

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF STATES EXERTING GEOPOLITICAL INFLUENCE: POST WORLD WAR I AND COLD WAR PERIODS

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of the study is to find how states exerted geopolitical influence on other political entities with special references to the post WWI and Cold War periods. Beginning with the formation of the League of Nations, the study explores a very unique form of political influence which was exerted through the League and its successor organization the UN. It can also be derived from this work that the mode and means of exerting political influence through global organizations kept great powers away from active interference and military adventurism. This was a transition towards political propagations, cultural and economic lobbying from traditional harsher means to bring areas and territories under their influence.

Phase two spans over the four decades of the Cold War. The Cold War period is also distinct when the two global powers started using proxy wars and economic support as tools for geopolitical influence. A race for arms superiority to fight and support proxy wars and belittle each other on foreign fronts by the two global powers helped form military and defense alliances of paramount influence with their spheres of influence colliding and overlapping. Countries were won by extensive economic support, technological and strategic propaganda to ally with a specific block. Electronic media campaigns and aggressive diplomatic lobbying were other important features to pursue and expand political influence.

KEYWORDS: Geopolitical influence, League of Nations, Cold War, Soft Power, comparative analysis

1. INTRODUCTION

The decade of the 1920s' experienced a great boom in socio-cultural activities across the globe. The end of the war aroused new hopes for the revival of economies and improved business undertakings. Loss of life and human sufferings of the war geared nations and societies to start a desperate search for peace and normalcy. The economic boom generated a boom in every aspect of life. There was a transformation in various fields, energies wasted and technology diverted for armament reverted to useful purposes. The restoration of peace gave way mass to the media movement. In the US alone radios were sold in roaring numbers of

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hundreds of thousands. From literature to media, peace politics to national revolutions, educational institutions to policymaking, rebuilding steps to infrastructural developments, advancement and constructive efforts characterized the European and at large world societies. The resultant effect in geopolitics was the innovative and non-traditional solutions for the political issues. Post World War I period is unique in terms of such experiments in the geopolitical sphere which not only changed the world politics for the coming decades but for eternity.

1.1 Post World War I Period

League of the Nations was formed in the aftermath of the First World War and its central objective was to prevent future wars. However, the term 'collective security' implied a lot more and League undertook beyond this as Housden narrates:

The League of Nations attempted to address the traditional security areas of the military competition between states, diplomatic relations, alliances-building and the peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation; but it is also aimed to remove the very causes of war by promoting social and economic justice among its members, and by addressing the needs of vulnerable people (Housden, 2014, p. 6).

League of Nations was not a haphazard wish nor a pragmatically conceived idea of the nations. It can be judged from the structure, activities, performance and life of the League. League could neither prevent war nor stop nations' pursuance of geopolitical influence and development of political power to undermine other nations.

Woodrow Wilson one of the US presidents proposed the idea of an association while the very next president, Warren G. Harding was a total anti-League of Nations. It was partially the national political opposition but supposedly a shift in the US foreign policy as the country started to dream for an expanded role in world politics. When Woodrow Wilson, the US president proclaimed "the world knows America as the savior of the world" (United States of America, 1919) who knew that the US would be picking up the reigns of world power so quickly. During his short two years rule, the US signed treaties bypassing the League and had minimal communication with its bodies.

European energies were focused on the development of the League of Nations and the US focus was on becoming a more influential political power. The Power vacuum left by the demoralized European nations and

exhausted British Empire had to be filled by a new actor in world politics. It is believed that the league itself became a tool of geopolitical influence by not having an army of its own and relying on the armies and support of the major powers of the time, its policy and that of its agencies and organizations was driven by the victorious allies who were the members of the decisive body namely Executive Council. France, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom had a central role in enforcing any sanctions or passing resolutions.

Because of this League became a body to pursue the collective influence of the powerful and whenever and wherever a power felt bound by the covenants and conditions of the League hindering or hampering their national interest of pursuing political influence or military aggression, it was convenient for the state to quit. The same is aptly explained in the following lines:

Unlike the present, in the period between the two World Wars, the League of Nations was the only entity in the world community that could exercise worldwide pressure. Although this pressure was limited and mostly ineffective, it did influence the governments of those Member States that chose to violate their international obligations. The inclusion of "international obligations" was the drafters' aim at ensuring the longevity and stability of the League; however, this never materialized. The Convention did not effectively control and prevent negative actions undertaken by its Member States, thus, this leads to the eventual failure of the experiment with the League (Magliveras, 1991, p. 31).

One of the greatest disadvantages it had was that the US did not join and within ten years of its existence, it could not prevent aggression by its members which were allies. It swelled to be an international organization of 58 members for a very brief period in the mid-thirties. Membership started dropping gradually. Japan abandoned it over the League stance for Manchuria. Russia was expelled over invasion in Finland. Hitler in Germany announced withdrawal. Mussolini announced Italy's withdrawal over the Abyssinia issue. Members' attitude towards the League of Nations left it defunct.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the US was fully prepared to take a lead role. It had all the elements to be a superpower and to its luck, the leadership was, well aware of this fact. The US entered the colonial race much later but in a short period, its limited colonial ambitions precisely forecasted its long-term global designs. The US also enjoyed the advantage

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to be not directly involved in the First World War from the beginning as the initial US policy had been of Neutrality and restraint. It saved the US from being economically hit as worse as other European powers. While the UK was drained of its economic resources, it was the US lending which helped during wartime expenditures. These huge lendings raised through war bonds over \$ 17 billion were mostly injected in Europe in three phases. The US was lending money before 1917 entry to the war and supported the Allied Forces with an enormous \$ 2.25 billion. The US borrowed money to 17 nations amounting to \$ 10 billion and this debt indebted them to the US for the coming times.

The United States' experience with inter-allied war debts continued to influence its foreign policy for years to come; this influence is evident in the Johnson Act in 1934, the Neutrality Acts of the 1930s, and the Lend-Lease program in the Second World War (Department, 1919).

Economic stability, the role of prime lender, mediator during the Paris Peace Conference put the US in a favourable condition. Despite a wave of isolationists who wanted the country to stay away from war and any such commitment which could indulge the US in future European conflicts, its strong position demanded it be actively involved in world politics. It was considered the US civic responsibility as well as political obligation to enter the war and later help settle the post-war disputes. War brought the US an opportunity to step forward as the only contender of global power was out of the theater.

All these factors contributed to a shift in US foreign policy. For more than a century the US had maintained an isolationist stance towards European matters in line with its policy of abstaining imperialism and involvement in the political power play. Benjamin Franklin dreamt of the US as a great power of the new world. On the contrary, other than post First World War compulsions and changes, twentieth-century developments of fast-paced US economic interests and expanding business ventures forced it to pursue and expand its activities and influence. Whether the US intended to take over this role or not, it was struck in a situation to assume the role of an emerging power with a large sphere of influence encircling world politics.

The late 1920s' were haunted by the Great Depression which jolted the US economy as well as the world. This was a lull period in global political developments. Minor issues kept disturbing the regional as well as global political scenes such as the Turkish war of independence, clashes in the Middle East, the Soviet-Polish war, as well as civil wars in China, Russia, Ireland and Afghanistan. This was also the decade that alarmed the world

through the spread of Russian communism and European Fascism with the rise of Mussolini in Italy.

The US for most of the 1930s' remained busy handling the bad effects of the Great depression in the form of growing poverty, inflation, unemployment and resulting unrest and turmoil. Paradoxically, the period is marked with creative processes in handling political issues, experimentation in art and literature as well as innovations in economic and social circles. The rise of authoritarian governments raised concerns for the US being a strong prodemocracy nation but it had so much at stake on the home ground. US geopolitical influence kept growing in Latin America and it ensured its interests both economic and military in the neighbouring continent but distanced itself from Europe. President Roosevelt's efforts to play a role in international developments or conflicts often backfired. Isolationists overwhelmingly opposed any such moves in the congress hence the absence from world politics. By 1935, Isolationism (Jonas, 1966) prevailed extensively across the US and affected domestic politics as well as foreign policy.

The absence of a hegemon could be ignored for a decade post first world war but a continuous absence could raise serious repercussions and exactly that's what happened. UK's absence and US reluctance left the place open for other entrants. It was after 70 years of continental power politics that no single European state was in a position to pursue its geopolitical influence and no new alliances emerged to take over the field. There were diverse plans of ambitious and relatively young imperial powers like Italy to expand its territories and Spanish efforts to restore and retain its influence away from the mother country. The absence of intense political interference across nations maintained a de facto balance of power. Outside Europe Generally, no major conflicts of global magnitude appeared other than Asia, where the greatest war of the continent erupted between the Chinese Republic and the Japanese Empire but remained confined to a direct clash between the two. Although the war continued till the end of the Second World War it did not have global implications until the Second World War. The event portrayed Japanese growing aggression.

Hitler rose to power with clear motives of hegemony (Laffin, 1995) and spreading German or 'Master Race' superiority over other nations and entities. Even the UK and France afforded concessions to avoid any conflicts. Both adopted appeasement policies towards German practices. Appeasement policies peaked at the controversial Munich Conference in 1938 when excessive concessions offered by the United Kingdom and

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France to Germany were much criticized. The Kingdom of Italy was also part of the pact. Chamberlain's appeasement philosophy favoured Germany in such a way that it dismembered Czechoslovakia and provided Hitler with the confidence to pursue his aggressive tactics to expand his territories as well as geopolitical influence with time.

Broadly, the decade could be referred to as a hegemon-free era for Europe but the late 30's distinctly recognized with conscious and aggressive German pursuance of influence within Europe with plans for extensive expansion perhaps to find a global position. Hitler took over rule in 1933 and by 1935, his ambitions were well reflected through wide-ranging changes in German policy (Kershaw, 2000). Authoritarian practices, military hiring and expansion, development and advancement of arms, focus and interest on naval forces to counter maritime rivals, denial to pay reparations dominance at diplomatic fronts and enforcement of imperialistic designs contemplated German intentions.

In 1941, Hitler declared his New Order (Neuordnung) amid the war. This was the first time in Europe that an authoritarian ruler declared its hegemonic designs so clear and loud. German New Order for Europe was a big development and an alarming one (Mazower, 2008, p. 607). It was rooted in the earlier German efforts to promote cultural superiority over Europe. Germany had maintained active cultural contacts with Italy to promote their collective cultural imperialism. Consistent efforts to advance "Cultural New Order" (Martin, 2016, p. 156) resulted in renewed German enthusiasm to lead in every sphere of European life. The new social order supported and fortified German political ambitions leading to a public announcement of the German imperial order. This New Order was aimed at German expansion in the central and eastern parts of Europe or was for spread over the entire continent or world is a subject of controversy even today. However, it certainly was an announcement of hegemonic plans and was considered as an act of aggression.

Parallel to the growing German hegemony, Italian Empire pursued active geopolitical influence and started a wave for colonization from the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s', a decade-long period when the Kingdom of Italy used to be recognized as the Italian Empire. Although Italy started colonization in the last decade of the nineteenth century these ten years observed the biggest expansion in its overseas territories. The expansion plans and occupation of territories injected new passion for pursuing power and geopolitical influence in mainland Europe. "...Rome hoped to extend Italy's involvement in Danubian and Balkan Affairs and expand

Italy's power and influence in Europe" (Hametz, 2005, p. 169). This could never be achieved.

However, it did expand its geopolitical influence in the entire Mediterranean region. Smith (1977) offers a comprehensive account of Italian ambitions under Mussolini. Mussolini embarked upon a journey of Italian superiority and hoped to revive the Roman Empire. His agenda included a New Roman Empire feared by all. His motives were so strong that he could get to any extreme for this purpose. German massive military deployment across Italy despite growing tensions and uneasiness between the populace and soldiers of the two sides aimed at winning his objectives by any means. This is why when Mussolini was ousted, it took only a month for Italy to change sides in 1943 and German forces were badly affected by such rapid change of sides being trapped.

The third important force with growing influence and clear hegemonic or imperial designs during the 1940s' was Japan. Japanese imperialism in modern history could be categorized into two phases. It pursued active imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century (Beasley, 1987) to take advantage of the industrialization and technological advancement that required a smooth supply of raw material, resources and human workforce. One of the major causes was the European expansion plans in neighboring East Asia and Russian intrusions in China. As Beasley states "The most distinctive feature of Japanese imperialism is that it originated within the structure of informal empire which the West established in East Asia during the nineteenth century" (p. 14). This concerned Japan in terms of growing western geopolitical influence and power around its territory. In a way, it was similar to European imperialism. He further opines that "this circumstance was to be important to the development of Japanese imperialism in two ways. First, it conditioned Japanese responses and international ambitions to which they gave rise." Adding on to this, he describes the second way "For most of modern history, Japanese leaders had to choose between seeking satisfaction within an imperialistic framework of the West's making, or devising an alternative to it" (p. 14).

This period is marked by the Sino Japanese and Russian Japanese wars. Japan's growing nationalism encouraged it to maintain a status of its own and quench its share in the community of imperial great powers as well as dominate in the political sphere. This period spanned over a decade each before and after 1900. As a first imperial power outside continent Europe, Japan managed to establish its position on the list of global imperial powers.

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The second expansion phase started in the 1930s' with the Japanese occupation of Chinese territories. Japan started confronting the Soviet Union over territorial claims which both sides deemed important for trade and maritime route advantages. The extensive militarism caused during the earlier decade left it with an advantage to launch military campaigns. These campaigns made war and conflicts in the region ineluctable hence second Sino-Japanese War triggered in 1937. The following year, some Soviet territories were marched by Japanese forces. It was infused in the Japanese population that Japan fulfilled all the requirements to dominate the Asian continent parallel to the European imperial powers. According to Kushner, "there was popular support of the war to dominate Asia" and he believes it had its roots in the past' "the victories over china in 1895 and Russia in 1905 reinforced a psychology of superiority" (Kushner, 2007, p. 21).

The Japanese focus on establishing its prestige in the region troubled the US that had interests in the area. By the end of the second phase and end of the Second World War, Japan had increased its list of occupied countries and territories to more than 20 which was barely a shortlist of colonial holding before the war. The zenith of Japanese expansionist designs, colonial ambitions, and aggressive military objectives was reached when the country signed Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in 1940. This proved suicidal arrangements for Japan in the aftermath of the Second World War. It not only erased Japanese influence as an imperial state but also ended Japan's status of an Empire forever.

German, Italian and Japanese aggression became the main cause of the Second World War. Failure of the Leagues of Nations to control the growing aggression around the world alarmed the other nations especially the Allies. The Second World War was fought by mainly Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan known as Axis against the USA, Soviet Union, UK and China known as Allies but it had divided the entire world into two blocks. Almost thirty countries were direct party to the war on the Axis side or the Allies. Each of these blocks was sided by the other states in one way or the other.

Second World War is important in many ways in terms of world political arrangements and rearrangements. Axis Powers lost the war and Germany lost its hegemonic ambitions forever. For that matter, not only Germany but any other European imperial power lost it forever. War subordinated imperial powers to a new political actor from the new world, the US. War involved every European state and every country in the world. Six years of war shattered the European continent in such a way that imperial Empires started crumbling. The post-war wave of independence movements picked

up momentum in many parts of the world. Imperial powers were forced to decolonize the territories and settle colonial disputes on a defensive footing.

One of the paradigm shifts of the Second World War was the formation of two distinct alliances. Alliances were formed during the First World War as well and even before that but did not become the attention of scholarly discourse as political poles but the alliances formed in the Second World War have been the center of much debate in political science and international relations. Great powers of the time were so forceful and exerted such powerful influence that almost the entire world was embroiled in war. Almost entire Europe was directly involved and the other countries outside continental Europe couldn't stay neutral. It has been studied as a political power maneuver of coalitions and associations. Allies won because they had a much better and far superior coordination within the alliance. Axis powers failure is attributed to the lack of good coordination (DiNardo, 2005).

The end of the war marked the end of imperialism. Japan, Germany, and Italy lost the war and lost their territories and colonies as an immediate aftermath of the war. It had also resulted in the decline of multiple European Colonial empires and the decay of traditional political powers. It was the end of their prestige and political influence. Importantly most European imperial nations were drained so much of their wealth and resources during the six years' war that their influence was perceived to be declining or they were not interested to pursue their power agendas due to domestic issues.

The British Empire collapsed as an ultimate result of the Second World War. Britain's involvement as a central and superior power in the two Great Wars had left Empire wretched economically and devastated militarily. Mass productions and industrial advancements that had benefitted the Empire in intermittent periods were gulped by the war expenditures. History is written to favour the victorious but many, today believe that both wars were caused due to the British policies and actions before and after the First World War. Buchanan (2009) argues that Britain's surety to Poland in 1939 became the immediate reason for the war while in the long run German humiliations through the Treaty of Versailles and British enmeshed relations with Japan resulted out of Empire policy to pursue US agendas. As a leading Allies power, the US was the last to enter the second world war by the end of 1941 that was incited by a Japanese attack on a naval base in Hawaii known as Pearl Harbor. US

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entry mobilized the rest of the countries of the world especially the entire South America to join the war.

After the war, the holding of colonies became a daunting task for all the belligerent imperial powers. Decolonization movements picked momentum. First World War deprived Ottoman, German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires from their colonies and much of overseas territories. Second World War wreaked havoc on The Japanese Empire, Germany, Italy, France, Portugal, Dutch and Belgian Empires. British Empire had to face the biggest loss being the most widespread empire. Britain lost its Golden Sparrow in the following years due to independence movements in the subcontinent.

War changed the political map and economic realities. There was a radical change of resource base and flow of commodities hence trade patterns had to be changed all over the world. From more linear patterns to more diversified patterns due to the declining geopolitical influence of the European imperial empires and the emergence of more national states. Dramatic changes took place within the years of the Second World War affecting the world flow of capital and people. Colonial inflows almost ended and imperial outflows had to be directed towards newer and different markets and areas. Brutalities and wartime oppression as well as truncated morale provided enough excuse to shun power politics.

If the First World War is recognized for a transition in balance of power, the Second World War is recognized for a transformed concept of balance of power. In this context, Halperin explains, "the relative peace that Europe enjoyed after 1945 follows logically from this: it was due to a reestablishment of international stability with the emergence of a bipolar balance-of-power system after World War II" (Halperin, 2004, p. 236). The most significant aftermath of the war was the rise of two distinct powers which were later termed as superpowers. The dropping of the atomic bomb stopped the war and started a new era of power politics. The collapse of imperial empires brought the era of multiple power players and great powers to an end. Empires were no more able to exercise their will over the will of other people. A new era of political influence began to take shape. USA and USSR had fought as one block of Allies. However, the breakaway of the block gave rise to a new era of political rivalry and race for supremacy which was unique due to changing global dynamics of technological developments and the advancement of weaponry and space exploration.

1.2. Unprecedented Global States and Geopolitical Influence

This culmination of the multipolar world gave birth to a bipolar world era. This era is marked by the ambition for world supremacy which the US started planning well before the end of the war. As Tony Smith relates, "Certainly there is a reason to see the Bush doctrine as a continuation of an American desire to achieve world supremacy, a goal that can be seen rather fully formed by the time planning for postwar order was begun in Washington in 1944" (Smith T. , 2012, p. 21). US dream and ambitions for world supremacy ignited global rivalry where states were fighting within their own realm to align themselves to one of the two global powers for survival and support.

Adverse effects of the war were felt globally but the relative edge US enjoyed being; 1) a late entrant to war, 2) being away from direct war theatre, 3) leading the victorious allies, benefitted her in the long run. US hegemony was already established with the dropping of the atomic bomb. Traditionally, a superiority in armament had been one of the main factors for determining the hegemonic superiority. According to Jonathan D. Caverley, "...worldwide origins of a modern tank, plane or missile hold potentially tremendous implications for international politics" (Caverley, 2007). The US had all the elements to be a superior hegemon now. Continuous economic support to Europe during and after the war had determined its economic superiority.

Europe was fully indebted to US support in material and loans. The only United Kingdom had accumulated an enormous debt of £21 billion that was paid over the next sixty years. Other than US superiority in armament and economic strength, it had uncontested superiority in multiple aspects. Its huge population with a strong and sustained transitory phase from agricultural to industrial gave way to continuous returns. Coupled with a great landmass and defended by enormous seas, the country enjoyed an ideal mix for hegemony. It did not require to colonize to have a continuous supply of raw material and industrial inputs. A home advantage of power resources like coal and iron ore and fast-paced technological provisions resulted in mass productions. The US had a reasonable military size but its edge in weaponry earned it a global dominance.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union did not enjoy such an advantageous scenario. Being one of the Allied forces, the country shared the victory but its war losses were incomparable to any other state. It lost millions of lives and many of its cities were converted to total rubble by the German forces. It went under the harshest strike faced by any country ever in the

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history with millions of German troops invading it from multiple fronts and at one point during the war, almost half of Russian territory in the European region was under the Axis Powers control. War tarnished every field of life, agricultural productions were minimal, industrial productions plummeted to the lower than First World War levels.

However, the Soviet Union adopted a policy of aggressive occupation of the territories or planting soviet influenced governments in its immediate neighborhoods termed as satellite states. It is believed that Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe was the first cause of annoyance for the US and the first step towards the Cold War. "While opposed in principle to the establishment of the sphere of influence in Europe, the United States government by its actions and inaction, in effect granted the Soviet Union such a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe" (Davis, 2015, p. 170). It started exporting its communist philosophy. Prewar Russian policy of expansion of soviet geopolitical influence for exploiting the resources and energies of other nations and territories continued rather intensified with the Second World War victory. Joseph Stalin had a strong grip over the communist party as secretary-general and his rise to power in 1941 accelerated the communist propagation and political designs for influence and power. He had been quite successful in his pursuits and new occupations provided with immediately required resources to the war-hit soviet state. He was fast in introducing post-war measures to rebuild Russia and expedited recovery in diversified areas of socio-economics and geopolitical fields.

As an important post-war development, the US heavily invested in Marshall Plan to help recover war-torn Europe with substantial support of \$ 13 billion. This economic support and security plan apparently to rebuild Europe was aimed at multiple US interests in the region. Later studies proved it a geopolitical maneuver to bring Europe under the US umbrella against growing Soviet influence. In his recent book, Steil (2018) sheds light on the way the plan was devised, "U.S. economic aims, security needs, geopolitical ambitions and humanitarian concerns were all heaped into the mix" (p. 86). While copying the Central Committees statement of the fourfold aims of the plan, he states these included, "to bypass UN" and "to re-order whole of Europe to [America's] advantage" as well as "to exert economic dominance over the entire world" (p. 175-176).

Soviet Union declined the US offer to benefit from the Marshall Plan and secured material and economic support initially from its European allies namely the United Kingdom and France. These war-hit countries were not in a position to lend credible credit support for long. Receiving from the

reparations paid by the defeated Axis powers also made some part of the revival plans. Soviet central control overall planning and centralized economic decision-making started paying back to the country. Stalin's collectivism in agriculture was replicated in other fields especially industrial productions and manufacturing processes. Communism emerged as an impressive model for many to be inspired and emulate it especially Eastern European countries already under the soviet influence and many developing countries. It was a direct threat to the capitalistic economic model where market mechanisms had to determine all aspects of economic life. It was the backbone of US and European economic models.

Only war could hold the US and USSR as allies against a common enemy and for mutual interests. Frictions surfaced towards the ending years of the war and became obvious during the successive Moscow Conferences. US intentions to influence Europe and to the world collided with Soviet expansion plans in Europe. Gerhard Wettig referring to the speech made by Byrnes in 1946 at Stuttgart states, "He assured the audience of U.S. continuing interests in the affairs of the Europe." Gerhard contemplates that "In Moscow, particular attention was internally paid to Byrnes's statement that the United States was committed to Europe. This was interpreted as a U. S. desire to exploit, under the pretense of a democratic mission, material superiority for international predominance." He suggests, "Europe had allegedly been assigned a crucial role in this endeavor, while Germany had been chosen as a basis of struggle against the USSR" (Wettig, 2008, p. 108).

Philosophies clashed and economic models conflicted. Communism confronted capitalism. This rivalry started taking everything in its fold. US was making conscious efforts to undermine the USSR role and contain its influence. As Wettig concludes, "In this view, the principal U.S. objective was to undercut Soviet geopolitical influence by both preventing stable rapprochement between the USSR and 'democratic Germany' and restoring the defeated country on a reactionary basis" (p. 108). A race for global domination started. The tussle between the USA and USSR proved to be the biggest divide ever in the world political system. This was never known in history in terms of such a global divide. Almost every nation in the following years directly or indirectly, willingly or forcefully fell under the influence or within the sphere of influence of any one of the two. Both had an influence of global magnitude.

It was a time when the new concept of global supremacy started taking its roots in the very structure and process of post-war developments. The world political scene had changed from multiple great powers to two

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Super powers. Both being greater than any other empire, imperial power, or nation-state that ever existed in the history of the world at least in terms of its influence. In material terms, both had enormous military strength but what distinguished them from any past power was the weapons of mass destruction. US had already exercised one during the war in 1945 while USSR actively pursued its classified research for designing the one which was finally tested in 1949 bringing it at par with its arch-rival. It also ended any chances of military multi-polarity that had remained intact from the early nineteenth-century till 1945.

1.3. THE COLD WAR PERIOD

The year 1949 marks the beginning of the Cold War though some historians believe that the dropping of the US atomic bomb in Japan was the beginning of the Cold War (Radchenko, 2008). It was a reaction to the Russian entry into the Pacific that would have changed the war scenario. The US took this haphazard decision to stop Russia and maintain its superior role in the war. This view is also supported by David Holloway who presents credible evidence by stating the accurate date of such a plan. "Soon after Hiroshima, military planners in Washington began to think about the way in which atomic bombs should be used in a war against the Soviet Union. The earliest list of targets for the atomic attack was prepared on November 3, 1945, as part of an extensive study of the Soviet Union..." (Holloway, 1996, p. 227).

Recent studies also show that from 1945 till the USSR's declaration of a nuclear state in 1949, the US pursued and enjoyed a superior status on diplomatic fronts especially during post-war conferences and negotiations. Gregg Herken explains this situation remarkably, "Deemed the 'winning weapon' in 1946, the bomb seemed to promise victory for the United States in the Cold War. It could be either a unique card in negotiations or an ultimate weapon should diplomacy fail. In its dual role as a winning weapon, the bomb thus made difficult decisions seem easier, and some choices appear unnecessary altogether (Herken, 2014, p. 7).

The relative edge the US had upon the USSR in terms of its superiority for holding arms of mass destruction i.e. atomic bomb, was lost in 1949 and this loss became a blessing for the two rivals as well as the entire world for originating containment paradigm. Cold War rivalry was unique. If the Second World War freed the world from the clutches of imperialism and influence of the multiple great powers, the Cold World dragged it to a new form of rivalry, intense and covert. Both superpowers throughout the cold war remained entangled with each other over overseas territories, through propaganda, the spread of ideologies, direct and indirect support which

was financial as well as military. No nation or country could stay neutral during the Cold War period. Political intervention, arms deployment, satellite states, intelligence operations were fecund.

United Nations, an institution formed as an outcome of the Second World War at the shambles of the League of Nations, became a platform to pursue the superpowers' agenda. Resolutions supported by the one were vetoed by the other. Perhaps, Soviets keenly proposed veto power foreseeing US hegemony in the organization. By the mid-1980s, it had used its veto power more than a hundred times and not to mention often against US-driven situations or resolutions. The very foundations of the United Nations reflected US designs to dominate world affairs. It had abstained from joining the League of the Nations for more than 25 years and an instant wish to form a similar body to maintain world peace was aimed at pursuing its national interests. The US not only actively propagated the idea but also hosted the signing of its charter at San Francisco in October 1945.

United Nations is still headquartered in New York, and since inception had been criticized as a puppet of the great powers or more precisely the US. Though a charter member and permanent member of the exclusive Security Council, the USSR perceived it pro-Western and the US, and had truncated relations with the body. At one point, it boycotted the Security Council meetings. UN remained counterproductive due to the element of suspicion by the USSR. The general assembly remained divided into big groups or blocks of capitalists and communists.

Very often, these blocks were poles apart on issues of global concern. Ideological confrontation remained a significant feature of this period. This confrontation influenced every aspect of global life, economies, lifestyle, culture, politics, and socio paradigms. Each of the two actively propagated its own culture and ideology as superior to the other one. Winning more countries meant having more votes in the United Nations. Fighting on foreign lands was actively supported and ignited. With the first proxy war on the Korean peninsula to the confrontations throughout the cold war in Vietnam and elsewhere, it continued till the end of the USSR occupation of Afghanistan. Other than confrontations, the world remained under a constant threat of nuclear war and the era was patched with the crisis of global magnitude like the Cuban missile crises.

Both the superpowers formed military and political alliances to sustain and expand their sphere of influence. USSR signed Warsaw Pact with several Eastern European Countries. Apparently, a friendship and cooperation

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treaty but in effect a mutual assistance agreement to defend each other was aimed at countering the US-backed North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which was formed in 1949. The East-West divide formed the Eastern and Western blocks.

There were many other geopolitical alliances and associations formed to enhance power and show muscles around the world like the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Pakistan was a member of both of these organizations which primarily served Western or US interests at the regional level.

The world was so divided in this corollary of rivalries that political minds bent upon finding a solution ended up forming an association of countries that were not aligned to any major power block. These nations wary of this complicated rivalry took initiative to form the third block as Non – Aligned Movement (NAM). In the beginning, the non-aligned growing circle and the number of its proponent sparked some mixed responses from the US and USSR. Dinkel (2018) proposes, "...Moscow's and Washington's perception of the non-aligned states was thoroughly pervaded by their cold war logic. Here they saw an actor that might be beneficial or detrimental to their interests" (p. 10). Of course, none of the two wanted a third force to the extent of a global political influence exist. Later NAM remained mostly a customary forum and platform to release and regulate political temperature and pressure developed due to power politics of the superpowers. Many within the organization had strong alignment with one of the two power players but preferred staying glued to the organization as well. The organization could not save itself superpower rivalry and influence that was predominantly reflected as a big divide within the NAM during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

In the early 1960s, the most critical time was experienced during the Cuban Missile Crisis. The crises sparked a situation where third world war became evident (Hughes, 2015). The situation demanded an extremely mature and careful diplomatic process to de-escalate it. A realization that a nuclear war would leave no power in apposition to pursue its influence as nothing will be left to survive. Post-crisis developments progressed to a relatively peaceful period within the cold war. It was enjoyed during the ten years of Détente from 1969 to 1979 referred to as the 'Decade of Détente'. This was the only episode in the long, tense and obliterated relations between the US and USSR when a standstill was achieved in the imbroglio. This standstill allowed for communication and cooperation to pursue peace agendas like arms control and nuclear test ban treaties or

capping the missiles production and curtailments of weapons of mass destruction.

Race for world supremacy entwined everything in its fold but arms superiority and later space superiority signified the rival frontiers which had surpassed global limits. Cold War-era is marked by distinct features of rivalry and domains of geopolitical influence never known before this age. As bipolar rivalry was new to the political world, many of its facets were new to the strategists and political scientists and policymakers. Humanity experienced a new and enlarged form of rivalry beyond physical frontiers of the globe into space. When USSR launched Sputnik I, no one knew this will become another tool for a standoff between the two powers in the coming years. Eisenhower, the then President of the US referred to it a 'scientific development' (Mieczkowski, 2013, p. 1). However, in the following years, the competition to have better and more advanced ballistic missiles led to a space race. An urge for universal superiority, the concept of space warfare, exploration of extraterritorial realms, landing on the moon, and winning over the populace through popular culture and propaganda became the hallmark of this race.

With this long list of Cold War tactics used by both the superpowers, the traditional act of political influence through military aggression always remained an option. USSR used this option to install a pro-communist government in Afghanistan but ultimately got trapped to a ten years war which ended with the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Soviet direct military intervention was met by US indirect confrontation through various actors and channels. US propaganda converted a war of political interests into a war of religious and ideological clashes. The entire Muslim world was mobilized at the back of Pakistan to fight the communist army. Communism was projected as a non-Semitic religion against Muslim Semitic thoughts. China was threatened by aggressive expansionist designs of the USSR that gave the US a chance to bring it in its ambit.

The lengthy war gathered huge resistance to the communist expansionism over the years. A global resistance and massive supply of military resources as well as unproductive involvement of the USSR in diplomatic skirmishes exhausted the country leading to its dismemberment. A collective resistance supported by multiple countries could not be sustained by a single country no matter how powerful and resourceful. War strained the Soviet Union so much that its economy started crumbling by the end of the 1980s and restlessness and uprisings started erupting over the motherland. USSR decided to evacuate Afghanistan and the last nail in the coffin was the economic reform policy of Gorbachev which created more

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chaos and invoked separatist movements. Finding things out of control, "in the late 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev declared that the Soviet Union would no longer use military force to prop up the Communist governments in the satellite states. He thus sacrificed USSR's empire in the Eastern Europe in an attempt to save its Empire at home" (Applebaum, 2019, p. 195).

1989 marks the end of the Cold War and bipolarity. "...1989 did not mark the emergence and institutionalization of a novel set of political, economic and social relations. Rather, it materialized out of collapse and implosion – the disappearance, virtually without a shot, of the Soviet Union and, with it, the final strand of the Cold War order..." (Lawson, 2008). The powerful bipolarity of two super contenders US and USSR that had been witnessed on a global scale for four decades came to an abrupt end. Once mighty empire disintegrated into the numerous independent states. Cold War ended with yet another significant era in political power supremacy and hegemony.

1.4. A COMPARATIVE MODEL OF STATES EXERTING GEOPOLITICAL INFLUENCE

This extensive study of the historical trends of how empires or states and countries influence each other has resulted in some distinct findings. These findings were put into a systematic process to unveil a specific pattern that is being discussed henceforward. The way and means used to exert political influence during a certain period are analyzed to find out a correlation between the two. Interestingly, the critical aspect is the two-way relationship of the 'modes of political influence' and each of the phases mentioned. By and large, how states or empires have been exerting their supremacy and using power as well as influencing throughout post World War I and during the cold war may be categorized into two phases or stages based on characteristics most common and modes widely exercised.

Table 1: Diagrammatic Representation of Phases and Modes of Political Influence

Nature of influence	Phase and time period	Modes of Political Influence	Distinct Features
[Diminishing Hard Power]	Post-World War I 1919 – 1949	League of Nations Ideological hegemony: Communism & Capitalism Political Propaganda Imperial powers status Army Deployment & Arms deployments Formation of United Nations	World War II Wave of Independence Movements Great Powers Intense rivalry
Transition Phase [hard to Soft power]	Cold War 1949 – 1989	Politics of Global and regional organizations United Nations, a tool of political influence Blocks Politics: NATO & Warsaw Economic Support Diplomatic Lobbying Use of Electronic Media and Decolonization: Commonwealth, CIS, Satellite states	Arms Race and Superiority Containment Policy Proxy wars: Arms Supplies & Technology Transfer Extensive use of Veto Space race Non-aligned Movement Propaganda Campaigns

In the first phase, and it is to be noted that phases are loosely defined in the time dimension and might overlap, there was a tendency and shift from the use of hard power or traditional means of aggression and influence. It had a transition from extreme military intervention and territorial subjugations to more towards political propagations, cultural and economic lobbying. The phase falls immediately after the First World War and spans throughout the Second World War, it helped form the transition from the use of harsher and brutal means of warfare to some of lesser intensity.

One may come up with the question that why the phase is regarded for diminishing hard power while Second World War was fought during this

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period. There are two simple answers to it. First that War was fought between the great powers for their complex interests and not just to influence the subordinate states. Second, it was the War which geared the world towards the formation of United Nations. Setting up of the UN and its successful existence today has been unprecedented in the human geo political history. The formation of two organizations of global magnitude i.e. the League of Nations and the United Nations distinguish this phase. Both reflect efforts of the global community to avert a future world war that has remained true to date. It is very well reflected in the charter, mandate, and practices of both organizations that softer and humane modes of geopolitical influence remain at the core of strategies to solve bilateral or multilateral and even issue of global concern.

Phase two spans over the four decades of the Cold War. A time marked with the biggest divide in global politics. Almost every country was divided into the Capitalist or Communist blocks. Political supremacy and rivalry entered a very different realm of space, after the land and maritime confrontations. A race for arms superiority to fight and support proxy wars and belittle each other on foreign fronts by the two global powers helped form military and defense alliances of paramount influence with their spheres of influence colliding and overlapping. Countries were won by extensive economic support, technological and strategic propaganda to ally with a specific block. A war of vetoes was fought in the Security Council. The phase is also reminiscent of active decolonization and efforts of world nations to dispel the pressure through non-aligned movements though not very successfully. Electronic media campaigns and aggressive diplomatic lobbying were other important features to pursue and expand political influence.

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