developed countries were very well aware of this. As early as in 1970's itself they had ideas about the future of world politics. Because then they responded sympathetically on call for NIEO. They did so because then western countries thought if the third world or developing countries are left behind; their underdevelopment may lead to revolutionary tendencies among them. Which in turn will hamper interests of developed countries of the west. Probably rise of revolutionary or fundamentalist tendencies; about which Huntington talks; are result of economic underdevelopment of these countries. For example most of the breakaway states of former Soviet Union and Islamic countries did not have fruits of economic development. As soon as they found an opportunity to express themselves, they voted for establishment of a state based on ethnicism.

Today the world trade is not guided by self-dependence, but it is guided by competition; growth; materialism, freedom of enterprise and efficiency and management. Because after acceptance of GATT proposals by most of the nations; dream of integrating world into a common market will soon be

realised. Where survival of any enterprise will depend on how competitive it is. Otherwise it will be routed by other powerful enterprises. Mao's saying that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun" has been replaced by power comes from control of the means of creating wealth on a world wide scale. In such an environment comparatively less important economic power are becoming more and more assertive. Actually they are trying hard to break the US hegemony. And to a certain extent they are successful in doing so. When the US hegemony is declining some scholars have seen prospects of emergence of new international economic order. In 1950's and 1960's, US was a dominant economic power. Which has seriously been threatened by emergence of economic powers like Japan and the EC.

France in 1920's and 1960's and Germany and Japan, more recently have been condemned by US, for their policies towards United States. Because due to this US and UK are not able to play the role, which they used to; when they were in dominant position. And time and again they have been facing problems in economic field. Rise of Germany, Japan and the EC, is due to poor performance of the US economy. The emergence of US as the hub of East Asia's international finance, trade and politics was a product of post 1945 settlements and cold war, and after the end of the

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cold war this is in process to be eroded. These trends indicate the emergence of an even more pronounced three bloc structure in international trade and finance. Which is likely to produce more symmetrical system than the present.⁸

After the end of the cold war political analysts are busy in finding out the reasons of instability in international economic order. Time and again they are replacing old models of development with newer ones. Probably operating on economy has made it possible for system builders to have a stable system. The Liberal theorists of the day are concentrating on two things. First, to avert confrontation among the nations of the world; second, to establish co-operation between them.⁹ Because in the absence of above two conditions a strong economic network, (worldwide) can't be established. When the nations of the world would remain involved in confrontation, most of the resources; they will have to divert for security purposes. Thus leaving the economy in shambles. Economic co-operation among the nations is important because otherwise most parts of the world

8. Walter (Andrew) : World power and World money: The role of hegemony in international monetary order (1991).

9. Ibid.

will not have fruits of the development. But Marxist thinker's are very critical about this statement. They believe co-operation and competition is possible among the equals. In present system where some are strong and others weak; the flow of resources would be one way; as it was in colonial period.

For two generations or so, we have used to the familiar stand off between West and East. Pluralist parliamentary democracies faced communist monoliths. People and institutions used to a status quo¹⁰. But after the end of the cold war in 1989, the changes have shaken the entire world. The winds of democratic change and erosion of generations of discontent have brought down walls of totalitarianism. Party representatives have been replaced by representatives of the people. The changes in Eastern Europe and the speed at which new set of relationship between institutions and people is accepted it is very difficult to think ourselves back into the world of mistrust and suspicion which was produced by communism. Although communism, in some senses, was more down to earth than the liberal democracies but this is equally correct that refusal of certain rights of individual by system had kept it far away from the hearts of

10. Edby : Miller(TB) & Walter(J) : Asian-Pacific security after the cold war.

masses. Masses accepted it because of compulsion rather than willingly. This is why when even a slight opportunity came in their way they threw the regime out.

After the collapse of Soviet Union, Russia desires for co-operation with the west. Because most of the Russian policy makers have realised that by making US & western powers unhappy, the dream of Russia becoming a strong economy can not be achieved. Even US is also willing to have normal relationship with Eastern bloc because the potential threat offered by former soviet states are much less in a conventional military sense than those which could have been presented by United Soviet state. There is still potential for a serious nuclear, chemical and biological threat arising out of a descent chaos and subsequent attempts to blackmail west; but such threat is not as great as it was during the cold war era. The relatively harmonious adoption of NATO to the new situation means that the leading role of United States in western security policy is not a serious question.

Above two factors do not signify that military security is no longer a problem of US or western Europe. They all have to stay on their own. The end of cold war does not mean a revolutionary change in human nature : the potential for enmity and violence between nations and important groups

remains as serious as it was during cold war era. Actually the situation of potential mutual destruction between the super powers has shifted to other half of the globe; i.e. the third world or developing nations. Balkans, Gulf; Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America are the hot beds of war in post-cold-war era. But this is equally true that such a situation will not prevail for a long time. Because even in these developing countries the realisation of peaceful co-existence is dominating the thought process of the decision makers. Thomas W. Simons (Jr.) has correctly put it that "the post cold war era will be concerned more with values and less with military security issues or with economic competitiveness."¹¹ Probably because of these very reason the fundamentalist upsurge is taking place among third world countries. The countries are struggling to revive their own value system. This is why they are not only discarding western value system but also waging a war against western cultural/value imperialism.

Most of the post-second world war period in all developed industrial countries; politics was mainly about economy. In almost all parts of the world, political struggle was over how to divide up pieces of the constantly

11. Thomas W. Simons (Jr.) : The end of cold war.

growing economy among various political claimants. More or less stable economic growth was considered natural. Most of the analysts think as long as there was economic growth, which satisfied people's aspirations for upward social mobility and increasing material welfare or at least made those aspirations seem realistic; Political competition would be about management of growth. Means most of the competitors wanted to have their control on economy. "value based politicians were labelled as "extremists" and usually were losers in elections. Every system produced its own ideology to express and accommodate that reality.

After the end of the cold war all ideologies are losing their political grip. For solid social and political reasons. Because now the most important factor of community life is how homogeneous the group is ? If group is not homogeneous then the politician who claim themselves "value based politician", are trying for attainment of homogeneity of the group. This tendency of the politician; has disturbed the age old equilibrium in those societies which were heterogeneous but did not have confrontational attitude from within. Due to emergence of "value based" politicians; plurality of political system has been challenged. Islamic countries are fighting because the community has two sects in it. In other parts of world also one community is

against the other. Because the value of the communities are different and some times contradictory also. They can't live in harmony with the other group. In post cold war world differences between East and West are becoming significant again; for a brand of politics whose focus is "value" rather than economic efficiency. This has very different effect on each side of east-west divide. But there is also one commonality; the era of economy is now less relevant. Because in each of the two worlds and also in third world values are becoming at the centre of the politics. For a few thinkers, most of them liberal; in such a situation of reversal liberal democratic politics will be more successful because it is based on debate. While the totalitarian state prevents citizens to express their views so freely. In the liberal democratic state the tradition of debate never disappeared even at the height of economism.

During cold war era communist bloc was closely inter-linked. But after the end of cold war the communist bloc has disintegrated. Although some of these are still having good relation with each other; but most of them have tied-up with the NATO or other regional alliances. After the end of the cold war institutions in these countries are undergoing major change. Earlier any change in one part of communist bloc could have follow up in other parts of bloc. But now

due to introduction of new institutions and diversification of national interest; every nation is moving in its desired direction. And is least sensitive to the happening of their past allies. Actually most of the former soviet states are undergoing the process of Europeanization. Which is changing the character of soviet political system in particular. The changes in European part of disintegrated Soviet Union is very similar to the changes taking place in Poland and Hungary. And first time in 20th century an attempt is made to establish culture of debate in this part of the world.

So far cold war was a world phenomenon. Besides first and second world it also influenced those countries who were directly not involved in cold war. As most of the players of the cold war; these countries also accepted the changes as destiny and normal course of historical development. For example a major change in Asia pacific region is taking place. In relation to Cambodia problem; ideological hostility between China and Russia is coming closer to the normality. It is just not China's improved relations to the north-west that have helped the cause of stability in the region; it has also improved its relations with Vietnam and Indonesia. On northern territories between Japan and Russian are engaged in positive dialogue. And the military tension has been greatly reduced the declining threats from

Soviet Union and Vietnam. Hostile relationship between two Koreas; which was one of the regions, most affected by cold war; is improving. Even these two countries are seriously involved in dialogue related to their unification. In middle East by the end of 1993 Israel- Philistine had finally reached on agreement to do away with the problem and now developmental works can be done in the region. Most important impact of end of the cold war is that regional hostilities among the nations is decreasing.

Finally end of the cold war has also ended politics of hostility among community of nations. Actually in traditional sense of the term politics of super-powers is no more relevant. But still there are four superpowers. Strategic views of these are different. For example; Russia remains a supreme military power in retrenchment. China- An ideological super power of significant military and economic potential; but trapped in political paralysis. Japan- An economic super power constrained by history from playing a super-power's political role and last but not the least; USA- A super power in all senses.

But none of the thinkers, who have argued that end of cold war has buried ideological war is correct. Because still communist countries like china is a great threat to liberal ideology. In changed circumstances the idea of

confrontation may not be chosen by leftist. But as soon as they overcome from the shock of demise of Soviet Union, ideological struggle may again start. In present circumstances, of course left is not a threat to liberalism. Because of its internal contradiction, but they are going to be challenged by right which is fast emerging in most part of Islamic world as well in a number of European countries. For example during last 3-4 years Fascists in Italy, Neo-Nazis(skinheads) in Germany, Britain, France and Belgium have emerged; who are seriously threatening the socio-political environment in these countries. As world is integrating through trade and An integrated Europe is coming up; the nature of these rightists is going to be an international phenomena. And in turn they will give serious challenge to western liberalism.

CHAPTER THREE

NAZI EMERGENCE IN GERMANY

The beginning of 20th century Marks with a new tendency among most of the European countries. Which was totalitarian in nature. The German nation state which emerged in 20th century was based on "revolution from above". In the first half of the 20th century the interest of ruling classes in a re-divided world, led to the Germany becoming a danger for other people. Actually the Germans were losers in the first World War. Which not only turned the German economy and politics but it destroyed its social fabric also. The war and its outcome drastically changed the international status of Germany as a major power by sharply limiting its armed forces. It also reduced the country's population territory and resources through the mechanism of reparations and converted Germany into world's major debtor. The allied powers insisted that the Germany and its friends in the war were responsible for all casualty and monetary loss.

The Germany was imposed with massive fine so the destruction done during the war can be rectified. The imposition of fines etc was so heavy that the German economy crumbled in no time; due to which production of commodities went down. Rate of inflation was very high. Major chunk of

population was pushed below poverty line. A number of industries and factories were closed down; due to which a lot of employees were thrown out of these establishments. Which led to growth of massive unemployment problem. The most plausible explanation for rise of fascism in Germany lies in economic fluctuations of the period between 1918-33 and their socio-political consequences.

The penalties etc were imposed through the treaty of Versailles. The imposition was so massive and it affected so the German economy so badly, people addressed, those who signed it as betrayers and western powers as traitors. All good Germans must be nationalistic supporters of revival of Germany, not compromisers or internationalists. Defeat in the war had brought hardship to German people. The consequences were not accepted passively by people. Actually the defeat itself was not accepted by them. Because for them they were betrayed by their own people. The 1918 collapse was in the rear of army, who fought successfully till civilian authorities did not intervene in their activities.

Most of the people who felt betrayed at Versailles, became Nazis. They did every thing possible to glorify this ideology. For example, Gentile, an Italian said that 'Fascism represented the return of heroic ideals of Risor-

giniento'.¹ It was the continuation of a struggle between "the two souls" of Italy, the idealist spirit of Mezzini and the materialist skepticism of the liberal statesman Giolitti, who had ruled Italy for most of the pre- first World War era. Populist slogans given by fascist leaders were so impressive that it took very short period of time to mobilise people and garner mass support. For example, by 1921 fascism became a mass movement in Italy and Germany both. It ceased to be limited to organisation. Marginal men and Professionals accepted it in very short period of time. May be a major chunk of youth people who joined Nazis, they did so just out of adventure. But there is no doubt about it; that once they joined they had accepted Nazi agenda.

This is notable that Nazis and Fascists emerged just when left movement or labour movements were dominating political environment in respective countries. The Marxian prophecy, that capitalism's periodic recurring crisis would create a revolutionary situation favourable to the collapse of the capitalist system, has proved wrong. The economic crisis of 1920's was a blow to socialism rather than capitalism. Because capitalism not only survived but also grown

1. Laquleur(Walter): Fascism: A Reader's Guide, (Analysis, Interpretations and Bibliography).

like any thing. Italy and Germany were leading nations where socialist movement could found its roots. And in these two countries economic crisis led to emergence of Fascists. In Italy, the economic crisis of 1922-23 led to emergence of Fascists, while world wide great economic depression of 1929 led to emergence of Nazis in Germany. And a kind of corporate nation emerged. In which power was in the hands of middle class with the help of capitalists and the rich agrarian class.

Mussolini had always expressed the opinion that the fascism owed its triumph to the urgent need for vigorous action.² Even Hitler was of the same opinion. This idea was very attractive to the younger people. Who wanted to overcome their frustrations caused by unemployment and economic sufferings quickly. The Fascist agenda attracted individuals who were disillusioned by the programme and actions of democracy. The fascist parties intermingled itself with the state machinery. For members of the party, loyalty towards it was very important. The Nazis rejected bourgeoisie-capitalist order, due to which the working class identified itself with the movement.

2. Newman(Karl J.): European Democracy Between the Wars (pp.240).

The first world war had destroyed many of the old behaviour patterns of the people. People were no longer as willing as formerly to comply with laws and administrative decrees. The economic and the social problems which emerged out of the great war were in need of proper solutions. Because due to these problems human life had become burden for itself. People were very depressed and had lost their faith in existing political institutions and authorities. This is why slogan given by Nazi leaders attracted massive number of people, and their programme of revolution was not only supported by people, but they took active part in Nazi Politics.

People were not politically matured. Due to sufferings of first world war, they lost their idealism, which resulted in further consolidation of middle class ideals, including their traditional respect for authoritarianism. Due to uncertainty prevailing in social life, people were more confident in conservative and reactionary groups. Which aroused emotions, and which favoured violence.

The Social Democratic Party (SPD), which was very powerful in Weimer Republic, addressed Fascism as anti-humanist and reactionary movement. Which consisted of upper-middle class, military and represented a new and revolutionary political force, which was able to break-off his-

torical progress. Till the Nazis come to power and till SPD was capable to demand, they insisted on politics of ballot boxes.

But once Nazi propaganda Machinery came into effect, most efforts of SPD were done away with. Most of the SPD cadre and supporters deserted them and joined the Nazi party, whose political agenda was more attractive than SPD agenda. This resulted in victory of Nazis in election, on which SPD was relying most.

Treaty of Versailles was one of the greatest burden for German democracy, as stated earlier, Social democracy Found itself under pressure from two main directions, from its right wing political opponents at home and from the allied governments of France, Britain and Italy outside. Germany was asked to surrender its war materials and also to withdraw from the territories it had occupied during the war. "what hit the country's life nerve was handling over a third of its locomotives, rolling-stock and lorries, losing its merchant fleet, having the blockade continued and intensified and being deprived of the left bank of the Rhine."³

The peoples' reaction to the terms of the treaty of Versailles was that this was a dictated peace and an instru-

3. Miller (Susanne) & Potthoff (Heinrich): A History of German Social Democracy (pp. 78).

ment of subjugation. Although this was rejected by people en-mass. The German democratic party and social democratic parties also admitted that this was a dictated peace. But they also admitted that there was no other option, through which Germany could avoid signing it. "Non- signature of the treaty means, the retention of our prisoners of war, occupation of our mineral deposit regions, aggravation of blockade, unemployment, famine, thousands death, a fearful catastrophe that will than in any case compel us to sign."⁴

The people blamed their leader for signing the treaty. Because the Rhine land and Ruhr, two important iron and coal reserves, were occupied by France and Belgium respectively. These two places were important because almost entire German industry was relying on them. In the absence the country had to undergo massive problems. In such an atmosphere there grew up, among people a mood of hatred against the republic. People became so aggressive and frustrated that they started killing their own men. These people were supported by right wing radicals. The Nazi infiltration in law and order machinery was so deep, although their crime was proved these criminals were never punished. The courts were dominated by right wing radicals Judges. They sur-

4. Ibid : A resolution of the USDP conference.

passed all the laws in connection to right wing-extremists. Even these courts did not spared democratic and socialist leaders from accusing them of crimes and punishing them for no reasons. One such court refered to the head of the Weimer republic as "traitor to his country", simply because in January 1918 he joined a strike committee to bring the strike to an orderly conclusion. In the national campaign of right wing outfit such catchy phrases as "stab in back", "national betrayal" and "November Gang" were used for the social democrats. The slogans were so catchy that even those people who were not having political connections or commitments, easily co-opted in right wing outfits. Because such parties assured them about secured and definite future, for which masses were struggling since long.

From the 1919 onwards political parties which champi-
oned the Weimer republic never managed to capture more than
half of the vote. In the elections of 14 September 1930; 6
November, 1932 and 5 March 1933; the democracy shranked fur
ther in Germany. The socialist democratic party (SPD)
dropped from 29.8 percent in 1928 to 24.5 percent in 1930
and 21.6 percent in July 1932 and further 20.4 percent in
November 1932 and only 18.3 percent in 1933. While the
German democratic Party (GDP) disappeared by November 1932.
DVP and DNVP were two rightist parties. In Hitlers national

socialist movement DNVP faced a rival which outdid Nazi propaganda. In 1928 they were supported by only 6.5 percent of valid votes. In March 1933 elections they had gained support of 43.9 percent voters.

The success story of DNVP was due to economic catastrophe that plunged the republic to unimaginable hardship and distress. By January 1930 there were more than 3.2 million unemployed registered with the state. Which went up to 4.88 million by January 1931 and further, to 6.042 million by 1932. Those who were employed also had partial unemployment problems. Because a big chunk of the 12.7 million employed were part-timers.

The people were living a substandard life. Most of the Germans were not provided with proper food, clothing and shelter. In such circumstances they were highly upset from the leadership of republicans. So in elections they gave mandate to radicals who were more dangerous than the death caused by hunger and poverty. Heinrich Pottholff has correctly said "to the left and right as far as the eye could see, troops stood ready to deliver the death-blow to a democracy already hollowed out from within. Naked fascism, Stalinist communism, authoritarian power hunger and dreams of national supremacy threatened the republic from every

side".⁵

During the elections of 1930-32 Nazis became very powerful. They also became a major problem for German politics. In Sept. 1930 they became second largest party and by 1932 they were largest party in Reichstage. In the 1932 elections as many as thirteen million people out of thirty seven million (who voted) voted for Nazis. The Nazis were supported by majority of the voters in those regions where class-distinction was not very effective. While where there was a class divided society rich people voted for conservative parties while poor voted for left parties. "The Nazi agenda was appealing to those who wished for the defence of private property within a classless, socially unified community."⁶ Other explanation given for electoral success of Nazis was that they sought foreigners responsible for the sufferings of German people. Most of the Nazi voters were reasonable individuals, but the Nazi party was not reasonable enough. In the Nazi Germany Anti-semitism, going beyond the vehemence that anti-capitalism might inspire, was openly proclaimed: though the extermination of the Jews was not suggested Brutality and violence

5. Miller & Pottholff: A history of German Social Democracy (pp. 111).

6. Parker(R.A.C) : Europe 1919-45 (pp. 225).

were openly praised and practised. "Hitler time and again praised such an act on behalf of the Nazis."⁷ The Fascism/Nazism was a movement of the middle class. The petty bourgeoisie and the de classed; in which particular importance was attached to the role of young demobilised Nazi movement and become a tool in hands of agrarian class and the industrialists, who had used it to destroy the power of working class organisations in the factories and farms. Both the middle class participation and the employers support could be explained by the heightened level of class conflict. Which resulted from the war and by the fear of Bolshevik revolution in Soviet Union.

The Superficial radicalism of the fascists and their successful exploitation of syndicalist slogans enable them to acquire a mass following; which consisted of middle class as well as the working industrial and peasantry class. This was most unfortunate part of fascism as they (in future) were going to create more problems for this class, because most of the leadership was inclined towards the interest of industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie. Their success on this front enabled fascist movement to assert its leadership over the old bourgeois parties, who had tried to control it.

7. Ibid (pp. 227)

However, if fascism triumphed over the bourgeoisie politicians, it soon proved helpful to the interest of the industrialists and big property owners. But the radicalism in Nazis was not an everlasting phenomenon. Because the radical attitude among them was rapidly reduced to insignificance, once the immediate successes were reconciled.

The Fascism claimed to have reconciled capital and labour within the framework of so called corporate state. But although the labour class was part of the Nazi movement, they were part of it, not because they were a party to share the fruits of so called revolution. Rather the group of people, who were leading this movement, had all fruits of the revolution. Because the system which was establish after revolution, acted in the interest of the bourgeoisie class.

When Hitler appointed himself as the Chancellor, he destroyed independence of Army and merged it with SA(Nazi Militants). The Civil Services was purged and Nazified. Most of the new appointments were made solely on political basis. Businessmen were thrown out of the corridors of power. Dissatisfied and frustrated SA cadres were appointed on important posts in the government. Who were as autocratic as Hitler himself was.

The people, who were part of the Nazi movement; were power hungry. The Economic development and issues related to it were used not for well being of people; rather it was part of their mobilisation process. The sphere of fascism was that of power not that of profit.⁸ The fascist economy was planned for war and in this particular sense the political objective of fascism determined the limits of the sphere of profit. The Arms & ammunition industry and its development was one of th most important facets of Nazi economy. Because they thought by establishing such industry, not only maximum employment generation is possible, but also aim of Nazi expansionism can be achieved.

The German rightists, most of whom were industrialists; wanted to regain their pre-labour movement position. At the end of the first world war every German was broken. Rightists had this idea that this was the most opportunate time for building up a different type of Germany; a Germany of their own dreams. Where capitalist and capital will dominant daily life of Germans; than the labour class. They wanted to destroy the republic and to re-establish the monarchy; so the workers can be put in their "place" in the society. They wanted to build Germany, a strong military

8. A. Tosea in Laquluer(ed) Fascism : A Readers Guide.

power, so it can regain its lost glory. Blind with self interest and prejudices, the right Forsook the role of true conservatism, abandoned its own traditions and made the gross mistake that Hitler is the man who would enable them to achieve their ends.⁹ They were mistaken in a sense that although they were financing Hitler's movement in hope that he will act in their interest; But Hitler was very shrewd, because although he had taken big amounts as donation from these rich people he did only what he wanted. Even if the rich men wanted to withdraw their support; they could not do so, because by that time Hitler has emerged very strong.

Although most of the Nazis, time and again, insisted that this was an attempt to establish a capitalist state. The claims seems doubtful as G.D.H. Cole denied its capitalist nature. He says "Fascism, though it wages war upon the working class and uses other classes as its instruments, is not fundamentally a class movement. Actually it wanted to do away with modern concept of class. But the way it was attempted, it can't be addressed as a class movement."¹⁰ Cole prefers to call it a horde movement. Cole further says

9. A. Bullock : Hitler. (pp. 231) London (1960).

10. Cole (GDH) : The meaning of Marxism. (pp.147). Michigan (1964).

that "it was not an economic movement at all; rather; it was a nationalist movement with a strong militarist tradition."¹¹

In the Nazi Germany (1936 onwards), politics and political leadership became increasingly independent of the influence of the economic ruling classes. But for all their apparent political independence, the Nazi leaders held onto power. They were able to exercise it effectively because of their long term strategic goals coincided with those of heavy industry, the army elite and the powerful and rich propertied class was a pre-condition for retention of mass support. Nazi Germany could not have been ruled by a political bourgeoisie. This certainly led to ousting of former bourgeois politicians, but the big exploiters and owner never seriously challenged this relationship at any time in the twelve years history of the Third Reich. Their business was to make profits, to accumulate capital and re-invest it for more profit.

The economic goals of Nazis were totally different from any capitalist system, in which they deliberately pulled out of the world trading network and tried to build a closed economy based on self-sufficiency. Hitler's beha-

11. Cole (GDH) : The intelligent man's guide to the post war world. London (1947).

viour, analysts believe, was guided by certain ideology, not economic commitment. His commands were accepted not because, they were making any sense, rather they were followed because these were the wishes of the leadership.

A group of scholars of German society believe that Nazis were super-modernisers; who dragged Germany half heartedly kicking and screaming in to the century of "common man".¹²

Dahrendorf says "the road to modernity was not taken spontaneously and happily by men anywhere in the world. Force was always required to make people embark on it. However brutal it was, the break with tradition and this strong push towards modernity was the substantive feature of the national socialist revolution."¹³ The Nazi leadership of Germany was so obsessed with the idea of revolution that they hardly cared for the sufferings of ordinary people. Rather more trouble was created in already disturbed lives of the people due to economic and political hardship. Actually not only the poor or ordinary people but comparatively sober political leaders also underwent a major change

12. Common man is used for 20th century world especially Europe.

13. Dahrendorf (Ralph) : Society and democracy in Germany (pp. 401-2).

during Nazi emergence. Mason says that the old ruling classes not only surrendered their political powers and privileges to the Nazis but in process failed to retain their social dominance as possessing class. Not only this, political leadership of the "Third Reich" was able to maintain its independence from the old ruling class.¹⁴

The upward trend, which has been caused in world economy, due to arms proliferation can never form a permanent basis for an economic settlement. The only way out could have been the security of maximum resources and manpower; it does not mean that conquering people was important, but for Nazis conquering of productive land was of course very important. They were in favour of conquering those regions which were mineral rich; especially the regions directly adjoining the Reich and not overseas or faraway regions.

Hitler in a meeting said that we cannot manufacture each and every thing important for a good life in the Third Reich. Because we do not have efficient manpower and resources. So what we can do is, we can conquer what we need by using our military might.

14. Mason (T) : Economic in national socialist Germany in S.J. Woolf (ed) The Nature of Fascism; London (1968).

Ethnic cleansing in Germany was most horrible phase of Nazism. The Jews and the Poles were butchered like animals in Nazi camps. During his life time any individual from these two groups had to work in Nazi industries; for which they were paid with physical and mental torcher. They were supposed to serve Nazis not only during life time; but also after death. After death Nazis used to put corpses of Jews to enrich the Third Reich. From 1943, the Germans in order to utilise the bones which were not burned, grind them and sell them to the firm stream for the manufacture of super-phosphates. In the camps of Nazis, bills and addresses of firms were found, who used to purchase bone products from Nazis, for 112 tons and 600 kilograms of bone meal from human corpses. They (Nazis) used, for industrial purposes hair shorn from women who were doomed from extermination. Fat from human body was converted into soap. Human skin was tanned and put to commercial use as in the manufacturing of lampshades etc.

The Fascist triumph in Germany put them in a position, now they could think of imposing their system on whole of the world. The Fascists were able to base themselves on an authoritarian regime, social structure and ideology, highly fertile circumstances for Nazis were already existing in Eastern and Central Europe.

Hitler saw Mussolini as a prophet and appointed him repository of a mission with which he meant to bless the people of the world; whether they wanted it or not. It is notable Hitler was supported by those nations which had a strong authoritarian tradition. After 1933 the immediate concern of Nazis was to register co-ordination and organize all the authoritarian tendencies. But they left Soviet Union out of this. Because they wanted to conquer it through war. This very same aspiration of Nazis; led to 2nd world war. Which not only left millions of people dead; but also buried Nazism for time being.

The Nazis had developed a network in most parts of the Europe. Persons directly or indirectly related to Germany were asked to help the Nazi party in their mission. There was a fifth column in German Army; which was involved in killing people, who were against the Nazis, across the European continent. People were terrorised by activities of fifth column. There was a strong rumour among people that drinking water and meat was poisoned and poisoned chocolates and cigarettes were supplied.¹⁵ This is notable that the fifth column of Nazi army was active on alien land or in those regions of Germany where Jews and poles were in major-

15. Newman (Karl. J) : European Democracy between the wars. London (1970).

ity. The steps which were taken by the Nazi party were undoubtedly very effective. Because from 1933, German economy started reviving. The problem of unemployment which was 5.5 million by 1938. This could be done by extending policies i.e. construction of railways and roads, absorbed most of the unemployed work force. From 1936 the Nazi government spent large amounts of money on re-armament. Which resulted in sustained economic growth. Civilian consumption was held back by maintenance of high level of taxation of the depression period. Prices were controlled and wages was fixed by labour trustees, appointed by the government.

By 1938, the economy was in quite a good shape. By 1939 the leadership moved to its other most important agenda, i.e. establishment of a war economy in Germany. On 22 August 1939, Hitler told his commander-in-chief "Because of our restrictions our economic situation is such that we can only hold out a few more years. So we must go for a war." But the idea of war was not welcomed by ordinary people. Because the nightmare of first world war was still threatening them. Only very few of enthusiastic Nazi cadres were interested in war. Although ordinary people did not welcome the war; they neither opposed it in a desired manner. Because consciously or unconsciously they liked what Nazis

could managed to provide them. The most important contribution of Nazis to German society was that; they provided an era of stable prosperity for German people. Which was one thing Germans were waiting since long. Thus the war was justified on this front.

CHAPTER FOUR

RECENT TRENDS IN GERMANY

The second world war led to total destruction of the world order prevailing during the pre-war era. The war led to complete social, economic and political collapse in most parts of Europe and Asia. The victors imposed their conditionalities on the losers. Germany was one of the loser in the 2nd world war; thus most of Germany was occupied by victors of the war. The social economic and political fabric of the German state was destroyed. A substantial part of Germany's industrial capacity had been destroyed. There was large scale unemployment in Germany. Severe food shortages and dislocation of rail & road communications took place. Millions of people were either killed or crippled in the most productive age group. There was severe lack of supplies and capital for renewed production and housing etc.

The defeat of Germany in the 2nd world war led to the burial of Nazism. The victors of the war divided Germany in to two parts, so in future Germany may not emerge as a great power. By 1945 the two major power of the world i.e. the Soviet Union and the Unites States. Started seeing each other with suspicion. Because the outcome of the 2nd world war made each of them feel that they were very powerful. But the question remained, who will be at the top of the

hierarchy of community of nations ? None of the two were ready to accept supremacy of the other; but they themselves were not in a position to claim the top place in hierarchy. Obviously two sides across the Pacific ocean became hostile to each other. Each part of the divided Germany came under direct influence of the two world powers. Harmony among two world powers was a distant dream because by nature the political systems prevailing in these countries were against each other. So in Eastern part of divided Germany, communist government supported by Soviet Union and in west a liberal government supported by United States, were established.

Entire Europe was fearful about expansion of communism; because communists were getting stronger not only in Soviet Union but also in Eastern Europe. Even in the France, Italy and Greece pro-communist feeling was taking roots. So western liberalism was threatened from two powerful forces. On one hand was communist bloc and more serious was coping up with the defeated Germany. After the end of the second world war, a "joint chiefs of staff memorandum"¹ was introduced. Which was aimed to control, de-nazify and de-militarize the powerful Germany.

1. Rajendra Kr. Jain : *Germany, Soviet Union* ----

At the same time US was looking at Germany as a competent trade partner. Truman administration was of the view that instead of a punitive policy Germany and west Europe should be rebuilt, so that a good market can be created for United states and the Soviet Union. The Americans were of the view that creation of a separate west Germany, closely aligned with the west is very important. Germany was considered an area of great strategic importance in the East-West conflict for the shaping of European future.

Throughout the 1950's ; 60's and 1970's, the two Germanies were struggling for their own survival. Foreign intervention was so massive that both parts of the Germany emerged as enemies of the other. Most of the resources were exhausted in security purposes from the "potential threat" from the other part. A confused state of relationship continued till 1980. By 1980, the idea of improving relations not only among two Germanies but also among two world powers, was floated. By now two Germanies had realised problems created by "imagined mutual threat". By now people in each part of Germany started realising that state is failed to fulfill their aspirations. Massive unemployment and social insecurity was at its rise; simultaneously talks related to German unification started. By end of 1989, the wall of separation (Berlin) crumbled down. German unifica-

tion was praised worldwide. But there were some nations who were cautioned against German unification, because the United Germany was seen by them as potential economic and military super power.

From 1989 onwards Europe was in a constant state of flux as a result of democratic re-birth of Eastern Europe. During the cold war era, Federal Republic of Germany had been the premier player in the European balance of power because of its strategic location and its economic and military potential. Federal republic had largest peace-time concentration of conventional and nuclear weapons next only to the two world powers. Not only in Europe, it played role of a balancer between the two world powers. Bonn has always been opposing modernisation of nuclear weapons. They had given clean signals to both world powers that their opinion in regards to nuclear weapon is different to that of world powers.

After the crumbling of the Berlin wall on 9 November 1989, German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany, became Germany. For more than four decades, reversal of partition of Germany was considered almost impossible. Prof. H.S. Chopra says "then somewhat unthinkable became realisable, principally because one single most momentous initiative at de-ideologising the inter-adversarial bloc poli

tics that bore unprecedented historical importance for the Europe."² Actually if the hostility between the two world powers could not have reduced, unification of Germany would have remained a distant dream. The question of the German Unification was discussed widely in West Germany for a long time, but the Unification took place on East German terms, and probably this was the reason, unification took place in a hurried manner. If the unification process would have preceded in a slightly slower pace than the transformation of Germany would have been of a different kind. Probably problems could have reduced to their lowest level.

The unification of two Germanies has changed the shape of Europe beyond recognition. Now the centre of European power politics has shifted from Paris and Brussels to Bonn and Berlin. Actually a number of scholars have addressed Germany as one of the greatest threats to USA, because after US and Japan; German economy is strongest and its potential growth is much higher than that of the US economy. Some of the scholars of international politics go to the extent of saying that Germany may replace the disintegrated Soviet Union.

2. Chopra (H.S) : Unified Germany : A break with past world focus (No. 139); July 1991.

The German unification threatened not only USA; but also most nations of Europe. OLe Waever has correctly said "the Bonn government could not opt directly for its real aim; state Unity. In November 1989 a direct policy of unification would have triggered four powers meeting against German unification. These nations wanted to maintain divided status quo in Germany."³ Because these nations never doubted over the great potentiality Germany possess. They thought; given opportunity, Germany will emerge as leader. Precisely this was the reason most of the western countries were against the idea of German unification. During the post-second world war era, Germany wanted to maintain a low profile, because the west did not allow Germany to emerge out of ruins. And Germany also wanted to concentrate on its economic building-up, which was destroyed by its policies of Nazis and second world war.

German democratic republic's structure was such, that it was not able to handle the crisis created by German unification. Actually falling of the Berlin wall created problems for Germany in more than one way :

3. Waever (Ole): Three competing Europes : Germany France & Russia.

- (1) Federal Republic of Germany's economy was running on international debt. This became the biggest problem for united Germany.
- (2) Although the territorial unity was realised, and in most of the public opinions conducted people supported unification; may be for some practical reasons, but atleast among East-Germans, their was a fear psychosis that consciously or unconsciously, the government will perform in a way that west Germans will have all the fruits of united Germany on east-German's cost. Soon they will have to face problems in their own land.
- (3) The establishment of same kind of political institutions in two countries with different regimes will be other most important problem, because they are not educated with same political process, which is established in unified Germany.

The German unification is fourth (Probably) most important incident of 20th century German history. As many as three times earlier, 1918-19; 1933 and 1945; radical changes at the centre of German politics took place. In this very sense German history in the 20th century is considered very turbulent one. After German unification, democratic state has been established even in East Germany;

which was under communist rule for past four decades. During which, according to western thinkers, people were prevented from their basic rights. Not only at individual level but also at community level; Germans had to pay a lot for this. Because the regime was not able to provide even basic needs of its citizens. Industrial growth was stagnant; inflation was high and the whole country was burdened with indebtness.

20th century Germany is a classic case of a political culture in making, breaking and re-making. No other country has gone through such changes in one single century; that too for four times. The traumatic experience of world war-II and its results, the discrediting of former political regimes and the traditions by the third Reich and the holocaust provided a degree of disorientation in which new political culture could be built."⁴ The world war-I, defeat of revolution, creation of the weimer republic, rise of Nazis, defeat in second world war and bifurcation of Germany and recent unification has changed the direction of German state's political and social life several times. These incidents mark major discontinuities in German history. Most of the political analysts believe that in 1980's West

4. Michael Minkenberg : The wall after the wall.

Germany had emerged as one of the most democratic societies in the western Europe. While way back in 1930's ouster of weimer republic led to emergence of an anti-semitic; authoritarian polity in Germany. In East Germany authoritarian regime continued till recent past.

Even in the Eastern Germany, where people did not have taste of democracy, clear message in favour of democracy has been given. 90 percent of those who took part in public opinion polls in 1990, revealed that unification was a good step. Only supporters of democratic socialist party opposed unification. Even in elections of March and December 1990 most of the people voted in favour of Bonn regime. Such support was extended by East Germans, because most of them had faith in West German economy. 40 percent of the East Germans believed that unification will lead to improvement of life standards, while 25 percent viewed, unification will lead to recovery of economy. About 3 percent people expected that unification will lead to extension of democracy to East Germans.

At the official level, the East German leadership provided and implemented a symbolic framework which centered around the principles of anti-fascism, democracy and socialism and fostered culture of egalitarianism and social justice. But in practice compulsions of industrial mobiliza-

tion and complete cultural renewal, the regime supported imposition of more authoritarian structure in economy and polity, due to which chances of democracy taking roots in East Germany were very weak. East Germany was facing social and economic problems, particularly problem of unemployment and widespread threat of colonization of East Germany by the West Germany. Subsequent alienation of East Germans from the West Germans and their government in Bonn were the reasons behind east German suspicion. The unification was not carried in democratic way beyond 1990. In economic field even after the end of one year they were not paid with desired results. East Germans were looking for some short routes for economic prosperity. They were protected by state for four decades and had lost their usual competitiveness. So although the wall on earth has been demolished, wall within hearts still exists. Not only ordinary people but leadership is also suspicious about their future in East Germany.

The "solidarity pact", which emerged after the unification consists of government and opposition, the federal states and the local authorities, the employers and the labour organisations. They were supposed to work together to reconstruct the former East German economy. By the beginning of the year 1993, they were losing their confi-

dence. Politicians of the day were more interested in helping themselves in preservation of their powers, rather than reconstruction of the economy of the nation. In opinion polls the governors of the country were blamed for pathetic state of affairs in Germany.

Soon after the unification, Germany engulfed with a number of problems. Most of which were related to economy and social life. So far prior to unification, ^{was} concerned, East German economy was on the verge of destruction, and West German economy was also not in a very strong position. Unification put extra burden on West German economy. During past four years level of unemployment has grown rapidly in each part of the Germany. The problem of unemployment was existent even during unification but than problem was not very complex one. So far economy was running at quite a good pace; unemployment was not a big problem. But in East Germany level of unemployment was high. After unification a lot of employees were thrown out of sick units, due to which level of unemployment grew manifold. For which outsiders residing in Germany were blamed. Those who were racially different than Germans, were addressed as enemies of German nationalism. After Unification, groups of German youths discovered that by killing foreigners they can "establish glory of German nationalism." Prior to the unification the

West German politicians promised paradise for East Germans. But what actually they got was a low salary and a West German Boss. Which was antagonising people.

For many years skin heads had their image splashed across the world—shaven heads and leather jackets—grim reminder of Nazi era. The neo-Nazi attacks started in 1990. Then they gave the slogan "foreigners out." In the studies conducted by Prof. Christian Pfeiffer, it has been found that first anti-foreigner victims were Vietnamese in East German towns. Soon these attacks spread to West Germany also. In one year (1991), more than 2400 foreigners, most of them were Vietnamese and Turks, were attacked. In the next year (1992) such attacks crossed to 2800. Although such attacks were not new to Germany, because even before unification such attacks were made. But than number of such incidents w two to three hundred each year. While after unification such incidents increased several times to that of pre-unification era.

The sympathetic East German Police and West German Politicians Fueled the fanaticism of attackers with their unambiguous and some-times encouraging attitude towards German racism. Organised crimes are taking place since the collapse of Eastern Europe's borders, which allowed communist gangs to kill and loot Germany. In Germany different

crimes are controlled by different groups. For example Poles control the massive stolen car market, Yugoslavs run prostitution and illegal gambling, Russians specialise in fencing ex-army weapons and Rumanians deal in babies and children for anything from illegal adoption to child pornography. Most of the German people are overburdened with the economic responsibilities they have. The dream of building a strong united Germany has been hampered to a great extent by foreigner criminals. But the problem with neo-Nazi groups is that they are not targeting these groups, rather they are attacking on most of the Asians, who are important part of German work force. Without them running German industry is almost impossible.

On the one hand, there are those Germans who believe in cosmopolitan outlook of the country. They did a tremendous job by outnumbering the attackers. through demonstrations etc. For the first time since the end of world war-II, a dramatic number of about 18 lack people held rallies in West Germany, condemning Nazi racial attacks. And opinion poll in 1993 shows that a big majority of 69 percent Germans were against the eviction of foreigners from Germany. On the other hand only 19 percent people supported the Nazi demand of "foreigners out". According to Prof. Pfeifer, the German politicians and mediemen has suppressed the

truth that the German economy heavily depends on the skill of foreign workers. Actually at any moment German economy requires three to five lakh skilled foreign workers. In such a situation mindless ideas like "foreigners out" is going to hamper German national interest, of which Nazi claim themselves, sole guardians.

The attacks on foreigners stemmed from a West German lack of self-confidence and a sense of nationalism, while the East Germany was letting off steam from an authoritarian communist upbringing. The East Germans had learned to obey their superiors in a manner of object surrender. But they treated their subordinates in anger. The target obviously were weak and helpless foreigners. Besides economic domination by foreigners, massive migration from other parts of Europe to Germany was other reason for rise of extremists. More than two million refugees have entered the country since 1989, costing billions of "mark" every year. Which had incited neo-Nazis, who attacked foreigners thousands times during past three years.

In the ex-communist East-Germany a part of youths are alienated from the mainstream. Their major target are foreigners. They are a major challenge to upbringing of democracy in entire region. For a long period of time there was a sympathy wave among people for these youths. Only recent-

ly the government officials dared to address these youths as terrorists along the line of leftist Red army factions involved in assassinating people. Actually leftist Red army was more active during 1970's and 1980's, when radicalism was rising in every part of world.

The leadership in Germany has addressed current crisis as very normal. They argue that the present German state which has emerged after unification will not allow extremist uprising as Weimer republic did, because the present German state is not as weak as Weimer republic was. Leaders argue that East Germany is not a sick society, as western political analysts and Journalists have projected it. The current woes of Germany are normal in a continent, where every state is beset by unemployment regional divisions, budget deficits and racism. But this statement is half true, because although most parts of the Europe are undergoing similar problems, they can't be addressed as normal. Because these uprising have led to severe crisis in socio-political and economic systems of these countries. The worst outcome of these problems is emergence of extremist groups. According to government data some 40,000 right wing extremists were there in Germany at the end of 1992; of these a tenth are violent skinheads. They are most dangerous in a sense that only they are involved in fatal attacks on foreigners.

Immigration has not created problems only in Germany but other parts of Europe are undergoing same problems. The right wing youths are fighting against these immigrants. For example in France the fight is against Muslims, in Sweden and Italy it is against Jews, in Spain it is against Gypsies. The far-right Austria freedom party has also started a petition drive to segregate non-German children in the schools and outlaw further immigration.

The most troublesome aspect of rightist attacks on Foreigners is that these attacks are coming in those countries, which have long prided themselves on their liberal policies towards immigration. In Italy and Spain a huge number of youths have started taking of Alessandra Mussolini; Grand-daughter of Benito Mussolini; the fascists have established their legitimacy in minds of ordinary people. Some people even claim that all these movements/uprisings have a single body behind them, which is probably situated in Germany and there is a strong link between all these ultra rightist groups. Italian Justice minister Claudio Martelli says "These Nazi/Fascist groupings have regular contacts all over Europe."⁵

5. Rod Norland : Germans are not the only ones: The News-week (Dec., 1992).

At the end of the year 1993, the problem of unemployment was expected to rise by 4 million. Although the wages has been raised by 6.8 percent, lower and middle classes are not able to spend as freely as they were doing before 1990 or more specifically before unification. It is first time, that Germans are facing recession. That is why they are very careful about their spendings.

Carl Gross, an American psychologist says that German are unable to cope with these experiences. They are orderly people, who have problems with unruly times. The post war experiences of ever increasing prosperity lulled Germans into the conviction that unlike other industrialised nations, they could look forward to permanent economic growth.

The first recession in post-war German economy had left them panic stricken. Fear, insecurity and helplessness lead to anger and resentment, which in turn produces a state of reduced creativity and a lower capacity for problem-solving. The recession is complicated by the fact that it came in the wake of German unification; what was not welcomed by each and every German citizen. At social level, although they have come together, they are not able to act in co-ordination with each-other. This is keeping them divided in more vigorous way then pre-unification era.

At present the problem of unemployment is grave. Which has not been addressed properly by the political leadership in Germany. The major concern of the political class is to make people feel that the level of recession is not only checked but also decreasing. At this crucial Juncture when people are more interested in employment generation; government is assuring them about checking the recession. The less interest shown by government in employment generation is creating public distrust against the political system. "The Germans, especially the West Germans blaming entrepreneurs, the state, society and foreigners. They feel very strongly that their identity is threatened by any drop in living standards, because for many people prosperity was the only collective identity they had."⁶ This shows that Germans, in pre-unification era, used to lead a prosperous life. For making such a strong German economy they had to sacrifice a lot, and at any cost they were not prepared to go back to dark ages of economic sufferings.

On the one hand people within Germany are undergoing economic hassles; on the other hand, ~~and~~ problem of immigration is creating problems in economic as well as social and politi-

6. Denis Staunton : Germany's dangerous cocktail : The Observer (London) 2 Jan., 1994.

cal life. Because of this right wing youths are demanding for ouster of immigrants. But immigrants don't want to leave Germany. Most of them are willing to settle down in Germany. Because they feel they can lead a better life here. Most of the asylum seekers are from Poland. On May 7, 1993 the German interior minister Rudolf Seiters and his Polish counterpart Andrezej Milezanowski, signed an agreement on the return of asylum seekers, entering Germany from Poland. Under which Germany could return up to 10,000 asylum seekers in 1993, and many more in 1994. In turn Germany will provide Poland with DM 120,000,000 in 1993 and an amount in 1994 to improve border control and refugee reception centres. Similar agreements were signed with Czechoslovakia and Romania way back in 1992.

On may 26, 1993, Bundestage approved by 521-132 votes, and amended the Article 16 of the basic laws (constitution). The original statement in Article 16 is that, 'Persons persecuted on political grounds shall enjoy the right of asylum', become part of a new article 16 a. However, this right is now circumscribed to exclude those arriving from countries defined as safe, ie. EC countries, adhering to the 1951 convention on the status of refugees, and the European convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Other countries where the rule of law and

political situation was deemed to be respected, asylum will be granted. Asylum seekers from such countries could be accepted, but only if they provide evidence that they were politically persecuted otherwise asylum seekers can be expelled from Germany.

After the approval of asylum bill, the neo-Nazi crack-down on foreigners could have reduced, but for past one year or so the situation on this front remains the same, foreigners are continuously attacked by Nazis.

Not only neo_Nazis are creating problems, but the solidarity pact which was formed for re-making of East Germany undergoing severe crisis. In 1993 (January) the social democratic party (SPD) rejected the idea of sharing the financing cost of unification. SPD regarded the proposal as socially unjust. While the "Employers lobby" agreed to invest more and to encourage firms to buy more goods from the east, but they wanted pay concessions from the trade Unions. They are ready to sacrifice at the cost of workers in their industry. So they can maintain their profits.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The "ideology"; has always been a fascinating topic for the students of political science. From the time of its origin, ideology has occupied an important position in the study of the discipline. During the time of Karl Marx the term "ideology" acquired its due place not only in political science, but also in other social sciences. Actually the term ideology has provided different frames for the study of social sciences; each one representing a particular ideological trend. Whether it is Sociology, History, Psychology or Political Science, the term "ideology" has been extensively used.

In the 20th century, the term became more important, because for the first time one of the two dominant ideology in social sciences scholarship came out of the scholastic world and acquired a definite shape in form of the rise of communist regime in Soviet Union. The post-second world-war era was especially important in a sense that ideology became a dominant factor in the determination of international relations and politics. Because during this period two dominant political ideologies i.e. Liberalism and Communism emerged as competitive forces.

Although the term ideology has been used extensively by the social scientists, it has not been used in any one particular sense. For example, Bernstein addresses ideology in a very limited sense; ie. economic infrastructure is important factor of ideology. While Gramsci and Althusser depict ideology as more than a system of ideas. Ideology is a reflection of common state of mind of any particular society. The ideology determines behavior pattern and habits of individuals in that society; moreover it organizes man in a particular way and produces a particular type of social relation. For Manheim social conditions compels us to have a particular type of ideology. This is an important characteristic of every society; and the societies which are lacking with any particular ideology, usually find themselves in shambles, because people in such societies does not have common commitments. In one sense, this is good, because it paves the way for emergence of new ideological trends. In absence of which the mobility in such societies will not find expression. But this is also correct that sometimes a lot of experimentation leads to chaos in political system. Which in a course of time create problems for rest of the humanity. The emergence of Nazis and Fascists in the first half of the present century was such an occurring; for which entire civilization had to pay.

Besides liberalism and communism, the scholarship of social sciences has witnessed a number of other ideologies. Which may not be put parallel to the above mentioned ideologies. But they had left a tremendous impact not only on the social science scholarship but also on human relations in general. Nazi and Fascist was such a trend in international politics, which was on rise during the inter-war period. It was taking inspirations from the ideas of Spencer Nietzsche and Trietskey.

For the emergence of any particular form of system, instability sort of thing in the pre-existing system is very important. So far Fascism/Nazism is concerned, out comes of first world war played an important role; especially economic break-up of Weimer republic in Germany and social democratic state in Italy. Had it not happened, the Weimer Republic could have survived for a longer period of time. In as much as the Weimer republic was not in favour of expansionism (as the Nazis were), the dawn of second world war could have been averted. And in turn a great number of people and resources could have been saved. Probably, then history could have taken some different direction. Probably cold war could have averted, probably arms race would not have made us as destructive and horrifying as we are now. But alas! it could not happened. Fascisms has taken its due

course and its emergence led to rise of an altogether different trend in international politics. Which in turn resulted in 2nd world war followed by cold war and arms race.

During the Cold War period (1945-1989), the two powers treated other states of the third world as instruments for their diplomatic struggle. Due to which these states had to pay a lot.

The above point proves, and scholars of international politics believe that ideology shapes the foreign policy of any particular country. This is more true for 20th century international politics. Because ideology in current sense of the term came into practice only in the 20th century, especially after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. But within a century or in a lesser period of time scholars started questioning, whether ideology still have any meaning. For example Prof. Daniel Bell says that ideological tug of war is over. Francis Fukuyama is also of the same belief. For which he argues, that dismantling of Soviet Union has virtually ended the ideological tussle. But drawing such conclusion will lead international politics to some imagined land, which is beyond the truth. Because till disparity of various kinds and differences of political culture and of social culture persists, the world will

remain "Multi- ideological". It can be said that the players of international politics may change but some or other type of power calculation cannot be denied. Nations of the world are guided more by their own interests than by pre-conceived notions ie. ideology. But this is also true that the term ideology is a dynamic concept, which has kept on changing since its first use. So the meaning of the term ideology, which was confined to economic and political sense, has been widened. Now national interest of any particular country and need of the time are important constituents of ideology. So, in short, there is a slight shift rather than total change in regard to ideology in international politics. Realist thinkers view, that there are no permanent friends or enemies in international politics, only national interest and struggle for power is permanent, more correct in present day international politics. Actually every power struggle is replaced by co-operation for economic benefits.

Nazism was a by-product of the First World War; which changed not only physical boundaries of the states but also it changed the social lives of the countries from within. The first world war has changed the behaviour pattern of human beings in the civil society. Now the lives of people is determined more by some newly known facts, ie. problem of

security and economic safety. The first world war had a very negative impact not only on economies of individual nation states, but it changed the economic condition of the entire world. Fortunately, most of these countries were able to cope-up with economic crisis. But for a country like Germany, which had to pay for reparation & reconstruction of the destruction caused during the war, it proved very destructive. Probably economic break up of the country was one of the reasons which made people feel that the existing system is not capable of fulfilling people's aspirations. So they were looking for a dawn of different types of regime in Germany. Probably this is why radicalism of Nazis appealed to the Psyche of the ordinary people.

The people of the post-1st World War Germany thought that the Jews are the one, responsible for their economic sufferings. Parallel to this, in post cold war era people are thinking that due to presence of foreigners in Germany, their economic condition is poor. So on one side in post first world war era Jews were the target of Nazi violence; on the other hand in post-cold war era foreigners, especially Asians are the target of Nazi attacks in Germany.

In 1920s-30s, due to destruction done by first world war, German economy crumbled, while in post cold war era the

cost of repairing East German economy is an important reason for their economic sufferings.

The first world war was followed by problem of massive unemployment and high rate of inflation, same as this the end of the cold war is followed by massive unemployment problem and high rate of inflation

In 1920s-30s the social chaos created by war was one of the reasons for the rise of Nazism in Germany. In post cold war era also, the unification led to economic chaos in German social structure, probably this is the reason for rise of violent tendencies among the younger generation in Germany.

When public opinion polls were conducted, prior to the unification, people of the two Germanies voted for unification. West Germans were in favour of unification because they wanted to have a strong nation state of their own; while East Germans voted for unification because 40% people had this feeling that unification will lead to much secured and prosperous economic life. While 25% viewed, that unification will lead to recovery of economy, and about 3 percent people were of this view that unification will lead to extension of democracy to the East Germany. But these expectations were short lived, because skin-head violence was already persisting in Germany but this is also correct

that after the unification the violence increased by several times.

This is not only in Germany where tendencies towards rightist emergence is taking place. In other parts of the world also, this tendency is very much visible. For example Neo-Nazi/Fascists emergence can be seen in Italy, United Kingdom, Belgium and France. In each of these countries one particular ethnic group is the target of the militant groups. Besides commonality of their goal, these militant groups are always in touch with each other. Probably this is why they are successfully involved in militant activities. Besides Europe, ethnicism and nationalism is taking a militant shape in Islamic world; Newly independent Soviet states and South and South East Asia.

Huntington is correct in his assessment, when he says that in the post cold war world the primary sources of conflict will not be ideological or economic. Rather primary source of conflict would be cultural. Nation state will remain the most powerful actor in world affairs, but conflict in global politics will be between nations and nationalities or group of civilisations. Huntington's point is proved by crumbling of multi-ethnic Soviet Union, and emergence of fundamentalists, all around the world.

Now communist Russia no more exists. And China is having its priorities, liberalism is not going to be challenged by the Left, but this time the threat will come from the Right. Because the way rightists are taking roots world wide, sooner or later it is going to emerge as an ideological adversary to liberalism.

At the same time it is also correct that after signing of the GATT the world economy is undergoing a sea-change. The liberal thinkers are busy, not only in establishment of a common world economic system; but they are also busy, at two important fronts. First, they are looking for methods, so the confrontation among the nations of the world can be averted and secondly they are trying to establish an environment of mutual respect of national economic interests. But this is also correct that with the integration of Europe, Fascists are coming closer, and simultaneously their internationalisation is taking place. There is no doubt that soon they will be strong enough to challenge liberal democracy. So ideological conflict will remain but in a slightly different way.

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