

Contemporary World History, 1945-1990s

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UNIT 1

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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Introduction

This topic deals about the major effects of the war, the devastating power of the newly created nuclear weapons, the court trials of the international judges and the establishment of an international association hoped to maintain peace and security throughout the world.

Objectives: -

At the end of the unit the students will be able to:-

- realize the impacts of war;
- explain how the Axis powers' army officers and personnel brought much suffering to mankind as a result of their expansionist policy;
- list down the major war criminals in Germany and Japan and their punishment;
- elucidate the major UN organs and their functions.

Resources

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1.1 THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

The Second World War in the East ended when American planes dropped nuclear bombs on Japan's two big cities. Obviously, the Allies wanted Japan to surrender unconditionally like Germany. Despite the fact, the Japanese were determined to pursue the war up to the last man and the last bullet. A case in point, at the bloodiest naval battle of Okinawa in the Pacific in 1945, the Japanese engaged against the Americans that cost the lives of many Americans. Be cognizant of this hazard, the Americans planned to avoid more battles and casualties like the one in Okinawa.

Hiroshima was the seventh largest city in Japan contained the nation's army head quarters and munitions factories. So that the, US government decided to destroy it. Then, a B-29 bomber nick-named Enola Gay commanded by Colonel Paul Tibbetts arrived Hiroshima with a nuclear bomb called "Little Boy" to be dropped at high altitudes. The bomb detonated with an explosive power of equivalent to 20,000 tones of TNT on August 6, 1945. It was for the first time to be exploded on human beings. It killed an instant by fire and blast. To force the Japanese for surrender, two days later Nagasaki, which was an industrial and shipbuilding city, was bombed by a more devastating atomic bomb called "Fat Man" on and 9, 1945. It was really an act of barbarism and cruelty intended to end the war shortly. By the time the dwellers in these two cities were burned; the heat uprooted trees and flattened buildings. Both Hiroshima and Nagasaki turned into ovens. Immediately, Emperor Hirohito fearing that the Americans would drop more atomic bombs on other Japanese cities he decided that the Japanese must not be made to suffer any longer. Against the will of some Japanese militarists, he wisely announced on the radio that there was no fighting when the US soldiers arrived. In such a way that Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945.

After the detonation of the atomic bombs, the radio active materials fell into earth thousands miles away and killed the people slowly by pollution. There, they were absorbed into soil and so into plants thereby created long-lasting effects. The Japanese died more slowly and horribly from radiation and atomic explosion. Particularly the poison had far-reaching consequences. Animals which fed on plants and grass polluted by the bomb ingredients

transmitted the poison through their meat and milk. Even people who remained alive were in pain from the atomic burns. Indeed, until recent years people who were not born in those days died or suffered from the poison residue exploded in August 1945.

It is clear that WWII was more destructive than WWI. It was a global war fought on major seas and oceans in Africa, Asia and Europe. It was fought with more powerful weapons. At the same time it was the most costly in history. Sixty-one countries participated in the war; of them seven were on the side of the Axis. During the war it is estimated that almost 110 million soldiers and 3 million civilians were participated. Of these, many died of bullets, bombs, food shortages and lack of medication. Beside, soldiers were captured as war prisoners and were sent to concentration camps. These people later were killed by starvation, gas poison, and shooting or medical experiment. Above all, most Jews died in concentration camps by the Nazis. Under Hitler's decision of 1942 with the solution of the Jewish problem, many were murdered when his armies captured the territories of Jewish inhabited areas in Europe. The first Jewish massacre took place in Russia and Poland. Gold teeth of the Jewish were removed and sent to the German National Bank. Hair of the Jewish was shaved off and made into mattresses. Their flesh was melted down for fat. In this kind of savage way, nearly 6 million Jews were killed.

As a result of the war, many cities were changed to heaps of rubble; factories, schools, clinics and mines were gutted; railways, roads, bridges, harbour installations, farmlands, etc., were demolished. So that, transport facilities disrupted. Agricultural yields reduced because many youngsters were drafted to the war front; chemical plants were manufactured for munitions instead of fertilizers to increase productivity. Furthermore, large areas of farmland could not be cultivated. The number of cattle also reduced. At last, Europe was short of food and fuel. In 1945-1946 starvation was a threat. The starved people were susceptible to diseases. So as to alleviate their problems, rationing of food, clothe and other materials progressed.

In general, the losses in terms of lives, money, resources and productions were so great. It is assumed that by the war nearly 60 million people died; 35 million injured. Obviously, non-

combatants died from starvation and disease or perished in battle, air raids, labour and concentration camps and deportations. Almost over 20 million Soviets, 7 million Chinese, 6 million Germans, 3 million Poles, 2 million Japanese, 1.5 million Yugoslavs, 7 million French, 4 million British, 3 million Italians, 3 Americans, etc., were killed in battles.

Focus

During the WWII, European cities were shattered by massive air raids. Europe was wasted by the war more than any other continent. European casualties were five or six times greater than WWI. Economic paralysis was general as well.

Activity 1.1

Would you mention member countries of the Axis powers which had lost the triumph of WWII?

Mention factors that accounted for the decline of agricultural yield after 1945.

Due to the war that lasted almost six years, nearly 30 million peoples were displaced so were jobless and homeless. Seven million Soviet citizens in Germany had no place to go. On the contrary, the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans in Russia suspected of their collaboration to the Nazis were forcibly uprooted from their homes and moved to prison camps in Siberia and non- Russians from the Balkan were transferred to central Asia. Furthermore, millions of Germans whom the Nazis had transplanted to Poland in the interests of Germanization were forced to leave. Because of the governments' hatred to the Nazis, German-speaking people who had lived in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, in fact, many of whom had taken no part in the Nazis atrocities were tortured or killed, or fled in terror. Even Germans were expelled from these lands. Separated from kin and possessions, refugees struggled to survive in strange lands that were impoverished by war. In actual fact, it is impossible to know accurately how many died or were abused or robbed during such circumstances. This human suffering after the war had ended continued without solution. For instance, in 1960, there were 32,000 refugees in 107 camps in Europe, sharing thin quarters and communal toilets.

International politics before WWII, centered in Europe. Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia ranked along with the USA even Japan was viewed as great power. But after the war, the USA in the Western and USSR in the Eastern hemisphere emerged as great powers. Already, Britain and France, the former colonial powers were weakened gravely. Their decline hastened the crumbling of their colonial power in Asia and Africa. Last but not least, the Second World War paved the way for the spread of communist ideology and regimes to eastern and central Europe and Asia. Finally, whereas the First World War had been concluded by a peace treaty after the defeat of the central powers, the Second World War ended in no such clear-cut settlements. Simply Germany, Italy and Japan met complete military defeat and they were prostrate and occupied by foreign armies. The western victors even did not demand compensation from these countries.

In general, there were material damages, deconstruction of some cities, the extreme dislocation of transport and shortages of food and even drinkable water. Apparently, the world lost peacetime production so the survivors were threatened by famine and disease. To alleviate this discomfort, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which had been organized in November 1943 by the Washington conference operated well. It was organized for the purpose of providing relief in countries liberated from Nazi Germany. Likewise, a bank was then established to lend money for the rehabilitation projects in the post war. Thence, tons of supplies were supplied throughout the West and Europe alike. So that, many countries throughout the world had to rebuild war-damaged sites and lands.

Against all odds, the war contributed for some political and technical developments. Soon after the end of the war, techniques of social and economic management were used to reconstruct post-war Europe. To mention: technicians and scientists emerged as important skilled manpower; better places were rebuilt; industrial manufacturing methods improved; machines were developed; medicine and surgery made great advances; jet and rocket appeared to give faster air transportation; atomic power released; missiles emerged, etc. By and large, there were advancements in rebuilding, science and technology.

Focus

After 1945, USA and USSR emerged as great powers. Liberation movements in many Asian and African countries embraced intense nationalism and hastened the process of decolonization.

Activity 1.2

Can you state the contributing factors for the emergence of USA in the Western and the USSR in the Eastern hemisphere as great powers?

It was crystal clear that, the atomic explosion had crumbled Japan's dream of establishing an East-Asian Co-prosperity sphere stretching from Manchuria to the East Indies for the benefit of its people. But it had encountered military defeat. The American force commanded by General Mac Arthur established a military occupation of Japan and its colonial empire. American forces went ashore unopposed to liberate war prisoners and to make certain the terms of surrender. Being as a sole occupying power, Americans arrested Japanese war leaders and confined for trial. All Japan's military forces were disbanded and sent home and all its military supplies and aircraft destroyed.

Subsequently, Japanese territories acquired by conquest were given up. The victors set up its territories as those of 1894, which restricted to the four home islands. Thence, the western Pacific islands were given to the United States by the United Nations as Trust Territory. The Soviet Union on her part received Port Arthur, southern half of Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands and railroad and seaport rights in Manchuria, which lost to Japan in 1905. With regard to China, it regained Formosa (now Taiwan), which Japan took in 1895.

Afterwards, Arthur insisted the Japanese to rule themselves in line with American ideas to be democratic. He reconstructed Japan very largely in American image. The Japanese guided by Americans prepared a new democratic constitution in 1947 that guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom for newspapers, secret voting in elections, votes for all adults

and many other democratic rights. Furthermore, the right to work and equal education opportunity were incorporated. Like that of other democratic countries, it is written that power belongs to the people as a whole and that the government acts in their name. In the constitution, trade unions were allowed but general strikes were outlawed. The Japanese so far renounced war as an instrument of national unity and prosperity. Besides, education reforms were introduced. Again, the government took land from landlords and sold it at low prices to farmers; trade unions were established to work for the benefit of their members. On the way all the Japanese were encouraged to work hard.

Side by side, the American government provided huge money to keep Japanese industrial development to be an ally against communism. As a result, since 1952, Japan exhibited remarkable industrial growth. Besides, the Americans were allowed to keep their troops at Okinawa to protect the Pacific from its enemies. At last, American occupation ended in 1952 after the San Francisco, Calif Treaty. Indeed, the Americans did not suppress Japanese militarism so as to prevent communism. It reinforced anti-Soviet Union feeling.. When the Americans withdrew Japan remained democratic and politically stable. Already equipped with skilled and disciplined workers and with a tradition of joint effort between management and labour, Japan overcame its shortages of raw materials with a hugely successful export.

Focus

Japan allied with the Fascist regimes and committed a political blunder when it attacked American naval base in the Hawaiian Island in December 1941. Soon after its bombardment by atomic bombs in 1945, Americans occupied the country by military force. They destroyed militarists and introduced a sort of democratic political system guided by them seeking Japan's friendly relations in the future. When America assured that socialist movement in Japan was kept down, she decided to withdraw in 1952. In fact, Japan remained linked with the USA by the US-Japanese Security Treaty.

1.2 THE NUREMBERG COURT

The Second World War was the largest and the deadliest war in human history. Above all, the Nazis led by Adolf Hitler launched their plan of “The Final Solution” aimed at exterminating the Jews and Gypsies of Europe, now referred to as the holocaust. The Final Solution was an example of genocide, a systematic process to destroy a particular national, ethnic or racial group partially or wholly. To effect this, the Nazis and local police forces rounded up Jews, resistance fighters and communist party members. Later on, special execution bands shot them and dumped them into mass graves.

The worst atrocities were operated in Nazi concentration camps. These camps were classified as forced labour camps, starvation camps (Buchenwald) or later extermination camps (Treblinka, Sobibor). Of these, Auschwitz was the largest and the most infamous camp.

Hitler in his plan of genocide, he planned to exterminate the Russians as well as to make all Europe *judenrein* or “free of Jews.” At first, Hitler thought of sending the Jews to the island of Madagascar. Later, he decided extermination as the ‘Final Solutions’ of the Jewish problem. The ‘Final Solutions’ were first tried out on the Soviet prisoners of war. Essentially, the Nazis built extermination camps in Germany and Poland and used the latest technology to achieve the most efficient means of killing millions of men, women and children simply because they were Jews. Jews were captured and sent to such camps. Arrived packed in railroads box cars, they were systematically gassed, then cremated, and their remains processed for soap and blankets. At Auschwitz, the Nazis daily killed an average of 12,000 people including some non-Jews. People were also perished in “slave labour camps” from over work, malnutrition, disease and abuse.

Surprisingly enough, the Jews and Roma (Gypsies) had separate murder places. Again military, political opponent, anarchist and communist, even pacifists, and Jehovah Witness had separate camps. In such a way that large numbers of people were killed using gas.

Especially, due to anti-Semitic feeling, the Nazis killed nearly 6 million Jews in what has come to be called the Holocaust or “Death Camps.”

Besides, the Nazi secret police called Gestapo already suppressed the resisters. Many people particularly in Russia and Poland were taken from their homes to work in farmlands and factories under dreadful conditions.

FOCUS

Genocide is an evil spirit planned to exterminate a certain group or nationality partly and entirely and then its actual practice. Major concentration camps by the Nazis were built with the intention to confine Jews, Gypsies and other prisoners of war.

When the Allied forces travelled across Europe during the war they found concentration camps. In these camps they have observed incredible horrors of overcrowding, filth, starvation and disease occurrence, which encountered the prisoners.

Already the Potsdam conference was held from July 17 and August 2, 1945 near Berlin. The “Big Three” i.e., Government Heads H.Truman from the USA, C. Attlee from Great Britain and J.Stalin from the USSR were decision makers. These statesmen discussed over the Nazi Germans and militarist Japanese issue. In the conclusion, Germany was blamed for violations of international law and the Holocaust. The first concern was to root out all traces of “Nazism and militarism” in Germany. Moreover, they agreed to disband all fascist organizations and institutions even to remove fascists from all public posts. Besides, the conference decided the arrest and bringing to trial of war criminals. In short the programme of “denazification” was launched; militaristic doctrines, books and publications which glorified Nazism were to be destroyed.

FOCUS

By the Potsdam conference, participants agreed the partition of Germany as well as its capital Berlin into four occupational zones. British, French, American and Soviet control

was to be northern western, southern and eastern directions respectively. Austria like Germany was to be divided into three occupied zones. Northern Austria had become American zone, western French zone and southern Austria as British zone. Democracy and free speech were to be restored in Germany and elsewhere Europe.

An International Military Tribunal consisted of four judges: an American, a British, a French and a Soviet with four alternates was organized to punish the leading German and Japan officials and personnel for war crimes. These judges were sent to Nuremberg, Germany, Japan and Italy to gather and then ascertain evidences. In accordance with garnered testimonies first Hitler's closest associates were to be tried at Nuremberg. Subsequently, the Japanese war criminals were to be tried at Tokyo War Crime Trial.

Nuremberg was one of the chief commercial centres in Germany. In 1933, Hitler made it the Nazis' "Pageant City." There in 1935, the Nazis decrees decreed the "Nuremberg Law" and commenced their anti-Semitic campaign. Again, they converted the city's factories to armament plants.

Already the highest-ranking surviving Nazi leaders and suspects in hundreds were confined and kept to put on trial for waging aggressive war and for committing crimes against humanity. But many Nazis escaped to South America and to the West so that only few functionaries were captured.

A mass of documentary evidence and historical record was garnered by Allied investigating teams throughout Germany and sifted and studied for months. Between November 1945 and October 1946, the court arranged criminals into groups for trial. These categories of crime were laid down as crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The court then charged Nazi war criminals against conspiracy to wage aggressive war; crimes against humanity, as an extermination of populations and the use of slave labour; the looting of defeated countries' relics; and the murder of prisoners of war. In short, they were convicted of genocide and atrocities such as murdering Jews and other civilians. The survived Nazis were put on trial in person for "war crimes" in Nuremberg. Of these criminals, twenty-five

were sentenced to death. Nazis like Goring, Ribbentrop, Kaltenbrunner, Keitel, Jodl, Rosenberg, Frick, Seyss-Inquart, Suckel, Bormann, Frank and Streicher were condemned to death by hanging. Others were executed. Twenty of them were sentenced to life imprisonment and others for various terms. For instance, Raeder, Funk and Hess were condemned to life imprisonment. Speer and Schirach were to be imprisoned to twenty years; Neurath to fifteen years; Doenitz to ten years; and Fritsche, Papen and Schacht were acquitted. Moreover, many local trials dealt with lesser Nazis but many others escaped.

Furthermore, the international Judicial Tribune held its court trial in Tokyo and Manila. The Japanese war crimes included rape, pillage, murder, cannibalism and forcing female civilians to become sex slaves, known as “comfort women.” In such a way that thousands of Korean women were forced to be prostitutes for the Japanese soldiers. Chinese and Koreans were sent to Japan to work on farms and in mines and factories. By then, seven Japanese including General H. Tojo (1885-1948) who was the Prime Minister of Japan were tried. Obviously, Tojo had replaced Prince Konoye during the war to accelerate the war effort. In the end, these accused officials were convicted to death and executed in December 1948. Others were condemned to be imprisoned. Again thousands of lesser officials, military officers and business executives were banned from public offices. In actual fact, Japan unlike Germany retained its government, but militarists were purged from their jobs. As such, Emperor Hirohito (1926-1989) was allowed to retain his power but renounced his claim to divinity.

It is apparent that after the collapse of the French government in 1940, some of the policemen and the local government officials co-operated the Nazis to keep peace and order. Even others collaborated the *Gestapo* to hunt down resisters because, in turn, the Nazi secret police pardoned their crimes. Young women became friends to the Nazi forces. The Nazi forces could supply them with cigarettes, sweets or nylon stockings. So that many of them had established sexual relations with the Nazis. Such women were called as “horizontal collaborators”. As a result, they were hated by the French nationalists.

These collaborators in France were to be retributive as well as revenged to their support for the Nazis after the war. So, they were charged with treason and brought to trial. The notorious ones were Marshal Petain and Piere Laval. Both of them were sentenced to death. But General Charles De Gaulle commuted Petain's sentence to life imprisonment because of his old age and his service to France as military commander during World War First. But other collaborators were executed secretly in thousands. Many of them were beaten by angry crowds. Amazingly, women were had their heads shaved bare by being traitors so that they could be easily identified and humiliated.

Focus

Both the German and Japan officials and military officers were blamed for atrocities occurred following WWII. The judges' decisions at Nuremberg and Tokyo were based on the already collected testimonies. More importantly, it seemed quite correct to teach a lesson for those war mongers to avoid such insane activities in the future if any body who wants to learn from history.

Activity 1.3

Discuss in group about the validity and negative sides of the international court decisions.

The International Tribunal court exempted Hirohito from severe punishment. Why?

1.3 THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

The League of Nations was the world's first peacekeeping organization. Despite the fact, it was unable to keep peace by avoiding aggression and disputes. So that during the Second World War, various ideas were put forwarded for an international organization to replace the discredited League of Nations. More importantly, in August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met at a sea off the coast of New Found land and drew up what is called the Atlantic Charter that emphasized on the "abandonment of the use of force" and a "permanent system for general security." Again it declared that the liberated peoples should be helped to establish "democratic" governments. Following this, there continued meetings at Casablanca, at Cairo and at Tehran.

Essentially, in 1942, twenty-six countries united and called themselves the United Nations by the conference held in Washington. Meanwhile, the general idea of the United Nations was formulated at the Dumbarton Oaks, in Washington D.C. conference in October 1944 by the representatives of the United States, Britain, Russia and China. Preliminary plans for the organization of the United Nations organization were drawn up.

Be it as it may, from January 4-12, 1945, the second conference of the Heads of the Soviet Union, USA and Britain convened at Yalta, in the Crimea to coordinate the final operations of the war and to examine a number of important post-war problems. Among the issues of the discussion was the idea to establish the United Nations Organization to prevent future wars. Participants then agreed on its importance and the basic principles of the organization's Charter were prepared. Obviously, its noble and lofty objectives are to maintain peace and security of member states, to settle differences between states solely by peaceful means, to prevent aggression and encourage cooperation among member states.

Afterwards, every country which had declared war on Nazi Germany before March 1, 1945, was to be invited to attend the assembly of San Francisco to prepare a charter of new international organization. At last, the United Nations conference was formalized in the state of California at the San Francisco Opera House conference on April 25, 1945. It was attended by 282 delegates from fifty-one states. The conference lasted two months until June. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were modified and lastly an association of independent states, i.e., the United Nations Organization was formed. Its Charter was prepared based on the principle of peaceful co-existence and cooperation of states regardless of their social and political systems and respect for human rights and democratic freedoms.

The objectives of UNO were/are to war against war, to war against hunger, disease and ignorance. Its Charter begins:

We, the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourges of war... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of

men and women and nations large and small ... To promote social progress and better standard of life.... To practice tolerance and live together in peace To insure ... that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

The United Nations' Charter has 111 Articles. Of these for example, Article I of the Charter stated that the purposes of the UNO are to maintain world peace and security. It also declared that economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems should be solved jointly and friendly relations among nations should be maintained. It stated that all peoples would enjoy an equal right to self-determination. Article 2 recognizes the sovereignty of all its members. So the UNO would not interfere in the internal affairs of member states except to enforce measures already approved by the Security Council.

Shortly, the purposes of the UNO were/are to 1) maintain international peace and security by collective action thereby to remove threats and aggression, 2) develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people 3) encourage international cooperation in solving an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian problems, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, religion or language, 4) be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

The six principal organs of the UNO are I) General Assembly; II) Security Council; III) Economic, Social and Cultural Council; IV) Trusteeship Council; V) International Court of Justice; and VI) Secretariat

FOCUS

The Allied powers which had been fighting against the Axis intended to create a world organization to prevent future war. UNO is an association of independent governments that came to being in 1945.

Activity 1.4

- Who were the designers of the Atlantic Charter? When?
 - Mention at least two objectives of the UNO.
-

I. The General Assembly: - All members were represented in the General Assembly. Regardless of size, one member had one vote in decisions. Actually, the Soviets pressed for fifteen votes in the General Assembly for USSR was created by fifteen republics. At last, in the interests of harmony, at Churchill's behest they were given three seats. Decisions on important issues needed a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly meeting. On a lesser issues, however, a simple majority would be enough. The General Assembly was to meet annually in September but it may be convened to deal with crises at other times. Likewise, amendments to the Charter require the votes of two-thirds of the members of the assembly. Indeed, it is the UN organ in which all member states do have full equality during voting.

On October 24, 1945, the Assembly met at London. Soon, the headquarters were decided to be located in New York. A European office was to be maintained in the former League of Nations buildings in Geneva. Next, the General Assembly and the Security Council met for the first time in its history in London in January 1946. Initially Europeans and American countries made the majority. Later, African and Asian countries became the majority.

II. The Secretariat: - The chief officer of the United Nations is the Secretary General. He is appointed by the General Assembly for a five year term of office after recommendation by the Security Council. He with his staff is responsible both for the running of the day to day business of the UN head quarters in New York and for the implementation of many of the decisions of the Assembly and Council even assists all other organs. The Secretary General is also responsible for bringing problems from the Council and for the drawing up of an annual report on the organization's work.

Needless to say, the Secretary General post has been held in succession by Trygve Lie of Norway, Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden, U Thant of Burma, Kurt Waldheim of Austria and Perez de Cuellar of Peru. Later, an Egyptian Boutros Gahli and a Ghanaian Kofi Annan whom took the office of Secretary General .In 2007 Annan left the post to the Korean Ban Ki Moon. It is one of the duties of the Secretary General to involve in settling international crises. At one occasion Hammarskjöld was killed in an air crash on September 18, 1961 during the Congo Crisis, on a flight to Northern Rhodesia to seek peaceful solution to the Katanga crisis.

III. The Security Council:- It is the permanent decision-making organ of the United Nations and all members are bound to carry out its resolutions. It was specially designed for emergencies. Originally it had eleven members. Five seats in the Council were/ are permanent that included the USA, USSR, Britain, China and France. The other six were elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. Apparently, China was replaced by Taiwan from 1949 to 1971 due to its ideology and the UN seat of USSR is succeeded by Russia after the dissolution of Soviet Union in 1991.

In the Yalta conference, the “Big Three” agreed that each of the Great Powers, i.e., the permanent members of the new organization’s Security Council would have a veto power on important decisions. These great powers were to be the USA, the USSR, Britain, France and China i.e., major allied powers during the Second World War. Any decision in the Council should have to be supported by a majority of seven which must include the “Big Five.” Thence, no decision could be reached if a permanent member voted against it. With the exception of the USA, veto powers had all used this power, USSR on many occasions. No doubt, the UN usefulness depends upon the willingness of the separate governments especially the large ones to make use of it and to support it. During the intense period of the Cold War Russia paralyzed the organization by the use of its veto power. So much so that, the Security Council was/is responsible to maintain peace and security and to preserve the influence of the major powers thereby to balance the extravagant democracy in the General Assembly.

The UN Charter provided for the admission of new members, including the former Axis countries and their satellites, and also war time neutrals. However, the admission of new United Nation's members needed recommendation of the Security Council and a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly. For example, in 1950, among thirty-one applicant states only nine of them were allowed to be members. Among the admitted countries we can mention Israel and Indonesia. In 1955, sixteen countries joined the UNO and in 1956 Hungary and Rumania were permitted. The admission to the United Nations was a badge of a nation's independence. In such a way that by early 1960s, the UN members increased rapidly because the old colonial empire fast dismantled. As such, in 1945 founding members reached 51. Again after 1991, the UNO members reached 189. These member states vary in terms of their population and geographical size. Over 80 are smallest members represented less than 10 per cent of the world's population.

As of 1963 the members of the Security then increased to fifteen with the same permanent seats. Five of these were to be from Africa and Asia, one from Eastern Europe, two from the Latin American countries, and two from Western Europe and the rest of the world. This change was dictated by the fact that the membership of the organization had doubled by that time. More importantly, China was one of the UN founding members. When the communists seized power in 1949, it was purged from its membership and replaced by Taiwan until 1971. Thence, Taiwan took the Chinese seat in the council until 1971.

IV Trusteeship Council: - It is another very important body within the United Nations, which sought to protect the interests of people who lived in the trust territories and to lead them towards self-government. Again it was empowered to supervise the administration of trust territories. To date, it took over the work of the League of Nations' Mandates Commission for territories taken from Italy and Japan in 1945. The ultimate aim of the Trusteeship Council was to lead all the territories involved either to independence or to union with other existing states. An example of the latter was the North Cameroon which became part of the Nigerian state. Nevertheless, the most troubled trust territory had been

South West Africa (now Namibia) administered by South Africa after the First World War. The South African apartheid government refused to allow the UN investigating committee to visit the territory that hampered the duty of the Commission.

V. The International Court of Justice is one of the UN institutions sitting at The Hague in the Netherlands. It was supposed to be consisted of fifteen judges. It hoped to settle border disputes among countries and punish wrongdoer rulers.

VI. The Economic and Social Council: - It is one of the most important bodies of the UNO, which is elected by the General Assembly for a three years term. Its concern is to deal with the eradication of hunger, disease, ignorance and prejudice. It also deals with refugees and victims of natural calamities and aimed to tackle the economic constraints of the poorer countries of the world, especially those which have only achieved independence since 1945. As such, it is devoted to achieving higher standard of living, improving health and education and promoting respect for human rights and freedom throughout the world. So as to implement its grandiose works, it has a number of regional commissions in Latin America, the Far East and Africa.

Its specialized agencies are United Nations Development Programme, International Labour Organization, United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, World Health Organization, International Civil Aviation Organization, International Telecommunication Union, World Meteorological Organization, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Monetary Fund and United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

A. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO):- Its headquarters are found in Rome. It is established in 1945. Its function is to monitor and increase world yields of food stuffs. Particularly, it emphasized on world food supplies and agricultural development in the more backward countries suffered by poverty.

B. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):- It was founded in 1946. Its headquarters found in Paris. Its prime objective is to promote collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for ... human

rights and fundamental freedom. In particular, UNESCO campaigned against illiteracy aimed at promoting education across the world. Moreover, it coordinates educational research and promotes international scientific and cultural cooperation. As a result, it gave enormous help to educational institutions disorganized by the war and it has continued to stage conferences of educationalists, scientists and technologists.

- C. The World Health Organization (WHO) was set up in 1948 working from Geneva. It has provided tremendous sums to develop health services in various countries and to fight disease.
- D. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) is founded in 1946. Its function was to look after the special problems of childcare in countries affected by war or other calamities. Mainly it is working for the welfare of children in the world's poorer countries.
- E. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank are established in 1944 in the USA. President Roosevelt had called thirty countries to set up World Bank and IMF at Bretton, New Hampshire. Both aimed to promote post-war reconstruction, trade and sound international finance thereby to assist countries with balance of payments problems. Especially the IMF has been concerned with short-term loans for those countries which needed to meet currency crisis and inflation while the World Bank has the source of long-term loans for development projects.
- F. The International Labour Organization (ILO) was the one part of the League of Nations which survived and taken over by the UNO. It is based in Geneva. Its purpose was intended to promote the well being of working people so dealt with labour conditions.

Another important agency had been the United Nations Relief and Work Agency. It worked for the betterment of refugees' conditions. The International Refugee Organization was directly responsible for refugee work until 1952. Afterwards, it was replaced by a High Commissioner for Refugees, which coordinates the efforts of all the agencies concerned with the needs of refugees. In line with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) it provided food, clothing agriculture and industry in Greece,

Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Portugal till 1947. From late 1943 to 1948 it distributed essential supplies including seeds, farm equipment, and industrial machinery. And it organized medical supplies and coordinated international loans.

In addition, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN in 1948. Its purpose is intended to deal on political and civil rights of humankind thereby protects people from arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and torture. Even in the latter years it extended its duty to secure economic rights, women's equality, rights of children, protect against enslavement, violation, or discrimination.

Focus

Peacekeeping is the chief task of the United Nations Organization. Along with its agencies, it is also responsible for international cooperation and development in social, economic and cultural fields as well. As time progressed member states of the UNO increased due to the crumbling of colonialism.

Activity 1.5

-
- Compare and contrast the tasks of UNESCO and UNICEF.
 - United Nations Relief and Workers Agency (UNRWA) in 1967 spent large sums on regular relief work in Middle East. Why?
 - Describe the last two UN secretaries.
-

Obviously, the UNO has no standing army or economic resources at its disposal. It obtains human and financial resources from its members. With regard peace-keeping force, Article 43 of the UN Charter allows to raise army from every member of the organization on its call to deal with aggression and political crisis between countries.

1.6.1 THE POLITICAL WORKS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Since 1945, the UNO has been deeply involved in almost all the major international problems. In fact, the work of the UNO was made very much difficult by the conflict of the great powers in the Cold War. It was unable to take any action at all in these years because of the Russian veto. The clash of rival ideologies has obstructed the work of peace-keeping

and the enforcement of international law. In 1946, Turkey applied to the UNO for the withdrawal of Russian troops from north of the country with which the Soviet Union complied. In December 1946, the Greek government applied for the UNO that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were giving assistance to communist guerrillas in the Greek civil war. Again the Russian obstructed effective action because Russia and other communist states refused to cooperate with the UN special commission appointed to inquire the problem. The UN effort to reunite North and South Korea after 1953 was futile. Also the UN efforts to get lasting solution between Israel and Arab states failed.

Less successful has been the role of the United Nations in the Arab Israeli conflict. It seemed successful in the partition of Palestine into two in 1948. In 1956 following the Suez Canal Crisis, the UN maintained a peacekeeping force along the Egyptian border with Israel until early 1967. UNO was able to settle the fate of the former Italian empire in Africa. Libya was established as an independent state in 1952 and Somaliland became the Republic of Somalia in 1960. Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1951. When there was inter-communal strife between the Greeks and Turks in 1963-1964, a UN force was sent in and it had remained there ever since in Cyprus to prevent intervention from Turkey.

Clearly speaking, the UN could function very much better when it was involved in problems which were not the direct concern of the big powers. For instance, the UNO applied effective sanctions against the rebellious state of Rhodesia after 1965. The sanctions involved an embargo on trade with the Rhodesians and all UN members were pledged to enforce it. However, South Africa under the Apartheid regime ignored it. Even Portugal was lenient to implement the decisions.

During the Congo crisis of 1960, a United Nations army was created by Hammarskjöld. These troops took over the position of the Belgians and helped to restore some sort of order in the Congo by forcing the rebellious forces of Katanga to sign an armistice in September 1961. The UN force eventually withdrew in 1964. In fact, the Congo intervention was enormously expensive and almost brought the United Nations into bankruptcy, because the

Russians and other states refused to pay their share towards it. Due to the increased political turmoil, General Mobutu had got the opportunity to appoint himself head of state in 1966.

Obviously, one of the most important steps towards securing world peace would be the agreement upon world disarmament. It has helped to control the proliferation of the most destructive weapons and it has kept the discussion open through 1945-1978. America, the only state with atomic weapons at this time, refused to give up her weapons during the Cold War, unless the system of control and inspection was established first. The Atomic Energy Commission was set up in 1946 hoped to arrange for the international control of the production of atomic energy. Later on, the Soviet Union refused to agree to international control and inspection. In 1952, the Disarmament Commission was organized and it was given the job of negotiating disarmament by stages. In 1957, the Assembly gave the commission the task of arranging the cessation of nuclear testing and setting up against the secret development of nuclear arms. In the meantime, great powers signed the partial Test Ban Treaty. More importantly, Russia and the United States, the two super powers undertook bilateral agreement known as Strategic Arms Limitation Talks I(SALT I) outside the aegis of the United Nations Organization.

Following the landing men on the moon by both Russia and America in 1967, an urgent agreement was made in international relations in space. The Treaty of Principle governing the activities of states in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space was signed in Moscow, Washington and London. It involved arrangements for mutual aid in space and for the banning of the use of space for military purposes. However, the clash of rival ideologies had obstructed the work of peacekeeping and the enforcement of international law. Due to the disagreements between the two powers, Germany, Korea and Vietnam remained divided at least for some time. Both powers spent vast sums, which were desperately needed for economic development, on armaments. Mainly progresses in international relations had often been as a result of bilateral negotiations between Russia and America rather than through the United Nations.

In 1971, America's attitude towards China was changed. President R. Nixon was invited to visit China. This has been preceded by the relaxation in April of American trade and travel restrictions against China, including the release of dollars for use by the Chinese. To confirm the friendship, Nixon visited Peking in 1972 and was warmly received by the Chinese leadership. America soon accepted the admission of communist China to the United Nations. But it proposed that Nationalist China (Formosa) should remain a member. But the General Assembly excluded Formosa by vote. In 1972, communist Chinese delegates accordingly took their place in the United Nations and the delegates of Nationalist China left their seats under protest.

If to mention about the qualities of the UNO, it condemned apartheid on several occasions. Similar condemnations of the Smith regime in Rhodesia were made and sanctions were applied but rejected by the old regime of Portugal and by South Africa.

On the social and economic front, the United Nations continued its enormous efforts. The World Food Programme involved in the distribution of very extensive relief to flood victims in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Ecuador, and Hungary and to victims of serious drought in parts of Africa and the Middle East. It also struggled to prevent warfare between states although it was not accepted.

In 1980, Kurt Waldheim visited Tehran in connection with the possible release of the American hostages seized by the new Islamic regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini. Despite the effort, no progress was made, and when economic sanctions against Iran were put forward by the Security Council, the Soviet Union vetoed the proposal. Even the Security Council failed to stop the war between Iran and Iraq.

Focus

So far, efforts by the UNO to avert political crises have been done. Even the organization achieved successes in its economic and social work. On the other hand, it failed to get constructive efforts between Israel and the Arab states in the Middle East. In 1972, UN

members agreed the prohibition of biological warfare; condemned the use of napalm and incendiary bombs but China opposed the resolution. Moreover, the two super powers declined to agree on the issue of disarmament. However, the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency warned the nations with nuclear armaments against the dangers, which had the capacity of a million Hiroshimans.

Activity 1.6

Discuss with your friends about the reasons for the failures of the resolutions undertaken by the General Assembly.

Mention the two decisive countries in UNO and elaborate their advantage.

SUMMARY

The Second World War (1939-1945) was costly and the most destructive that brought much human and material damages. Several countries throughout the world participated in the war. At last, the Axis powers, i.e., Germany, Italy and Japan were annihilated by the Allied powers.

During the war people suffered a lot. Commonly the Nazis captured non-Germans and dictated them to do 'slave' labour. Even in the Allied countries, people with German and Italian background were put in prison camps so that they could not help enemy. The detention particularly in Britain lasted until the end of the war.

By the closing of the war, plans were made once more for the establishment of an international organization to prevent future wars. Again in order mitigate human sufferings from power abuse, hunger, illiteracy and disease special agencies were created. As much as possible these agencies worked by cooperation aimed at the betterment of mankind.

Furthermore, the world was disturbed by the proliferation of more fearful and destructive armaments. So that the UNO exerted its maximum effort to reduce armament production and averted disagreement through negotiations.

Review Exercises 1

1. By the end of the Second World War the American government ordered the use of atomic bombs on the Japanese cities could you state the possible reasons to undertake such devastating measure?
2. Who was Jodle? What was his fate after 1945?
3. Would you describe the full name of UNESCO and its functions and achievements?
4. As a result of the UNO effort what successes were achieved specially in 1951 and 1960?
5. When did China join the Security Council? How?

Check list

Put a tick mark (✓) under 'Yes' or 'No'

I can

	Yes	No
- I can describe the aftermath of WWII	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can mention major Nazi German Criminals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I understand the power of Veto powers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I can elaborate facts about Taiwan to represent China until 1972 in the UN seats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I can analyze the importance of UNO		

UNIT 2

THE COLD WAR

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Introduction

This unit presents the formation of People's Democracies regimes guided by Soviet Union in Eastern Europe; the Russian Red Army that encouraged communist/socialists parties to seize power by force and then loyal leaders to Stalin held the reins of government.

Again American economic assistance to the European countries; the formation two hostile military blocs will be discussed.

Objective

Up on the completion of this unit the students will be able to:-

- elucidate historical facts with regard to the occupation of European countries by the Russian Red Army;
- understood how the socialist governments abused the name democracy by calling themselves democracies;
- explain cardinal measures undertaken by the American government so as to contain the spread of communism;
- delineate the formation of military alliances in Europe and Asia.

Resources

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2.1 EASTERN EUROPE “PUPPET REGIMES”

The “Great Patriotic War” which the Soviet people fought against Nazi Germany ended in victory for the Soviets. It is assumed that almost ten percent of the population in the ex-USSR died during the war, and people in millions were uprooted and moved eastwards. A case in point, we can mention Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans who were moved to eastern Siberia in case they collaborated with the Nazis.

During 1944 and 1945, the peoples of Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania Czechoslovakia, Austria and Albania were overrun by the Russian Red Army and became under its tutelage. This region included roughly from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic. In another political development, already the former independent Baltic States such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which had been seceded from the Russian empire following the October Revolution in 1917, were annexed in 1939/40 and became part of the Soviet republics.

Essentially, the “Big Three” during the Yalta conference agreed that liberated people from the Fascists’ rule should be left free to be ruled by free institutions and representative governments following free elections. This idea encouraged that every nation must choose between alternative ways. In such a way that, these government representatives were to be elected by fair and free elections.

Despite the agreement, Stalin determined to maintain tight control over Eastern Europe by disseminating Marxism and imposing Russian interests in these liberated countries. The USA on her part wished East European countries to establish governments on the basis of

the people's will through democratic elections. In the meantime, this conflicting interest between the two superpowers led to rivalry. The world soon divided into two camps, i.e., the "Free World" and the "Communist World." More importantly, the difference between the two groups was their difference in ideology.

Stalin ignored the Western appeal for popularly elected governments. Rather, governments in exile in Russia were organized to follow his example so as to establish a Soviet style government when they returned home. Again the Red army in Eastern Europe supported and encouraged socialist parties to seize power and to set up pro-Soviet or communist dominated governments. Furthermore, he aspired these newly established regimes to be friendly and help the ex-USSR. Meanwhile, socialists abetted by the Soviet Union took political power by coups in Eastern Europe

Already Communists/Socialists loyal to the USSR took power in Yugoslavia in November 1945, in Albania in March 1946, in Poland in January 1947, in Rumania in April 1948, in Czechoslovakia in May 1948, in East Germany in October 1948, in Bulgaria in December 1948, and in Hungary in August 1949 modeled on that of the Soviet Union. These states were transformed into a bloc of Soviet-dominated. They claimed "People's Democracies" to their governments as if they were represented by all the people and their interests. These countries embraced the socialist ideology. Under such circumstances, communism made dramatic advances not through popular revolution but through the Russian Red Army's military presence and the support given to local communist leaders.

Subsequently, Soviet Union had got the chance to direct the internal and external policies of Eastern European states because leaders of these countries were puppets whom took orders from Moscow. Indeed, the fate of these countries was to be determined by the Russians. Soviets fully controlled over the political, economic and social institutions thereby obtained the opportunity to shape these countries in the Soviet image. Obviously, Soviet advisors, and Moscow trained political cadres supported by the Red Army took over key positions. With the communists in control, the leaders of the opposition political parties were excluded from

government. Later on, a campaign of propaganda, pressure and sudden arrests were applied against opposition party leaders.

Anti-communists were to be jailed so that they were forced into flight so as to escape arrest, or in other ways silenced. Moreover, Stalin invited non- communist leaders to Moscow, where they were arrested and imprisoned. For instance, non-communist leaders in Poland were called to Moscow and encountered such hardship. Thereafter, the weakest communist party supported by the Soviets purged the Peasant Party to seize power. Even communists in Rumania forced king Michael into exile to take power. Again in Czechoslovakia communists led by E-Banes and J-Masaryke intrigued against the government and created pressure that forced officials to resign from power. A new government was established but Banes soon gave way from his presidential post; Masaryk died in mysterious fall from a window by the communists supported by Russians. For example, in Bulgaria rigged elections secured a communist victory. Not only anti-communists but also church fathers were denounced, brought to trial and imprisoned and church property were confiscated even the church was seriously attacked and humiliated. Furthermore, rigged-led elections were held to enable communists victorious. Both of them had, in fact, recognition from the West for their democratic will.

Under the rule of democracy, the people are more important than the state, and the government is the servant of the people. Governments guaranteed individual liberty, freedom of the press and religion and freedom from political oppression. Commonly elections are fixed; usually two or more parties freely competed for power at regular times. Generally speaking, in the Western world, people have the right to choose their leaders, occupations, worship, own private property, own certain natural rights, choose their form of government, etc .,because democracy means respecting of human and civil rights, the rule of law and clear and open elections.

On the contrary, “People’s Democracies” in Eastern Europe overthrew governments by force and seized power. Communists' rules were established upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. These governments were required to exercise Stalinist

harsh policies such as the use of terror and oppression with close military cooperation with the Soviet Union. Communist party members dominated all public offices including universities and other institutions of education so as to control the whole system thereby producing youngsters imbued with socialist orientation.

These puppet regimes eliminated non-communist parties; imposed totalitarian regimes on free peoples against their will and the UN preamble. A single-party dictatorship on the Soviet model had consolidated its position with purge, trial and secret police. Governments controlled the press and radio, ignored fixed elections and personal freedom was suppressed. So that “People’s Democracies” was a rather grotesque euphemism given to Soviet satellites. Of the extent to which they were democratic, there can be little doubt. The governments of Eastern European countries were all rigidly centralized dictatorships; politics was the affairs of the bureaucracy, elections were a laughable charade. The press was an arm of the state. Actually, there was democratization process in Eastern Europe before 1945. But the assumption of power by the Soviet-influenced leaders, the process destroyed. More significantly, communism acted against individual liberty, human freedom and true democracy.

Afterwards, Eastern European countries aimed at the nationalization of private industrial plants, banks, railways, etc. A great majority private property was transferred to state ownership, i.e. owner-ship of the people as a whole. Besides, they confiscated lands, natural resources, factories, stores, hospitals, and means of communication and transportation. According to the tenet of communism, these sources of wealth were to be held by the state for the benefit of all the people. Also these governments implemented the policy of forced agricultural collectivization, industrialization, austere living standards and had become subservience to the Soviet Union .Among the satellites, Bulgaria was docile which soon scheduled for collectivization. As a result, the West alleged that Soviet and its satellites led by Stalinist type leaders’ democracy was not democracy at all because the people were treated as servants of the state denied of their natural and civil rights.

In order to coordinate thereby to strengthen their solidarity, communist leaders met at Warsaw, Poland's capital in September 1947 where Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) was set up. Its center was to be in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. This was designed to coordinate the activities of European communist parties and to spread communism throughout the world. Moreover, it aimed to protect communist states from US aggression. Again these countries established trade agreements with the Soviet Union.

Focus

The Western governments had hoped for pluralist and democratic societies, opened to Western trade and influence in Eastern Europe. America, thus, wished to retain its influence in Europe but not successful.

Eastern European countries established communist governments loyal to the Soviet Union. They established state-controlled economic policies close to the Soviet Union. So far, countries like Poland abandoned collectivization so land remained in private possession but others proceeded in collectivization that delayed the post-war economic recovery in Eastern Europe.

Activity 2.1

List down at least three Eastern European countries which claimed 'People's Democracies.'

What do you understand by state-controlled media?

Which eastern European country defined Russian authority?

America, Britain and France on their part followed anti-Soviet policy so attempted to avert socialist practices. Mainly they encouraged the capitalist system, private enterprise, and western democracy with its emphasis on individual liberties. So, they supported democratic forces to seize power by toppling the newly established socialist governments. Hence, they began to support democratic forces in these countries. Following this opportunity some individuals endeavoured to organize opposition. To mention some but a few: in 1947, Ferenc, Bela Varga and others in Bulgaria organized uprising to remove the newly established regime. Again the Czechs who disliked the communists' administration rebelled in 1947, which brought the resignation of almost twelve new ministers from the cabinet. Furthermore, in Rumania, Y-Maniu, the leader of the National Tharanist Peasant Party

(National) plotted against the communist rule. In spite of the people's protest, the Russian Red Army crushed the revolts one after the other and made the countries Soviet satellites.

So as to overcome Western pressures and attempts, the ex-USSR strengthened her international relations with her satellites under Russian leadership. It helped these governments in all matters and suppressed anti-socialist' movements.

However, the struggle to overthrow these regimes internally as well as externally continued. Peoples' hatred of such regimes was exhibited in several occasions. A case in point was when N.Khrushchev, the successor of Stalin publicly criticized Stalin's mistakes and his foreign policies in the Twentieth Communist Party Congress in 1956. In his speech that attacked Stalin, the news reached the satellites and soon anti- Russian feeling broke out in Eastern European countries. Then these people demanded more freedom from the Russian rule. In Poland there were strikes, riots and demonstrations against the Russian domination. For example, the nationalist leader, W-Gomulka came to power following the riot. He soon relaxed political and economic controls, halted collectivization of the farm, improved relations with the Catholic Church and took steps to loosen the bonds with Moscow. By doing so, he created a freer atmosphere. Previously, he was not liked by Stalin for his strong nationalist stand. He thus preferred B. Beirut who could be easily manipulated. Therefore, Gomluka was not active functionary in the Polish government. But now it was high time to his leadership. In Hungary as well a full-scale revolution led by Imre Nagy took place. Young rioters toppled the statue of Stalin. Nagy was allowed to seize power. He promised to his people to hold free election and ordered Russian troops to withdraw out of Hungary. Subsequently, he introduced reforms and released political prisoners which ignited pressures for democratization. Moreover, Czechoslovakian government under Alexander Debeck wanted for the Czechs more freedom. He wanted his people to write and speak their minds and criticize the communist party.

Russia was anxious of this news reaching to other European countries Khrushchev was not tolerant to the Soviet satellites in their struggle against the Russian domination so that the Russian tanks moved into first Budapest to crush the uprising. The Hungarians who were

against the communist regime determined to gang up the Russian force. As a result, there was desperate fighting in the streets. However, there was no help to the Hungarians from abroad, partly because of the Suez Canal crisis. At last, the Russians crushed the rebellion; Nagy was arrested and then a Soviet-backed government was installed. Even, the Russians led their force towards Czechoslovakia and arrested Debeck. His country later returned to Russia's brand of communism.

Among the socialist countries, the history of Yugoslavia was a different one. Until June 1948, Yugoslavia under the nationalist leader of Marshal Joseph Broz Tito (1892-1980) was considered as one of Russia's closest satellites. Later on, Tito refused to accept Stalin's line in the economic affairs even planned to build alliance with the Balkan states, which did not suit Russian interest. When he pursued an independent foreign policy and openly defied directions by Stalin, petty accusations and counter-accusations occurred. Tito was, thence, denounced as a traitor from the International Communist movement and a collaborator of America. Soon, Tito broke away from Soviet control and he said "Yugoslavia would stay neutral" in the Cold War. By doing so, he freed his country being a follower of the socialist path. Stalin in fact, tempted to invade the country because he rejected Tito's independent mindedness but he failed to invade Yugoslavia due to the following reasons. a) Tito obtained the Western powers backing with military and economic aid; b) unlike other Eastern European countries, Yugoslavia does not share a common border with Russia and was not occupied by the Red Army for years. For that matter, it was not liberated by the Red Army like other Eastern European states; and c) Tito had fervent nationalist feeling so he strongly disliked Stalin's order and Yugoslav industry to serve Russian needs. With regard socialist ideology Tito already served as the communist Secretary-General of the Yugoslav Communist Party since 1937. So that from the very beginning he objected Stalin's intervention in his own country's affairs under the pretext of socialist cooperation.

What Stalin to do was that he expelled Yugoslavia from the communist bloc in May 1948. Following this measure, the Cominform stopped economic and other aid to it. Even the Cominform headquarters moved to Bucharest, Rumania. Thereafter, Yugoslavia remained an international anomaly partly a liberal communist state dependent on American and other

Western aid, and an ally of Greece and Turkey. Tito later abandoned collectivization; peasants were allowed to opt out of the collective farm system; the bureaucratic centralization on the Russian model was ignored. In the villages and factories, the workers enjoyed a genuine form of local self-government.

Focus

- Communist regimes were imposed on the Eastern European countries without popular revolution but through the Russian Red Army.
- In Yugoslavia like other Eastern European countries, Russian civilian and military advisors were present who had been paid much until its expulsion from Cominform.
- The heart of the conflict between Tito and Stalin was Tito's refusal to accept directions from Moscow.

Activity 2.2

-
- Comment on the objective of COMECON and its real function.
 - Following the 1956 Khrushchev's speech to the communist party which Soviet satellites revolted against the puppet governments?
-

2.2 THE TWO SUPER POWERS

The Cold War began soon after the Second World War. Roughly, it covers the era from 1945 until the break up of the Soviet Union in 1991. It is called "Cold War" because it had not led to a "hot war" on a large scale. It was not a shooting war, but a war of ideas in which propaganda and petty obstructions were weapons. It was marked by ideological hostilities and armed race, chiefly between the USA and the USSR. These two superpowers distrusted each other. So that, they engaged in aggressive propaganda one another, competition in espionage, political, ideological and economic conflicts. Even jokes were weapons during the period. In general, there had been military build ups, economic pressure, blockade, localized wars, and foreign aid, threat competition in science and technology and bloody wars in the Third World countries.

The Cold War was a struggle between the Western bloc led by America and the communist bloc led by the Soviet Union. It was referred to as Nuclear Era whereby both sides kept themselves heavily armed with nuclear weapons and rockets capable of devastating whole cities instantaneously. At any rate, Russia and America had been deadly rivals locked in a struggle for supremacy during the Cold War era.

The USA already emerged physically unscathed from the war. Its economy had become stronger than ever before. Although Soviet Union had been devastated by the war, with four-million soldiers under arms remained as a formidable military power. Bit by bit, it exhibited industrial and technological advancement. Consequently, both the USA and the USSR took the leading world power, one in the Western the other in the Eastern hemispheres. Due to ideological differences, these countries fell into unhealthy relationship. Particularly, Soviet aggressive postures stirred up many suspicions and animosities in the West.

The USA, one of the great powers was alarmed by communist expansion in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Moreover, the British Prime Minister, W. Churchill in his March 1946 speech at the college of Missouri in Fulton in the USA, he fiercely attacked Russian expansion. He coined the phrase “Iron Curtain” to indicate the spread of Socialism in other European countries thereby the blockade of people’s and ideas’ movements freely to these countries and vice-versa. This practise was further manifested by the restriction of visitors, newspapers, magazines, books, movies and radio programmes first by the People’s Democracies and later by the Western governments. Especially, communist regimes had blocked peoples from contact with democratic ideas. Above all, the frontiers of Soviet satellites were protected by wire, watch-towers, control posts and guarded strip of bare no man’s land.

Obviously, Americans believed in the possession of private property on the contrary the Russian government believed in communal property ownership for the benefit of the majority. It viewed capitalism as evil that created luxury too few people.

Despite such distrust and enmity, until the year 1947 the Soviet High officials and the Western government representatives had mutual understanding with regard international political problems. A bit, the UN preamble that stressed on peaceful co-existence seemed workable. But as time progressed, a direct propaganda campaign and condemnation against each other commenced. Subsequently, armament race ensued. Both groups increased their defense budget. Thereafter, stunning displays of scientific and technological achievements were observed.

We have stated in the above paragraph that the Cold War was a period of competition in science and technology between the two blocs. Apparently, America was the first world power to explode its atomic bomb in 1945. Following this development, in September 1949, Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb. Next, Britain followed this example in 1952 by exploding at Monnet Bello in Australia and France in 1960 in the Sahara. Meanwhile, hydrogen bombs (H-bombs) and by 1970s thermonuclear bombs were created which were hundred times more powerful than the former atomic bombs used at Nagasaki. America tested the first hydrogen bomb (H-bomb) in 1952. The following year, the USSR also tested its own H-bomb.

Consequently, Soviet Union exhibited its success in the space flight. It produced the first manned orbital space flight. On October 4, 1957, it launched a small artificial satellite, called Sputnik I into orbit around the earth which was the world's first satellite to orbit. Even Moscow put a cosmonaut, Yuri Gagarin into space in 1961. Moreover in 1962 Soviet sent into space the first woman cosmonaut, Valentia Tereshkova. Again, Soviet Union exploded a 50-megaton bomb in 1961 and produced inter- continental ballistic missiles.

Russian technological advancement as expected shattered American technological confidence. The USA aware of the competition from the USSR set up a National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1947 to advise the president on security matters and to organize a world-wide information gathered and espionage network. Also so as to enhance the scientific development in space, it established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration known as NASA to advance its space exploration.

Then on January 31, 1958 Washington replied to Moscow by launching an American produced artificial satellite called Vanguard I into orbit. In 1962, an American called John Glenn was shot into space to show Moscow that America was not lagging behind in technological and scientific development. It soon diverted its attention to another scientific development. So, in 1969 an American called Neil Armstrong landed at moon in Apollo II.

Focus

The Cold War indirectly led to new discoveries in science and technology. By far, it was fought for the most part without armed conflict rather with psychological tension and threat. It signified with a war of words with the Soviet Union which led to massive propaganda conflict. Shortly it was a period of political maneuvering, diplomatic wrangling, psychological warfare, ideological hostility, economic coercion, arms and proxy wars particularly in the Third Worlds.

Activity 2.3

Discuss in the class with your friends about the disadvantages of the proliferation of sophisticated weapons.

- Who was Neil Armstrong?

In addition to the above-mentioned technological development, a piloted jet aircraft was manufactured for the first time and fled faster than the speed of sound. Television was produced in the field of communication. This new device has become an essential instrument for entertainment, education, government propaganda and business advertising. Moreover, the great powers competed to establish friendship with Asian and African countries. Indeed, Western colonial powers continued military, technical and economic aid to their former colonies aimed at exercising their influence. Above all, America searched Asian and African countries for its war bases. These moves, however, were condemned by communists on the ground that it was another form of imperialism. Thence, Russia exploited the needs of developing countries and projected to establish relation with these countries when it suited its purposes.

Meanwhile, other countries attempted to testify their superiority by producing atomic bombs. For instance, China manufactured and exploded its first nuclear bomb in 1964 at Lop Nor. The production of such destructive weapons and its possession by different countries created anxiety among great powers. So, they decided to ward off the nuclear threat. To materialize their effort they held conferences and talked over war materials production and their danger to mankind. For instance, by the Treaty of 1968, participants discussed on the non-proliferation of weapons thereby agreed on the need to limit the armaments of the superpower. Subsequently, a talk on Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) opened in November 1969 in the hope that the further growth of nuclear stockpiles with their staggering costs might be curbed.

Generally speaking, throughout the Cold War, international relations were deeply affected. More importantly, the USA along with other European countries was very much determined to restrict Russian and communist expansion and aggression so took steps. Among these steps, it launched two grand projects known as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

A. Truman Doctrine: - It was a name given to the policy announced by president H.Truman in a speech to congress, in March 1947. He put forwarded that the USA should adopt a policy of containment in order to curb Russian expansion and aggrandizement. As such, America aimed to support countries which were in danger of communist take-over with economic and military aid. In so doing, it planned to extend its solidarity to anti-communist governments.

During the 1945 Potsdam conference, Stalin demanded the Greek port of Alexandroupolis for a Russian naval base. The demand was refused because Greece was under British influence thereby opposed Russian expansion in the region. Moreover, Greece and Turkey were vital for the expansion of American interest in the Mediterranean and Black Seas.

Be it as it may, Turkey was imperiled by Russia. Stalin demanded a naval base in the Turkish Straits as well. Above all, Russia demanded the return of the provinces of Kars, Artvin, and Ardahan, which the Turks had gained from the Russians at the end of the First World War. During the Second World War, Britain and the USA provided material and

financial aid to Turkey. Even after the war, it appealed for additional financial support from the Western powers for the process of modernization and national integrity. At the same time it was threatened by Russian interest aimed at imposing a totalitarian regime. Due to British inability to help Turkey, America responded quickly. More importantly, President Truman being aware of Stalin's interference promised military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. American money and supplies soon poured into Greece to support the Royalists. Again in order to prevent communists' inroads, US warships were sent to Turkey in 1946 thereby to warn off the Soviets in the Mediterranean and Black Seas.

The Greek communists supported by Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria (Russia) continued their struggle to oust the existed government in 1947. This power contention led to civil war in 1946. Then, the government wanted help to restore internal order and security thereby to consolidate democratic administration. Initially, Britain supported the government. For she was not committed, difficulties appeared. Soon she handed over the problem to the USA.

Truman presented the fear of Greek and Turkish governments to the congress. In his speech of March 12, 1947, he announced that America should assist "free people" to resist communist aggression. He added that American policy would be to give aid for any country against direct or indirect communist aggression. This plan was called the 'Truman Doctrine' aimed at the containment of communism within the existing boundaries as well as to protect other democratic states under communist threat. Then the congress voted \$ 400 million of aid to Greece and Turkey for the period ending by June 30, 1948. These countries were also provided with military aid to stifle communist movements and to preserve their liberty from communist coercion and political infiltration. Under such aid, Greece defeated the local communists and in 1949 the civil war ended. Even Turkey successfully withstood the Soviet pressure.

In return the USA was allowed to set up war bases in the territories of these countries. So that ballistic missiles were installed which were very close to Soviet Satellites.

Focus

The two superpowers strove to establish their hegemony based on friendly relationship with the Asian and European countries. Mostly, Russia applied violence and instigating of radical forces in other European governments. In the case of America, it supported friendly countries with material and financial assistance.

Activity 2.4

What was the objective of Truman Doctrine?

What do you understand by “free people?”

Write the full name of SALT.

B. Marshall Plan: - When western Europe was suffered from poverty, hunger and growth of communist parties’ menace, the Americans devised economic aid called the European Recovery Programme better known as the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan that bore the name of the Secretary of State, General George Marshall was designed hopefully to “place Europe on its feet economically.”

The American congressmen discussed over the effects of the Second World War on European countries on June 5, 1947. Participants thoroughly voiced that under the arbitrary and destructive Nazi rule, cities, factories, railroads, mines, etc., in Europe were demolished. Banks, insurance companies, shopping companies and other enterprises by then had no capital. Even there was inflation in Europe. Raw materials and fuel were in short of supply so industries failed to produce adequate goods. Besides, machinery was lacking or worn out. At last, it was agreed that the USA should assist Europe. Because they concluded that poverty would breed communism. It was assumed that unless Europeans lived in good conditions and improved quickly, they might vote for communist parties. Thus, to avert this condition the USA must help the democratic forces in Europe against communist violence financially as well as militarily.

General George Marshall, the Second World War veteran after his return from China in 1947, replaced Byrnes as American Secretary of State. He was not only a great soldier but

also a great administrator. Actually, in the meeting Marshall proposed a staggering offer aid to Europe which would enable Europe to be recovered economically as well as to resist internal communist subversion. He added that by assisting Europe, American influence would increase and western Europe would be saved from communism. Shortly, the scheme was aimed to fight ‘hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos’ in Europe.

In order to restore European prosperity and prevent political and social dislocation, the USA planned to lend very considerable aid. Immediately, America prepared a fund of \$ 15 billion of aid, goods and equipment to states willing to work together to create economic recovery. When the news released, a conference was to be held in Paris to examine the American aid proposal. Consequently, in July 1947, Marshall invited states to meet together and decide how to use the aid. By then, Earnest Bevin, Foreign Minister of Britain took the lead in organizing European countries to discuss on the proposal. Representatives from sixteen countries attended. The British, French and Soviet foreign ministers were among the participants. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister made clear his refusal to Soviet Union’s involvement in this economic aid. However, the European delegates discussed over the issue and then founded the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in 1948 to utilize properly the Marshall Plan.

In addition to financial resources, food, raw materials, farm machinery, fuel and industrial equipment were sent. In return countries would agree to buy American goods and would allow American companies to invest capital in European countries. Obviously, the plan was intended to enable Europeans recover from their ruined economy thereby to withstand Russian expansion by curbing the strength of communist parties internally. It was supposed to make European countries powerful, politically as well as economically.

More importantly, the beneficiary countries from the Marshall Plan were Great Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, Netherlands, Greece, Turkey, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Iceland, Ireland, Yugoslavia and Portugal. The loan given from the American government speeded up the economic recovery of these nations for it was used for the rebuilding of industries, farms, tools, cattle rearing, etc. Furthermore, the aid helped for

the formation of western European cooperation with the USA. Subsequently, West Germany was admitted in the American aid.

From 1947 to 1952, a flood of American food, machinery and raw materials poured across the Atlantic Ocean. Essentially, Britain, France, Italy and West Germany took the bulk of the money respectively. In few years Europeans' industries were producing far more. By doing so, the aid strengthened the non-communist countries thereby lessened the danger of their falling victim to communism. Almost by 1950s, western Europe was back on its feet again.

However, among the European countries, Spain was excluded from the Marshall aid until 1953 due to General Franco's dictatorial administration. No doubt, American economic and military presence in Europe backed up western European efforts to a greater economic and political unity. So much so that, the plan was successful in restoring prosperity to western Europe. Side by side, the US government launched a programme known as "Point Four" to provide them with technical, financial aids, and skilled manpower to less developing countries outside Europe.

Focus

In order to enable Europe economically strong thereby to check communist expansion, America devised the Marshall Plan for a four years period. In addition to financial support industrial products like fertilisers and machinery were delivered to European countries.

Activity 2.5

Why Spain was excluded from the Marshall Plan until 1953?

What was the special programme launched to help under-developed non-European countries?

- Mention the three European countries that received the highest share from the European Recovery Programme.

C. Molotov Plan: - Already the American government invited Eastern European countries in 1947 to be part of the Marshall Plan. This idea was stressed when George Marshall explicitly put as follows: “Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos.” Therefore, among the Eastern European countries Czechoslovakia and Poland were interested by this plan. But Stalin and Molotov opposed the proposal. Russia thought that this was a method of spreading American influence so refused to link with the capitalist economy. Even Stalin prevented Soviet-Satellites their involvement in the plan because his government would set up the “Cominform” and Molotov Plan.

Consequently, Russia condemned the assistance as an instrument of Western imperialism. Molotov accused the USA of wishing to create a Western bloc against the USSR by interfering in their internal affairs using its economic resources as a means to exert political pressure. Thence, Russia counted on using communist or workers’ parties in the Western countries. Above all, French and Italian communists were quick to organize strikes, demonstrations and riots against cooperation with the American aid considering it as imperialist intrigue.

The Molotov plan was proposed by Russia to assist her satellites and influence others which had been either secluded from the Marshall Plan or aspired to establish socialist regime. Later on, the Molotov Plan changed its name to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in 1949. Practically speaking, it was designed to exploit the economic resources of Eastern European countries by the Soviet Union. In fact, this programme worked to hasten industrial, agricultural and cultural development but it was never been effective and beneficial to members due to lack of the necessary resources and the way it had been delivered. Furthermore, the Soviet political system lacked freedom, all capital was controlled centrally by the Moscow government and all inter-change was carefully planned by public authorities in advance.

The European countries being recovered from their economic bankruptcy attempted to work cooperatively. Shortly, in order to reduce coal problem, six governments notably, France,

Italy, FRG, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg agreed to form the European Coal and Steel Company in 1952. Britain by the time refused to join. Prior to this the Benelux Customs Union was organized by Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg in 1944. The purpose was to create free movement of goods, capital and persons and governments to formulate common policies. Later on, representatives of these countries took their conference at Rome on March 24, 1957 commonly known as the Six signed the Treaty of Rome. It provided for the creation of a European Economic Community known as the Common Market or the Six that signed the Treaty of Rome. Its headquarters was in Brussels with the goal of moving toward full economic and even political integration. For the second time, Again Britain refused to join. Britain fearing that her membership would weaken her economic ties with her Commonwealth members rather it closely worked with the American government by ignoring the European union.

Members of the Six hoped to establish a common tariff on exports and to abolish all tariffs barriers and other duties on trade between themselves thereby facilitating free trade. Members then would be able to buy and sell goods freely inside each other's frontiers which would enhance EEC goods to be cheaper. It also encouraged the free movement of labour and capital among members and aimed gradually to bring about common economic and financial policies. Members agreed that internal customs of trade barriers and quotas should be gradually being removed between the Six members so as to attract imports from outside. They believed that the habit of working together would grow over years and that eventually one economic unity would lead in time be set up. Members had been empowered with the right to veto for admission of new members. As such, Portugal and Spain were rejected from membership because their governments were considered as undemocratic. Even British membership was blocked by France in 1960s. When the British economy began to lag behind it applied for membership in 1963, the application was turned down. Charles De Gaulle refused because he feared that with the joining of Britain, France's influence in the EEC would be declined. But in 1973 Britain, Ireland and Denmark, in 1981 Greece and Spain and Portugal joined in 1986.

2.3 MILITARY BLOCS

After the Second World War, in violation of the former agreements, i.e., Yalta and Potsdam, Stalin aspired to extend the communist ideology widely under Moscow domination. The United States then assured that neither paper declarations nor financial plans to Europe would save Europe or the world from Russian expansion. Because of this threat, the American government believed that armed forces must be organized in order to block communist expansion and aggression.

More importantly, European countries were at risk so started to unite one another. In 1947, Britain and France signed a fifty-year treaty. On the subsequent year, i.e., in March 1948 Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands joined Britain and France to form a Western Union for collective self-defense. By the Brussels Treaty, they created the first post war military alliance commonly known as Western European Union to provide cooperation in economic and military matters. In other words, it was a defensive alliance against any form of aggression from Russia. The treaty seemed targeted against the military presence of the Soviet Union in Europe. Nevertheless, this group was viewed as weak to counter-balance the might of the Soviet Union. So, members sought military cooperation with the United States.

Be it as it may, Truman announced America would defend the existing frontiers of Europe with armed and nuclear weapons if necessary. Basically American policy was to restrict Russia to her existing position. In order to challenge Stalin's aggrandizement successfully, twelve countries joined in a military alliance aimed at combating communist aggression and threat in 1949. These countries were USA, Canada, France, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Britain and Belgium. The foreign ministers of these countries signed a pact in Washington and formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on April 4, 1949 after collecting sufficient signatory. It was a military alliance that would serve as Europe's shield against Soviet aggression.

The headquarters of NATO was supposed to be in Paris and the supreme headquarters of the Allied powers to be in Versailles. Since 1951 the commander-in-chief was D. Eisenhower, an American General who won distinction in the Second World War. Member nations

agreed that an attack against any one of them would be considered as an attack against all. Thence, they agreed to coordinate their defenses and to aid one another in case of outside attack. In doing so, it was an essential defensive organization against a powerful-armed attack on aggression. Consequently, in 1952 Greece and Turkey joined NATO and the Americans later established rocket bases on the Turkish -Soviet border. Even West Germany joined this bloc in 1955. In the end, the military alliance successfully stopped the spread of communism among member countries in Europe.

Meanwhile, other military alliances were formed in Asia and Australia to contain the spread of communist power. Later on, a new military bloc aided by America called ANZUS pact was formed in the Pacific in 1951. It was comprised of Australia, New Zealand and the USA. In the meantime, the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) aimed at suppressing subversive activities of the communists thereby protecting Asia from communism was organized in September 1954. This bloc was composed of the USA, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan. Moreover, the Iraqis and Jordanians advised by British formed a military alliance with Turkey. Later on, the Baghdad Pact was established comprised of Great Britain, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq in 1955. It was known as the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO) or the Baghdad Pact. The METO that linked with both NATO and SEATO was aimed at cooperating for member countries' security and defense. However, when revolution erupted in Iraq in 1958, Iraq withdrew and the seat moved from Baghdad to Ankara and in 1959 the organization named as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Actually, the United States was not the formal member but had strong influence.

Besides, this military alliance in Asia, another military bloc was formed in the Western hemisphere. It was the Organization of American States (OAS) organized in 1948 in Bogotá, Colombia by 21 American states. It provided for the common defense of the region. Members later reached thirty-five. In fact, Cuban membership was suspended since 1962 due to its socialist ideology and alliance with the Soviet Union. Moreover, this island country was suspended from the IMF, the World Bank and Inter-American Development

Bank. On the contrary, the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua and Trujillo rule in Dominica who were founding members remained as members of OAS despite their dictatorial regimes.

From the very beginning Russia sensed NATO and other organizations as aggressive American dominated pacts. So that, another military alliance was formed in Eastern Europe. Russia and her satellite states with the exception of Yugoslavia signed a twenty-year defense alliance and formed themselves the Warsaw Pact in May 1955. The participants took their conference at Warsaw, Poland's capital. Members were Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumanian and Soviet Union. This military bloc was also called the Eastern NATO.

It was designed as a counter-weight to NATO. All pact members agreed to have Russian troops stationed on their soil except Bulgaria and Rumania. The headquarters of the Warsaw Pact was to be in Moscow. At the same time, member states placed their armed forces under the Red Army command, commanded by Marshal Koniev. Due to disagreement, Albania was expelled from its membership in 1968 and Rumania in 1972.

Afterwards, both the rival camps produced more fearful and destructive weapons one after the other. Atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, missiles, etc., were produced in immense capital. For example, in 1957 inter- continental missiles that could travel over 5000 kilo meters were produced. Afterwards, the cost of developing and building atomic bombs and missiles had become huge. In short, the money spent for arms was the most expensive one in the history of the world during the Cold War era.

In addition, Russia considerably aided communist minorities either to seize power or disturb the existed political system in other countries. It also directed abusive propaganda against her former war-time allies. Against this purpose, America alone budgeted more than nine million dollars especially to Britain, France, Italy and West Germany to lessen their falling under the knee of communism.

On the other developments, countries which refused to take side in the conflict between the two big powers' blocs formed a group called Non-Aligned Nations at Bandung in Indonesia in 1955. Primarily, J. Nehru and Gamal Abdel Nasser worked for the formation of the Arab-Asia bloc. The first manifestation was the 1949 New Delhi conference by which Egypt and Ethiopia joined the Asian and Australian delegates. Alarmed by the growth of American influence in Asia and in the Middle East, Tito of Yugoslavia, Sukarno of Indonesia along with Nehru decided to organize the Bandung Conference. It was intended to examine the mutual and common interests and problems of African and Asian countries. In the meantime, they called the representatives of twenty-nine countries to participate in a conference. These were mainly Asian and African countries grouped as underdeveloped countries. Subsequently, African representatives came from Ethiopia, Egypt, Ghana, Liberia, and Sudan together with some North African observers. Other participants were from Iraq, Jordan, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Burma, Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia and Pakistan. The discussions centered on anti-Western and anti-Soviet propaganda and influence. Colonialism was condemned as an obstacle to the progress of any country and declared independence as inseparable in the principle of the UN Charter of equality.

These non-aligned countries preferred to be neutral agreed to support neither of the two powers. In fact, the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai attended the conference and tried to peruse the conferees to follow the lead of China. Some accepted his view but the majority expressed their objection to communism. As much as possible they tried to steer a path of neutrality and autonomy between the great powers and attempted to act as a third force of international affairs. However, due to their stand, the superpowers had little respect for member states so lacked resources. More importantly, the West sensed Tito as a communist and Nehru as a socialist. These countries later convened at Belgrade, at Cairo and at Lusaka in 1961, 1964 and 1970 respectively with no sound resolution and practices. In any case, they couldn't isolate themselves from the East _ West ideologies.

Focus

- The Cold War was a period characterized by scientific and technological competition between the two super powers.
- These two great powers allied with their friendly countries attempted to block the

expansion of communism in one side and the other group strove spread the socialist ideology in the world.

Activity 2.6

The Marshall Plan not only provided money and food to the European countries but also shelter and jobs to millions of despairing people. Explain it.

Which military alliance was created in 1955? Who were member states?

SUMMARY

The Cold War was a period that covers from 1945 to the disintegration of USSR in 1991. In this period, the two super powers were the USA and the USSR, which emerged from the Second World War. Both were more powerful than any other country. Surprisingly enough, in 1830s, a Frenchman had predicted that Russia and America would be the two great powers in the future. As such, his prediction seemed materialized after 1945. In order to prove their supremacy, these countries gathered countries on their side through financial, material and moral support.

First and foremost American financial loan and material support enabled the European countries to be recovered from their ruined economy. On the contrary, Russia established close relationship with the Eastern European governments who had seized power by coups without public interest. Despite Russian whim to spread the ideology of socialism in the world, the expansion confined in limited regions. Socialism so far had little mass support for it was implemented in its distorted form. For that matter, it has been used to impose an ill-concealed Russian hegemony.

So far, there was scientific and technological competition between the two great powers. Above all, Soviet Union had a huge and fighting land force in the world. Besides, new weapons were produced by both camps that threatened mankind.

Review Exercises 2

1. Which Eastern European countries were under the occupation of the Russian Red Army in 1944 and 1945 even in the latter years?
2. Would you mention at least two economic reforms introduced by the newly established communist regimes in Eastern Europe?
3. What was Warsaw Pact and its function?
4. Why Greece and Turkey were given special attention by the American government soon after the end of WWII?
5. Discuss about the Molotov Plan?

Check list

Put a tick mark (✓) under 'Yes or 'No

I can

	Yes	No
- I can elaborate about the cold war	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can state factors that led to both the USA and the USSR emerging as super powers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I have understood about NATO and Warsaw Pact	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can mention satellites of the Soviet Union	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can describe the purpose of ANZUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

UNIT 3

THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AFTER 1945

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Introduction

This unit presents about the political, economic and social crises and the economic development of the United States of America and Western European countries. With regard this, American successive presidents and their visions, racial-based conflict between the whites and blacks; British position after 1945; the French government especially during the time of Charles de Gaulle; the division of Germany into East and West due to the Russian Red Army interference and Italian political and economic progresses along with Portuguese and Spanish history after 1945 will be discussed.

Objective

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:-

- ascertain the heart of the matter that enabled McCarthy to be in charge of searching communists and suspect communists;
- analyze the pre-conditions that enhanced American superiority militarily as well as economically ;

- decompose the steps taken by British, French, West Germany and Italian governments so as to exhibit economic and political development.

Resources

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3.1 POST-WAR AMERICA

American industrial and agricultural productions were tremendously growing during the war years. In order to avoid any sharp drop in prices and profits, the owner of big corporations did their best anxiously. Furthermore, the USA emerged stronger from WWII with its industry and farmlands untouched by enemy action. For that matter, it continued as the leading world power until it was joined a decade or so later by the Soviet Union.

Indeed, President Truman who seized the presidential office after the death of Roosevelt hoped to extend his predecessor's reforms and forwarded a programme of "Twenty One Points" in 1945. Despite his efforts, much of it was not accepted by the congress. So far, the American congress dominated by Republicans continued to maintain the interest of industrialist and to reverse some of Roosevelt's legislations concerning trade unions. In such a way that to reinforce economic prosperity, an Act called Taft-Hartley was issued in 1947. The Act forbade certain sorts of strikes, made 'closed shops' illegal, trade unions liable to pay damages if they break contracts with their employers, forbade payments of their funds to political parties and would not allow communists to hold responsible positions within union organizations, reduced taxes on the rich, etc. By doing so, the Act strengthened the rights of employers. Moreover, America is rich in its natural resources due to its mass production and automation methods in industry. All these accounted for US steady economic development in the post war era.

Truman again won the 1948 presidential election. For his second term, he offered his “Fair Deal”. It was a programme of reforms. He showed his wish to extend social security in housing, racial equality in employment, health, education, raising minimum wages, clearing the slums, shanty and untidy, un-repaired buildings, protecting natural resources, and promised better prices for farmers. Moreover, he also promised better pensions and a higher standard of living. In doing so, he achieved support from the blacks, farmers and trade unions.

However, so as to implement what he had promised and designed, he was encountered by resistance from the congressmen. The president was often checked by the congress which was law –making body composed of two houses, i.e., Senate and the House of Representatives. Most often, in the US political system, the opposition party has members in the congress so making new laws was less easy. Thence, partly his schemes were blocked by the Senate and House of Representatives. That is why, Truman’s Civil Rights Bill was rejected.

Actually, USA has a well-established system of democracy and generally stable society. In fact, it is a nation of migrants whose ancestors arrived there for the sake of better conditions in most cases. By and large, the Americans enjoyed greater liberties and a standard of living in advance of most peoples elsewhere. The freedoms which most of them enjoyed and cherished included those freedom of speech, association, occupation and movement.

Obviously, President Roosevelt was elected for four terms due to his successful policies and the world political situation. But his long tenure of presidency, i.e., from 1933 to 1945 raised constitutional fears. Thus, his re-elections on four occasions caused uneasy. As a result, the Americans thought to limit the terms of election. With regard this, in 1951 the congress made an amendment to the US constitution known as Article XXII, which restricted further presidents to two terms of office. In the 1952 presidential election, thus, the Republican Party looked for a popular candidate. Subsequently, General Dwight D. Eisenhower (Ike), formerly the commander of the Allied Forces during WWII and then the supreme commander of the forces of NATO, was elected as president of the USA. Eisenhower won

his rival A, Stevenson by a huge majority. The Democrats which ruled for twenty years came to an end and replaced by the Republicans.

Obviously, the two dominant political parties have differences. The Republicans more than the Democrats are anxious to safeguard state right against federal interference for the good of the American people. So it works to maintain the previous traditions reluctant to changes. Whereas Democrats favour liberal practices and social reforms. When Eisenhower took power in 1953, his government was a businessmen's administration because the bourgeoisie (millionaires) held key posts in the administration. In the meantime, General Eisenhower who had no political experience allowed Secretary of State Sherman Adams to control most aspects of domestic affairs and J. F- Dulles to run US relations with the rest of the world. Ike again beat A, Stevenson in 1956 election for a second term. This time he tried to make trade unions more democratic.

In 1949 Soviet Union exploded atomic bomb and Mao established communist government in China that created acute anxieties to the USA. Therefore in 1950s, Americans became hysterically afraid of communism. First and foremost, a British scientist, Klaus Fuchs was imprisoned for giving nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union .Even in 1946 in Canada the police uncovered a large Soviet spy- ring. In the USA itself, a State Department official was found to have once a communist, and a man and wife team, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed for spying. Under such circumstances, fear of communism had become very strong in the USA. Americans, thus, thought of a 'Red' conspiracy against their own country. Soon in 1947 Truman ordered an investigation into the loyalty of America's civil servants. Suspected Americans then in thousands were sacked and resigned. Above all, the capture of Alger Hiss, a top American official as a Soviet spy who gave state papers to a communist in 1948, Americans beset by 'red fear' decided to take stern actions.

When Senator Joseph McCarthy voiced about a communist plot in the State Department to uproar America, Americans who had fears about communism began to share his ideas. Soon in 1950, the so-called McCarran Act was enacted to deal with internal security. McCarthy was empowered to ascertain communists and spies of USSR and worked until 1953. Immediately, he set up witch-hunt against communist agents which lasted four years. It was

directed as of February 1950 to make damaging allegations about communists in important offices. Officials were thus branded communists without evidence. The Korean War in June 1950 added fuel to McCarthy's flame. In the process innocent men and women were accused of being communists without any evidence for working secretly to the USSR. Communists within the workers were deprived of being member of trade unions fearing their agitation against capitalist exploitation and lower wages. Some radicals or leftists were strictly expelled from government jobs. Besides, government employees, i.e., officials, scientists, famous entertainers in thousands and nearly three million communists and suspected communists had been cleared. In any case, until 1955, communists were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Meanwhile, McCarthy's career ended due to the death of Stalin, the end of the Korean War in 1953 and his unwisely attack on the army. His attack on the army was heard on the television. By then Americans have got the opportunity to consider him as unfair, rude and bully. Subsequently, he was discredited and died in 1957.

Bit by bit, American wealth exhibited impressive development. New giant monopoly groups such as Morgan, Rockefeller, Du Ponts and others emerged. However, there were minor businesses recessions in 1948-49, 1953- 4, 1957-58 and in early 1960s sporadically. Anyway, America achieved prosperity. Houses, cars and electrical appliances were built tremendously. Televisions began to appear for the majority .Computers, electronics and other new technological products were produced in immense.

Focus

In post-war America, there was increasing agricultural and industrial progress. But communists and suspect communists were hunted and exterminated.

American Presidents attempted to stabilize the government by introducing reforms and by creating good relationship with other countries through treaty and manpower support.

Activity 3.1

-
- Mention some of the 'Fair Deal' programmes
 - What was the concern of Article XXII?
 - Who was the predecessor of H. Truman?
-

In the United States of America, there were negroes (now African Americans) who were undermined by whites due to their skin colour as well because of their ancestors had once been slaves brought from Africa. In such a way that racism was a common practice since the time of the slave trade. In fact, it was stronger in the southern states that treated the blacks as inferiors and second class citizens and by the 1890s, their governments passed a series of nicknamed “Jim Crow” laws that enforced segregating negroes from whites in schools, hotels, parks and on public transport. In 1896, their Supreme Court made racial segregation legal with its decision in Plessey V. Ferguson. Economically the blacks always got the worst jobs and were the first to be laid off in the bad times. Any black that tried to improve his/her position was discouraged even was killed. Meanwhile, blacks were forced to migrate to northern cities in search of work, opportunity and greater equality. In 1900, the majority blacks were living in the southern part of the USA.

Even in northern America by a sort of “American apartheid” blacks were often segregated from whites in schools, buses and cafes. However, racial discrimination was less organized ended up with poor opportunities and facilities. But in the south ‘American apartheid’ was serious; blacks were being prevented to the extent of voting by the imposition of literacy tests and legalistic arguments about nationality.

Indeed, racism was manifested in the poorer education of black people, higher unemployment, and higher proportions of black people in prisons and in the latter years in drafting more blacks to Vietnam War. Most blacks were worse paid, worse fed, worse housed and worse educated than other Americans. There were limited job prospects and opportunities to them. Poverty forced blacks to live in atrocious slum condition. For years the blacks had been trying to improve their position in peaceful and legal ways to end this thorough the Civil Rights Movement. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) was founded in 1909 to struggle for equal opportunities in the USA. It was joined by new groups such as Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) in opposition to the desegregation of education, public transport, cafes and restaurants in the Southern States.

In so far, the US Presidents since Roosevelt tried to improve the grievances of blacks including other minorities. Due to frequent demands for the abolition of racial discrimination, equality of human rights, and equal payment for the same kind of work, Truman proclaimed Civil Rights Bill in 1948. He aimed at enabling adult southern blacks to vote. But it was rejected by the congress like other reforms who wished to extend civil liberties slowly. So that, his only achievement was to end segregation in the US armed for he had direct authority.

Still in the south, black and white children continued to go to different schools. Eisenhower, Truman's successor also disliked discrimination against blacks. So, he encouraged Earl Warren, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to proclaim that separate black and white schools were illegal in 1954. Nevertheless, some southern states defied this ruling. Others shut down all their official schools and opened private one which were still segregated.

By mid-twentieth century, blacks numbered 15 million in the USA. Still they were considered as inferior human beings. This idea was further voiced by the Ku Klux Klan (3 Ks), a racist organization founded in 1865. It was a white super racist group. All members were white Gentile Protestants in America. It advocated that the negroes (blacks) should remain in lesser ways of their inferior position in the society. So, opposed the ending of the Americans' to own slaves. The Klan was revived in 1920s to do battle with blacks and Jews. Using violent and terrifying methods, it encouraged racial and religious intolerance. They paraded about in long, white gowns and hid their faces with pointed hoods. They brutally beat up any one who they did not like, burned down their homes, and even murdered them. They felt threatened by any one with a different language, colour or religion. Blacks, Jews and Catholics were 'un-American' to them. Rather they advanced the belief that said the USA should be a WASP community, with power in the hands of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

Not only the blacks but also Indians and Puerto Rican minorities struggled to assure the equality of civil rights granted for all Americans in the constitution. Meanwhile, the NAACP

had become an active black movement. In 1950s and 1960s it became a powerful force in the hands of Dr Martin Luther King. King (1929-1968) was the prophet of million black Americans who gave them hope in their struggle for equality. He persuaded black people not to use force and violence in their struggle against racial discrimination. Martin Luther King was made the principal leader of the Civil Rights Movement. He was a moderate leader who advised his followers to apply peaceful methods to combat racial injustice through non-violent tactics such as boycotts and demonstration.

The blacks continued their struggle to end racial discrimination thereby to assure civil liberties. A case in point, on December 1, 1955, a black woman called Rosa Parks in Montgomery refused to give up her seat on a crowded bus to a white man. Soon, she was arrested. King then announced that black people should boycott the use of public transport in this town until blacks and whites could sit together, which was a non-violent tactic. Blacks refused to use Montgomery's buses. The boycott went on for a year. Even in other parts of the USA, blacks stopped buying from shops which refused to give jobs to black works. As a result, the city authorities lost in fares so the measure forced them to desegregate Montgomery's buses. Blacks also held 'sit ins' at eating places which was not allowed to black customers in order to enforce their demands for equality. Again blacks organized groups like 'wade-ins' at beaches and 'kneel-ins' at churches.

The segregation sentiment continued despite the resolution. In one scene, a clash broke out. On September 23, 1957, when 9 black pupils arrived at Little Rock Central High School, Arkansas to be enrolled, the Governor Faubus of Arkansas ordered soldiers to stop the black children entering the compound to avoid riots and disorder. Angry whites soon started mob. In response, Eisenhower sent the federal troops of 101st Airborne Division to escort the blacks into the school thereby to enforce the court's decision. Then black children were able to be enrolled. This is a simple example that indicated about white-black relationship in the USA.

In spite of such efforts, the lives of black Americans continued much worse off than white Americans. Low pay, poor housing, bleak job prospects and limited job opportunities were

common place to blacks. Moreover, in 1957 the blacks organized the Commission on Civil Rights (CCR) to watch over and try to enforce minority rights. They seemed successful because under pressure the 1961 Act was enacted to protect black voting rights and to curb the activities of racists.

John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) was elected as the 35th American president in 1960. He defeated the Republican candidate Richard Nixon in a very close contest and took power in January 1961. President Kennedy achieved popularity due to impressive personality and his unusual cleverness at politics. He was cultured and well read. At 43, he was the USA's youngest president. Furthermore, he was the first Roman Catholic President of Irish descent. He was ambitious for social improvement by cutting taxes, reducing unemployment and wiping out poverty. He was aware of the fact that blacks were treated as second-class citizens and the poor children were hungry whilst food rotted in America. So, he determined to mitigate such sufferings by introducing reforms.

He coined a programme called 'New Frontier' to a more just society by helping the poor, old and various racial minorities and ending segregation by extending civil rights to the blacks. His reform emphasized on social legislation, federal desegregation policy in education, and civil rights. He thence chose blacks for important jobs including the first black US ambassadors. Moreover, his administration increased the defense budget, stepped off communists. At the same time he planned to cut taxes, reduce unemployment and to wipe out poverty. For instance, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 cut tariffs and encouraged international trade and providing work.

By the early of 1960s, boycotts, law suits, protest marches, and "sit-ins" demonstration were all being used by civil right activities to fight injustice and equality thereby assure their human rights. Even they turned to large-scale riots in some American industrial centers and cities. In an effort to appease the movement, Kennedy introduced some civic rights bill to the negroes, which allowed blacks participation in parliamentary elections and to strengthen federal power to act against racism. The Act said that blacks and whites should be treated equally. For that matter, in 1962 blacks tried to join the all-white university of Mississippi.

However, some white Americans in the Congress and citizens openly opposed the reform policy. For instance, the John Birch Society was a movement organized to work against any reform. Some Americans feared the granting of equal rights to negroes so put up great resistance to the new law. Immediately, a press financed by big business started a campaign against Kennedy.

Concerning the external policy, Kennedy increased foreign aid to the developing countries and sponsored the Peace Corps as of 1961 to help other countries particularly the developing countries. Thus Young Americans who were skilled were sent abroad as Peace Corps Volunteers to assist developing countries. They travelled to Latin America, Asia and Africa to aid in social and economic development programmes; designed strategies to improve life and reduce the attractions of communism. These volunteers worked for two years and then introduced educational and technical skills. Moreover, Kennedy planned to narrow-down the differences between the USA and the Soviet Union on a normal footing. Obviously, after the Russian atomic bomb explosion and establishment of communist regime in China, American anxieties continued acute under such circumstances, governments in the USA, Great Britain and Soviet Union joined together to discuss on the danger of nuclear weapons. Later, they agreed to sign a test ban treaty on weapons. Delegates from these countries held their conference in Moscow and agreed on August 5, 1963 a Partial Test Ban Treaty. They agreed also to cut down 'radio active debris' by outlawing nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, in space and under water. Other countries were also invited to sign but France and China the then atomic powers refused.

For his second election in 1964, Kennedy at first wanted to attract the attention of blacks. So, in late 1963 he set off on a tour of Texas. He arranged a speech in Dallas. On November 22, 1963, he put on an open car passed slowly down Elm Street. By then, the people expressed their opposition to his reforms regarding the blacks and his forthcoming sympathy to blacks. But he continued waving his hands to the crowd and moved forward. With no time delay, three shoots rang out. Kennedy clutched his neck, and then slumped in his seat. Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested in connection with his death. Two days later the arrested Oswald denied the killing but was killed by Jack Ruby, a nightclub owner, on his way taken

from prison under police escort. Practically, Kennedy was the fourth American president to be assassinated. So far, his death remained mysterious.

Kennedy's death was later discovered by a research. The research pointed out links between Oswald, the CIA and the Russian KGB, and between Ruby, American gangster bosses and anti-Castro extremists to wave half a dozen theories of conspiracies to kill Kennedy. But the evidence remained undisclosed. Moreover, his younger brother Robert Kennedy and his Attorney General were murdered when Robert campaigned for presidency in 1968.

Kennedy was succeeded by his vice L.B. Johnson and elected in 1964. Johnson won over the unpopular Republican candidate, Barry Goldwater. Apparently, his rule was marked by a wave of social unrest and conflict. Blacks protested against social injustice; Americans proceeded in their opposition to the Vietnam War. So that, he planned to introduce an act in order to calm the situation. Already he had spent years as a member of congress. This helped him to speed up Kennedy's plans for reform because members were more of his friends. He urged the congress to pass a law as a memorial to the slain president, which had not been passed for Kennedy is being killed .This, is to mean that despite his ambition and effort, he achieved little limited reforms for the congressmen from both parties resisted.

Johnson, thus, promised for a "Greater Society", i.e., to end poverty and racial prejudice. In the memory of his predecessor, reform programmes and civil rights were expanded. As such in 1964, the Congress enacted Civil Rights Acts that banned legal inequality on the basis of race. As a result, racial discrimination in public places, hotels was abolished and restaurants and calls for equal opportunity in employment and education proclaimed. Even in 1965, the President introduced Voting Acts by outlawing discrimination. By doing so, he continued enacting a flood of social reforms

Focus

During Kennedy's regime, the blacks' complaint against their treatment as second class citizens developed into an impressive protest movement. Kennedy thus asked congress to

pass a limited Civil Rights Bill. In the meantime, various devices for preventing the blacks from voting have been swept away.

However, such reform cost the life of Kennedy. It is suggested that his assassins were in the pay of the Mafia, a criminal organization. So, his death remained the most mysterious. Again his brother Senator Robert Kennedy was killed in 1968 by an Arab who disliked America's support to Israel.

Blacks in the USA were supposed to live separately based on race. Whenever there was crisis blacks were out of work. Many negroes were fed up with ghetto life. Therefore, many of them still moved to the north in search of work and dignity. Due to such injustices, some chose to use violence to obtain their rights. Others preferred to be Muslims to emphasize their rejection of white man's 'Christianity'. But King advised his followers to demonstrate for reforms without using violence. In August 1963 blacks and whites organized by him marched to Washington to demand for racial equality, jobs and passage of the civil rights bill pending in the US congress. Kennedy who had been sympathetic to such issues was assassinated before materializing his reform.

As a result of his successful non-violent struggle during the black Civil Rights campaigns, he received the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. Actually, he was the youngest man to win the prize. In 1965, King organized a protest march through Birmingham, Alabama and Montgomery where the police stopped the demonstrators with savage dogs. Then, the demonstrators were attacked with sticks, and stones, tear gas, high-pressure water hoses, electric cattle prods and dogs. The undeterred King continued his preaching of moderation, brotherhood and humanity. But some young blacks such as Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X opposed his policy rather urged the use of violence. They opposed the peaceful struggle to achieve equality as hopeless dream. Rather they encouraged Black Nationalism and turned to the Black Power Movement. They encouraged blacks to be proud of their colour and be ready to use force against the racists. This movement advocated that blacks to get justice, they must fight for it. Moreover, these militants involved actively in 'sit-in', 'wade-in' and 'kneel-in' activities. The most feared group of blacks which advocated violence was the Black

Panthers. Later blacks sat in white dining areas, travelled on white transport and tried to white schools.

Besides, blacks committed to violence and non-cooperation at all with white people. The Black Power favoured revolution to avoid the inferiority of blacks, even leaders demanded a separate black state. By the so- called the “long hot summers” blacks involved in destructive riots in cities. Mainly the youngsters were active participants in the movement to challenge the government.

On the other hand, King’s deep Christian faith and passionate speeches made at once a national political figure and a target for the hatred of white racists. The extremist whites who neglected the equality of black Americans and King’s resolute opposition to the American war against the Vietnam War added hatred by whites to him. He was thence exposed for double-edged knife attacks. Already in 1965, Malcolm X was killed. Again, King was assassinated on April 14, 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee by a white man called James Earl Ray, where he was supporting a work strike of black workers. Following this incident, a wave of unrest spread out in the USA; fires flared in many parts of Chicago, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, etc. In fact, the assassin was arrested and then sentenced to a ninety-nine year imprisonment for murder.

Focus

Blacks began ‘sit-ins’ in stores and restaurants reserved for ‘whites’ only. At the same time they refused to travel on street cars which had special section for them. Subsequently, bus companies were to be bankrupt because most of their passengers were blacks.

Obviously, the aim of the Civil Rights movement was to change the regulations which denied blacks the same rights as other Americans. To appease their anger, American Presidents introduced little reforms which did not satisfy the blacks.

Of course, by 1970s and 1980s, the number of blacks in North America reached 25 million. Some blacks, eventually, changed their mind to bring racial desegregation using another mechanism. Thence, they decided to use their right through the ballot box. Jesse Jackson became the chief spokesman for this idea who travelled across the American states and encouraged blacks to claim their right to vote. They aimed to vote fellow blacks into positions of power as local councilors, as mayors of cities, and as members of congress. Consequently, blacks were able to hold offices as congress, judges, diplomats, etc. Especially, in the 1980s, cities such as Washington, Los Angeles and Chicago all had black mayors. However, the vast majority still had a long way to go to achieve equality due to the prevalence of racist practices like unemployment. On a similar condition, Red Indians were suffered from inequality. Many claimed for their lost farmlands. As a result of poverty, they moved to cities, often ending up rootless and impoverished and demoralized.

In so far, the US involvement in the Vietnam War doomed Johnson's plan of the "Great Society" due to the huge cost of the war. Riots and protests flared up all over the country against the war and against continued racial injustice. Besides, there was intense confrontation with the Soviet Union over weapon production.

In 1967, there were anti-war demonstrations in New York and San Francisco. Students staged 'sit-ins', boycotts and demonstration to back up their demands of opposing the war. Again American youngsters refused to serve in the armed forces in the protest against the Vietnam venture. No doubt, the war discredited the president that led to frequent riots and uproars. Even civil liberties had not ended racial problems. This gave favourable condition to Richard Nixon who had lost so narrowly the 1968 presidential election.

By the 1968 presidential election, Nixon from the Republican Party won a narrow victory over the Democrat candidate H. Humphrey. In actual fact, he inherited Johnson's problems of students and anti-war unrest. Thus, he promised to end the Vietnam War so planned skillfully to withdraw the USA from Vietnam and to make impressive progress towards improving international relations. Subsequently, Secretary of State H. Kissinger travelled the world trying to settle international disputes. It was Kissinger and Nixon who visited the

Soviet Union to establish friendly relationship between the two superpowers. Even Nixon and Mao, the two archenemies talked of friendship in 1971. On the other hand, Nixon was not sympathetic to the poor compared to his predecessors thereby he was less credited.

The president of America has personal right to select his cabinet even out of a member of the Congress. He is both Head of State and Head of Government; commander-in-chief of the armed forces. However, taxation is made by the congress and laws are passed by the congress to avoid dictatorship and again no man can remain president for more than two four-year terms. Indeed, a president can be removed from office after trial in the Senate. This process is called impeachment. Apparently, Nixon's second election in 1972 was clouded by the bribery, corruption and other illegal activities that were uncovered in the government. This brought election scandal. He competed with G. McGovern, a Democrat candidate. In order to re-elect Nixon, his burglars entered the Watergate office, to steal information to discredit his Democrat opponent.

Anyhow, in 1972 Nixon won a massive victory as a result of mischievous acts. Apparently, his supporters entered illegally to the Watergate building which housed the Democrat's campaign headquarters and planted 'bugs' (microphones) and re-filed the files. The scandal was known as the Watergate Affair, taking its name from the Watergate building in Washington. Shortly, seven men were caught breaking into the Democratic Party headquarters during the presidential election campaign. Among these arrested were members of Nixon's reelection committee. Such activity turned the triumph to sour.

The scandal was later discovered. It was proved that Nixon's re-election committee members, the Campaign to Re-election the President {CREEP} and other White House staffs were involved in illegal activities to discredit the president's opponent and to secure his election. Immediately, in 1973 vice-president Spiro Agnew resigned following the charges of bribery and corruption. As the investigation went on, Americans demanded Nixon's trial impeachment for misusing his powers as president. Nevertheless, he denied the evidences but a number of congressmen refused to believe him. Rather they thought that

Nixon was trying to sabotage the Watergate investigations. Then, in July 1974, the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee recommended that Nixon be charged with

- i. obstructing justice in the Watergate case
- ii. misusing his office to stage a cover-up
- iii. refusing to produce documents of the committee. More evidence was even produced against him. To avoid imprisonment, he was forced to resign on August 9, 1974. He was America's first president to resign office as a result of political scandal.

On August 9, vice president Gerald Ford succeeded Nixon Ford decided to pardon him for his offences. There followed a storm of protest for Nixon had got off free, whereas those who had worked for him went jailed for their crimes.

Essentially, Nixon improved American relation with communist China and Russia. Again as a result of ceaseless effort, the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 stopped. On the contrary, he used the FBI and the CIA to spy on his opponents, organized smear campaigns to blacken the names of his political opponents; tried to cover up and delay the investigation of the Watergate burglary.

Indeed, during Ford's tenure there was unemployment and inflation in the USA. In spite of his promise to the people, his price, tax and energy reforms were resisted by congress. Price increase, high unemployment and temporary shortage of petrol affected the Americans that brought his unpopularity. Although he was simple, honest, and common sense approach, the above- mentioned problems caused for his failure of the 1976 presidential election .The unknown Democrat candidate Jimmy Carter easily defeated Ford.

Carter faced the existed problems .But he promised to clean up the government with no practical solution. In such a way that neither Ford nor Carter won much success or popularity as president. The good thing that Carter did was he managed that Israel and Egypt to sign a peace treaty in 1978/9. Later on, R. Reagan an ex-actor and former Californian governor replaced Carter in 1982. Regan determined to make the USA stronger than its

rival, the USSR. Though he was wounded by a shot from a gunman, he proceeded with his plan of American greatness. For that matter, he was a staunch conservative that favoured the idea of non-interference in commerce and social affairs. He spent many millions of dollars on developing powerful new missiles on research into ‘star wars’ weapons to knock out enemy missiles from space. American businessmen made bigger profits as well. In 1984, Americans re-elected him as president by one of the biggest majorities in American history.

Focus

Johnson’s rule was marred by popular uproar. Due to his failure to implement what he had promised earlier, he was defeated by R. Nixon. Nixon in his second term election, election scandal occurred. After trial he was forced to resign. His attempt to secure his presidential election through illegal activities discredited him as a mischievous president in American history.

Activity 3.2

- What was the aim of the Civil Rights Movement?
 - What do we mean when we say Dr. Martin Luther King was exposed for double-edged knife attacks?
 - Who was R. Reagan? What was his interest to exercise American position in the world?
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3.2 POST-WAR BRITAIN

Following the end of the Second World War, Britain emerged weak. Practically she was much weaker than after the First World War. It lost not only its continental but also its overseas influence. The British Empire dismantled and in its place the Commonwealth Nations, a second English-Speaking association was formed. Commonwealth is a club of former British colonies who have decided to keep convenient arrangements of links with their former mother country and with each other. Subsequently, the so-called Colombo Plan was designed aimed at protecting members from communist subversion.

Conservatives had controlled British government for most of 1930s. But in the July 1945 parliamentary election, the Labour Party led by Clement Attlee (1883-1967) defeated the Conservative and Liberal Parties. It won 393 seats followed by the conservative by 213 seats and the liberals by 12 seats .In order to run the new government, Attlee appointed H. Dalton and Bevin to work with him closely. Dalton worked until March 1957 and succeeded by Stafford Cripps.

When Attlee seized power, British cities lay in ruins. Food, clothing and fuel were still in short supply and had to go on being rationed; Britain was again deeply in debt in billion because of the huge cost of the Second World War. Even the pound was devalued at the expense of dollar. So that, after 1945 the British required a minimum decent life, i.e., jobs homes and care for the sick, the old and the children.

It is crystal clear that Britain fought the war from the very start to the end of the war .As a result, factories, docks, mines, railways, and roads were worn out. More importantly, imports exceeded exports, and there was growing inflation. Workers strike frequently for high pay. The government, thus, should improve these infrastructures and handle social crises. In order to ameliorate social problems, the government planned to introduce economic and social reforms thereby to keep strict control over the economy.

The Labour Party supported by Trade Unions planned to avoid social sufferings so launched a socialist oriented economic policy like nationalization of industries ,health service, and an increase in the provision of benefit for the old, the ill, the unemployed, and the poor. Anyhow, the aim was to benefit the country instead of shareholders as a result of efficient planning and coordination. For example, the coal industry equipment was obsolete, its manpower was depleted and the best seams were worked out. The government then set up public corporations to take over important industries and run them on behalf of the people of Britain as a whole. Moreover, it was hoped that most people would work harder if they were part owners of the industries in which they worked. But this trend was objected by Conservatives because they argued that the country would be benefited when most industrial

firms were privately owned. Above all, Churchill thought that this government would make Britain a socialist. So the Conservatives in the House of Lords worked to stop the Bill but in vain.

Under such circumstances, the Labour party nationalized railways, canals, London's buses and tube trains, banks, major industries including coal, transportation, electricity and gas iron and steel, the Bank of England and Civil Aviation in 1946. And in 1947 the British Transport Commission was formed to run the railways, canals and road haulage and the electricity and gas industries were brought under state control. Consequently, the iron and steel industry was nationalized in 1951. In fact, almost eighty per cent of the industry remained in private hands. By doing so, a mixed economy emerged. Nationalisation, indeed, in the capitalist society was controversial. Here, nationalisations were nothing to do socialism, simply to provide a standard service to all British citizens. The government even instituted extensive welfare programmes, i.e., to expand insurance coverage for unemployment, old age and other contingencies and to construct public housing, and free medical care for all.

Furthermore, the Labour Party schemed for the Beveridge Plan. Subsequently, the government forwarded to practice the Family Allowance Act, National Insurance Act, and the National Health Service. Essentially, the 1946 National Insurance Act provided insurance to meet the problem of unemployment, illness, maternity, widowhood and old age. Rich or poor, everyone paid the same contributions and drew the same benefits. Again everyone was provided with free medical treatment of all kinds according to the 1946 National Health Act.

The government continued its effort to reduce imports and encourage exports. So, it applied strict controls to lower down British imports. Side by side, trade unions were persuaded to restrain wage claims to help keep down the cost of production. Wartime rationing even now continued to stabilize the economy. More importantly, British dependence on the Marshall Plan and American loans considerably increased.

However, in 1945, there was fuel crisis and again in 1951, there was adverse balance of payment. This indicated that, the British government and its people had faced challenges. The Conservative Party condemned the Labor government for continued shortages and the rising prices. Hoping to alleviate the economic strains, by the 1951 election the Conservative Party won the majority vote and regained its power under W-Churchill's leadership. The vote went like this: the Conservatives won 321, the Labours 295 and the Liberals 6 parliamentary seats. When the Conservatives returned to power, they quickly denationalized iron and steel industries and returned some transport services to private owners.

By 1950s, Britain was short of workers for buses, hospitals and the London underground. Transport and health bosses ran recruiting campaigns in the Caribbean. By the 1960s, these West Indians were joined by people from India, Pakistan and Africa. Until 1962 Commonwealth citizens were allowed to enter Britain. But by the Immigration Act of 1962, the British government decided to limit the number of Commonwealth immigrants and other Acts were added in 1968 and 1971.

Blacks already living in Britain were not always treated fairly. Often, they were barred from buying certain houses or getting jobs because of their colour. This was further strengthened by Acts. The Acts were directed against only at blacks, Afro-Caribbean's and Asians not at white common wealth citizens. As a result, clashes in Nottingham, Noting Hill and London flared up due to the race problem. The government was then tried to find solutions thereby to end the chaos. Thence, the parliament passed laws to try to stop this sort of thing so enacted Race Relations Acts in 1965, 1968 and 1976. The Race Relation Acts made it offence to discriminate against people because of their colour and to say in public anything intended to stir up racial hatred. In so doing, it aimed to discourage discrimination against ethnic minorities in hotels and public services. In spite of the effort the problem continued.

Britain had special relationship with the USA and it had trade contact with the Commonwealth. So it planned to evade absorption into any European grouping. It feared that she would shoulder most of the military burdens of such a grouping. Even Churchill

aged 82 was replaced by A. Aden in 1955 that followed the same foreign policy like his predecessor did. Actually, during the Suez Canal Crisis in 1956, he faced intense opposition to his Egyptian policy from the Labour Party that forced him to resign in 1957. Subsequently, from 1957 to 1963 H. McMillan served as Premier. As such the conservative Party dominated post war British politics. Of course, little by little British political and economic conditions improved. In 1972, she was allowed to join the European Economic Community (EEC).

Focus

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Britain for her more advanced colonies like Canada, and Australia gave independence to run their own government. They were called Dominions. The British monarch at the same time was considered as the monarch of each of the Dominions.

The British former colonies formed the Commonwealth. When the British power declined after 1945, being the member of the Commonwealth she has got cooperation from the Commonwealth nations.

In February 1979, Margaret Thatcher overwhelmingly defeated Edward Heath to become the leader of the Conservative Party. The Labour Party, thence, gave way to the Conservative Party. Thatcher became the first women Premier in British history. Some how, Britain faced inflation, high public spending and low productivity. In order to make productive and competitive in word market all state-controlled companies were sold to private holders. Now the Labour Party opposed the decision by saying the government have sold the nation's wealth to the rich. Besides, the government proceeded in breaking the power of the Trade Unions. "closed shops" were attacked by Acts.

3.2.1 Ireland:-

Ireland became part of Britain in the seventeenth century. As time passed, the Irish were allowed to send representatives to the British parliament, which was not satisfactory to the Irish. Irish nationalists who sought independence objected British domination for the people were victims of political and economic discrimination. To assure their right, they struggled

for 'Home Rule' so organized armed bands. Already in Northern Ireland, Ulster is settled by Protestants, whom sought the continuation of union with Britain but the nationalists mostly in the south who were Catholics preferred to run their own affairs by seceding from Britain.

In Easter Week 1916, a group of Irish Nationalists organized an armed rising in the Irish capital Dublin. After a week of street fighting, this 'Easter Rising' was crushed by the British soldiers. The leaders were captured and executed as traitors. Subsequently, a nationalist group calling themselves Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone) organized a guerrilla army called the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Since 1919 fighting broke out in Ireland between the IRA and the British army. In 1922, the British and the Irish Nationalists signed the Anglo-Irish peace treaty in London. By then, the British government agreed that the southern part of Ireland should become an independent country, the Irish Free State. In return, the Irish agreed that the people of Ulster should be allowed to vote on whether to become part of the Free State or remain part of Britain. But Northern Ireland preferred to remain as part of the United Kingdom. Be it as it may, in 1937 Eire prepared a constitution. These Catholics, however, unfairly treated the Protestant in Ulster in matters like housing and job opportunities. Again, Ireland had become member of the Commonwealth until 1949.

Essentially, British presence in northern Ireland has become obstacle to the reunification process. Due to this and other factors, she declined to join NATO. Despite such constraints, commercial links with Britain remained normal. Eamonn de Valera, the leader of the Republican Party called as (Fianna Fail) meaning Warriors Destiny, served as Premier for many years, i.e., 1932-48, 1951-54, 1957-9, and from 1959 to 1973 to southern Ireland.

The IRA as a secret nationalist organization worked to unite the whole of Ireland by force so became sympathizer to Ulster Catholics. In 1969, thence, they began bomb attacks on Ulster police stations and power stations. The Unionists/Protestants on their part organized a secret armed force of their own, the Ulster Defense Association, to strike back at the IRA.

In 1970s, shootings and bombings continued. On 'Bloody Sunday,' in Londonderry on January 30, 1972, British troops shot dead thirteen unarmed Catholic demonstrators. British

soldiers again rounded up IRA supporters and threw them into prison without trial. The fighting went on and became more savage. Hundreds of innocent people were killed or terribly injured by IRA bomb attacks. Moreover, bombs exploded in English cities such as London and Birmingham. Later, in 1984 an IRA bomb killed five people at a hotel in Brighton, and narrowly missed killing the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Activity 3.3

- Discuss on the nationalization programme of the Labour party.
 - Explain the difference between the Irish Republican Army and the Ulster Defense Association.
 - Who was the successor of W-Churchill in 1955?
 - What is Ulster?
-

3.3 POST WAR FRANCE

During the Second World War, France fell under Nazi forces as of June 1940. Thereafter, two groups emerged, i.e., collaborationists and nationalists. General De Gaulle escaped to Britain and pleaded with his countrymen to join him in continuing the war against the Germans. He called his forces Free French or Fighting French and led anti-Petainist French. On the contrary, Marshal Petain worked for the Nazis. When Nazi forces attacked France, the then Prime Minister Petain surrendered to A. Hitler and then held key position. In order to please Hitler, Petain dismissed his Jewish employees. The French police even arrested foreign-born Jews in concentration camps.

Charles De Gaulle led the Mouvement Republicain Poulair (MRP) or Popular Republican Movement (PRM) to liberate France by the support of the Allies in order to fight the Nazis. Internally, the underground movements within France, damaged factories, interfered with communications and carried on continuous guerrilla warfare against the Nazi forces. The large French communist party members together with the socialists united with the PRM and fought for the liberation of France.

In August 1944, the PRM supported by the Allies advanced to Paris. Then, the police in France revolted, followed by civilians. The Germans and Petainists were besieged in their barracks and offices. Paris was liberated from the Nazis and Petain exiled to Sigmaringen, Germany. Consequently, De Gaulle was recognized by the Allies as the head of the French Provisional Government. In November 1944, he was accepted as president of France by the people.

Like that of Great Britain, the Second World War brought France's decline. Be it as it may, in the October 1945 parliamentary election, three large parties, i.e., the Communists, the Socialists, the Catholic Party and MRP and got 30 percent of the vote each. Then, a coalition government presided by De Gaulle was formed. It was called as the Fourth Republic. Practically, the president had no power in the National Assembly. Soon, De Gaulle found it difficult to work with the politicians, particularly communists. Thence, he resigned in December 1946. He was succeeded by a civilian socialist politician called Felix Gouin who took power till 1947. Until 1947, France got a sort of communist administration. This government nationalized the big banks, the coal mining industries, several automobile and aircraft companies, etc., formerly owned privately. The government also allowed longer vacations for young workers, larger pensions for the old and larger displacement allowances. At the same time, a new constitution was prepared by the French assembly, which granted women the right to vote for the first time in the French history.

Right after his withdrawal from office, De Gaulle formed a party called the Rally of the French People (RPF) to attack the constitution prepared by socialist-minded individuals and combat communism. It claimed to be only concerned with national welfare. At the same time, the bourgeoisie were bending their efforts to eliminate communists from the government. In 1947, they did so. Communists were expelled from the cabinet in May 1947. The socialists and the MRP with other political parties formed unstable coalition government. Following this measure, some drastic economic and social reforms were undertaken. To mention, some of the nationalized industrial plants were returned to their former owners, and the workers' representatives were removed from the administrative

organs. Communists on their part worked actively in the trade union aimed at creating anarchy.

Essentially, wages lagged behind, prices and a vast black market developed to defeat the rationing system. The wealthier class enjoyed the benefit of the black market and this increased social unrest. Although the French army leaders opposed French civilian politicians who advocated decolonization, the government proceeded in freeing the country from its colonial burden. Side by side, France fought relentlessly to preserve its empire. It fought nearly for fifteen years to retain its colonial power. France conducted colonial wars from 1946 to 1954 in Indo-China and in Algeria from 1954 to 1962. At last she lost colonial possession in Asia and Africa.

The Arab Algerians fought the French to win independence since 1954. France hoping to secure its economic interest objected and continued to suppress the nationalists. The Algerian war until 1962, no doubt, drained the resources, morale, and self-esteem of the French. The European settlers in Algeria and the army leaders opposed the proposal of Algerian self-rule which created upheaval in Algeria in 1958.

When Pierre Pflimlin took the office of premiership in 1958, he encouraged to end the Algerian problem through negotiation. But Algerian generals led by Salan and Massu organized a revolt. They threatened to invade France. Neither president Rene Coty nor Pflimlin had the confidence to risk a future civil war. When France was torn by riots by May 1958, the new government was ready to make a deal with the Algerians. Being cognizant of General Franco's of Morocco that invaded Spain in 1937, the French sought some one who could control the army and build up people's confidence. To avoid the forthcoming political confusion, Charles de Gaulle was recalled from retirement to save the government from collapse. De Gaulle who had familiarity and popularity with the people and the army took the office of premiership positively. On June 1, 1958, the National Assembly gave him personal powers for six months and the task of preparing a new constitution. By the new constitution, the Fourth Republic was changed by the Fifth Republic. He then set about the business of restoring France to order. On January 8, 1959, de Gaulle was formally

proclaimed president of the Fifth Republic to serve for seven years term, and Michel Debre was appointed as premier until 1962. He was followed by Pompidou. Pompidou took power until his replacement by M.C. Murville¹ in 1968. De Gaulle remained Head of State and Head of the government.

It was the Algerian crisis that brought de Gaulle to power and it was his decisive measure to settle it. Obviously, the president was the final authority in foreign affairs and national defense. He could dissolve the National assembly, call for new elections, submit important questions to popular referendums and assume emergency powers. Having such authority by the constitution, he planned to end the Algerian war peacefully.

Paradoxically, when De Gaulle agreed with the Algerian freedom fighters for independence, a secret organization called OAS supported by General Salan refused the decision so they plotted to assassinate him in 1961 but failed. Soon Salan was captured and imprisoned until 1968. In 1962, Algeria freed herself from French political domination. France on her part was released from one of its heaviest burdens. As soon as France released from the crippling burden of the Algerian war, the currency became increasingly healthy. Industrial production increased. Wages and prices were controlled by the government decree to prevent inflation.

De Gaulle on his part, aimed to make France a great nation so worked hard to fulfill his grand aspiration. He also planned to strengthen French influence in the EEC; encouraged French scientists to produce nuclear bombs; encouraged the promotion of industrial and agricultural products for export as well as for domestic uses. In 1960, she became the fourth nation to develop a nuclear capacity along with the USA, USSR and Britain. Consequently, in 1960s, France became the world's fifth industrial power, behind only the USA, the USSR, West Germany and Japan. As a result of his strenuous efforts, de Gaulle seemed, he was successful.

With regard the foreign policy, De Gaulle sought to dissociate France from the policies of the United States and her ally Great Britain. He opposed British membership of the Common Market. He signed treaties with the Russians; granted diplomatic recognition to

Eastern European countries and China. Even he continued bitter criticism to American war action in Vietnam and Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. Again, he requested the evacuation of American and Canadian forces as well as the NATO headquarters, bases and stockpiles on the French territory by April 1967. France, however, remained in the Atlantic military alliance.

In 1966, De Gaulle was reelected president. He had organized the Gaullist Party which was neither capitalist nor communist. He gave the French more confidence and pride in their country but there was opposition to his power due to the suppression of human rights. Of course, few of the Frenchmen mourned by loss of full democratic rights. Workers also resented wage fixing. Students opposed the regime; workers organized general strike. All this, showed the need to remove De Gaulle from power

The older political parties were again paralyzed or impotent. Students who were in need of democracy opposed his measure. Workers who earned low wages opposed his regime as well. Workers in millions went on strike that had adverse effect to the economy. Likewise, university students demonstrated against De Gaulle in May 1968. Such disgruntled French marched through the streets of Paris shouting against de Gaulle to resign. De Gaulle, in fact, used force to restore order. But the crowds were determined in their protest. When he called on the French people to vote, the vote went against him so he was forced to resign. De Gaulle was, thus, toppled by popular revolt and replaced by Pompidou. After several good deeds for France, De Gaulle died in December 1970. For eleven years, he gave France firm and stable government by his provincial tours, political ability, success in colonial and foreign policies.

The new government passed education reforms, broadened social programmes, and made the civil service more responsive. In the 1973 general election, socialists and communists formed a united front which put forward important social and economic demands. To mention: a monthly national minimum wage, retirement on full pension at age 60, the 40 hours week, the nationalization of financial institutions and large industrial companies, the

phasing out of French nuclear armaments. Of these, some of them were implemented e.g., retirement at 60, special safeguards for workers' salaries when companies failed.

President Pompidou was an experienced politician. During his tenure, until his death by April 1974, France in terms of economic growth was only exceeded by Japan. National income trebled, industry became highly competitive and agriculture more efficient. Eventually, France created good relationship with Britain and the USA. As a result, Britain was allowed to be member of the EEC based on France's accord.

However, France continued building up her nuclear armaments. She tested it in the Pacific, boycotted international disarmament discussion. This led to widespread protests and unpopularity to Pompidou's administration.

FOCUS

On August 25, 1944 De Gaulle liberated Paris from the Nazi forces. It was a time of rebirth for the French people and for the French nation. The French parliament unanimously chose de Gaulle as Prime Minister of the French Provisional Government. In his presidency, de Gaulle cultivated good relations with Russia, Eastern European countries and China. On the contrary, he declined to follow the American lead in foreign policy in Europe or elsewhere.

Activity 3.4

-
- Which political parties formed the French coalition government in 1945?
 - By 1968, which social groups were strong opponents to De Gaulle?
 - How Pompidou took power?
-

3.4 WEST GERMANY

As we know very well, Germany faced a military set back during the Second World War. Subsequently, by the Potsdam conference it was to be divided into four temporal occupational zones: French in the south west, British northwest, American in the south, and Russian in the east. Berlin was also divided into four parts. Already most of the eastern part of Germany was under the control of the Russian Red Army. Obviously, occupiers agreed that Germany should pay reparations, both in capital equipment and current production, especially to the Soviet Union which had suffered most from German military power. The Soviets then removed large amounts of food and machinery, stripping entire plants in their eastern zone. By then, the Russian Red Army attempted to impose the ideology of socialism in this region. It supported the socialist party to seize power.

The Western and Russian governments argued over Germany's future. But no agreement had been reached. Then, the Western powers planned to merge their zones and to encourage the reconstruction of part of Germany. First the United States and Britain merged their zones into "Bizonia" in January 1947. Next, France's zone joined to Bizonia in 1948 to create West Germany, commonly known as the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) with its capital Bonn.

Obviously, by the Potsdam conference the Allies agreed to form Germany as a single political unit. But now the Russians violated the agreement and determined to keep East Germany under their control. Even they feared that FRG would be hostile to its social system. So, they cut off all roads, rail and canal links through power out of Berlin. To break the blockade, vital supplies were airlifted into Berlin by the Western governments. After eleven months, the Russians gave in and in May 1949 the blockade was lifted. Immediately, the Western governments united their zones to form a separate state. On May 23, 1949 at Bonn, the FRG was proclaimed with the population of 50 million. Military governors were replaced by Civilian High Commissioners who had anti militarist stand. Professor Theodor Hues was elected president of the republic. Konard Adenauer, the opponent of Nazi programmes was made chancellor and Erhard his vice who held their positions from 1949 to

1963. Adenauer had represented the Christian Democratic Party. Its rival party was the socialist party.

Similarly, the Soviets took steps to establish a communist dominated government from the Soviet zone. It was East Germany with its 17 million populations and its capital Berlin. Its name had become been proclaimed as the German Democratic Republic (GDR) on October 7, 1949. It was much smaller than FRG with centralized administration. By doing so, Germany was divided into two, i.e., East and West Germany as a long-lasting solution to the East-West confrontation in the area.

Adenauer had four aims in his foreign policy. He wished to end the occupation and restore the sovereignty of Germany, to integrate Germany into the new European organizations that were formed in 1950s, to reconcile Germany and France and to reunite Germany. Internally, the new government established a successful democratic system of government in place of the Nazi dictatorship and endeavoured to promote agricultural and industrial developments. The Germans rebuilt war-ruined factories with American money.

In 1950s, there was economic prosperity what came to be called the 'economic miracle' due to American aid, high rate of investment, small expenditure on defense, and price control until 1956. More importantly, its membership to the EEC helped to its economic recovery. Thus, West Germany became ever industrialized so unemployment dropped sharply.

So far, West Germany vulnerable to Soviet aggression was protected by the NATO armed forces. Particularly America stationed over 300,000 troops. In fact, by the middle of 1950s, it was allowed to have her own army and air force under the overall command of NATO. By agreement, however, it was prohibited from manufacturing nuclear weapons or materials for chemical or biological warfare. In the meantime, Adenauer and De Gaulle developed a new spirit of friendship. Later, FRG and France signed a treaty of cooperation between their countries in 1968.

As time passed, the chancellor became inefficient, inflexible and autocratic. Hence, in October 1963, he was persuaded to resign and replaced by Erhard, the former Economic Minister. Erhard's *laissez faire* attitude was inadequate for dealing with domestic and foreign problems. For that matter, by the mid 1960s relationship between Bonn and Paris strained. At last, in 1966 Erhard unable to cope up with the situation resigned.

On the contrary, the so-called National Democratic Party was organized in 1964. The founders were neo-Nazis. They launched regular Nazi style virulent chauvinistic propaganda campaign and anti-Semitic outrages which was intolerable by the government and the majority of Germans. Anyhow, despite their interest they remained insignificant in the minds of the German youngsters who declined to support them.

In 1969, Will Brandt became chancellor and followed cautious policy. On the following year, he signed treaty with Poland. By then, West Germany accepted Poland's right to possess German territories given by 1945. Thereafter, the relations between the two countries became on friendly basis. He also recognized the government of East Germany. To strengthen the relation West and East Germany signed a treaty of cooperation in 1972 that officially ended their mutual enmity and prepared the way for formal ties by reducing tensions. Following this development, East Germany joined the UNO in 1973. For this reason some people called Brandt the "Chancellor of Peace." At last, he resigned as chancellor in 1974.

Anyway, FRG showed remarkable development in the economic and political spheres and became a great power in the world. Its economy proceeded at a faster pace than other European countries because America provided huge financial aid fearing the expansion of Russia. Again there were over two million skilled migrants to FRG from the GDR.

In fact, as of 1953 reparations ended. But the socialist rule in East Germany was unjust and dictatorial. East Germans had less to buy in shops, less chance to speak their minds. Hence, East Germans left their country by crossing into West Berlin throughout 1950s under such conditions, millions fled to the West. Many of the escapers were highly skilled workers like

engineers, doctors and scientists. Sometimes they caught a train from East to West Berlin but in many cases they hid themselves when escaped. In order to avoid brain drain thereby to check the flow of refugees, the Berlin Wall was to be erected. It was hoped to separate the German states and block the migration. Despite intense hostility in West and Berlin demonstrations, the construction of the Berlin Wall began on August 13, 1961 by East Germans across the city. The work of building was made of concrete and barbed wire armed with sentry stations. This massive barrier had 150 kilometers length. The Russians encouraged the construction to prevent people from crossing freely. Machineguns were put to act as a death trap for any one trying to cross from east to west. Anybody who tried to cross the wall would be shot. Later, the bleeding away of skilled manpower stopped but the wall separated families and friends until November 11, 1989.

3.5 POST-WAR ITALY

In 1943, Italy was both defeated and humiliated. Benito Mussolini was captured but Victor Emanuel III exiled to Egypt and died on December 28, 1947. Soon after the end of the Second World War, Italy's economy was ruined. There was unemployment and misery.

De Gasperi, an opponent and victim of Mussolini's fascist regime organized the Christian Democratic Party. He headed the Italian republic for eight successive years until 1953. In the meantime, this party gathered the largest members strongly Catholic and conservatives. Gasperi supported by Anglo-Americans took the office of premiership in 1945. Storza was made the foreign minister of Italy. In 1946, the Italians by referendum voted for the abolition of the monarchy and the setting up of a republic. However, the city and industrial centres were influenced by socialism.

In 1947, the Italian constitution guaranteed democratic reforms, like the right to work, to social security, religion and to education. More importantly, the government decreed the farming of unused (fallow) lands to the peasants; increased wages and prohibited job dismissal without the approval of trade unions. It forbade any revival of the fascist party; offered autonomy to the various regions. In fact, Catholicism remained the state religion.

In 1947, Italy renounced its colonial empires by a treaty signed with the Allies and then received valuable help from the UNRRA and Marshall aid. It has become the member of NATO. The Italian bourgeoisie had been grown stronger. The national economy developed. In late 1950s and 1960s industrial development showed a high rate of growth, especially in the north of the country, in the cities of Genoa, Milan and Turin. Whereas the southern parts of Italy were stagnating perpetually agrarian. In the south the agricultural production was at a snail's pace. So that, many Italians in the south left their country to north or their neighboring countries mainly to Spain every year in search of work. Obviously, the problem of inflation, unemployment, lack of housing and unfavourable balance of payments continued until the 1970s. Side by side, kidnapping and murder had become common in Italy due to political and non-political purposes.

With regard the political affair, the Italian communists condemned the Soviet military intervention in Eastern Europe. Ironically, they accepted Italian membership in NATO. By mid-1970 Italy had the strongest communist party in the western world having had 1.8 million members. In the election, communists won 35% of the electorate. Then, major cities including Rome had communist mayors and municipal councils. But when communists pressed for seats in the national government, the Christian Democrats rejected the proposal. Meanwhile, with the emergence of a revived socialist party on national and municipal levels, communists' strength eroded.

FOCUS

Germany which was united in 1871 through diplomatic and armed means was divided into two in 1949 due to ideological difference. More importantly, West Germany was beneficiary from the Marshall Plan and American loan that enabled the country to become economically viable and strong.

East Germany protected by the Berlin Wall remained under the influence of Soviet Union but showed insignificant economic development..

Activity 3.5

Which western government formed Bizonia in 1947?

- Which part of Italy remained poor in 1960? What was the effect of this condition?
 - Mention about Italian communists.
-

PORTUGAL

After 1945, only Portugal and Spain remained under unconstitutional governments in Europe because they were ruled by pre-war dictator leaders. In the post war period, Portugal was isolated from international politics and European economic integration due to its authoritarian regime. Its ruler Dr A, Salazar was a dictator who had copied Benito Mussolini's type of administration. In fact, he served as premier since 1932. Supported by the army, he continued ruling the Portuguese. Even economic development was unsatisfactory because its resources were spent for military build ups so as to crush liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique.

The prolonged colonial wars later brought dissatisfaction to the military in Portugal. Hence, this armed group turned against the regime. Political upheavals that erupted in 1974 removed Salazar from power. Spínola took the office of presidency. Meanwhile, he planned to overcome the pressing economic problems and to introduce democratic reforms. First and foremost, colonial empires have become free in 1974-5 thereby minimized Portugal's burden. As much as possible rights and leftists' political programmes were undermined during the political reform. A new constitution was prepared and free elections were held in 1976. Soares, the socialist party leader was elected premier and took office until 1978.

So far, economic difficulties remained unsolved. Even the process of democratization was limited. Such conditions debarred Portugal its admission to the European Community for some time. Soares was re-elected president by the 1986 election.

SPAIN

The Spanish civil war from 1936-39 was the most devastating war in all Spanish history. Right after March 1939 General Franco established an authoritarian regime until his death in 1975. Supported by the Falange, fascist party, his administration had become Salazar's. He imposed a one-party rule in Spain. The party was National Union. His rule was, however, challenged by students and workers. Even the Basques preferred secession. These secessionists engaged in terrorist activities to assure independence.

Although Spain signed a military pact with the USA in 1953, it was not accepted to NATO membership. Again it remained out of UN membership until 1955. Surprisingly enough, the American government granted economic aid to Spain in the 1960s. This in turn helped Spain to secure economic development. Besides, some reforms like insurance against sickness and old age were introduced. Nearing to his death, Franco allowed the organization of different political parties. Following his death Spain was ruled by Juan Carlos whom began the process of democratization.

In 1982, the socialist party led by Felipe Gonzalez took the office of presidency when A. Suarez resigned in 1981, Spain was allowed to join NATO and negotiated for entry into the European Community. Be it as it might, the *Euzkadita Azkatasuna* (ETA), the Basque Liberation Organisation continued harassing the dwellers of Madrid for it used bombing.

SUMMARY

With the decline of the former European great powers following the end of the Second World War, the USA emerged great. Because of the decline of British and French power, the Americans began to adopt the role of “world policeman.” Under such circumstances, it designed the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the NATO, i.e., Western response to a potential Soviet challenge.

America had domestic problems associated with racial discrimination and intervention in the internal affair of Vietnam that created popular upheavals in the USA. Assassination, racial problem and students’ violence upset the people and the government was forced to change or reform its policy.

Actually, the position of Britain and France after 1945 was in a bleaker way. But due to American support and good governance, governments took remedial solutions to the existed social economic and political constraints.

As a matter of fact, the Soviet-controlled zone of Germany established a form of socialist government without the willing of the Germans. When the FRG being industrialized and respected freedom of the people, the GDR lagged behind economically and denied people’s democratic right. Postwar Italy led by Gasperi outlawed the Fascist party, attempted to bring economic progress. However, the economic success was practical in northern Italy.

Review Exercise 3

1. In 1960s, important public figures in America were assassinated. Mention these individuals and their positions.
2. What is the historical significance of Rosa Park in black Americans' history?
3. The Labour Party in Britain took over private firms from the private owners to benefit the country. Mention these corporations.
4. What was the purpose of OAS concerning the French history in late 1950s and 1960s?
5. Explain the political condition of Italy in 1970s.
6. Why Portugal was expelled from the European Community?
7. How General Franco, Seized power in Spain?

Check list

Put a tick mark (✓) under 'Yes or 'No

I can

	Yes	No
- I can elucidate about the efforts of J-Kennedy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can describe the objective of Civil Rights Movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can mention the measures taken by the conservative party in 1951	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can point out the measures carried out by C-De Gaulle against American domination	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can list factors that contributed for the erection of the Berlin wall	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

UNIT 4

THE DISINTEGRATION OF COLONIALISM IN ASIA AND AFRICA

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Introduction

In this unit favourable conditions that enhanced the decolonization process in Asia and Africa will be discussed. No doubt, the two super powers were against the continuation of colonial practice so strongly opposed it. The disintegration of sub-continent India into India, Pakistan and Bangladesh will be explained in the text. Notably Mahatma Gandhi who was in favour of the independence of sub-continent India from the British colonial rule through peaceful means and the emergence of Pakistan and Bangladesh as states will be delineated.

Objective

At the end of this unit the students will be able to:-

- point out factors that enabled African and Asian countries to be liberated from the bondage of colonialism;
- explain the status of the two great colonial powers, i.e., Britain and France;
- decompose Gandhi's effort to avoid hostility between the Hindus and Muslims and to establish one central country to serve for both the Hindus and Muslims.

Resources

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- 📖 T. Mowarth . *The World Since 1900* (Kong Long Man, 1979).
- 📖 B. O' Callaghan. *A History of the Twentieth Century*. (London: Long Man, 1990)

4.1 FACTORS THAT HASTENED DECOLONIZATION

It is clear that African and Asian countries by and large were ruled under the European colonial powers. These great powers were Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Spain and Portugal. Indeed, the two European great powers, i.e., Britain and France, which had large colonies or oversea empires, became weak after 1945. The Second World War destroyed the morale superiority and physical invincibility of these nations. Apparently, they have encountered economic, social and political crises. Likewise, the defeat of Japan by the Allied forces created favourable conditions in Asia for those countries which had been under Japan's occupation.

Furthermore, the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR condemned colonialism as an outdated form of imperialism. On top of this, the UNO encouraged self-rule. Be it as it may, these great powers competed to impose their own ideology, influence and economic control in the former European colonial territories by replacing Britain and France. However, both Britain and France opened a new path, neo-colonialism or economic dependence thereby continued their attachment.

Essentially, World War II exposed large number of Africans and Asians to new experience and self-government. During the war, fighters were recruited from colonies and then served in the colonial armed forces. They joined other countries men, read newspapers listened radio programmes, exchanged ideas and upgraded their consciousness levels. Indirectly, WWII served to quicken national feeling among subject peoples throughout Asia and Africa to arouse them against colonial rule. Fighters were told that they were fighting for freedom and equality. This condition awakened fighters to struggle for liberation in their countries.

On their return to their homeland, they were filled with new hopes and the idea of freedom. Thereafter, they organized anti colonial nationalist movements and demanded for self-rule and independence.

In actual fact, national liberation movements had been built since the end of World War I in Algeria, India Indonesia and Vietnam. But the national liberation movements organized after 1945 were much stronger and more organized than before. The European powers which were economically diminished failed to put down these movements by force. Furthermore, some European statesmen were in favour of Africans and Asians self-government.

The acute economic crisis of European powers and the encouragement of the USA and the USSR for freedom gave national liberation movements fresh impetus in their struggle. The working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie and all the patriotic strata of the population joined in the liberation struggle. Especially Russia supported national liberation movements financially as well as materially. Above all, Marxism was influential in the Third World politics. Movements proceeded in resisting the colonial army by force of arms and aimed to establish socialist governments in their newly created states. Indeed, self-centered chiefs tried their best to hinder the pace of decolonisation by helping their colonial masters for they had political and economic benefits.

Right after the end of the war, Asians were determined to demand independence. Then Britain started granting independence like that of her five White Dominions: Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and Ireland. Particularly, Australia and New Zealand had strong similarities to Britain, practising constitutional democracy. In such a way that Asian countries like Indonesia, India, achieved independence. Essentially, the success of the Asians in gaining full self-government encouraged African leaders to increase their demands.

Focus

The decline of Japan's colonial power created favourable conditions in Asia for national liberation movements in the dependent countries. At the same time the decline of British,

French, Belgian and other European colonial powers helped the colonies of Africa to gain their independence

4.2 INDIA WON INDEPENDENCE

At the end of the eighteenth century, sub-continent India fell under British colonial rule. It had become the most valued British colonial empire referred to as the “jewel in the crown.” This empire was consisted of the present day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. For longer years, it was ruled by the East India Company. But in 1857, when the Indian Mutiny broke out, the British crushed the uprising quickly and then the British government took the responsibility from the company to rule the sub-continent that continued until 1947.

In order to eliminate British rule, the Indian National Congress Party was founded in 1885 in Bombay by Hindus and educated Muslims. The aim of this party was to assure equality of opportunity for Indians in public services and for real representative government even self-government to India like that of White Dominions. Meanwhile, with the increasing number of the Hindus in the Congress, Muslims seemed alienated so organized their own party known as the Muslim League in 1906. However, the Muslim League wanted an end to British rule.

The British government be aware of the social unrest, introduced the so-called Morely-Minto reform in 1909. It introduced a liberal reform that encouraged the idea of elected assemblies and administrative autonomy. Indeed, this reform satisfied very few moderate individuals because the assemblies were really “Sham parliaments.” They could talk and criticize British domination but did not possess real power to administer provinces. So that, some militants thus involved in assassinating British officials. In the meantime, a strong uprising known as the Amirstar broke out and brought the death of Indians. Several Indians were massacred on April 13, 1919 by the British troops. The Amristar shooting was aimed against a peaceful and unarmed crowd that killed 379 people. This incident was followed by the so-called Montague Chelmsford Reforms, which did not bring factual freedom to Indians.

M-K Gandhi (1869-1948) trained in England and then served as a lawyer in South Africa. His religious feeling was so strong so that his followers regarded him as a saint and called Mahatma (Great Soul). Gandhi participated in the political affair as well after returning back to sub-continent India. Thereafter, he devoted the whole of his life for the well being of Indians and Indian sovereignty. He did not favour revolution by war, nor advocated tame submission for alien rule. He preached his followers a non-violent and non-cooperation policy commonly known as civil disobedience or passive resistance tactic or action. He strictly advised the Indians for non-cooperation in electoral, educational and judiciary offices, refusal to wear clothes of non-Indian style; renunciation of British titles, refusal to work in offices, to boycott British-made goods and peasants and merchants not to pay taxes. Bit by bit, traditional methods of the campaign like school strikes, military desertions, blacking of British goods and later terrorist acts were applied. For those activities, Gandhi was labelled instigator so he was arrested and released several times.

Anyhow, the nationalist movement between WWI and WWII grew in strength under the leadership of Nehru and Gandhi. At any rate, Gandhi preached the Hindu-Muslim unity even vehemently opposed the cast system which exalted the Hindus superior in all matters. Despite his effort, Muslims rejected the idea of all Indians rather aspired a distinct Muslim nation fearing the Hindu domination because they thought that Congress would favour Hindus. The Muslims, i.e., minority, under the leadership of Muhammad Jinnah (1876-1948) as one of the 1930s leaders used the name Pakistan, for Muslim India. So, the Muslim League agitated for a separate Muslim state, Pakistan which denoted Land of the Pour in Urdu language. In such a way that unlike Congress it wanted to the split of sub-continent India in- to two countries. Above all, they described that P stands for Punjab A, for Afghania, K, for Kashmir, S, for Sind, and Tan for Baluchistan.

It is clear that as of 1941 Japan annexed the Far East including part of India. Then Indian Congress Party refused to support the British war effort. But the Muslim League decided to please the British seeking future independence so cooperated with Britain. Britain on her part was aware of her advantage preferred to win the Hindu attention because she wanted to

use India as a base for the war. To retain Indian support, against the Japanese anti-Western propaganda, the British pledged self-government once the war ended.

Hence, the Hindus joined the British after signing the Lucknow Pact that promised Indian independence. In return, the Indians would fight Japan and Nazi forces along with the British forces. During the war period, Britain, it encouraged local industrial development. Industries expanded to supply arms and other goods to the empire. The British appointed Linlithgow as British viceroy aimed at establishing smooth relation and facilitate the war effort. He worked until 1943, and replaced by A. Wavell in October 1943. Wavell again was succeeded by Mountbatten in February 1947.

The Indians along with the English troops fought the Japanese. With the defeat of the militarist Japan, Indians pressed the British government for complete independence. Their support of Britain in the war acted as a *sinequanon* to attain full self-government. Along with the British trained Indian civil service, they were well prepared to carry on the function of an independent state. The British Labour Party then decided to handover independence. Fearing their domination by the Hindu, the Muslim League wanted separate government for the Muslims in India. The Congress party strongly opposed it because it aspired for a unified secular India with freedom of worship for all religions. Meetings to keep sub-continent India united continued. By then, the Congress members had become friendly to the Muslim League leaders.

The then Indian viceroy A.Wavell organized the Simla Conference in 1945, hoping to reconcile the Hindus and the Muslims. In the meantime, Gandhi approached Jinnah to agree upon certain issues so as to avoid the separation of Muslims from the Hindus. In spite of his notion and effort, the Muslims who had bad relations with the Hindus charged the Congress ministers mistreating the Muslims so they were ready to fight rather than be absorbed into one large state. As of 1946, Muslims insisted on the idea that said "Pakistan or Perish." Social unrest flared up Muslims and Hindus killed each other and incited pillages one another's villages all over India. At Calcutta, Muslim demonstrators opposed Congress and the British rule that brought massacre in thousands. To end further bloodshed, the British

represented by Mountbatten decided to partition the sub-continent. Likewise, the Labour government decided to accept its promise of self-rule to sub-continent India and then to concentrate on rebuilding Britain. Even faced with the threat of civil war, the Congress party reluctantly agreed for separation.

On August 15, 1947 two new states came into being: the Dominion of India and the Muslim Dominion of Pakistan. The colonial government of sub-continent India, thence, transferred its authority to the successor governments of India and Pakistan. The state of Pakistan was created in north-west and northeast India.

Following the separation, people in millions began to flee across the borders by abandoning their homes. Both the Hindus and Muslims were uprooted from their former dwelling areas and started the long march to their respective new homelands. No doubt, large scale massacres accompanied as Hindus and Muslims tried to reach India and Pakistan. As they went, they were attacked by fanatics of the other religion. Muslims slaughtered Sikhs and Hindus; Sikhs and Hindus also slaughtered Muslims. Again when the Hindus fled, Pakistan lost most of the businessmen and administrators. In so far, the riots cost almost 1 million lives. The undeterred Gandhi travelled from place to place trying to stop the homicides which were partly successful.

Gandhi continued his effort to unite the two separated states and to lead harmonious relationship. His campaign for unity, however, earned him hatred from both the extreme reactionaries of the Hindus and the Muslims. At last, Gandhi was assassinated on January 20, 1948 by a fanatic Hindu traditionalist, who resented his appeals for reconciliation.

Jawaharlal Lal Nehru (1889-1964) was made the first Prime Minister of independent India from 1947 to 1964. He was educated and critical who spent much of his time in prison due to his insistence on total independence of his country. He was committed to modernizing, industrializing and non-traditional India. He enunciated the basic principles of democracy, secularism, socialism and economic development at home. As believer in democratic socialism, he rejected all forms of totalitarianism. He wanted India to be a parliamentary

democracy, ruled by parliament elected by the people. Rich and poor, men and women, cast and *harijan*-all had votes.

The Nehru government laid the foundations for a moderate flexible socialism by controlling some basic industries along with a mixed economy. Gradually, it moved toward a market economy and encouraged private investment. Peasants were to be protected from famine and notorious landlords. As such, the government wrestled with the country's enormous problems of poverty, over population, i.e. 90 million, and linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity. In 1951, he introduced a series of five years plans to avoid poverty. One of its aims was to make farming more productive. Fertilizers and pesticides, tractors and electric water pumps, and irrigation schemes were practical. He aspired to raise industrial development. In addition, he intended to upgrade the status of the poor and the unprivileged, to undermine the cast system that hindered modernization, to give equal opportunity for women and untouchables, to expand education, etc. In spite of the efforts, problems seemed to multiply rather than decrease.

Concerning external policy, Nehru struggled to maintain a neutral position. So, he followed a policy of non-alignment in the world power conflict and non-adhering in the military blocs. He insisted that India would follow the policy of neutralism that brought economic aid from both camps. Paradoxically, he dealt about the evils of atomic bombs, imperialism and defensive alliances. Again he failed to criticize the USSR when its army suppressed the Hungarian uprising by force in 1956 .So far, in 1950, India and Pakistan agreed to protect their religious minorities. Again by this year India was proclaimed a republic and joined the common wealth nations.

Focus

- The Indians having had British trained Indian civil servants, pressed British to grant their independence. However, independence brought separation of the Muslims and Hindus accompanied by massacres.
- Muslims were unwilling to live in India dominated by the Hindus and the congress party. As a whole, because of religious difference between the Muslims

and the Hindus there followed separation.

- Nehru actually, encouraged peasants to form cooperative farms and cultivate by irrigation. It was hoped that agricultural yield would increase as a result of ‘green revolution’.

Activity 4.1

Which European powers planned to continue colonial rule and indulged in severe war?

Who was the father of modern India?

What do you understand by secular state?

Nehru died in 1964 and was replaced by Lal Bahadur Shastri. In 1966 he died of a heart attack and then replaced by Mrs. Indra Gandhi, the daughter of Nehru. From 1966 to 1977, she served as prime Minister of India. In 1969 the congress party was split when Indra appointed her choice Venkata Giri to the chairman of Congress party. Desai and other traditional groups slipped away from the Congress. In 1971 general election was held. By then, Indra’s Congress won most seats in parliament. Her opponents refused to accept the victory rather accused her for dishonesty in the election. They said that she had used government aircraft and cars to carry her supporters round the country. In 1975, the judge found her guilty and then decided her withdrawal. But she declared “state of emergency” and threw thousands of her opponents into prison against the will of the parliament and censored the newspapers. She, thence, closed down newspapers and magazines which criticized her. In the 1977 election, she lost an election and resigned. But by the 1980 election she came to power.

The Sikhs minority demanded self-rule to the extent of forming a separate state called Khalistan. Some Sikhs thought that Mrs. Gandhi was to destroy their religion so planned to break away from India and establish their own country. To materialize their objective, they used force. The government on its part repressed the Sikhs from secession in the Punjab. In the meantime, violence had become commonplace in India. Following the June 1984 violence, Indra ordered the army to keep peace and order in the country. The measure further exasperated the situation. The extreme Sikhs decided to retaliate. On October 31st,

1984 two enraged soldiers among her bodyguards, shot and killed Indra Gandhi. The killers were Sikhs. Mrs. Gandhi was soon replaced by her son, Rajiv Gandhi. Consequently, there was anti-Sikhs violence that cost many lives. In return Sikhs engaged in attacking both the Hindus and moderate Sikhs, particularly in Punjab.

As much as possible, Indra Gandhi followed the policy of her father. She started to eliminate poverty. In late 1970s at least many of the Indians could feed themselves. Agricultural and industrial development was partly achieved.

In 1974, India demonstrated its scientific and technological prowess when it developed a nuclear bomb and exploded. Then, India became the sixth in the world to produce these weapons. The development continued. By the middle of 1980s, India had made progress towards solving problems. However, many more Indians remained tormented by poverty.

In so far, India never became friendly with Pakistan. Again India and China had border disputes. For that matter, India and China fought over border disputes in 1962. The Chinese skillfully defeated the Indians in a short war and controlled areas what they had already claimed it.

4.3 PAKISTAN EMERGED AS STATE

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was created by 75 million Muslims. Because of the Muslim demographic concentration in the old empire, Pakistan was established in two disconnection parts, West and East Pakistan. East Pakistan was 1500 kilometers away to the east of India. Muhammad Jinnah was made the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. He died in late 1948 even his successor, Liaqat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951. This caused endless political trouble and uncertainty. Consequently, the country succumbed to military dictatorship. From 1951 and 1958 it had eleven prime ministers. This showed that how there was disorder and political intrigue in the newly created state. The politicians were busier in making money for themselves by various dishonest means. In late 1958, the army kicked the civilian politicians and took power. The commander-in-chief General Ayub Khan soon became president. Soon, he dismissed civilian politicians from government offices

Corruption and tax evasions were stopped. Price control was exercised and standards of efficiency were raised. On the other way, the army banned all political parties. In most cases, Ayub used force to settle matters. Again the newspaper and radio continued to praise him.

Gradually, his associates had become beneficiary from the regime. In fact, he tried to introduce some democratic reforms. People were encouraged to elect local councils; these councils were later to elect parliamentarians. Side by side, land was nationalized and distributed to the peasants. In so far, landlords were compensated. Although peace and order was maintained, there was opposition to the regime. Especially, landlords resented the government. Educated Pakistanis condemned the regime as dictatorial so voiced for freedom. In spite of the strict censorship, anti-government views were ventilated through printed materials.

Despite the social crisis, Ayub Khan seized power until 1969. Later his repressive measures had become intolerable and he was ousted from power by a military coup led by General Yahya Khan who held power until 1971. Yahya served as commander-in-chief since 1966. He then imposed martial law amid at controlling the disorders. As much as possible this president made various improvements. Irrigations were made, factories established.

The loss of Eastern Pakistan after the military defeat by the Indians made the leaders unpopular. Yaha, then, gave way to Ali Bhutto who took the office of presidency. However, the new leader faced challenges but tried to manage and improve conditions. Indeed, he attempted to establish good relationship with India, encouraged peasants to be productive and stabilised prices.

In 1977, Ali Bhutto was accused of cheating in an election. Riots broke out in many parts of Pakistan that cost lives. Besides, flooding brought further social unrest. Soon the army overthrew him. He was replaced by General Muhammad Zaiul-Haq seized power in July 1978. In 1978, Zai escaped a political murder plotted by his opponent, i.e., Bhutto. The following year in April, Bhutto was hanged. Anyhow, his People's Party dominated by his

close associates, notably his sons and his Western educated daughter, Benazir Bhutto survived. With regard religion, Zai was the supporter of strict Islamic ideas thereby promoting Muslim orthodoxy. He promised for election, but remained in power as a dictator until 1980s. He banned political parties in 1979. Savage punishments were decreed for crime, adultery and drinking alcohol, etc., intended to preserve the reins of his power. So much so that, Pakistan remained poor ruled by autocrats who did not fulfill their promises and who had denied people's freedom.

Due to Zai's anti- Soviet stand, the Reagan administration provided support to him. Again his relationship with China and India was peaceful. Nevertheless, his leadership had opposition by the people. Particularly, Benazir Bhutto from France and her supporters in Pakistan seriously attacked Zai's rule. In 1986, she was able to return to her homeland to participate in politics. But her activities were hindered even she was detained by the authorities.

Actually, Zai depended on the army and his security forces to preserve his authority. So, Pakistan remained undemocratic. Finally, Zai lost his life by air crash in 1988 and the country was liberated. No doubt, his death brought a new chapter to Pakistan. Pakistan stopped its military support to the Afghan Muslim fundamentals, American cordial relationship renewed, and democratic process was launched. In the 1988 general election, Benazir's Pakistan People's Party won the majority parliamentary seats. Having formed a coalition with other minor political parties, Benazir was appointed premier in November of the same year. This exile became the first woman Prime Minister with high promise of liberalisation and modernisation.

Concerning its external relation, Pakistan was joined by the Western military alliances (SEATO). Though, this measure protected the country from socialist ideas but did not bring good governance. In 1953 Pakistan agreed to take military aid from the Americans, supposedly for defense against Russia and China.

Moreover, relations between India and Pakistan have never been good. In northwest India, there is a region called Kashmir. Most of the people were/are Muslims. In 1948, Kashmir's ruler decided to join India because he was a Hindu whom acceded to India. But the people refused. In the meantime, the UNO decided the partition of Kashmir between India and Pakistan. Afterwards, the two countries have been quarrelling about this disputed territory ever since. Both sides received military aid from outside. For instance, India followed a neutralist policy, but had drawn economic and military aid from both the USSR and the West. In the case of Pakistan, it was the founder of the South East Asian Treaty Organization, sometimes aligned with China against India in the early 1960s but mostly obtained the Western support.

Pakistan had also problem from its eastern part. Eastern Pakistan was far apart from Western Pakistan by several kilometers. The people even spoke a different language, Bengali. It was ruled by leaders who belonged from West Pakistan. The Bengali people were angry at the way they were treated by Pakistanis. In fact, Islam served as a bond between the two parts of Pakistan. Eventually, these dissenters organized their own association called the Awami League. In March 1971, political and social resentments reached climax. Students and other commoners rioted against Ayub's administration in the East. The movement was led by Sheik M.Rahman aimed at establishing an independent state. In order to stifle the mounting chaotic condition, Rahman was arrested. The Pakistani government soon restored to use force so sent troops. It tried to arrest the movement leaders. By then, civil war broke out and people were killed in thousands. Millions of refugees fled into India. Now that, the Indian government viewed as a good opportunity to intervene in the affairs of Pakistan. India soon declared war on the side of Bangladesh. Hence, the Indian government sent its troops into East Pakistan and defeated the Pakistani army, compelled the recognition of a new state of Bangladesh to mean Bengali nation. Shortly, the rebel leaders took over the government. East Pakistan became an independent country, Bangladesh in 1971. Rahman was made Premier to the newly created state.

Pakistan not only lost its territory in the east, but its political situation was unhealthy. In 1977, Ali Bhutto, the president of Pakistan was executed by a military coup. In 1978

democratic election was held-Benazir Bhutto, the Western educated daughter of Ali Bhutto returned from exile and won the election and became the first woman Prime Minister with high promise of liberalization and modernization.

FOCUS

Independent Pakistan was composed of two regions one in the west and the other in the east with several kilometers distance. Its first Prime Minister died shortly. Thereafter, its successive rulers failed to govern the people justly. As time passed, the Eastern part of Pakistan seceded and established a new state called Bangladesh.

In fact, Bangladesh has become free from Pakistani intervention as sovereign state but remained as one of the poorest and most densely populated nations in the world, subject to natural disasters like floods, drought, famine, political violence, assassinations and military coups. So far, nation building became a daunting task to the new leaders. In 1980s, the population rose to 90 million but the recurrent flood and political upheaval suffered the people. Above all, the occurrence of food shortage forced the state to depend on foreign aid.

Bangladesh had ethnic and social problems as well. The Bengal people continued harassing the Bihar's minority for their support to Pakistan. Due to clashes these minorities were forced to flee to West Pakistan. Again corruption was rampant. Hence, opponents decided to end the rule of Rahman. He was killed in 1975 but his assassination ushered other homicides. At last, General Ziaur Rahman seized power in 1977.

Actually, the new government embarked on some reforms like the weeding out of corruption, checking population growth through voluntary sterilization and increasing agricultural productivity. Unfortunately, Ziaur was assassinated in 1981 and replaced by Major General Abdul Manzoor. Manzoor again lost his life after some time and then power transferred to General Muhammad Ershad in 1982 that re-imposed martial law so as to maintain peace and order. In fact, the new leader promised for introducing democracy and wiping out corruption but continued upheavals required strong measures. Meanwhile, he lost

credibility. Although he received aid from World Bank and other Western governments, his country remained desperately poor.

Activity 4.2

-
- What was the main cause for the conflict between India and Pakistan after separation?
 - Discuss the condition of Bangladesh after securing its in sovereignty.
 - Who was the first leader of Pakistan?
 - Where was the geographical location of Eastern Pakistan?
 - Who was Banazir Bhutto?
-

SUMMARY

With the decline of the European great powers, national liberation movements had got fresh impetus in Africa and Asia. Asians who had co-operated the British during the Second World War against Japan pressed the British government to grant their independence like the British White Dominions. When the Asians secured independence, their success encouraged African nationalist leaders to increase their demand of self-rule.

When the British government granted independence to sub-continent India, the Muslims strongly protested for a separate state called Pakistan. In actual fact, Pakistani nationalism was based on religion only. After separation, India achieved economic and political developments but Pakistan was marred by economic and political upheavals. Even, as of 1971, its eastern territory was seceded and established a new state called Bangladesh.

Review Exercise 4

1. How do you evaluate the national liberation movements in Africa after 1945?
2. Obviously independence to the sub-continent India brought riots between Hindu and Muslim communities. Discuss it.
3. What were the major objectives of Nehru?
4. What happened in 1958 in Pakistan?
5. Explain about the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state.
6. How Zai maintained his power?

Check list

Put a tick mark (✓) in the boxes under 'Yes or 'No

I can

	Yes	No
- I can describe non-violent polices in Sub-continent India	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I have understood the objective of the Muslim League	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can mention the three modern states created from sub-continent India	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can explain the reasons why the Pakistanis preferred for secession	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can point of political problems that prevailed in India during the tenure of India Gandhi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I list factors that contributed to the process of decolonization.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

UNIT 5

THE TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM IN ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

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Introduction

In this unit the students will learn about the spread of communism to Asia and Latin America. The Western governments united to destroy socialist regime in late 1910s but failed. Aimed at containing socialism from the existed localities, military alliances were created. Despite the effort, communists led by Mao Zedong seized power in China in 1949; Northern Korea under the leadership of Kim Il Sung established socialist regime; Ho Chi Minh became the leader of communist Vietnam and Fidel Castro in Central America, very close to the USA proclaimed his country communist. These points will be clearly discussed.

Subsequently, factors that accounted for the military success of communist bands against the existed governments and the role of Soviet Union and China will be discussed vividly.

Objective

Upon the completion of this unit, the students will be able to:-

- explain the strenuous effort of the Chinese communists and their military success over the nationalist army;
- elucidate factors that led to the division of Korea into two states after 1948;
- point out the effort of the French to reestablish their colonial rule in Indo-China and their military defeat;
- decompose the struggle of Castro and Che Guevara to topple the Batista government and then to proclaim Cuba a socialist state in the western hemisphere.

Resources

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- 📖 Palmer, R. and Colton, J. *A History of Modern World*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995).
- 📖 Snellgrove, L. *The Modern World Since 1870*. (Singapore: Longman 1996).

5.1 COMMUNIST CHINA

Mao Tse Tung along with other communist leaders like Zhu De organized the peasants into a formidable army. This Red army was trained to fight a hard-hitting, fast moving guerrilla type of war. Thereafter, communists controlled one-fourth of China by chasing government forces. Side by side, to win mass support in some regions, they reduced land rent and interest payments; in some parts, they confiscated the land of landlords and redistributed to the landless; taught better way of farming; schools were opened and medical care was provided in communist-held regions; in every activity the Chinese Red army helped the people and promoted equality based on discipline and justice. In so doing, peasants had won over to the communist cause.

During the Second World War, China was split into three parts: occupied China by Japan in north east, Kuomintang China centered on Chungking and Red China in northwest. In order to fight the aggressor Japan jointly, Chiang appealed to Mao to unite with the communist force. By doing so, they had developed common understanding and proceeded in defending the invaders. The communist force reached half a million controlled larger part in northern

China. In actual fact, Mao's force liberated large areas of northern China from the Japanese occupation by the summer of 1945. In those areas under Mao's control, communists, thus, achieved reputation.

By September, the Japanese were driven out of China. However, the Japanese withdrawal set off a race between the nationalists (KMT) and communists to capture the Japanese-held territory to receive the Japanese surrender thereby to harvest the vast quantity of enemy arms and military supplies. The USA showed sympathy to the Chiang government. So that its air forces ferried Chiang's troops east and north to take over Japanese-occupied towns. Be it as it might, the US government attempted to minimize the tension between the communists and nationalists. Thence, it sent General George Marshall to China to mediate the two groups thereby forming a coalition government. The Nationalists wanted a presidential form of government but the communists supported the idea of cabinet system. Nevertheless, Chiang refused to share power with the communists. He insisted on the reduction of communist forces and their integration into the nationalist army which was rejected by the communist leaders. The truce collapsed and the Civil War began in April 1946, which lasted in 1949.

Anyhow, the US government continued assisting financially to prop up the Chiang government. American mariners and troops landed on key ports and communication centers. But later the nationalists had squandered their American aid and profited from black marketeering and corruption. The government printed much money that caused roaring inflation. Inflation was rampant due to the flagrant increase in note issues. In the meantime inflation was accompanied by financial management that destroyed the livelihood of the Chinese. Even the nationalists treated the people with contempt as if they were disloyal citizens or traitors. As a result, it was discredited by the People. For it was a futile effort, America withdrew its support. As of 1948, Chiang's armies had become weak. Their military morale sank.

The draining of American support gave good opportunity to Mao's followers. Supported by peasants and Soviet Union, the People's Liberation Army commanded by Chu Teh descended

from north to south deep into the interior and in 1949 many cities fell under them without a fight. Because the communists had able leaders and Chiang's soldiers taking their American weapons and equipment with them deserted him in thousands. Moreover, the city people had enough of Chiang. In the rural area also peasants determined to get rid of landlords. So, they welcomed the communists as liberators. In the fighting, the communists were big winners who captured US weapons from the retreating nationalist army.

On the contrary, the nationalists were poorly led, hated by the population so lacked the will to fight so scattered in western China. Chiang was condemned for his collaboration with foreigners who could exploit China and his protection to the landlords whom exploited the peasants. Subsequently, the KMT government along with two million followers fled to Formosa (now Taiwan) and to the lesser islands of Matsu and Quemoy. America soon changed its policy and started supporting Japan and Taiwan economically and militarily.

Communists captured Peking and on October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Peking was declared the capital. Mao soon hoisted the new national flag a red flag with five stars. The communists then established a totalitarian regime. Thereafter, China has become another challenger to the USA next to the USSR. America then boycotted diplomatic recognition to China and objected its admission to the UNO. Among the Western nations only Great Britain which had concern for its huge investments in China and safety of its Hong Kong colony extended recognition.

The communist party ran the army and the various social elements like peasants, workers, students and children. Bit by bit, political indoctrinations by the cadres were given to the people to think and act as dedicated communists.

Chiang Kai-Shek found in Taiwan, the higher standard of education and higher level of economic activity left by the Japanese. Protected by the US navy and security commanded by General William C. Chase, the Nationalist government signed a pact with Eisenhower. In 1949, the KMT government and almost two million refugees from the mainland were to build on those foundations. Technological researches even extended to the nuclear energy

and industrial development. By and large, Japanese investment was encouraged that brought rapid progress to the area.

Mao soon planned for a state visit in Moscow. He arrived Moscow on December 18, 1949. His visit lasted two months. The Russo-Chinese treaty was concluded on February 15, 1950. Nevertheless, Stalin wanted no powerful China. So, he devised a new policy to China. As a result of this Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Stalin granted Mao a military alliance; provided credit of \$300 million which was repayable between 1954-1963 and promised tens of thousands of Soviet military and civilian experts to help China modernize its armed forces and industries. Moreover, thousands of Chinese students went to study in the Soviet Union. In return Russia was allowed to station troops in Sinkiang and Manchuria if possible to facilitate the looting of mineral resources there.

Afterwards, Mao supported by Soviet advisors and Soviet loans planned to design the Chinese internal policy and economic planning on the Soviet model. He wanted to instill new values and obedience to the state in stead of old loyalties and patterns of thought. He planned to end corruption in the public service. His government, thence, directed against bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of state property and the betrayal of economic secrets. These campaigns were aimed at enabling the Chinese to behave and think correctly. The campaigns were pursued by means of public meetings, confessions and purges. By frequent meetings, citizens were to learn Marxist ideology and the party lines, and to criticize themselves and each other. The government also used force to enforce obedience; opponents were persuaded to reform their ways and be “re-educated” to communism.

To win the wider popular support thereby to ascertain people’s loyalty, communists allowed the formation of other political parties even Mao invited other political parties to work with the communists by forming a coalition government .But it was a camouflage only to establish a single communist party dictatorship.. Obviously, in a socialist regime no other political party is allowed to exist. But Mao and his colleagues permitted and invited them to work with them. It was really nominal; the fact was the dictatorship of a single communist party. Leaders were soon failed under the pressure of threat. Large campaigns of “thought

reform” were launched against enemies: usually richer classes like merchants, landowners or private entrepreneurs and some old practices. Several Chinese were then captured from 1949-1951 and executed. As many as million people lost their lives as “counter-revolutionaries” and countless others were sent to labour camps. Particularly, the landlords were victims who were either exterminated or jailed. Able Chinese like Chou Enlai who served as Prime Minister was accused of forging links with Nasser, Nkrumah and other neutralist leaders and cost his life.

Of course, in 1949, the “four families”, i.e., Chiang Kai sheik, Kung Hsiang-hsi Sung Tze-wen and the Chen brother, supported by America dominated the Chinese economy. Now the new government nationalized their properties to benefit the whole of the Chinese population. Furthermore, the Agrarian Reform Law was proclaimed in June 1950 that abolished land ownership and feudal exploitation. Throughout China, land was nationalized to be distributed among peasants. Landlords’ lands and farm implements were expropriated and distributed among the peasants privately according to their family size. This was not enough to punish the landlords. They were captured and put on trial before ‘people’s courts accused of mistreating peasants or of working with the Japanese. Thousands were put to death for crimes against the people; others were allowed to cultivate their shared land and then to redeem themselves by working as peasants. Moreover, a new currency was issued and foreign currency circulation ceased. Also efforts were made to achieve price and wage stabilisation.

After establishing relationship with the Soviet Union and suppressing the domestic opponents by forces, Mao copied Stalin’s idea to modernize China and produce surplus production. To implement, Russian style Five-Year economic plans were launched. Consequently, aided by the Soviet Union, the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957) was launched targeted on the establishment of heavy industrialization and collectivizing agriculture. By then, Russia provided machinery, equipment and technical assistance.

At first peasants were urged to form mutual aid programmes. They were to keep their own private land but to share their animals and labour for the communal work. In 1953 the

mutual aid team was changed to cooperative or collective farming. They were ordered to put their lands together into 'collectives.' They shared private farm implements and livestock to others. Even teachers were instructed to teach peasants to read and write thereby to acquaint ideas about modern farming. In the next stage peasants who had pooled their lands and means of productions started working communally. Their agricultural produce was to be shared out among the members according to the amount of land, farm implements and hours of work they had to put in. Thence, agricultural machinery and fertilizer to boost production was provided by the government. In fact, small plots of land were allowed to individual farmers. Although there was opposition, many of the peasants were in the collectives. Besides, the government nationalized private industries.

Between 1953 and 1957 achievements seemed observable: steel production was set up by four times, the out put of coal, electricity and machine tools all more than doubled; small towns in China were developed into vast industrial complexes. In villages and factories, there were sessions of criticism and self-criticism. Hard work and honesty were encouraged. Moreover, the government was busily building railways, roads and expanding power supplies. By the end of 1957, a railway bridge across the Yangtze at Wuhan completed which was the biggest in Asia. So far, the Chinese communists believed in Marxist-Leninist revolutionary doctrines. However, they were not completely alien to the Chinese cultural tradition. As much as possible, they tried to preserve it for they indicated their identities.

It is clear that the above-mentioned economic successes were achieved without the willing of the Chinese. In most cases, the cadres forced the people to apply the words of their leaders. At one point in 1956, Mao decided to allow free speech to people to express their open criticism of the government. He coined the phrase that said 'let a hundred flowers blossom'. Communists then encouraged people to say what they thought. Many of the Chinese intellectuals including the writers and university lecturers who had Western training and thought criticized bitterly the party and the system. They expressed their preference that capitalism, private profit and democracy to socialism and totalitarian administration so that demanded sweeping changes. When criticisms were much harsher than Mao expected, he clamped down, fearing social unrest. In the mid- 1957, the communists counter attacked the

outspoken; the critics were suppressed and made to confess that they were wrong. Most of them were punished and paid for their outspokenness by losing their jobs and undergoing periods of re-education in labour camps. Thereafter, he neglected the best thinkers and relied on the common people. In so doing, writers, teachers and other well-educated people had suffered under communism.

Practically speaking, the Sino-Russian conflict had its roots in early 1950s, especially soon after the death of Stalin and the assumption of power of N. Khrushchev. For that matter, Khrushchev visited Peking in 1954 and Russia continued assisting China morally, financially and technologically. Again the Russians left Port Arthur with its installations to China in 1954. In 1957 Soviet and China agreed on technical aid. By then, Khrushchev promised China to provide samples of nuclear material and information about the construction of nuclear weapons. Actually, Russo-Chinese relations began to deteriorate after 1956. However, Mao doubted Russian genuine alliance to China and Russian foreign policy. Khrushchev denounced Stalinist policy towards Soviet satellites; created good relationship with Tito of Yugoslavia who had bad relationship with Mao in late 1950s. Again he showed sympathy and paid visits to non-communists like India, Burma and Afghanistan. Khrushchev's tours to India and Burma in 1955 with promises of aid, created animosity with the Chinese leaders, which developed resentment to Soviet. Previously, China targeted to establish its influence in these countries thereby to spread its form of communist rule. Last but not least, Khrushchev's policy of in favour of peaceful co-existence policy was rejected by Mao. These and other things exacerbated the Sino-Russo split.

Mao wanted more agricultural and industrial productivity so he came up with a new economic plan to achieve greater production shortly. In 1958 a programme called the Great Leap Forward was launched to increase the industrial and agricultural out put as well as to employ fully the labour force. It was the Second Five Year Plan in place of a Soviet-style plan. Mao despised N-Khrushchev of Soviet Union for his policy of peaceful co-existence with the West. So that, China shifted away from the Soviet-style policies. The new plan was

aimed at extending the system of communes. Therefore, communes were reorganized. The extra town populations were sent back to the countryside to work in the commune schemes.

Actually, the Great Leap Forward was opposed and resisted by the peasants for it forbade private plots. But the peasants' resistance to the state policy was sapped. Like the peasants, Peng Te-huai, the war minister opposed the scheme and advocated a return to Soviet-style methods but he was dismissed from power and arrested. It is natural that dictators even do not want to entertain constructive ideas or different methods forwarded by their colleagues.

According to the new plan, peasants in the countryside would be fully employed. They were supposed to work on large scheme irrigation and flood control projects. They were also to establish small-scale industries. Also in the cities, labour intensive industries, which required little money, were to be established to solve the unemployment problem. As a result, large number of peasant and urban families were to be accommodated in the communes to increase production. Apparently, the Great Leap Forward, was aimed at doing too much too fast. At last, it led to huge mistakes that led to disaster. It was a mess because the result proved a waste of energy and materials.

When N. Khrushchev attended the Chinese tenth anniversary in 1959, he was less respected. His foreign policy of peaceful co-existence was viewed as revisionism for it contradicted Lenin's theories. Above all, Mao expressed his resentment for being treated as a junior partner to Moscow leaders. Peking newspaper then indirectly attacked the Soviet Union. Writers referred Soviet officials to as "revisionists", or "bourgeoisie elements" to instead of the Soviet leaders. On the contrary, Khrushchev called Mao "an ultra-leftist, an ultra-dogmatists and a left- revisionist." Thereafter, within a few months, the USSR withdrew her specialist advisors and their blue prints from China and broke off economic aid.

Unfortunately, by 1959/60 there was severe drought in some parts of China and in others heavy rainfall and flood. Famine occurred due to crop failure and caused millions to be starved to death. As such, the Chinese economy was crippled by the follies of the Great Leap. So that it was forced to import grain from abroad. The people were exhausted and

demoralized. Mao was, thence, blamed for the problems because the population was affected by a grim food shortage in 1961 and 1962 due to the poor policy. Thence, he resigned as China's head of state and replaced by his vice, Liu Shao- Chi, another hero of the Long March. Mao remained chairman of the CCP. Now those, many of the Great Leap policies were abandoned due to its "Little Leap" that brought economic disaster and food shortage. Thousands of small factories proved to be inefficient and wasteful. So, these factories were closed; peasants returned to their private farming. Communes were reduced; private garden plots were allowed in order to encourage them to produce more food. Consequently, rich peasants emerged. Furthermore, payment of prizes and bonuses to hardworking Chinese were practised that created social inequality. Such changes annoyed Mao.

By mid- 1960s, Mao wanted to re-establish his authority, his line of revolution and work – style. Thus, he antagonized with the party members and decided to attack them. He even feared the survival of 'Revolution'. Supported by Lin Baio, Minister of Defense, he called for a purge of the highest ranks of government and party members and to push on officials who lacked zeal with the social revolution in 1965. Therefore, along with his closest associates, they urged China's students to protect the revolution against bourgeois liberalism and Soviet revisionism. In 1966 the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was launched so as to get the people back on the right track to communism.

One of the goals of this programme was to give the masses more self-government. In line with this it aimed to reassert the primacy of Marxist Leninist doctrine against revisionist tendency and expelling moderates from power. To undertake this mission young people were organized by the help of the army. Schools and universities were to be closed-down for two years since June 1966 whilst teachers and students to go to help with farming and industrial projects. Teenagers and other young people in millions were mobilized as Red Guards. They were instructed by Mao to attack the 'four olds': old customs, old habits, old thoughts and old culture. They were also ordered to rid the opponents of communist policies. Above all, these teenagers demonstrated against anything Western for they envisioned themselves as "revolutionary successors" and "revolutionary rebels."

Later on, Red Guards were to roam throughout China in order to spread Mao's ideas compiled in the 'Little Red Book.' They were to worship Mao. They were indoctrinated to act as armed shock-troops to press the Maoist revolutionary cause. Converging on Beijing and other cities they were sent to the countryside to work among the peasants. In such a way that they denounced bourgeois ways, attacked the vestiges of Western imperialist culture, and brutally harassed and humiliated government and party officials as well as cultural and educational leaders whom opposed Mao.

Everywhere, the Red Guards wrote slogans, wall posters and plastered up along with Mao's pictures. They continued attacking anyone who was not living according to Mao's teachings. Men with long hair, or those wearing pointed shoes or narrow trousers, were lectured and more often attacked. By then, men with long hair, or those wearing pointed shoes or narrow trousers, were lectured and more often attacked. They also ransacked private property. People really got trouble for wearing a little or slightly out of the ordinary clothes, for collecting stamps, playing chess or keeping pets or for modern attire and hair cuts. All these things were branded as 'anti-revolutionary'.

Red Guards supported by the revolutionary army had become gangs of bigots and hooligans who had beat up teachers, experts in industries and offices whom they suspected as not full blooded revolutionary. Even so, foreign diplomats were humiliated. All over China humiliation, execution, torture and imprisonment were commonplace. As a whole, people were thrown into prison, driven from jobs or were killed in thousands. Many party officials were also removed from their post. At the same time peasants and workers were attacked. This led to reduction in production. Red Guards again involved in renaming streets.

Supported by the army, Mao demoted rival members to work as labourers. Prominent officials who had criticized Mao for his mismanagement were branded as revisionist so were attacked and purged from all party and government posts. For instance, unluckily Liu Shaqi, one of the influential figures was arrested in 1967. He died from beatings and lack of medical care in a secret prison two years later. So far, the Cultural Revolution seemed a planned upheaval organized by Mao to insure the purity of the party by hard-liners.

Probably if taken as a positive side, the Red Guards worked manual works with the peasants and in the agricultural and industrial centers. Besides, they provided little training to the people to enable them to give simple medical treatment in villages. However, under such circumstances, hundreds of thousands of high-ranking officials in the government and three-fourths of the party members lost their lives and positions. Almost three million persons had been sent to labour camps or to work in the fields. Two-thirds of the Party Central Committee members had been purged as a result of the Cultural Revolution. All these activities led China to internal turmoil and civil strife. To avoid the confusion, the government later disbanded the Red Guards and stopped the programme. By 1969, the Cultural Revolution was declared over which brought unsuccessful result. In fact, it seemed continued until the death of Mao so sometimes referred to as the “Eleven Years.”

In short, as a result of Cultural Revolution, China was on the verge of civil war since 1967. Already industrial and agricultural productions declined; youngsters were deprived of education; intellectuals were sent to the countryside to do menial chores at the expense of their teaching and research work. The disruption of education, no doubt, caused a loss of generation trained manpower. In actual fact, the programme was anti-cultural, anti-intellectual and anti-scientific for knowledge was considered as the source of reactionary and bourgeois thought and action. That is why countless educated officials and individuals were wrongly accused of anti-revolutionary activities and driven to suicide or imprisonment.

Obviously, China’s backward economy, poor management, roaring inflation was gradually freed by the communist rule. In 1960s, China achieved progress in the technological development. It ranked among the top ten powers in the world in industrial out put. Its scientists successfully tested an atomic bomb in 1964 and a hydrogen bomb in 1967 and orbited satellites in the 1970s, which proved its technological advancement.

The regime also transformed life in transportation, public sanitation, and public health and education. Much medical treatment was achieved by the use of herbs and by acupuncture. Technical education was offered to students. In line with this the curriculum was revised to

enable students be specialized in specific fields. Railway, road air transport has become abundant. Most ordinary Chinese had more to eat, more to clothes, better houses, and more schools for their children. The government made progress in overcoming illiteracy. Old abuses like forced child marriage, concubineage (bigamy), and the killing of infant girls were outlawed. New marriage and divorce laws were enacted. The 1950 Marriage Law thence fixed the minimum ages twenty for men and eighteen for women. Birth control was encouraged and vasectomies were supported .So, free birth control medicines were provided even the government allowed abortion so as to curb population growth. Moreover, the government encouraged non-sexual intercourse in the form of celibacy for certain years. Last but not least, women obtained equality with men in the history of China by law and few attained high political careers.

FOCUS

The Chinese communists supported by the peasantry and the Soviet Union seized power in 1949. Soon, they attacked the former proprietors and pleased the peasants and the workers. Later, the communists established a dictatorial regime and forced the population to accept their orders. Initially, the communists received economic programmes, financial loan, experts and advice from Moscow. Meanwhile, they quarrelled with the Soviets such aids dried up.

Despite the image Mao had cultivated as the champion of the peasantry, he miscalculated on its ability to resist change. The persistent opposition of the peasants, severe crop failures, and the more bizarre experiments brought a disastrous famine. Up 30 million died of hunger.

Although professing peace, China pursued an aggressive foreign policy. The Sino-Soviet split continued and relations became strained. Again in south, it had frontier problem with India. India supported by the USA began to condemn China. When China attacked India in 1962, Russia and the USA sided India its war against China. However, India lost the war. Be it as it might, during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, Russia backed India while China sided with Pakistan. Even in 1972, the two countries, which had been old enemies because of border disputes clashed in armed conflict along the Amur and Ussuri River to the north of

Manchuria over boarder territory that divided Manchuria and Russia's maritime province. Meanwhile, propaganda loaded with insults aggravated the tension between the two countries.

Furthermore, China proceeded in claiming the old Chinese territorial suzerainty of Tibet. In the guise of liberating the country from clerical, i.e., Buddhist despotism, China occupied it and forcibly maintained its rule there over years. Soon, monasteries were closed; the Dalai Lama, the country's religious ruler was forced into exile to India; and large numbers of Chinese arrived there as settlers. Of course, in 1965, the Chinese government allowed autonomy to the region with no practical effect.

On the other development, America continued to recognize the KMT government in Taiwan. As a result, China remained bitter enemy to the USA. Even China reduced its status and labelled America as a 'paper tiger' fit only to frighten cowards. As time passed, the relationship of China and America was improved because of American initiation. The factor that led to their smooth relationship was due to the creation of Sino-Soviet gap. In fact, from the Chain's side, Chou was responsible to act positively with regard American appeal thereby breaking down the barriers between China and the West China's relation was smooth because officials disliked Russia. Again due to the failure of the Great Leap Forward and its hostile relation with the Soviet, China was forced to buy goods and machinery from the Western countries.

Need less to say, Britain pressed the USA to create friendly relationship with China. This time actually China had cold relationship with Soviet Union. The idea was to ally with the enemy of Soviet. Indeed, China's interest to be friendly with the Capitalist governments was lukewarm. Of course, she wanted recognition from the USA, to settle the Taiwan question, and to regain its seat from the UNO.

In the mean time, H. Kissinger, Secretary State of the USA went to Peking in July 1971 to express American willingness to rapprochement with Communist China. Consequently, Nixon and his counter part Mao met at the capital of China in February 1972 and talked

about détente, the status of Taiwan and free trade. Shortly trade agreement was signed; American war prisoners captured during the Vietnam War were to be released, which was effective in March 1973.

Following this move, trade and travel restrictions were relaxed. This opportunity further gave China a chance to obtain some of the capital equipment that she needed from America. Actually, full diplomatic relations between the two countries were established in January 1979 when the US government recognized China as a legal government. Obviously, the USA approached China because of China's anti-Sovietism stand and due to American promise to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. America, thus, changed the mainland China by the island Taiwan. By the help of its veto power, it allowed Communist China to be admitted to the UNO in place of Taiwan.

FOCUS

Meanwhile, Mao quarrelled with the party members. In order to take measures against them he planned to depend on the youngsters who lacked the past experience and the army. At the expense of schools and universities, the Cultural Revolution was to be implemented throughout China. By then, the Chinese suffered a lot. The programme created chaos so that it was abandoned without success.

Essentially, Nixon's state visit of China startled Japan. Immediately, its government decided to protect Japan's economic interest in the Far East by establishing good relationship with its neighbouring state China. In 1978, it signed treaty with China thereby agreed not to support the nationalists and trade between the two countries expanded. For that matter, the treaty stated that Far East should be free from other states' intervention.

Mean while, Mao has become old and arrangements with regard succession was effected. Zhou Enlai, who served as premier and foreign minister was supposed to be Mao's successor but died on January 8, 1976. So, Lin Piao was made his successor. Subsequently, president Mao died on September 9, 1976 long ailing and in his eighties. Obviously, he was

one of the giant figures in the history of China who had forged a revolutionary party and a revolutionary army, led the Long March, fought the Japanese, defeated the nationalists, and presided over a revolution that had unified, revitalized, and modernized the country. Practically, for twenty-seven years, he as uncontested head of the party guided the destinies of China. His theoretical teachings on the struggle against imperialism and on the vanguard role of the peasantry, and his practical success in guerrilla warfare, influenced revolutionaries all over the world especially, in the Third World countries. His most famous precept, that “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”, reinforced revolutionary zeal everywhere.

Mao’s death precipitated a renewed power struggle between the ‘moderate’ or ‘pragmatic’ and the radical (gang of four) factions .This was due the fact that the absence of constitutional mechanism for peaceful power succession. Mao’s widow, Chiang Chiang wanted to succeed him. With the help of other three radicals, i.e., Wang Hung wen, Chang Chu and Yao Wen Yuan conspired to seize power.

These power mongers before the death of Mao, distributed weapons and ammunitions to the Shanghai militia thereby established their bodyguards against their rivals. Even they plotted to assassinate Politburo members. On the hand, another group force operated secretly in order to abort this action. Leaders planned to act swiftly. Soon, they arranged to take an emergency meeting with the gangs on October 5, 1976. Wang arrived early but refused to hand over his hands rather shot and killed two guards. Later, he was captured. Chang and Yao were captured by surprise. Even Ching was arrested while she was in her house. By doing so, the “Gangs of Four’s” attempt aborted on October 6. They were placed in solitary confinement in separate locations in Peking.

The success of their capture was credited to three protagonists such as Hau Kuo feng, Wang Tung-hing and Yeh Chien-ying who had long years of experience in security and military matters. In fact, the Gangs had bad reputation. They only relied on Mao, mistreated respected leaders and elders and used terrorist and secret agents against the people. In addition, during the coup, there was power imbalance between the military strength and the

media control. The gang only controlled the militia. Finally, they were expelled from the party, removed from all official posts and branded as conspirators, ultra-rights, counter-revolutionaries and representatives of Koumintang.

Teng Hsiaoping was restored to the position of deputy Prime Minister. Later on, he followed a policy to appease men who had grievances under Mao's regime so tolerated divergent public views. Some who opposed his stand and became old so resigned from their posts and were replaced by others.

Practically speaking, not all of the CCP members were Maoist. This was attested after the death of Mao. The new leaders led by Deng needed flexibility and modernization by introducing reforms through the process of 'democratisation'. They wanted to end the violent upheavals and relaxed the situations. Towns' people who were forced to work on the land were allowed to return home and political prisoners were released. Also people stopped wearing the blue 'uniform' of 'Mao's suits' and caps. Peasants were also allowed to sell a certain amount of crops for private profit. Above all, the 1978 constitution provided individual freedom and rights, which were supported by law, while it confirmed the leadership of the CCP and the importance of the thoughts of Marx, Lenin and Mao.

Eventually, anti-Mao movement emerged that tarnished his image. Wall posters and articles continued to criticize Mao's mistakes, implying a concerted effort to demystify him and to his image. Most portraits in public places had been removed. Some what, China's history had resemblance to that of Khrushchev's Russia in 1950s. In the rural areas, again most of the land was handed back to the peasants. Peasants, thence, were encouraged to increase production using high prices. Even diligent factory workers were rewarded and earned extra payment for extra works.

Officials also wanted China to be industrialist by introducing economic reforms for steady economic growth. Then, they welcomed aid and investment by Western governments with whom they seem to wish to live at peace. As such, they announced the opening door policy to the outside world aimed at importing foreign science and technology but not their culture

and values. By 1980s Deng proceeded in the process of 'modernisation' through establishing cordial relations with the West. In such a way that China signed agreements with the USA, Britain, Japan and other industrial countries. In such a way that after thirty years of isolation from the West now foreign ideas, news films, plays, music, literatures and popular culture swept like a wind storm for the Chinese were able to listen radio and television programmes from the outside world; tourists could visit china as well.

Students in China were encouraged to be efficient in their schooling. Special schools for the best students have been constructed to provide the country with the skills she needed to make her prosper. Many Western books were translated into Chinese .In addition, students could go abroad to pursue their further education. To the reverse, the time spent on political education and manual work has been cut.

Especially, in1984 China and Britain signed a treaty with regard Hong Kong. The occupier Britain since 1842, agreed to return the territory to China in 1997, of course, capitalism to be functional there for fifty years. Foreign firms were building new factories in China. Gradually, China emerged as one of the great powers in the field of technological, scientific and cultural developments.

FOCUS

Communist China proclaimed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966 but it brought chaos and economic hardship. Individuals whom antagonized with Mao were demoted, tortured, imprisoned and executed. The Red Guards composed of youngsters and the hard-line revolutionary party members were the major protagonists to implement this plan. Men and women who were suspected as not fully enthusiastic to Mao's teaching were branded as "anti revolutionary" so were either killed or re-educated by the cadres. So far, Mao's revolution created self-respect and self-confidence, industrialization, technological progress, unity and pride to China. On the contrary, his experiment in the form of uncontrolled violence had brought havoc. He was number one brutal dictator who had committed 'grave blunders' under the name of revolution.

5.1.1 THE TIEN-AN-MEN MASSACRE

It was apparent that by mid- 1980s, economic growth was observable in China. Communes were dismantled and peasants were allowed to cultivate their private lands. Industrialists also had their own privates. External trade progressed. Western investors arrived China. Nevertheless, human rights remained unimproved.

It was clear that students were sent abroad to study and visit. While they were outside China, they observed the existence of political pluralism, people's freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. When they returned home, they believed that their country needed political democracy. More importantly, these university students and graduates felt a social responsibility to be vanguard to such change. Let alone the Western world, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea in Asia have become source of inspiration to them. Students, then, pressed the government for more enterprise, more civil liberties, and even Western-style politics with opposition parties. Likewise, some party members sought liberalization.

However, the government instead of solving the problem by compromise preferred antagonizing the demonstrators. For that matter, the media began condemning students as being 'poisoned by bourgeois liberalism'.

The Peking and Tsinghua University students planned a demonstration to be held on December 9, 1985. It was aborted when the government intervened. Without being satisfied, students gained ground seeking another opportunity. Instigated by party officials like Deng, Zhao and Hu Yao whom opposed conservative elements, Students secretly were ready to undertake mass demonstration. More over, they were encouraged by the renowned astrophysicist Fang Li-Chih whom advised them to take a decisive action in the struggle for political democracy. Be it as it may, a poster was posted on December 1, 1986 that called for a boycott of the 'faked' election scheduled on December 8, 1986. The Chinese university of Science and Technology took the initiative but soon joined by other university students. Nearly fifteen cities were stormed by demonstrators. Almost 100,000 students from 150 colleges and universities marched in the streets on December 5 to demand human

democratic rights, free and fair elections, and immunity from persecution and insisting that the media should announce their protest.

More importantly, the protest served as a vehicle for the students to air out their grievances, such as opposition to rising prices, economic crimes, corruption, bureaucratic irregularities, and nepotism and favourism for the children of high cadres. The local authorities reluctantly agreed to form a committee that would consider students' worry and postpone the election to December 29. Despite the fact students distrusted the authorities rather pressed the officials to introduce election reform. They continued chanting: " We want democracy! We want Liberty! We want freedom of the Press! Now democracy! Now Modernisation! They continued their march to the Tien-an Mien Square (Gate of Heavenly Place), and burned the state-controlled, the Peking Daily newspaper to show their anger thereby to defy the government.

Then, the conservative party members decided to use force but some were sympathetic to students' cause so forwarded ideas to advise them by giving proper orientation. These were very few who acknowledged the students' cause as just and legal. They seemed to avoid the killing of innocents. The government applied force and dispersed the students. Ring leaders were captured and punished by military training and political indoctrination. Even some of them were sent to farms and factories for a year. On their return, they were debarred from any political activities. External media like Voice of America and Taiwan's Voice of Free China were blamed as instigators. Among party members individuals like Teng was denounced as collaborators to trouble makers.

In the subsequent years China faced high inflation, falling ethics, widespread corruption, official profiteering, and a widening gap in income between the privileged few and the majority people and an increasing loss of faith in communism. Obviously, corruption was high due to the fact that party leaders were closely tied to business enterprises.

In late 1980s world politics changed. The policy of M. Gorbachev that freed Soviet Union and its satellites soon changed the face of communism which was viewed in the past as ever-

lasting political system. This historic political change also influenced the enlightened Chinese. In actual fact, Zhao who took the position of premiership since 1987 worked for modernization and liberalization. Again like the Soviet leader, he wished China to be freer. As a first step some political prisoners were released.

Meanwhile, President George Bush invited four leading Chinese liberals to a state dinner to be held in Moscow. This move was viewed by many of the Chinese positively whom sought democratisation and liberalization. But the request was rejected that offended Chinese students and intellectuals. Then after, they decided to carry out stiff resistance to the regime.

In the mean time, some opportunities pressured to take united action against the regime. Hu who was dismissed from power in 1987 due to his sympathy to the students passed away in April 1989. Peking students arranged programmes to celebrate his funeral ceremony, which annoyed hard-line officials. Consequently, students in thousands marched in the streets and staged a 'sit-in' at Tien-an- Mien Square, chanting "Long live democracy/Long live freedom/Down with Corruption/" Even in the following days the students boycotted classes and continued demonstrations in the square that lasted six weeks. Students in provinces, intellectuals, journalists, actors, musicians, ordinary people even armed forces supported the students and joined what came to be called "democracy movement."

In fact, the government ignored the students so they were able to move in the square for longer days. But the students who 'occupied' Tien-an-Mien for six weeks grew weary and exhausted. Despite such hardships, when the government to abandon the square, students and other social elements refused until the government promised for a change. However, the people continued providing them food, shelter and other necessities. Now that, the government planned to disperse the crowd by force. The government became impatient so decided to use force. The then, President Yang, a professional soldier who had completed military operations mobilised 300,000 troops. They moved in tanks, trucks and armoured vehicles. Despite soldiers' encirclement, the demonstrators built barricades at key intersections to block the advancing troops. When the army was to fire at the demonstrators, the students' leader announced to leave the square to save their lives. But 40,000 to 50,000

students and 100,000 other civilians vowed to stay and die for the cause of democracy and freedom. Unfortunately, premier Li ordered the troops to fire on all demonstrators without compunction and clear the square. On June 4, 1989, tanks, armoured cars and soldiers with automatic weapons shot and killed every one in sight. During the night fall demonstrators were unable to see afar rather easily attacked by the government forces. Over 3,000 students were mercilessly massacred in a single night. In such a way that Deng's popularity plummeted.

Deng and his associates continued to support their atrocities by giving justification as if the demonstration was "counter revolutionary" rebellion instigated by Westerners. Like the previous, moderate officials were removed from their post. China stuck on socialist system under brutal dictatorship; thousands remained political prisoners regardless international pressures and criticism.

Deng died in 1997 and succeeded by Jiang Zemin who was, in fact, moderate. He pursued the process of modernization and smooth relation with Western countries politically as well as economically. However, China is still criticised for the abusing of human rights and its attack on religion due to the Marxist-Leninist ideology that denies the existence of multi-party system rather favours a single party dictatorship.

Activity 5.1

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- What were the reasons that accounted for Sino-Russian split?
 - What was the major objective of the Great Leap Forward?
 - What do you understand by 'Red Guards' and the 'Little Red Book'?
 - Who were the Gang of Four?
 - How China attempted to secure economic development after the death of Mao?
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KOREA

Korea is located in the Far East. The two great powers, i.e., China and Japan in the nineteenth century competed for the control of Korea. This rival interest led to the Sino-

Japanese war of 1894/5. By then, Chinese influence ended because of its defeat. Likewise, Japan and Russia quarrelled over the Korean Peninsula. This rivalry led to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/5, Japan won the war. Consequently, as of 1910, Japan annexed Korea as its colony. This annexation ended the Yi Dynasty. In fact, the Japanese helped Korea to modernize its economy.

Syngman Rhee who was born in 1875 worked for the Korean nationalism and change of government. His anti-government activities led to arrest in 1898. Right after his release in 1904, he moved to the USA where he pursued his further education to the level of doctor in international law in 1910. When he returned to Korea, he again jailed by the Japanese due to his political involvement.

In 1919, the Koreans staged a passive resistance campaign known as Samil (March First) Independence Movement. Thousands of unarmed people were killed, wounded and imprisoned. In the same year, a government in exile was formed in Shanghai, China with Syngman Rhee as president. The struggle for independence continued. Even during the war nationalists fled to China and continued their opposition to Japan's colonial rule.

Seven days before the Japanese surrender, Soviet Union declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945. Following this opportunity, the Russian Red Army entered the Korean mainland. When Korea was freed from the Japanese occupation, Russians occupied the northern part of Korea and encouraged the formation of Korean People's Republic (KRP). American troops led by Lieutenant General John Hodge since September 1945, on their part, annexed southern Korea. In south Korea, landlords manufacturers and other businessmen formed the Korean Democratic Party which opposed the KPR programmes. In the mean time, the great powers decided to depart from the region. By agreement, the Soviet troops controlled Korea north of 38⁰ parallel while US force occupied south of the 38⁰ parallel. This division was already conceived by the July Conference of Potsdam to be a temporary arrangement. North Koreans were, thus, encouraged by the Russian army to establish pro-Soviet socialist regime. Again steps to consolidate the position of the communist party were taken by the Soviets.

The avowed allied aim was to reunite the country into an independent state under the temporary Trusteeship of the UN. Meaning, Soviet-American commission would prepare Korea for the election of a provisional government. To effect this, in September 1947, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution calling for election throughout Korea by setting up a commission to oversee the election. Despite such arrangement, attempts for free election by the UNO failed in 1948 due to the gradual deterioration of relations between the USSR and the USA. In February 1948, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in the north of the country with its capital Pyongyang. Kim Il Sung born in 1932 was a resistance fighter against the Japanese. He took a military training from the Soviets, thus, now obtained encouragement from them to seize power. Elections were held without the presence of the UN Election Commission for communists refused the commission to observe the process. It was a Soviet-style state led by a young communist Kim Il Sung who had claimed as the rightful ruler of the whole of Korea. As expected, the government was guided by Soviet advisors and Soviet-trained officials. It formulated Soviet-style economic planning hoped to achieve rapid industrialization. Land was also nationalised and the peasants were ordered to form collective farms. The north already contained most Korea's industry with nine million populations. Later on, by mid- 1949 the Soviets withdrew but stationed 3,500 troops behind considering North Korea within its sphere of influence but it remained trade partner to Russia. Foreign Western investment was discouraged.

In the south another separate government, i.e., the Republic of Korea led by Dr. Sygman Rhee who had returned from the USA to his homeland was established with its capital Seoul. He was elected as a president by free election supervised by the UN commission of May. Rhee's government, the KDP was anti-communist military government, which established close relationship with America, and other rightists. Needless to say, his area was largely agrarian with large population reached nearly twenty-eight million. By doing so, Korea was divided along the 38th north parallel. Later, American troops departed as of 1949 while 500 American troops remained in South Korea. Subsequently, almost million citizens moved south due to the communist policies. In the south exiled patriots were allowed to

return home if they wished. Nevertheless, Rhee on his part, considered himself as the rightful government of all of Korea like Kim Il Sung.

Actually, both North and South Korea were supplied with arms by their former occupiers. Particularly North Korea received substantial Soviet political, economic and military support. So far, both governments dedicated to unification to rule the whole country. In the case of South Korea, it was supported by America thereby proceeded in resisting North Korean attempts at subversion, communist-supported guerrilla activities and border raids. Practically, Rhee's administration was corrupt and authoritarian. He was supported by the US government simply for his anti-Sovietism policy. Peasants in the south demanded for land reform because the government of North Korea had carried out land reform programme. When they organized a rebellion, it was crushed with great brutality.

Stalin and Mao aided and advised Kim Il Sung to attack South Korea and then to reunite the south under communist rule. So, North Korea supported by Russian weapons and Chinese encouragement, planned to invade South Korea. It hoped to overrun the whole of Korea and to weaken the US influence in Korea as well. On June 25, 1950, thus, the North Korean infantry supported by 150 Soviet made medium tanks; ample artillery and small air force crossed the 38th parallel and attacked on South Korea and moved captured Seoul. Essentially these aggressors destroyed almost half of the South Korean army. They paradoxically obtained support from some Seoul students who were infavour of communism so these Koreans voluntarily joined the Northern army .Even workers sided North Koreans.

South Korea by then had no tanks or combat aircraft but it possessed inferior artillery and less trained officials. So, it was no match for the heavy armed North Korean forces. South Korea then asked the UNO for help. The Soviets boycotted the meeting that held on June 27, 1950 when the UNO called for meeting. First, the Security Council emergency meeting condemned North Korean forces as aggressors so asked for withdrawal. By its second resolution, the Council recommended sanction against North Korea but military support from member states to South Korea. The Yugoslav representatives voted against the proposal whereas Egyptian and Indian participants abstained. The UNO soon appealed for

assisting South Korea by contributing military units to repel the aggressors. Soviet Union again opposed the action because neither she nor the People's Republic of China was present at the Security Council session to cast a vote. Then after, the Korean War commenced in 1950 and lasted in 1953. Apparently, this war was a product of the Cold War.

The Korean War inaugurated an era of American involvement in Asia and served as prelude to an even longer and more costly conflict. President Truman immediately, ordered US naval and air support to South Korea to avoid a communist take over thereby to protect Taiwan. In so doing, America was the first country to send troops. American soldiers and planes, mostly from the nearby Japan arrived South Korea on July 1, 1950. Shortly, Turkish troops joined the Americans. Subsequently, other sixteen countries like the British Commonwealth, Thailand, Greek, Netherlands, Colombian, Ethiopian, Belgian and the Philippine soldiers joined as volunteers. These peacekeeping forces were headed by the USA commander General Mac Arthur. Meanwhile, the number of countries reached thirty-two. Although these countries contributed to the UN force, the bulk of its troops, weapons and material, war plan and finance were from the United States.

The prime objective of the UN force was to liberate and defend South Korea but the USA aimed to clear the communists from North Korea. After three months of hard fighting, the UN force pushed the aggressors back across the 38th parallel deep into North Korea. Mac Arthur's successful military operation advanced northward closed to the Chinese border. In fact, he ignored warnings given from Washington and Beijing to stop movement. He blindly sensed the imminent collapse of the North Korean army but not the response of the Chinese. Truman assured that if the Chinese dared to intervene, they could get no more than 50,000 troops across the Yalu River. Now that, the Chinese who were anxious of the UN troops approached their territory were ready to block the force. The Chinese determined to fight because 1) China's main factories and power stations were close to the border of Korea along the Yalu River, and 2) American support for the nationalists in Taiwan and its continuing effort to bar the PRC from the United Nations brought the Chinese to fight the Americans as alien intruders. To Beijing, a hostile military presence across its border from the most industrialized area was intolerable. Although China was deficient in plans, tanks

and heavy artillery, it decided to gang up the UN force which was superior in fire and air-power. As expected, a vast Chinese army over 300,000 as 'Volunteers' equipped with obsolete weapons joined the Korean War in North Korea through infiltration between November 25 and 28, 1950. Later on, they opened a massive counter-offensive.

The UN forces operated on extended lines of communication. As a result, they were heavily outnumbered. Within two weeks, the Chinese troops superior in manpower drove the UN forces back below the 38th parallel. By December 4, UN forces were forced to retreat southward. Commonly at night due to the air-power, the Chinese terrified the enemy forces and inflicted heavy casualties on the Eighth Army and X Corps. The Chinese southward advance nearly 250 miles below after securing military victory over the UN force impressed Moscow as well as Asian countries thereby added prestige to China. On the contrary, it provoked a sharp dispute between Mac Arthur and Truman. Mac Arthur enraged at China's intervention proposed to use nuclear weapons thereby destroying Chinese cities and industrial installations in Manchuria. Again, he decided to encourage the nationalists from Taiwan to attack the communists in the Mainland China. For fear of Russian aid into the struggle and the eruption of a Third World War and the commencement of a full-scale war with China, Truman refused such risk-full idea. No doubt, political and military policies widened between the two figures. Moreover, there were protests within the USA as well as from its Allies concerning US stand in the war. In the end, America abandoned the idea of forcibly reunited the two Koreas. On April 11, 1951, Truman who understood the interest of the General dismissed Mac Arthur from his leadership and replaced by General Mathew Ridgeway. Mac Arthur soon moved to USA and participated in a futile presidential election of 1952.

M. Ridgeway was a tough field commander during the Second World War. The Pentagon ordered him to merge the X Corps with the Eighth Army for efficiency. In the meantime, he planned to build up the confidence of the army and its fighting vigor. He thence emphasized on stern discipline, tough training, and professional pride. Similarly, he adopted a "meat grinder" strategy of seeking out the enemy and striking at him again and again while making maximum use of tanks and fire-power. Despite such military tactics, by February 1951, the

UN army had inflicted a grueling punishment by the Chinese and Korean fighters. Ridgeway so far, launched the so-called OPERATION KILLER and OPERATION RIPPER to destroy their adversaries. So as to gang up the enemy forces, the North Korean Army and the Chinese volunteers led by General Nam Il and General Hsien Fang respectively carried out offensive attacks but failed to achieve complete victory.

Both groups were conscious of the damage due to the prolonged war so sought to end the war. When Ridgeway announced his desire to negotiate a cease-fire and armistice, the Chinese and North Koreans replied positively to make a truce. Then, in July 1951, cease-fire agreement was conceived as a result of the Russian initiative. But the armistice negotiations dragged on for two years due to deadlock over the repatriation of North Korean prisoners of war who did not wish to return home. The Chinese wanted all their men back. On the contrary, the USA would agree only to send back those who wanted to go. So that, the peace talks broke down and the fighting continued. The toll of casualties mounted as patrol action on the ground progressed, as did dogfights in the air between US jet pilots and Chinese and North Korean pilots flying Soviet jet fighters.

The war continued with great ferocity and heavy casualties on both sides. When the war dragged, the Americans were exhausted. Moreover, people in Pusan sang patriots' songs and chanted anti-American slogans that shocked American officials. Be it as it may, North Korean war prisoners broke out of prison in thousands. Subsequently, by the 1952 presidential election D. Eisenhower who promised to end the Korean War won the election. Truman's successors, then, showed flexibility to break the impasse in Korea and to end the costly stalemated war.

Eisenhower had J.F. Dulles as Secretary of States. Dulles determined that unless China agreed on a peace formula, he stressed that America would use atomic weapons against it. Therefore, the Chinese suddenly changed their attitude to the repatriation of voluntary prisoners. At last, a cease-fire was signed at Panmunjom on July 23, 1953 between the UNO, South Korea, and North Korean and Chinese officials. The death of Stalin was also

one factor to end the war because he had been encouraging the Chinese to fight on. As such, the fighting ended.

It was for the first time in history that an invasion by a military aggressor had been halted through the combined action of a world organization. However, the treaty ended an ignominious American direct intervention but Korea remained divided. By then, the Americans, the British and the French promised Syngman Rhee to support South Korea if the North Korea attacked it again. Furthermore, America signed a mutual defense pact with Rhee, promising long-term economic aid and military assistance to South Korean army.

Anyway, the second great crisis of the Cold War ended by agreement. But the Chinese suspected the Americans for using dangerous weapons against their combatants. For that matter, they accused them of using napalm bombs, bacteriological and chemical weapons which have gradual harmful effect upon man.

It was clear that much of South Korea was devastated by war. During the invasion, civilians fled out of South Korea in million. Cities like Pusan and Taegu were overcrowded. Refugee camps were set up to provide shelter for the homeless. WHO and the Red Cross were actually effective in inoculating refugees against killer diseases such as small pox and typhus.

In the Korean War, 34,000 soldiers died and the wounded reached 100,000. Of these, American soldiers were 30,000. South Korean lost over one million casualties, dead, wounded and missed. In a similarly way, North Korea lost 52,000 and China 900,000 men in the conflict. Million Koreans were exposed for refugee life and families were separated. The war also caused inflation.

By keeping their promise, the USA signed a mutual defense treaty with South Korea on which the US troops continued to be stationed in the territory of that nation. In addition, the

US committed large sums for military build up of South Korean armed forces and the economic rebuilding of the terribly devastated land.

Rhee in Southern Korea although led a form of corrupted and despotic government, he was supported by the American government. Political opponents continued to be arrested on charge of being communists and subversives. Due to his persistence being recalcitrant, students demonstrated aimed at toppling his rule in 1960. Following his removal from power, power vacuum was created. The military then controlled power in 1961 and then retarded the growth of healthy democracy which was aspired by the people in the modern world.

Conversely, North Korea was supported by Soviet Union and China. Actually, it had a smaller population compared to South Korea but endowed with greater natural resources and more industries. Its rulers were aspirant to reunite the two Koreas using armed force. Due to its armed provocation and clash for possible reunification of Korea into a single state, the UN command in South Korea remained and the USA continued to maintain over 40,000 military personnel, south of the Demilitarization Zone (DMZ). The DMZ had the width of a two-and a-half mile.

North Korea designed socialist economic planning in order to speed up industrialization. Land was nationalized and distributed to peasants. collectivisation was ordered. State farms were formed and used mechanized farming method. Actually, peasants were allowed to own small private plots of land. In spite of the efforts, lack of foreign investment retarded its economic growth.

Kim Il Sung, however, until his death in 1992 harassed South Korea time and again through assassination and other terrorist acts. Kim Il already developed a personality cult around him like Stalin. By 1970s, he prepared his son Kim Chong Il to succeed him.

FOCUS

The ideological difference that was clearly manifested after 1945 not only led to the division of the world into two but also single countries were divided into two. A case in point, we can mention Germany and Korea.

North Korea opted for socialist government because it was occupied by the Russian Red Army who worked for the establishment of socialist regime. At the same time, the socialist government encouraged by the governments of Soviet Union and China ignited war against South Korea that operated from 1950 to 1953. At last, the war ended by agreement but Korea remained divided.

Activity 5.2

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- How the Soviet troops occupied the northern part of Korea in 1945?
 - What was the political interest of America in the Korean Peninsula?
 - Mention the factors that helped for the termination of the Korean War in July 1953.
 - Who was the ruler of North Korea until 1992?
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5.3 VIETNAM

Europeans first appeared in Indo-China in the fifteenth century when the Portuguese arrived in the area. Later the Dutch, English and French came respectively. French influence became dominant after 1787. By 1880s, the French troops conquered and controlled the region what is later known as Indo-China.

In 1899, Indo-Chinese territory included Tonkin, Annam, Cochin, China, Laos and greater part of Cambodia. Of these, much of Vietnam had been under French control. Anyhow, Indo-China remained under French influence until 1940. During World War Second, Japan invaded the region. It invaded Indo-China in August 1940 and Singapore in mid-February and in 1942, she controlled British East Indies (now Malaya) and the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). Once the Japanese had overrun the rubber estates of Malaya, Britain and America shifted to West Africa to meet their needs of natural resources which had been available in the Far East. Even food production was encouraged in East Africa. In so far, the

Far East remained under Japan's control until the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs in 1945.

The Japanese during their control encouraged the Asian youths to participate in mass sport and militia training. For instance, the Pemuda organization in Indonesia was intended to cultivate the youths in the ruthless authoritarian ideas form of Japanese militarism. This condition, no doubt, galvanized a whole generation into racial consciousness and introduced them to the basic military tactics and art. By doing so, they injected Asian nationalist sentiment amongst the political classes in Asia to act as a stumbling block to European cultural penetration.

The French educated Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969) wanted to free his country, Vietnam from French colonial rule. Ho Chi Minh meaning "He who enlightens" was the alias name of Nguyen Sinh Cung. Ho Chi Minh who spent many years in London, in Paris and Moscow inculcated in his mind for the need of independence. He had some military training in Moscow and field experience with Chinese communists. Essentially, having had the petition of his fellowmen went to Paris in 1919 to appeal his country's political issue to the conferees. His petition was consisted of points like call for amnesty, for all political prisoners, equal justice, freedom of the press and independence. In spite of his effort, the participants showed him deaf ears. Soon, he founded a communist party because communism for him was a vehicle for national liberation of his native land from the French colonial rule. Later, he travelled to Moscow in 1924. Consequently, by late 1920s, he made his way to China where he found communist guerrillas and exchanged experience. He remained for two decades a man without country living in exile.

Following his return to Vietnam after twenty years exile in 1943, he had organized the Vietnamese independence movement better known as the Viet Minh which aimed to undertake guerrilla warfare against the Japanese thereby to secure the sovereignty of their homeland. The word guerrilla derived from the Spanish meaning "little war" indicates fighters who applied hit and run tactics due to their inability to gang up a powerful enemy. This armed band made of the Indo-Chinese was called Viet Minh. Prior to this organization,

Ho had organized the Indo-Chinese Communist Party (ICP) in 1930 in Hong Kong. The Viet Minh had established its strongholds in the remote areas of upland regions of the southwest. Its northern strongholds bordered with the Chinese frontier whereby the southern Chinese warlords supplied them with guns and ammunition during the war on the grounds of shared enmity with the Japanese.

The communists led by Ho had two plans. First they wanted to establish an independent Vietnam and second, the establishment of communist state in Vietnam. In August 1945, the Viet Minh triumphantly marched into Hanoi and obtained larger stocks of weapons at their disposal. Thereafter, they took over the government of North Vietnam from the Japanese and then they firmly controlled the north. The United States sensed the Vietminh as a useful ally in their struggle against Japan so provided weapons and supplies. They fought heroically against the invaders.

In accordance with the Potsdam conference the Allied forces led by General Gracey, marched on Indo-China by September 1945 to accept Japanese surrender and repatriate prisoners of war. He disarmed the Japanese force in southern part and then exerted his effort to re-establish French control. Following the defeat of Japan, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the independence of North Vietnam on September 2, 1945 named the Vietnamese Democratic republic with its capital Hanoi. Supported by the Allied forces, the French transported a huge influx of troops and then proceeded to restore their civil authority despite fierce opposition. Consequently, the French offered autonomy and the continuing federation, i.e., French Union to the states of Indo-China. Cambodia and Laos accepted the proposal. Democratic Republic of Vietnam was to exercise autonomy over most internal affairs, France only to control foreign defense and commercial policy. However, communists preferred complete independence. Therefore, they engaged in hit- and- run guerrilla warfare tactics in the mountains and the rural areas. Like Mao, Ho decided to depend on the peasantry.

When the French wanted to recover their pre-war empire, the communist regime decided to block up the renewal of the French colonial power so rejected the French idea rather declared a new war of liberation in 1946. Apparently, Ho Chi Minh supported by the Chinese and the USSR governments determined to fight the French. The French forces that were anxious of the confrontation, piled up in the south. In the meantime, the French appointed Admiral Thierry d' Argenlieu as governor. USA then continued to cover the highest military costs fearing the expansion of communism.

FOCUS

Indo-China included the present day Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos at large. This region was under French colonial rule until the collapse of the French power by Nazi Germany. When the French power disintegrated, this region by far came under Japan's control. The nationalists in Vietnam led by Ho Chi Minh organized a fighting force known as the Viet Minh. Right after the defeat and withdrawal of the Japanese, the nationalists in northern Vietnam established a communist regime.

France refused to grant Vietnam independence so decided to break the power of nationalists by military force. Practically, the economic aid and social prospects of post-war France were considerably bleaker than of the British. But it decided to fight a bitter campaign of colonial restoration. The war was known as "dirty war", conducted from 1946 to 1954. In November 1946, the French bombarded the Vietnamese port of Haiphong. The French then marched to Hanoi, and the first Indochina war began. In actual fact, the Americans aided the French financially reached \$30 million but refrained from open military intervention. During the Eisenhower period the budget rose to \$ 500 million. The 'dirty war' was conducted between the French and the Vietnamese but ended up with humiliation of the French.

At first the Viet Minh proved to be no much to the French army. Later on, they received arms and military advisors from the Chinese government and fought a bitter and long war for mastery throughout Vietnam. They were led by General Vo Nguyen Gaip, a veteran nationalist. Both Ho and Gaip played decisive roles in the guerrilla tactics during the fighting. The Viet Minh launched guerrilla warfare against the French who possessed

superior equipment as well as more troops. Thus, the Vietnamese operated military offensives in the Red River Delta and had intensified the mobility of their guerrilla operation because the Chinese provided Ho artillery. Directed by Chinese General Chen Geng, they inflicted damaging defeats on isolated French garrisons such as that of Cao Bang in October 1950 by using conventional battles.

In attempt to disrupt the growing logistical effectiveness of the Viet Minh, and to stem their incursions into Laos, the French commander-in-chief General Jean de Lattre proceeded to reinforce, the highland garrison of Dien Phu close to the Laos border. A hero of WWII, Lattre attempted to restore both the morale and the military balance of the French army. Although the French force superior, it failed to suppress the insurrection. Rather the French lost young officers graduated from St Cyr Military Academy. The Viet Minh under the leadership of General Gaip surrounded Dien Bien Phu for two months and denied the enemy force supplies. At last, the French were defeated at the battle place called Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954. This costly war caused many casualties from both sides; effectively secured the end of the French colonial empire in Asia. The Americans who had suffered in the Korean War refused to involve in the Vietnam War when the French appealed for US intervention so that France was forced to accept her military defeat. In the war, 2,000 French died; 10,000 were taken prisoner and only 73 managed to escape.

After this military humiliation, the French were forced to negotiate with the Vietnamese to end the war. A treaty was then signed at Geneva, Switzerland in July 1954. The treaty was endorsed by the USA. Representatives from the USA, Great Britain, France, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos met with those of the Soviet Union and Chinese leaders. By the conference, Vietnam was partitioned into North and South at the 17th parallel temporarily until general elections for a unified state could be held in July 1956. Again, France was forced to recognize the independence of Northern Vietnam; acknowledged the independence of Laos and Cambodia and accepted the end of the war. Civilians were allowed to settle either side of the partition line.

North Vietnam remained under the control of Ho Chi Minh and the Fatherland Front. Ho served as the chairman of the Communist Workers' Party that ruled Northern Vietnam. In order to consolidate his power, he appointed Pham Van Dong and Gaip as Premier and Ministry of Defense respectively. And South Vietnam to be under a non-communist government led by the native monarch Bao Dai ,formerly emperor of Annam, who supported the French since 1949, and his Prime Minister, Nigo Din Diem.

In so far, the Geneva Peace Settlement divided Vietnam politically into two. But the conferees agreed that within two years, the future of Vietnam was to be determined by national election supervised by the UN Commission. To handle the issue, a Control Commission was set up with Polish and Canadian members and an Indian chairman.

For the time being North Vietnam established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with its capital at Hanoi. Immediately, a Five Year Plan was launched to foster industrialisation. With economic and military aid from the Soviet Union and China, Ho again proceeded to build an effective totalitarian regime based on the Chinese model in violation of the Geneva agreement. Due to his brutal regime until his death in 1969, close to one million Vietnamese fled southward. On the contrary, he is credited for his honest, courage and sense of purpose. In fact, he proclaimed land nationalisation and collectivisation. Even a campaign against illiteracy was launched.

Southern part of Vietnam on its part established anti-communist government, which received American support. It was pro-France with its capital Saigon. Bao Dai acted as titular governor of the country. France allied with him, tried to attract him to the 'Western democracy'. Even the Americans financially supported the French military expenditure. However, as of 1955, the Bao Dai government ended its ties with the French Union when he was deposed and succeeded by Ngo Dinh Diem whom led an independent state. In October 1955, Diem deposed Bao Dai by referendum. Diem on his part given by silent support from Washington refused to organize general election to compete with the communists who had achieved reputation in the wars against the Japanese and the French. For that matter, his government was denounced as a puppet of the West. In so doing, he defied the Geneva

accords but America immersed in the Vietnam War that spanned the terms of six presidents, i.e., Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford. The United States, thence, determined to create anti- communist state .It appointed Colonel Edward Lansdale as head of the US military Mission in Saigon

Diem soon established a semi -dictatorial regime. Besides being a Catholic, he favoured Christians but annoyed the large Buddhist population .He appointed loyalist individuals in the government bureaucracies and armed forces. His government was dishonest and corrupt. Corruption became rampant. Innocent people were under the threat of charging as the enemies of the state unless they gave money to the police force. When there was popular opposition against his regime, he ordered the beating, torture and execution of his opponents. As much as possible he worked to eliminate “red’ influence in South Vietnam, a process described as “*drangnetting*”. Consequently, the southern communists had to look northern for support. So, people in thousands either due to religious case or ideological view fled to North Vietnam. Indeed, the Diem government faced challenges from the National Liberation Front (NLF) which was organized in 1960 and its guerrilla force called the Vietcong supported by Ho Chi Minh. At first Diem suppressed various armed religious sects successfully.

By then, Americans were afraid of communist China to take over southeast Asia like Russians had done in Eastern Europe. America, thence, stood for the all-out defense of a non-communist South Vietnam for its rubber, tungsten and other minerals. So, America in 1950s and 1960s poured its dollars and weapons into South Vietnam. Eisenhower sent military advisors in thousands and continued its aid in million dollars to build up the South Vietnamese Army (ARVW) fearing a communist victory. South Korea, Thailand, Australia, and New Zealand also sent small number of soldiers to show their solidarity to Americans

Focus

After the defeat and withdrawal of the French force in Vietnam, the American government replaced it, because Eisenhower feared a communist victory in Asia. Despite its dictatorial regime, the American government provided huge financial and military aid

to prop up the French position. Despite the effort, the Vietnamese began to score victories. Lastly, Gaip managed to place the artillery on the hills overlooking the valleys of Dien Bein Phu to devastate the French force.

Supported by the American government, Diem promulgated a constitution which gave him extensive powers. He made his corrupted regime legalized but it bred widespread social unrest and attempts on his life.

On the other hand, the Northern Vietnamese government adopted a seven-year compulsory schooling to its citizens. Also it introduced first agrarian reform and then confiscation of private properties including land. Afterwards, Ho Chi Minh turned his mind to unify the whole Vietnam under the communist rule. Hence, he set out a military plan to unite Vietnam by war. To this end, he used southern-born communists to infiltrate back into Southern Vietnam through Laos and Cambodia. Thereafter, these communist guerrilla fighters known as the Vietcong were organized and then together with the southern-born Vietnamese infiltrated across the border to south and launched attacks since 1958 and returned back into their homeland, trained cadres as well. In 1961, they fused together with the disparate anti-Diem rebels into the National Liberation front of South Vietnam (NLF) which fought for the unification of Vietnam. The fighting wing of NLF was called Viet Cong. Sabotage and terrorist attacks against the southern government were applied. Meanwhile, Laotian and Cambodian communist guerrilla bands had also launched attacks against their government. Above all, peasants hated the Diem government and helped the Vietcong.

The objective of Ho and Vietcong was to disrupt South Vietnamese social, economic and political development programmes. Even they continued assassinating local administrators. Frequently they attacked at nights. In 1962, the Vietcong based from Hanoi supplied by the Russian and Chinese governments launched offensive attacks that led to the outbreak of war between North and South Vietnam. The US government first gave money and advisors which could enable South Vietnam to resist the aggression. Moreover, President Kennedy provided financial and material aid to the Laotian government so as to put down the

communists' movement. Soviet Union and China on their part continued supplying North Vietnam with weapons, economic aid, and technical advisors.

In due course of time, the US government was angry and frustrated so it planned to remove the unpopular Diem from power. In November 1963 the hated Diem was overthrown by the army orchestrated by American embassy. The coup makers shot himself and his brother Nhu who acted as the security chief because Diem made only little progress with his promised social and economic reforms. Soon, the officers organized a military junta to govern South Vietnam and to crush the Viet Cong. For that matter, General Duong Van Minh seized power but he again was overthrown by another military coup in January 1964. His successor was General Nguyen Khanh. In so doing, there followed political strife and repression due to the appearance of unconstitutional rulers who held position one after the other.

Kennedy was succeeded by Johnson. As of 1965, America sent troops, sophisticated helicopters, tanks and artillery along with some 11,000 Americans to South Vietnam to combat the Vietcong guerrilla thereby to enhance the Americanisation of Vietnam. At the same time, Johnson authorized US planes bombing of North Vietnam. Essentially, the military success of Vietcong forced the USA to give more and more aid to South Vietnam. Johnson was determined to bring victory. His dedication was explained by one writer as follows: where Kennedy had sent thousands of troops, Johnson sent tens and hundreds of thousands; where Kennedy had spent tens of million, Johnson poured out billions of dollars; where Kennedy had threatened, Johnson bombed.

On the contrary, the more aid America gave to South Vietnam, the more support North Vietnam obtained in the form of military equipment, economic aid and technical advisors from the Soviet Union and China. Obviously, China supported it for it is strategically important neighbour. Supported by peasants, the Vietcong fought a war of ambush and assassination even controlled peasants in the countryside. Although the Americans supported South Vietnam with new schools, houses, clinics, seeds and fertilizers, many of her people still preferred the Vietcong. The Vietcong continued a war of ambush and sudden attack tactics. After an attack, they would melt away into the jungle or turn into peaceful

villagers. They applied terrorist attacks upon American installations in South Vietnam. Villagers in many instances helped the Vietcong. This activity is remarked by one Vietcong leader as follows: “The people are water, our enemies are the fish” One US soldier on his part noted that finding the Vietcong was ‘like trying to identify tears in a bucket of water’. Moreover, the Vietcong could cross Cambodia and Laos to enter South Vietnam. By 1964, they were able to occupy perhaps half of South Vietnam.

In June 1965, another military coup led by Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky and Army General Nguyen Van Thieu took place. These coup leaders were committed to use force against any all oppositions. In the 1967 election, Thieu was elected president and Key vice-president. Under this pretext, i.e., popularly elected government, the American government steadily continued supporting South Vietnamese government.

Apparently, between 1965 and 1973, the conflict in Indo China dominated American politics. By the end of 1966, American combatants reached 390,000 and grew in 1968 to 550,000 American aircraft bombed road networks, bridges and railways in Northern Vietnam. Furthermore, Australia, Thailand, South Korea, the Philippines and several other US allies sent small troops to South Vietnam. To cut off the flow of arms to Vietcong, the US air force constantly bombed Hanoi and other parts of North Vietnam thereby created damage and upheavals upon the dwellers.

Subsequently, American planes dropped incendiary materials and chemicals, burning whole villages, defoliating hundreds of thousands acres of land, and turning the survivors into homeless refugees. Americans sprayed vast areas of countryside with deadly chemicals to destroy the Vietcong’s supplies trails. They killed even innocent people with terrible weapons like napalm fire bombs. Napalm was a burning jelly, which stuck to its victims and burned away their living flesh. In such a way that bombs in million tons were dropped on North Vietnam. By the end of 1960s Vietnam, i.e., North and South had become the most bombed country in the history of warfare.

In fact, Soviet Union provided North Vietnam with sophisticated types of weapons: air craft, anti-aircraft, artillery and rockets, munitions, surface- to- surface missiles, etc., as well as industrial equipment, vehicles, petroleum, and food supplies and so on. Mostly, the Vietnamese avoided large-scale confrontations instead concentrated on hit- and –run tactics. Even when worsted in battle, Viet Cong avoided complete destruction by simply melting away into the forests or mountains or by retreating to their sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia to recover and prepare for the next engagement. Such warfare system, gradually, eroded Americans’ fighting morale. Subsequently, in late 1965, the rebels seized Mekong Delta, Vietnam’s vital rice producing area.

Nevertheless, the American planes bombed Hanoi and Haiping, the chief port in June 1966. Even in 1968, the “search and destroy” tactics applied by American troops to search out and destroy the sleazy Vietnamese guerrillas. As a result, the fighters and the civilians were killed. Yet, the American powerful force scored no permanent victories because the Vietnamese were determined to continue the fighting up to the last man.

Already massive US bombing, the use of napalm and other chemical weapons were used to destroy North Vietnam. At the same time, Americans were being killed in thousands which was observed every evening on the American television. It was the world’s first television war. People were able to see in their own homes the horror and cruelty of modern war on the television. Later on, more and more Americans began to argue that America had no business to be fighting in Vietnam. The American people, thus, condemned the indiscriminate bombing raids on the Northern Vietnamese by US air force. The mounting casualties, the known atrocities, the corrupt Vietnamese government, the lack of a clear cut rationale for an Asian war, and the inability of American arms to decisively defeat a dedicated and a relentless enemy led to massive anti-war protests organized in New York and Washington. American youngsters refused to serve in the armed forces in opposing against the Vietnam venture. Even many of them who have been drafted into the army and sent to Vietnam believed that it was unjust and in human war. Consequently, students protested in American universities. Furthermore, there were demonstrations in the streets; people marched through

Washington shouting, ‘Hell No, we do not Go’ (to Vietnam) even some besieged the Pentagon. In short, the war brought great criticism from domestic and abroad.

Mostly, North Vietnamese army launched surprise attacks throughout South Vietnam. On one occasion of a traditional New Year holiday in early 1968 (Tet), when their adversaries were off-guard, the communists led by Gaip launched assaults on all-important towns in South Vietnam and inflicted heavy casualties. They devastated the major South Vietnamese cities including the capital Saigon and controlled the largest area. Immediately, the US military command in Vietnam launched a furious counter attack making full use of its massive firepower. In a short battle, the communists faced a military set back.

However, on March 31, 1968, President Johnson faced with increasing antiwar sentiment at home and abroad. France and Britain openly denounced American war efforts. His regime had become unpopular and deteriorated. Johnson soon called a halt to the American bombing of the north. He decided to end the war through negotiation by recalling General Westmoreland to Washington. Peace talks by him began in Paris in May but quickly deadlocked. By the 1968 election, Richard Nixon replaced Johnson. He began a programme of Vietnamisation, which was designed to detach America from Vietnamese fighting and that the Vietnamese should under take their own anti-communist aggression.

So much so that, in 1970s, more bombs had been dropped on Vietnam. Widespread fighting both in North and South Vietnam continued. Hoping to destroy the North Vietnamese base, the US force invaded Cambodia in 1970. Again in 1971, the South Vietnamese force invaded Laos in an attempt to cut the North Vietnamese supply route to the South that had brought no fruitful success.

On the other development, in 1970 the South Vietnamese recaptured the Mekong Delta and other important routes through the Cambodian ports. But in March 1971, South Vietnamese forces which had invaded Laos were involved in a disastrous retreat. Nixon hoped that the South Vietnamese would soon able to look after themselves and withdraw American troops

in hundred thousands in 1971. Side by side, the South Vietnamese opposition to the American nominee, president Thieu increased.

On March 30, 1972, the North Vietnamese supported by Soviet-made tanks and artillery began another offensive called as the Spring or Easter Offensive. On the other hand, American effort was weaning under the impact of the Watergate Scandal. Thence, Americans and South Vietnamese were captured by surprise. Subsequently, secret negotiations between North Vietnamese officials and Henry Kissinger, Nixon's chief advisor on foreign affairs resulted in agreement to end the war. On January 27, 1973 a four party agreement composed of representatives from the USA, the two Vietnams, USSR, and China was signed in Paris aimed at to cease-fire. Accordingly, US ground forces were to be withdrawn in sixty days. US aid was to be offered to both North and South Vietnam. Vietnam remained politically divided. The 17th parallel was accepted as the demarcation line for the cease-fire. Following the agreement, the chief negotiators Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize of 1973.

In general, the Vietnam War was costly and disastrous to America with partial success. It was a searing experience to it. During the war over three million Vietnamese were killed. Over 600,000 American troops were killed and over 300,000 were wounded.

The social, political and psychological damage of the Vietnam tragedy is also incalculable. The United States dropped three times more bombs on Indo-China than dropped on its enemies during WWII. These chemical weapons polluted the Vietnamese soil. Again the deaths for South Vietnam reached 200,000 and for communists 500,000. Anyhow, Nixon ended US involvement in the war by withdrawing American troops from South Vietnam and by improving relations with China.

Nonetheless, American withdrawal from South Vietnam produced serious problems. It created much unemployment in the towns, and at the same time American financial aid was reduced because Gerald Ford of America refused to aid South Vietnam. Meanwhile, the power of President Nguyen Van Thieu declined. Its forces disintegrated in the face of the

latter communist offensive. Moreover, corruption and demoralization grew worsen; army desertions mounted.

Following this opportunity, North Vietnam planned to incorporate South Vietnam by military force. In violation of 1973 agreement, at the close of 1974, the communist troops moved southward and captured key cities in the southern province. By 1975, North Vietnam supported by Soviet launched a well-prepared invasion by violating the Paris Peace Treaty. In the early summer, its army using tanks, aircraft and big guns overran South Vietnamese strong hold one after another. The important coastal towns fell with astonishing rapid as well. Soon, large parts including Saigon were controlled by the communists. Thieu, thus, appealed to the United States government for help. But there was no response. When president Ford and secretary Kissinger tried to persuade the Congress to provide substantial emergency assistance to South Vietnam, the Congress refused the request. Thieu betrayed by America unable to stem the flood of invasion so fled out of the country on April 21, 1975. On April 30, Saigon was captured by the Northern forces. This was a shattering blow to the efforts which America had put into the struggle for fifteen years. It was a signal of communist triumph in South East Asia. Under such circumstance, the thirty-year struggle for a united, independent Vietnam was over on the communist terms. In 1976, a unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam was created; Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh city. Soon there followed a flight of refugees: the Chinese fearing ethnic discrimination, American collaborators fearful of revenge, and those who hated communist administration moved out of Vietnam in millions. The communist victory brought calm. The new government then launched a 'political re-education' campaign, nationalization of private property, and forcibly moved large numbers of the population from the cities to the countryside.

Focus

Despite the 1973 peace agreement, North Vietnam projected to invade South Vietnam thereby to unify Vietnam under a communist rule. South Vietnam led by corrupted government lacked American support. Even soldiers lacked fighting spirit. By 1975 the North Vietnam force controlled Saigon the capital of South Vietnam. Somehow, North Vietnam was able to score limited industrial development. Social

changes were visible in education and standard of living. On the contrary, its war against South Vietnam and the USA drained away its resources. Even the effect of the war was immense including pollution of the soil by US chemical weapons.

Besides, the Vietnamese supported by the Russians exerted their effort to the internal affairs of Laos and Cambodia. These people were raged by the American-backed anti-communist government forces and the native communist movement. The communist fighters infiltrated to Cambodia and helped armed communist insurgents known as the Khmer Rouge who overthrew the American supported government of Lon Nol in April 1975. Obviously, prince Norodom Sihanouk ruled Cambodia from 1953 to 1970. General Lon Nol supported by CIA overthrew the prince and made himself leader. Sihanouk sheltered in Peking and set up government in exile.

Pol Pot supported by the Chinese government soon established a communist government in Cambodia. Pol Pot immediately had become a ruthless dictator who followed policies of extremism and genocide. Along with his supporters butchered over a million of their compatriots with genocidal fury and ruined the economy. In 1970, Cambodia had nearly a population of seven million. By the end of 1979, the population shrank to two million by the measures taken by Pol Pot and his supporters and as a result of diseases by famine that ravaged the population.

For that matter, he was described as “the world’s worst violators of human rights.” Any one, suspected to the loyalty of the old regime has been killed including doctors, engineers, lawyers, civil servants, teachers and their families. About three million are said to have died in this way.

Later in 1978, the Vietnamese stood against Pol Pot. Supported by the Heng Samrine, it invaded Cambodia to oust him from power. They expelled Pol Pot followers to the hills and later they restored in guerrilla war. The Vietnamese supported by Soviet Union secured victory by removing Pol Pot and put their puppets in power. The Vietnamese supported government was left behind to defend itself from the Cambodian guerilla fighters organised

by Pol Pot whom waged war to end Vietnamese involvement in their country's affair. The people were again suffered from flood and famine so fled to Thailand. Besides, Laos and Cambodia established a form of socialist governments like Vietnam for some time. Now that America shifted in supporting Sihanouk from China.

Furthermore, Vietnam had problems from communist China. Mostly, North Vietnam obtained Russian aid and had become ally to Russia. China, on her part, saw this development as a threat. In 1978, it invaded Vietnam on the pretext that the Vietnamese had sent troops across the Chinese border. There, a short period of fierce fighting during which the Chinese forces were badly mauled by the Russian armed Vietnamese. The Chinese were forced to withdraw across their border and for a time there was an easy peace in the region. Until late 1980s, the friendship of Vietnam and Soviet Union was strong which strengthened Vietnam's position.

FOCUS

North Vietnamese during their struggle against the French and the Americans, they obtained aid from the Soviet Union. This relationship created animosity from China. North and South Vietnam United in 1976. Thereafter, the Vietnamese dedicated to spread socialism in Laos and Cambodia. The notorious leader of Cambodia who perished large number of the Cambodians was Pol Pot.

Activity 5.3

- Discuss the Vietnamese war against the French from 1946 to 1954.
 - What is Tet?
 - Discuss about Cambodian history from 1975 to 1979.
 - Who was pol pot?
 - Why did the Vietnamese plan to invade Cambodia?
-

5.4 CUBA AND OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Latin American countries are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. Of these countries, Cuba is the largest as well as the nearest island country to the United States of America by a distance of 145 kms. By and large, it was an agrarian country depending on sugar production and foreign capital. Essentially, since the days of the Spanish American War in 1898, America gained a foothold in Cuba and Guantanamo served as a military base. Its banks, railways and many business centres were owned by Americans. Unlike other Latin American countries, Cuba was prosperous with relatively diversified economy. What a real problem was its high dependence on a mono-cash crop, sugar and on the USA for its foreign exchange.

Cuba's ruler Gerardo Machado had got US support. When he handed over power to his successor, Manuel de Cespedes, Sergeant Fulgencio Batista organised a rebellion against him. In 1952, he was able to oust the ruler and then took power. Batista later obtained recognition from the US government but emerged as one of the dictator leaders in Latin America. Batista until 1959 was protected by the American government. Here, we can understand that the Americans spoke of free elections in Eastern Europe but encouraged such dictatorial leaders and regimes in Latin America and elsewhere as long as they served American interest. American investors continued investing their capital in Cuba for it was safe to under take their businesses. Although Batista was oppressive, urban areas maintained a relatively high standard of living. But the rural peasantry suffered from seasonal unemployment, inadequate medical facilities and lack of education.

Fidel Castro a son of landowner was trained as a lawyer. Along with others he plotted to overthrow Batista from his power. On July 26, 1953, they led an armed band in Santiago to capture the army barrack in Moncada and expelled Batista but failed. Castro was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. After 18 months imprisonment, he was released and allowed to exile to Mexico. In December 1956, he based from Mexico led an invasion but swiftly was defeated by government troops. Survivors soon decided to join

the mountain range of Sera Maestera to carry out guerrilla warfare against the American supported government. Gradually, they amassed weapons and increased their number. By 1958, the insurgents led by Castro heavily attacked Batista's army at the town of Santa Clara. They continued their offensive attacks and captured the capital Havana on January 8, 1959. Then, Batista was forced to flee to the Dominican Republic to be protected by his friend Trujillo.

Castro, so far, did not immediately held high post. The presidency office was held by Manuel Urritia Lleo but after a few weeks, he resigned and succeeded by Osualdo Dorticos Torrado. By then, Jose Cardona was made premier but he resigned. Then after, Castro held the office of premiership to decide the destiny of Cuba. Among his lofty programmes, he planned to weed away American businessmen that dominated the Cuban economy.

The Russians saw an opportunity to gain a foothold so planned to create good relation with Cuba. In February 1960, thus Milkoyan of Russian visited Havana and concluded a trade agreement, which enabled Cuba to buy Russian oil. In May of the same year, Cuba established diplomatic relations with Moscow and in June it began buying arms from the USSR and other communist governments. At the same time, Castro opposed the US rights in the Guantanamo naval base. Americans, thence, suspected Castro a communist so decided to take steps to put pressure on him. In June, the USA and Britain refineries refused to refine the Russian oil. Even America refused to buy Cuban sugar

Actually, Castro before his military victory over Batista's force was moderate. But, the Argentinean Marxist comrade Ernesto 'Che' Guevara changed his mind to under take radical reforms. Later on, they planned to strike on the American investors. Therefore, Castro's response was swift. He accused US entrepreneurs and upper class Cubans of exploiting the Cuban masses. Immediately, he retaliated by nationalizing both domestic and foreign-owned corporations and instituted social reforms. He confiscated all the American-owned sugar plantations, petroleum refineries, mines and mills. In line with this economic reform, land holding right was restricted to a maximum of 165 acres and all holdings in

excess of that were expropriated. In theory, former land owners, Americans and Cubans were to be offered limited compensation in the form of bonds.

When Castro and his associates were fighting against Batista, they promised to give the people power but Castro later broke his promise and had become a dictator. As expected, nationalization brought antagonism from the country and abroad. The peasantry, workers and middle class opposed the policy of a new regime. Peasants disliked the nationalisation of land, the organisation of cooperative farms and enforced cultivation of crops destined for sale at fixed low prices. More over, the middle class who showed active participation against Batista regime became antagonized when nationalisation extended from foreign to domestic enterprises. Nevertheless, Castro ordered the organization of local committees for 'Defense of the Revolution' to stifle people's demand and aspiration. Political opponents were put away in noisome jails and they were later executed. Then after, due to such harsh measures applied following his reform programmes, thousands of Cubans were forced to flee to America, mostly to Miami and Dominican Republic.

In retaliation to the government of Castro, America, on her part, refused the purchase of Cuban sugar and closed its market to Cuba. Furthermore, other measures like arms and trade embargo followed. Again in reply to Castro's measure, the USA banned all supplies to Cuba except medicine and a few foodstuffs. By the beginning of 1962, Cuba was expelled from the OAS as a punishment.

Thereafter, Cuba was forced to sell its sugar to the communist bloc. No doubt, the trade sanction along with sugar price fluctuation had severe repercussion on the Cuban economy. Also the communist monopoly of power brought Cuba's isolation from the West. Thus, the population were condemned subjected to the endless regimen of sanctions and punishments. More importantly, the government of Castro turned to Moscow for economic political and military aid and trade. He actually refused to yield to US pressure rather he sought the protection of the Soviet Union. With no way out, Castro declared that "I am a Marxist-Leninist and will remain a Marxist-Leninist until the day I die" in December 1961. He also pledged that he would work to spread Marxist revolution throughout Latin America.

Meaning he planned to extend the benefit of socialist revolution to the peoples of Haiti, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Panama, and Venezuela. By doing so, Castro hoped to be considered like that of Tito, Sukarno and Nasser in Latin America.

So far, the US policy proceeded to quarantine the Western hemisphere from Cuban subversion. It encouraged other American states to follow economic boycott with Cuba aimed at disrupting its economy. That is why most of the OAS members refused to trade with Cuba. Even diplomatic relations with this island country were broken.

Moreover, Kennedy planned to topple Castro from his power. Therefore, the Central Intelligence Agency directed by John Allen was authorized to recruit and train anti-Castro Cubans to invade Cuba. As such, Cuban refugees in Florida and Guatemala were trained and supplied by the CIA to launch guerrilla warfare. Their number reached 1,400 under the leadership of J. Cardona who were prepared to accomplish the mission. These Cubans supported by B-26 bombers operating from Nicaragua with Cuban pilots descended to Cuba on April 17, 1961. These anti-Castro forces landed at the Bays of Pigs and then bombed Cuban air bases. At the same time, they called upon the Cuban population to rise up against the new regime. Shortly, the Cuban militia having had tanks moved in and routed the invaders within two days. Obviously, other Cubans failed to rally to the anti-Castro force, which accounted for the surrender of Cardona's men within forty-eight hours. America was not prepared to back up anti-Castro fighters. In so doing, the invasion of Cuba turned into a fiasco. Kennedy stung by this defeat, blamed the Dulles brothers for the misfire of the plan. On the contrary, the military success increased prestige of Castro.

FOCUS

Castro seized power in 1959. He soon nationalized domestic and foreign-owned enterprises. America imposed complete commercial boycott and in January 1961 severed diplomatic relations. Cubans refugees in Florida and Guatemala were trained as a fighting force in order to fight and remove Castro from power.

Due to US support to anti-Castro groups and the presence of fifteen Jupiter missiles in Turkey, Khrushchev planned to distract American attention. He secretly began to send medium range bombers and medium range surface to air missiles to Cuba. Indeed, Cuba was viewed as an important country to the Soviet Union both for symbolic and because of its geographic location. These Russian missiles based on Cuba would be capable of hitting all the major cities in the USA. Consequently Russia transported MIG 21 fighters, Il. 28 jet nuclear bombers and ground-to-ground missiles to Cuba. Moreover, Havana supported communist bands in Latin America which flocked to Cuba so as to obtain base hoping to launch wars and overthrow their governments notably the governments of Panama and Dominican Republic.

Obviously, America was worried by the communist triumph in the Western hemisphere so that she followed closely Castro's moves. On October 14, 1962, its high-flying U-2 took photos of Russian nuclear missile installations in Cuba .At the same time, the CIA detected that Russian ships loaded with additional missiles approached to Cuba because Khrushchev wanted to defend a vulnerable state thereby to enhance the international prestige of the Soviet Union. Soon, Kennedy's government being horrified sprang into action for the Soviet presence in Cuba as a challenge to its Caribbean sphere of influence. As a result, the US government decided that the Soviet missiles and bombers must go from Cuba for American security .If the Soviets refused and kept sailing, the USA would destroy the missiles by air strike or invasion. Kennedy soon ordered the naval and air blockade of Cuba .US planes, equipped with hydrogen bombs had already taken off. The USA and Russia had come very close to the first nuclear war, becoming World War III due to the direct nuclear confrontation between the two great powers.

Kennedy even pressurized the Soviet Union to withdraw missile bombers; so imposed "quarantine" i.e., a peaceful naval blockade of Cuba that prevented additional missile components reaching Cuba. Furthermore, American States at their meeting supported the blockade. In the meantime, Robert Kennedy, the president's brother and the closest advisor, secretly met the Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrunin to tell him that the USA would remove its missiles from Turkey at some time in the future and would abandon its plan of

invasion of Cuba. Dobrynin on his part promised to Robert Kennedy that the Soviet missiles would be withdrawn. Following this rapprochement, Khrushchev publicly agreed to remove the missiles whereby he ordered the Russian ships carrying missile components to be stopped and turned back. Again he promised to withdraw Russians and nuclear weapons from Cuba. The American government pledged not to intervene in the affairs of Cuba and promised a secret promise to remove missiles from Turkey which were installed south of the USSR. By doing so, “The Caribbean Missile Crisis” was over in October 1962. Shortly, the Cuban missile crisis was a political test of wills between the two superpowers but solved by political compromise.

Meanwhile, to reduce the chance of an accidental war arising because of poor communication, “hot line” or telex link was set up between Washington and Moscow in 1963. This development could be used in future emergencies.

FOCUS

Khrushchev decided to install a Soviet nuclear presence in Cuba so as to defend a small and vulnerable state from US aggression and to enhance the international prestige of the Soviet Union. Again in 1961, he wanted to increase nuclear sites in Cuba so transported missile components across the Atlantic Ocean. His missile bases in Cuba were soon discovered by the CIA. This led to nuclear confrontation between the USA and the USSR but solved by political compromise.

Activity 5.4

- Who was Jose Cardona?
 - What was the cause of the Missile Crisis in 1962?
 - Who was Ernesto Che Guevara?
-

Although members of the Cuban communist party controlled key positions, Castro gave the most complete array of social services. Cubans were provided with free medical care and malnutrition was eliminated. Infant mortality rate reduced. Life expectancy rose to seventy years. The status of women and blacks improved. Marxist and non-Marxist then supported

Castro especially in his roaring attacks on the colossus of the north. Pushed by popular pressures, Castro, then, exerted his effort to spread socialism and disturb Latin American governments. On the contrary, dissenters hated his policy and then continued their march out of Cuba. In late 1970s, when Castro encouraged 'undesirables' to leave, thousands of Cubans went into exile.

Ernesto Che Guevara (1928-1967) an Argentinean was a Marxist revolutionary. He opposed when America involved in the overthrowing of a socialist government in Guatemala in 1954. Apparently, in 1954, President Jacobo Arbenz won an electoral victory in Guatemala. He proceeded in limiting the power of foreign corporations, notably, the United States Fruit Company and a U.S Concern, which owned ten percent of the country's land. Moreover, he nationalized uncultivated land and supported strikes against foreign business. The CIA director John Allen sensed these measures negatively for American security. So that, John Foster and his brother John Allen, soon organized outfitted disaffected elements of the Guatemalan army. A successful coup took place in June 1954 that toppled Arbenz from power. Thereafter, a military regime was established that got recognition by the American government. This intervention was condemned by Central American socialist-minded persons like Che Guevara.

For that matter, Che Guevara with his revolutionary ideals joined Castro during his guerrilla warfare and helped him to seize power in 1959. Even after victory, he assisted Castro. When Castro dispatched Cuban guerrilla warfare experts to go to Central America, Colombia, Bolivia, Venezuela and Peru to spread Marxist revolution by encouraging the peasants to rise against their government, he also played his roles.

Above all, Che was dedicated to instigate people for revolution. For example, in 1966 he went to Bolivia to fight along with the tin miners. The US government then sent troops to Bolivia and the Dominican Republic in support to suppress upheavals. By then, Che was captured and killed in 1967. Consequently, one billion dollars was funded to Latin American government in order to demonstrate progress in creating democratic institutions and improving social services. Practically, to cement their relationship with the United States of

America. But the Latin Americans diverted the money to military build-ups to combat guerrilla fighters. At last, American military aid and peasants' disinterest led to the collapse of Castroites guerrilla movements. However, Castroites turned to terrorism in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentinean cities, which was a futile effort.

In spite of Russian wish and Castro's effort, socialism could not triumph in Latin America. Of course, in one circumstance Chile experienced a socialist regime in early 1970s. Among the Latin American countries, Chile was experiencing a sort of democracy in the twentieth century. The army was not used as an instrument to the government. People had the right of forming political unions. As such, there were different political organizations ranging from fascist to Marxist. The 1925 constitution, in fact, provided the Chileans the right to elect their president. On the other hand, the country faced shortage of farming lands for the largest part was controlled by land lords, inflation, foreign domination, etc., that created social havoc.

Dr Salvador Allende, the Marxist had pledged the people to guarantee civil liberties during elections. Consequently, he emerged victorious and took the office of presidency in Chile in 1970. He represented the Popular Action Front party. Allende who had been influenced by Castro's reforms quickly nationalised a proportion of Chile's copper, iron, and textile industries and banks, i.e., much of it previously owned by American businessmen were confiscated without compensation and he signed a trade agreement with Russia. Even he established friendly relationship with Castro's of Cuba and proceeded in nationalization of land.

Though his rule seemed democratic that partly respected human rights, his government faced domestic and foreign problems. Soon, there were anti-Marxist social unrests. Again the US government was frustrated by his political measures so designed to destabilise his regime. Hence, the Americans determined to destroy him. In fact, it did not use its troops to eliminate him from power. Instead, it cut off economic aid to Chile following the planning of 'policy towards Chile' aimed at stopping loans to the regime. Moreover, Nixon ordered the CIA to encourage public demonstrations by Allendale's political opponents to save Chile

from communism. Subsequently, in September 1973, the Chilean government was overthrown by a military rebellion, in which the CIA played a murky part. The military stormed the palace in Santiago. Immediately, Allende committed suicide, and Chile was taken over by a brutal right-wing regime led by General Augusto Pinochet who had organized the coup. He started his administration by purging socialists, communists even liberals from their posts. The USA provided him economic aid that consolidated his authoritarian rule.

As time progressed, the world political system has been changed. But Castro's mind could not be changed. A case in point, M. Gorbachev of Russia visited Cuba in 1989. He talked a lot to Castro and advised him to revise his internal as well as external policies. However, Castro was stiff so announced his preference to socialist ideology and its practices and strong hatred to American imperialism. Thereafter, the Soviet leader cut aids and trade relation with Cuba. Public services collapsed; industries closed due to lack of fuel as well as orders, wages and salaries were unpaid, emigration accelerated. The ultimate Cuban crises took place when 11,000 Russian troops evacuated from Cuba while US forces remained in the Guantanamo.

By late 1980s, the socialist bloc started crumbling. People who were under the oppression of communism demanded their political right. At last, when the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, Eastern Europeans were liberated. On the other hand, the collapse of Soviet Union had direct repercussion of Castro's regime because he has lost external support. He remained a socialist dictator. Cuba's relation with America remained strained. Thereafter, Washington redoubled the pressure through the enactment of the so called "Cuba Democracy Act" which among other things barred maritime operators doing business with Cuba from US ports of call on their way to and from the island and banned most travel to the island and dollar remittances from US sources. Other economic sanctions were even imposed after 1994 aimed at strangling Castro's regime. Arguably, it is the ordinary people of Cuba who suffer much by such measures.

FOCUS

Russian dream and Castro's effort to establish communist governments in Latin America became a vain attempt. Because America seriously worked to undo the movement by providing financial and morale support. Even the majority peasants were reluctant to the communists' cause. In fact, in Chile, Allende tried to exercise a socialist regime but shortly aborted.

Activity 5.5

- How the Latin Americans with hold the communists' movement?
- Who was General Augusto Pinochet?
- Where is Guantanamo? What is its purpose?
- What do understand by "Cuba Democracy Act?"
-

SUMMARY

The upheavals caused by the Second World War helped to bring Marxist successes not only in Eastern Europe but also in South East Asia. The Chinese communists supported by the Soviet Union seized power in 1949 and later established a totalitarian regime. In 1950, China occupied Tibet; closed monasteries by attacking Buddhists; forced Dalai Lama, the religious leader to exile; clashed with India and Soviet Union since 1960.

Despite the communists' effort to achieve higher productivity in China, the programmes encountered challenges. To mention 1) food production drooped seriously in 1959-61 due largely to severe drought, 2) the peasants did not like giving up their own little plots for growing vegetables and rearing chicken 3) the quality of products from the workshops was poor and 4) for the communes had large population managers could not organize themselves.

Generally speaking, the 1958 and the 1966 revolutionary practices had slowed down economic growth. In fact, the Chinese were in full employment mainly in agricultural

activities .Among the Eastern European countries only Albania led by Enver Hoxha was pro-China. Obviously, China planned to spread its ideological practices in Africa by supporting financially and materially. One significant work done by China in Africa was again only the building of Tan-Zam Railway that links the inland Zambia with the Tanzanian coast in late 1960

North Korea and North Vietnam have also direct crossroad links with China, while North Korea shared a border with the Soviet Union too. This opportunity helped both governments to encourage communist movements in these countries who later established communist regimes.

Above all, the Chinese since 1961 have been very active trying to stir up revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America by training so-called “freedom fighters” and supplying them with money and weapons.

The American government which tried to destroy communists in North Vietnam, had been dropped more bombs on Vietnam. Crops and civilians were burned. Such casualties came to America every evening on television screens. It came home to mothers and fathers who lost sons. As the government poured huge money into the war effort, inflation came in America. The news of drug-addiction on a massive scale in the Far East among the US troops reached America as well. Therefore, the Americans urged their government to end the war in Vietnam.

Castro in Cuba ousted the Batista regime for it was undemocratic. But he seized power and introduced reforms that antagonized the population. When the people opposed, he used force to imprison and kill the Cubans thereby stifled the people’s freedom. Afterwards, the Cubans were condemned to be suppressed and to be tormented by sordid poverty as a result of Castro’s poor policies.

It is clear that nationalists under the guise of socialist philosophy, confiscated private properties killed land lords and later created famine and appalling conditions to the people.

Review Exercises 5

1. Explain about the personality of Ho Chi Minh.
2. Who were the Vietcong?
3. What happened in 1976 in Vietnam?
4. What happened in 1958 and 1966 in China?
5. What happened in China after the death of Mao?
6. How Korea was divided into two political units?
7. Castro being the leader of Cuba took new economic reforms in 1960. Mention it.
8. What was the policy of America towards Chile in early 1970s?
9. What was the cause for the Tien-an-mien Massacre?

Check list

Put a tick mark (✓) in the boxes under 'Yes or 'No

I can

- I can mention about kim II sung
- I have understood reasons for division of Korea in to two
- I can expaund about the 1950-1953 Korean war
- I can state about the Great Leap Forward and its consequences
- I can describe about the formation of two Vietnames
- I can put forward the reasons for Missile Crisis of 1962
- I have understood US interest in Latin America and its interegues

Yes	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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UNIT 6

THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT

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Introduction

In this unit the dispersion of Jewish people in the USA, Asia, Europe and Africa, their aspiration to establish a national home in the Middle East in the latter century; the blessing of the USA, the USSR and the UNO the emergence of a new state Israel; the Arab countries who refused this resolution jointly engaged in successive aggressive attacks against the Jews but their inability to secure a military as well as a political victory will be discussed.

Consequently, the Palestinians organized the Palestinian Liberation Organization led by Yassir Araft aimed at regaining the 'lost lands' through guerrilla warfare and terrorist attacks. The fighting continued in vain. With this regard the Arab-Israel unending conflict has become an international tension .All these points will be dealt vividly.

Objective

Upon the completion of this unit the students will be able to:-

- analyze the factors that led to the dispersion of the Jews from the Holy Land and their latter conditions which urged them to seek a national home secured by law;

- explain the resolution given by the UNO in 1948 with regard Palestinian issue;
- decompose the qualities of the Israelis to preserve their national integrity through military power;
- elaborate the importance of the Suez Canal for the international community.

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6.1 BACKGROUND

The Jews had lived in Palestine on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea since antiquity. In 63 B.C., their homeland was overrun by the then great power, Romans who had no definite religion. When the Jews whom practiced the Judaic religion opposed the invaders, they were destroyed by the invaders and started dispersion. Due to the continuous religious and administrative misgivings, the Jews rose in rebellion in 66 A.D for the second time but the Romans defeated them and took a terrible revenge. By then, several Jews were killed, captured and sold into slavery or sent into exile. After this incident and continued harsh persecution, many of the survivors left their homeland, Canaan and scattered across the Middle East and Europe even beyond. The latter Jews called this condition the Diaspora. More importantly, while they lived in many countries for longer centuries, they always believed that one day they would return to their homeland.

In the seventh century A.D, the people in Arabia were united by a single faith Islam. At the same time, the majority in Palestine began to call themselves Arabs and adherent of Islam. Only very few Palestinian inhabitants remained as Jews and believers of Judaism. In a similar way, the scattered Jews maintained their religion, their customs and their language

despite the hardship that they had faced. Apparently, these people were feared, hated and despised by non-Jews everywhere they had lived. Their religion set them apart from the Christian people, who made impossible them to achieve cultural and political assimilation thereby damaged their legal status. Besides, they often were persecuted. Notably, in 1880s, thousands Rumanian, Polish and Russian Jews including men, women and children were killed in a bloody massacres called pogroms, which were anti-Semitic riots and murders.

Especially, in Russia in 1881, there were anti-Jewish riots following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. Although other ethnic groups in Russian carried out the assassination of the Tsar, the murder created anti-Semitic passions. Then, it produced an exodus of Jews. Some went to Palestine; a much large number of Jews went to the United States and other nations and overseas. Under such circumstances, the Jewish began to contemplate the re-creation of the ancient Jewish state in the Biblical land of Zion.

Appropriately, the father of the concept of a Jewish state was Leon Pinsker, a Jew from Russia, a nation where anti-Semitism had become a state policy. In 1882, Pinsker published his pamphlet, *Auto Emancipation: An Appeal to his people by a Russian Jew*. The book was instrumental in the creation of a Zionist organization (the “Lovers of Zion”) that launched the first wave of emigrants to Palestine.

To give impetus for such notion, i.e., the establishment of a National Home in the Holy Land, an Austrian Jew called Theodore Harzl organized the World Zionist Movement in 1897. He has become the best-known publicist of the Zionist cause when he organized the First World Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland even wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Jewish State*. Another important figure in the movement was Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952). The aim of the movement was to create a homeland in Palestine around Mount Zion for the Jewish people secured by law that consolidated the concept of Jewish nationalism. Besides, it was a programme to revive the ancient Hebrew culture with an assertion of the self-identify of Jews who felt who threatened by various European nationalist movements. Moreover, it was intended to escape from the destructive fury of a rejuvenated anti-

Semitism. As a result, it was a struggle for the emergence of the Israel nation thereby upgrading the Jews deteriorated political and social status.

6.2 THE FORMATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Contemporary Zionism has its origins in the rebirth of European nationalism, which had been transformed into a virulent manifestation of racism in the case of Nazi Germany and others. The Germans, Italians, Russians and Irish discovered in their ancient histories, their uniqueness and professed cultural superiority over others. But the Jews case was another. The Jewish Zionists believed that the Jews were a distinct nationality to have their own country. Then, they adopted a national flag, a national hymn and other symbols of nationhood.

Initially, the Jews looked for a Jewish state in South America and Africa but lastly they were interested in Palestine, the homeland of their ancestors in ancient times. However, the creation of such a Jewish state faced numerous obstacles. Obviously, the majority of the Middle East including Palestine was under the Ottoman Turkish rule until WWI, so suppressed the Jewish nationalism. During the war, British launched a drive against Turkey, an ally of Germany. In December 1916, the British advanced from Egypt and then entered Jerusalem. By the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 1916 with France, Britain was to extend its influence into Palestine, Iraq and Trans-Jordan. The British while fighting the Turks had enlisted Arab supporters and had promised them nationhood after the war. These pledges had contributed to anti-Turkish rebellions in Jerusalem, Damascus and other cities long controlled by the Turks.

At the same time, the British government also enlisted Jewish aid, and in return promised a “National Home for the Jewish people.” Thus, the Zionists accepted the idea that said the defeat of Turkey during the First World War by the Allied forces would be the first step of a long journey to freedom. In so doing, the British government supported the Zionists; furthermore, the pledge was assured by the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The British foreign ministers, A. Balfour in a one-page letter to Lord Rothschild, a representative of the Jewish

community in England informed that, Britain would favour for the establishment of a “National Home” for the Jewish people in Palestine.

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After their rebellion in the 1st century A.D., several Jews were exterminated from Palestine and spread across the globe. Their legal status was deteriorated particularly in Eastern Europe. By the end of the nineteenth century, these scattered Jews sought a national home to all the Jews so organized the Zionist movement aimed at resettling all the Jews in Palestine around Mount Zion. Some how, their movement was suppressed by Ottoman Turkey. By the end of the 1880s the Jewish population of Palestine was below 40,000 about 5 percent of the then population.

After the end of the First World War, Britain controlled part of the Middle East. Above all, the Versailles Treaty affirmed Palestine to remain under Britain through the Mandate system. Britain, thence, kept its promise and Jewish immigration to Palestine progressed due to the ideology of Zionism. During the inter-war period the Zionist organizations and associations obtained various concessions, bought up best lands, set up farms and built settlements thereby pushed the Arab peasants off them. Again Jewish communities developed political parties, press, labour unions and education system. The British and the US governments even invested in Palestine. Banks appeared, trade expanded, capitalist plantations were set up, transport and other communal services were established and military projects were built. But Arab capitalists were restricted to do their best. As much as possible, the Mandate government succeeded in maintaining a rough equilibrium between the Jewish and Arab aspirations. It tried to satisfy all claimants to the land of Palestine. However, Palestine west of the Jordan river was proposed to be remained under British rule.

The Arabs have always rejected the Balfour Declaration. In so far, they feared that the British were in the process of creating a Zionist state because by late 1930s the immigrant Jews number reached half a million that alarmed the Arabs. Indeed, when the Nazis harshly persecuted the Jews, several Jews united and escaped from the Fascists and entered Palestine. In the meantime, the Arabs who largely inhabited the area did not welcome

Jewish immigrants. So that the new comers were attacked by the Arabs. In retaliation, the Jews engaged in acts of violence. Each side involved in bloodshed violence in Jerusalem and Hebron. At the same time, both sides felt that the British had betrayed them for not fulfilling the promises made during the war.

Meanwhile, the British government appointed Lord Peel in 1936 for Palestine. He tried to relax the tension and organized a committee to seek a solution. The commission favoured for the separation of Jews and Arabs in separate areas. Already the Peel Commission supported the idea of “National Home” movement which advocated the formation of a Jewish state. Anyhow, the years after 1936 marked a rapid ebbing of the Zionist fortunes. When the Palestinian Arabs heard the news that Britain had the plan to divide Palestine into two, the Arabs revolted; attacked British bases and ambushed military convoys. They even shot down Jewish settlers as they worked in the fields.

Essentially, the Palestine crisis deepened in late 1930s when Nazi Germany persecuted the Jews in Europe. Several survivors in the European concentration camps sought homes in Palestine. Soon, the British alarmed by the situation, ruled out its plan that stressed on the partition of Palestine not to offend the Arabs rather to attract them on her side at the expense of the Jews. Thence, in order to placate the Arabs, who had risen in bloody rebellion (1936-1939) in opposition to the influx of Jews and the proposal for partition, Britain issued its controversial White Paper or Position Paper in 1939. With it, the British authorities sought to limit the Jewish population of Palestine to one-third and severely curtailed the transfer of land to Jews. So that it forbade Jewish immigration to Palestine. In actual fact, this directive came at a time when life in Nazi Germany had become unbearable for the Jews. Above all, when Adolf Hitler initiated his programme for the extermination of the Jews, militant Jews began to suspect collusion between the British and the Nazis. Indirectly, the British decision created a legacy of bitterness. Thereafter, Zionists turned to the United States to assure their demands.

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In short, London wanted to maintain the Arabs' good will because of the importance of oil concessions in the Arab territories and the strategic significance of Egypt. The so-called white paper plea with regard Palestine explicitly refuted the concept of a Jewish state and tightened up immigration procedures. This decision was taken because the Jewish community in Palestine was hardly in a position to withdraw its support in the fighting against Germany.

Activity 6.1

Would you mention the possible reasons that accounted for the Jewish Diaspora in the first century A.D?

Can you point out the reason why the British ruled out the Peel Commission's proposal for the partition Palestine?

After 1945, the conflict between the Palestinian Arabs and the Jews became ever acute because both of the Jewish and Palestinian Arabs claimed Palestine for themselves. Particularly, refugees and survivors of the Holocaust arrived Palestine in large number. Arabs on their part protested to cease the immigration and to protect their right by law. In order to survive in Palestine the Jews organized underground fighting forces like Haganah, the Stern Gang and Irgun Zvai Leumi as the leading force. The tension continued. In order to reduce the chaos, the British tried to keep out the Jewish new comers. This triggered off ruthless attacks and violence between the British army and terrorist Jewish organization notably the Irgun (Irgun Zvai, or National Military Organization) headed by Menachem Begin. The Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang even fought the Palestinian Arabs when they tried to harass the Jews in Palestine. In addition to this, Zionist saboteurs blew up bridges and power stations. A case in point, in July 1946, the Irgun dynamited the King David Hotel, the British headquarters in Jerusalem thereby killing ninety-one people indiscriminately. Despite such atrocities, the Zionists won a lot of international sympathy, especially in the USA. Indeed, the Zionists had switched their main effort from Britain to the United States of America for F.D. Roosevelt and H.Truman embraced the cause of Zionism for they were even be cognizant of oil strategy in the Middle East.

Obviously, both the Jews and the Arabs saw themselves as the legitimate heirs to the land of Palestine. As a result, too much blood had already been shed between them. Nevertheless, the separation of the territory into two was viewed as a solution. Already ambassador Henry Grady for the United States and the British home secretary, Herbert Morrison in July insisted on the division of Palestine. But, British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin opposed this proposal. Rather he preferred a Jewish state dominated by the Arab majority, which was rejected by other authorities. When his appeal was fruitless, the Palestine question would be referred to the UN. In February 1947, Britain announced that the problem, and possibly the territory too, were to be transferred to the United Nations because fighting increased. In May, thus, a special session in the General Assembly created United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (Unscop) and its eleven members set off for Jerusalem. While they were there, 4,554 refugees from Sete in south France arrived at Haifa furnished with travel documents for Colombia. But the British authorities shipped back them to Sete in the south of France. To force the British, the Irgun band committed another atrocity by which it captured and hanged British sergeants. The British were impotent and lost even the reputation for fairness which they regarded as one of their special contributions to public morality. Unable to solve the problem, or to keep order, or to defend themselves, the British were now more than ready to go. Therefore, it announced that the Palestine Mandate was to be unilaterally terminated as of May 15, 1948.

In November 1947, the United Nations, therefore, called for the creation of separate Israeli and Palestinian Arab states. Meaning the partition of Palestine had become inevitable. Consequently, the General Assembly voted on November 29, 1947 that adopted a resolution to divide Palestine into Jewish and Arab section. Jerusalem, a holy city along with its environs was to have international status with free access for all worshippers. But nearly all-Arab states rejected the UN resolution so they turned down the UN plan, fighting ensued. They were in no mood for such a compromise with what they considered to be a foreign presence in their land. But most Jews accepted the borders that the United Nations had drawn, despite the fact that they fell far short what the Zionist movement originally had envisioned. Anyhow, the future state of Israel obtained over half of Palestine, including

much of the most fertile land. In such a way that, the Zionist dream had born fruit. Shortly, an escalation of violence broke out. For instance, on April 9, 1948, Irgun killed between 116 and 254 Palestine Arabs in the village of Deir Yassin, and three days later an Arab reprisal caused the deaths of 77 Jews.

Subsequently, on May 14, 1948, the last British official left Palestine that brought the end of British Mandate in Palestine. On the following day, a Jewish provisional government counted on a strong American support proclaimed the creation of the Republic of Israel State at Tel Aviv. David Ben Gurion (1886-1973), who was one of the early Zionists and that played vital roles after WWII with the Jewish concern was appointed premier to serve until 1963 and Dr. Chaim Weizmann the veteran leader of Zionism who enjoyed worldwide respect was elected president of the Provisional Council. The first state to extend diplomatic recognition to Israel was the United States; the Soviet Union and several Western nations quickly followed suit. No Arab state, however, recognized the new state, Israel.

FOCUS

Israel as a state was created as a result of the tenacious memories of a persecuted people whose misfortunes in the various parts of the world had given them an intense addiction to the words of their holy books; because of atrocious crimes perpetrated against European Jewry in sight of Europe and the world.

Activity 6.2

Would you explain the historical developments that led to the creation of the Jewish state of Israel?

Would you mention about C-Weizmann?

Which Arab country recognized the state Israel? Why?

6.3 THE ARAB-ISRAELI WARS IN 1948 AND 1956

It was crystal clear that the Arabs remained adamant in their refusal to recognize Israel's existence. At best some were willing to accept the presence of a Jewish minority in an Arab state. However, most Arabs determined to prevent the establishment of the Israeli state by

military means. No doubt, the Arabs intransigence made it clear that Israel's right to exist would have to be defended by the sword.

In the subsequent years, successive Arab-Israeli wars occurred in 1948/49, 1956, 1967 and 1973. The first war broke out in 1948. In all cases, the Arab states too started offensive attacks but lost the war in all fighting. The Arab League is a voluntary association of Arabic-speaking states. It was formed in March 1945 by independent countries. It was founded in Cairo by Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan and Yemen. Other countries such as Libya in 1953, Sudan in 1956, Morocco in 1958, Tunisia in 1958, Kuwait in 1961, Algeria in 1962, South Yemen in 1968, Oman in 1971, Qatar in 1971, the United Arab Emirates in 1971, Mauritania in 1973, Somalia in 1974, Djibouti in 1977, Bahrain in 1971, and Comoros in 1993 joined in the latter years. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was also admitted to membership in 1976.

The purposes of the Arab League are to strengthen ties among member states in political, economic, cultural and social programmes, coordinate their policies, and promote their common interests. Moreover, it aimed to liberate Arab countries, which had been under alien rule even due to their refusal to the existence of a Jewish state in Palestine. So, they supported PLO in its attack against Israel.

The Supreme organ of the Arab League is its council, made up of all member states. Each member state has one vote the council convenes two times a year. The secretary-general is appointed by two-thirds majority to undertake the day-to-day administrative activities. A case in point, the League had Ahmed Esmat Abdul Maguid secretary-general in 1991 who was replaced by Amir Mussa in 2001. The League has specialized organs like the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific organization; and the Arab League Labour Organisation. Again Arabs formed a joint defense council, an economic council, and a permanent military command. At any rate the structure seems the replica of UNO. Membership to this organisation, of course, is restricted to the Muslim world and its agenda focuses only to the cause of the Muslims.

The League prepared school curriculum, and preserved manuscripts and Arab cultural heritage even translated modern technical terminology for the use of member states but encouraged measures to be taken against crimes and drug abuse.

Following the proclamation of the formation of independent state of Israel, the Arabs of Palestine supported by the Arab League declared war on Israel. Arab states especially, Lebanon, Trans-jordan, Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Yemen and Saudi Arabia were in favour of the Palestinian Arabs. The first war against Israel was launched in 1948. By then, the Egyptians through the Gaza /Sinai in the south, the Iraqi and the Arab legion of Trans-jordan commanded by an English General Glubb from the east, and the Syrians and Lebanese from the north started offensive attack against Israel. During the first months, the Arab commanders captured Jerusalem and the Egyptians held the Negev.

. The Israelis have a remarkable sense of unity, the feeling of common religion and fear of the future continuous threat of extinction by the surrounding Arab states. They had no alternative but to win. They knew that if they lost the war, there was no place for them to go. So that they had to fight with great determination and tenacious. In the meantime, the Soviet Union aspired that Israel would be attracted towards the communist world so assisted Israel. Even the Israelis obtained arms and planes from Czechoslovakia. Then after, fighting was heaviest around Jerusalem, in Negev and in Galilee. When Israelis fiercely counter-attacked, the Arab military strategy fell apart, with only Trans-jordan continuing to offer serious resistance until the end. At last, the Israelis were decisively victorious. Indeed, the war was over in four weeks time.

Soon, the UN intervened by appointing the Swedish Count Folk Bernadette to mediate. He effected a truce which lasted from June 11 to July 9, 1948. Unfortunately, Bernadette was murdered on September 17 by the Stern Gang group and succeeded by another UN official, American negro Ralph Bunche who had secured no fruitful effort.

Despite such arrangement, the fighting continued. Israelis gained further military success in the renewed fighting in October. But by the end of the year, the war was virtually over.

Between February - January 1949, armistice to ceasefire was signed between Israel and her opponents, i.e., four of its assailants (but Iraq was absent). According to the peace treaty, Jerusalem was partitioned between Israeli and Jordanian control and Gaza Strip was to be administered by Egypt. In so far, Israel controlled three-fourths of Palestine twice as much land as had been proposed by the UNO preserved for the Palestinian Arabs. The Israelis wound up with one-third's more land than the UN partition plan when they seized new territory like west Jerusalem, the Negev desert and parts of Galilee. Even king Abdullah of Jordan took land from Palestine. As a result, the UN pended the formation of the Palestinian state. At the same time, the Arabs reacted to the loss of their home land with despair, shame and anger but in a vain.

The war produced a refugee problem. In April 1948 before the outbreak of the war, 290,000 Palestinian Arabs had become refugees as a result of the partition. The war itself produced another 300,000 refugees. More Palestinian Arabs from villages and towns in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank were evicted. As a whole, nearly 900,000 Palestinian Arabs were forced to leave their homeland as refugees. They have become homeless.

Already some factors contributed to the defeat of the Arabs. The Arab states were saddled with corrupt leadership and poor equipment. Their actions were uncoordinated and ineffectual. They used poor weapons and lacked clear-cut military strategy. Above all, they were not the right much for the well-organized, trained and spirited Israelis. Obviously, the Jews were well armed and administered so crushed the Arabs in a short time. Furthermore, their victory was accompanied by the diplomatic support by the USA and other Western powers and the Soviet Union military support.

Despite the fact, the Arab states unanimously refused to recognize the state of Israel. The Arabs labelled it as an imperialist subterfuge for the maintenance of Anglo-American power in the Middle East. Thus, they determined to punish Israel by economic war by closing the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping and to goods going to or from Israel. In fact, king Abdullah of Jordan sought to come to terms with Israel and met the Zionists in secret in 1949 but cost his life at the hands of an assassin in 1951 as he entered the El Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem.

Besides, the Arabs boycotted trade with Israel and prevented its communication through the Suez Canal and in the Gulf of Aqaba in the Red Sea. So, Israel aware of the future war, prepared herself to defend aggression. As a result, she armed herself with sophisticated weapons. For example, she established friendly relationship with France and received fighter air craft which was the best in Europe.

Obviously, the Israel's land was infertile; much of it is being desert or semi desert. Even the population was small. Thence, it opened her doors to all Jews who wished to come and make their home in the new state. The new arrivals had to be fed, clothed and housed and supplied with jobs so hard working projects were designed. West lands put under cultivation and built new industries and cities in a shortest possible time. Moreover, Israel obtained funds from overseas along with restitution money paid by West Germany for Jewish property seized by Hitler. Notably, it received generously external aid from American and other Jews with manpower and other supplies. Meanwhile, Israel planned development of agriculture, irrigation, settlement and industry which were successful. Shortly, the Israelis are hard working people who changed the arid into cultivable land to grow crops and fruits.

Activity 6.3

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- Which European country paid reparation to Israel? Why?
 - Who was king Abdullah? What was his fate in 1951? Why?
-

The 1948 war between Israel and Palestine had been a bitter blow to the pride and national consciousness of the Arabs. The war had exposed their weakness and their inability to unite. Arabs in fact, spoke to drive the Israelis into the sea thereby removing the state of Israel from the map. This notion was further fanned during the time of Gemal Abdel Nasser (1916-1970) as the ruler of Egypt. He seized power in 1952 and devoted his time and resource for this cause.

The Egyptian nationalists denounced, the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, in October 1951 which had five years to run, and began guerrilla attacks on the Canal Zone. In January 1952, anti- British riots in Cairo caused extensive damage. In the meantime, a palace revolution

swept aside the ineffectual and dishonest king Farouk. The coup *detats* brought Nasser to power who was a passionate nationalist, dedicated to regenerate the glory of both Egypt and the rest of the Arab world. He was a skilled political leader committed to Arab nationalism as well as who had fought bravely against the Jews in 1948 war. He opposed British presence in the Canal Zone and Sudan so that he demanded British troops to withdraw from the area. The British who were effective rulers of the Sudan for a half century, insisted that the Sudanese must decide their future for themselves and the Egyptians wrongly believing that Sudanese would opt for a union with Egypt so agreed in February 1953. In the event, the Sudanese chose independence in spite of Egyptian propaganda and pressure.

Furthermore, the new rulers outlawed the existence of political parties including the Wafd party. Members were forced to join the National Liberation Rally party dominated by army officers. Colonel Nasser became prime Minister and later President of Egypt after ousting General Neguib. Thereafter, he established a military rule in Egypt. Aimed at Britain's withdrawal from the Canal Zone, Britain and Egypt negotiated the terms and the timetable in October 1954. Accordingly, Britain would depart in twenty months but would have the right to return if any member of the Arab League or Turkey were attacked by any outside foe except Israel. But this Anglo- Egyptian friendship was short lived. The better relations turned for the worst.

Nasser was busy to put another Arab-Israel war on his agenda. What was confusing was that by the 1955 Bandung Conference of neutralists, Egypt became wedded to non-alignment. He also aimed to secure assistance from the West and the World Bank in order to build the Aswan Dam on the Nile at Aswan. For most part of Egypt is desert, in fact, the construction would contribute to Egyptian economic development through irrigation thereby to improve Egyptians' standard of living. At the same time, Nile would be navigable as far south as the Sudanese frontier. Again the Egyptians wanted to keep the water volume of Nile throughout the year. Obviously, an earlier Aswan Dam had been built in 1902. But the new dam was to be a much greater project to water desert areas and to increase the electric power supply to industrial plants at the expense of 1,400 million dollars. The USA was aware of Russian move towards north Africa following this opportunity. To block Nasser from communist

inclination, the USA promised to offer him financial assistance for the building of the Aswan Dam. Even though, Nasser continued to be very friendly with Russia.

On his return from Bandung, Nasser began seriously to look for modern weapons in order to make Egypt stronger thereby making Egypt the leading Arab state. Also Nasser stirred up Arab nationalism with his public speeches and radio propaganda. After trying Peking and then Washington and London once more, he finally turned to Moscow in September 1955. He soon announced arms deal with the communist bloc, i.e., Czechoslovakia and Russia to repay with Egyptian cotton. Immediately, he received Soviet MIG-15 fighter planes, 28 bombers and 115 heavy tanks. Even the Russian ambassador came to Cairo and promised him large economic and military aid, so Egyptian relations with the Soviet Union and China has become much firm and strong. Russia in its turn gained a client outside of its communist sphere of influence. Israel on her part re-negotiated an arms agreement with France so received in April 1956 a contingent of the best fighter aircraft in Europe. Consequently, Nasser encouraged the Algerian nationalists who were fighting against the French to end colonial rule. Many Frenchmen concluded the blow that Nasser was the right way to solve their troubles in Algeria, or at any rate a necessary precondition. On the contrary, some Frenchmen considered Nasser as a menace like Hitler and must be put down before it was too late. As a result, France agreed to supply Israel with additional fighter aircraft. The Middle East now on a hair- triggers alert waiting for a crisis to unfold.

Moreover, many people, in America and Western Europe believed that Nasser would now come under Russian domination. Furthermore, his recognition to the communist regime in Peking in 1956 created irritation. On the way, his relationship with the Western powers deteriorated sharply. In general three main aspects of Egyptian policy accounted for the above-mentioned points which increased Nasser's enemies. First Nasserites agencies consistently probed the weakness of the UK's remaining sphere of influence in Jordan. Second, the Cairo regime funneled support to the Algerian rebels which opposed the French Fourth Republic colonial policy, and especially to the exiled revolutionary leadership in Tunis. Third, the Egyptian government refused to be drawn into Washington's frantic efforts to construct an anti-communist bloc in the Middle East. Nasser's determination to remain

independent of American regional policy more forcefully than his arms deal with Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union symbolized his refusal towards the Western nation.

The Suez Canal located at the crossroads of Asia, Europe and Africa is one of the World's most important artificial waterway. It joins Africa and Asia and permits ocean-going vessels to travel between the eastern ends of the Mediterranean Sea. The northern terminus is Port Said on the Mediterranean Sea. The French government granted money, machines and engineers. It was constructed between 1859 and 1869 by the Suez Canal Company following the concession reached between France and Egypt. The Canal construction was completed on August 15, 1869. The canal has a total length of 169 kms and handles about 60 vessels a day and connects the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Later, the French engineer F. de Lesseps on the French side received the French right to operate the canal for the ninety-nine years. The canal is strategically as well as economically important because it shortens the distance between Europe and Far East. Much of the world's petroleum is transported and the world trade passes through this canal.

At the beginning of the twentieth century oil was discovered in Persia (now Iran). Britain highly depended on Iran oil so used the Canal effectively. In due course of time, other Arab states have become oil producers and other countries depended on the Arab oil to their industries. Obviously, two-thirds of the world's oil reserve found in the Middle East. European countries used the Canal whenever they moved to the Persian Gulf and transported raw materials from Africa, Asia and Australia. As such, the Canal has been called the 'barometer' of the world trade. Above all, the Israeli shipping went through this waterway as the only outlet to the external world. Be it as it might, forty-four percent of the shares in the Suez Company were owned by the British government and the remainder by the French private investors. For that matter, the canal was administered by private company whose shareholders were mainly British and besides Britain had military bases within the Canal Zone. According to the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty, Britain was allowed to station 10,000 troops in the Suez Canal for twenty years. Based on this accord, thence, the British contingents sailed from their garrison in Egypt on June 13, 1956 once for the last time.

Israel has had bad feeling to Nasser because he planned to destroy it. In many cases, Egyptian raids were tiresome to the government of Israel that urged Israel to punish raiders. The hostility between the two states increased after the Society of Free Officers seized power in 1952. Essentially, it had already decided to invade the Sinai desert of Egypt because the murderous raids were launched on her from there. She also wished to control the Gulf of Aqaba so that her ships could move freely. A case in point, in 1955, the Israelis crossed the Egyptian territory near Gaza, blew up an army post and killed thirty-seven Egyptian soldiers.

In the meantime, statesmen in Britain opposed Britain's financial aid to Nasser for it would be impossible to cut down his aggrandizement. Even in America, it was argued that it would be imprudent to allocate so much American money to a single project. Above all, Nasser's affiliation with the communists and his economic reforms such as the confiscation of royal lands, the partial expropriation of landlords and factory owners' land and nationalization of private properties which had socialist content were not liked.

In fact, the American government planned that the Aswan Dam would be shared by both America and British control over Egypt. But on Nasser's perspective the economic advantages of the scheme were not to be given to his Anglo-American enemies. In order to meet their interests abortive discussions were held between Egypt and America. When the negotiation stalled, Nasser dictated the US Secretary of State, J.F, Dulles for quick response. Already the Western support waned because they regarded the project as if it was no longer viable. Thus, on July 19, 1956, Dulles informed the Egyptian ambassador in Washington that the Anglo-American offer to finance the construction of the Aswan Dam was revoked.

FOCUS

On June 18, 1953, the monarchy in Egypt was abolished and Egypt was proclaimed a republic with General Neguib as first president. In 1954, Nasser quarrelled with the president and forced Neguib to retire and took his position. In order to construct a high dam which would be important for irrigation, navigation and generating electricity to

service industrial plants, World Bank, the United States and Britain promised to advance \$ 2000 million, \$ 56 million and \$ 14 million respectively in 1955.

On the contrary, Nasser stirred up Arab nationalism and created friendly relationship with the communist bloc that caused irritation by the Western governments and forced them to decline in their financial offer to Egypt.

The French ambassador in Washington, Cove de Murville, had predicted that in this event Nasser would retaliate by seizing the revenues from the Suez Canal. He seemed right because Nasser's response was dramatic. The international convention of Article 1 with regard the Suez Canal states that the Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open in time of war as in time of peace to every vessel of commerce without distinction of flag. Again Article 4 declares that the Maritime Canal remains open in time of war as a free passage, even to ships of belligerents.... Article 5 announces that in times of war belligerent countries shall not disembark nor embark within the Canal and its ports access, troops, munitions or materials of war.

Despite this hard fact, on his speech of July 26, 1956, in Alexandria, he declared the nationalisation of the internationally-owned Suez Canal promising that the shareholders, mainly the British government and private French investors would be compensated. His verification reads as follow:

The Suez Canal was a state within a state; it is an Egyptian limited company which depended on foreign plot and imperialism and the supporters of imperialism. The Suez Canal was built for Egypt and for Egypt's interest but it was a source of exploitation and extortion.... It is no shame to be poor.... What is shameful, however, is to suck blood. They sucked our blood, and exorted and stole our rights.... We shall protect these rights.....today. O, citizens the Suez Canal has been nationalized.... Today citizens, we declare that our property has been returned to us....

Nasser probably relied on the support from Soviet Union if Egypt was attacked by Israel, France, or Britain. These three countries connived together to remove Nasser from power. Israel for the obvious reason opposed the Arabs united to destroy it through the war of blockade; France hated him due to his assistance and encouragement to the Algerian rebels and Britain to make the canal accessible for oil and other products. The move excited the Arabs but shocked the West. Immediately, he recruited foreign pilots to run the company. The ships of many nations were instructed to pay their canal tolls to the Egyptian government.

FOCUS

President Nasser hoped to begin the economic transformation of Egypt by constructing a big dam along the Nile to water desert areas, to provide cheap electric power and to keep the level of the Nile water constant throughout the year. For this project, he relied on foreign aid. Due to his aggrandizement and friendship with Russia and its satellites, the Western powers notably America and Britain withdrew their offers of aid for the construction of the Aswan Dam. On July 26, 1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal thereby eliminated British and French management of the waterway.

The company concession had twelve years to run according to the 99 year lease. France, Britain and the USA were, thus, deeply disturbed by the action of Nasser and imposed various financial and trading sanctions on Egypt. Britain took a leading part in organizing a conference of Maritime Nations in London between 16 July and 19 August which discussed on the possible internationalization of the Canal. Consequently, the conferees formed a Canal Users' Association to try to force Nasser to reverse his decision. To effect this an abortive Menzies Mission was sent to Cairo to talk with Nasser. Later, the Conservative Party led by A. Eden explained that nationalization was illegal and denounced Nasser as another Hitler.

With the failure of diplomacy, Britain and France decided to resort to force. Because their governments were outraged by the nationalization move so planned to retaliate with armed attack. Britain planned to invade Egypt using Malta and Cyprus as jumping off points and

then to topple Nasser. Australia and New Zealand supported the British position. Even the US government agreed with British and French governments in wishing to put the Canal under international control. Similarly, Israel which was harassed by the Egyptian commando raids in the south so had excellent reasons to wage war on Egypt. By the London meetings of October 14, 1956, the officials of Britain and France agreed the Israeli attack on Egypt and subsequently Anglo- French intervention ostensibly to separate the combatants and protect the Canal but actually to depose Nasser. The Sevres agreement in France between France, Israel and Britain to invade Egypt was, in fact, a mysterious one. So far, the nationalization policy and this secret military accord sparked off the Suez crisis.

On October 29, Israel launched a preemptive surprise attack on the Egyptians and advanced rapidly through the Sinai Peninsula aimed at stopping Egyptian raids and breaks the blockade thereby controlling the Gulf of Aqaba. This would enable Israel that her ships would sail into the Red Sea. Within a fraction of time, the Israeli troops commanded by Moshe Dayan annihilated the Egyptian force and forced them to be scattered even destroyed its garrisons. They captured the whole of Sinai and reached the Gulf of Aqaba thereby secured free access through the Straits of Train.

Activity 6.4

What was the grand objective of Colonel Gemal Abdel Nasser during his assumption of power in 1954?

Why Nassir nationalized the Suez canal

On October 30, 1956 Britain and France urged both Egypt and Israel to refrain from the use of force. Instead, they issued a twelve-hour ultimatum to the combatants to withdraw their force to either side of the Canal of course, it was to Egypt and called for a ceasefire. The withdrawal was to be behind a ten-mile radius along the Canal. The ultimatum was accepted by Israel, but Egypt refused. When Nasser failed to respond, the British and the French intervention were set in motion. On the night of October 31st, Anglo-French aircraft began bombing Egyptian airfields and other installations to prevent any counter strike against Israeli cities. Egyptian aerodromes at Cairo and Alexandria were bombed. Again Port Said

was seriously attacked. By doing so, it destroyed the whole of Egyptian air force on the ground. Shortly, on November 5 infantry units and the bulk of the seaborne force from Cyprus disembarked the following day and landed at Port Said. Moreover, Ismalia and the Suez were occupied.

More significantly, the invasion of Egypt by Israel, Britain and France was condemned by the UNO, and the two superpowers, i.e., the USA even the Soviet Union threatened to intervene. Moscow radio issued veiled threats of nuclear weapons retaliation on London and Paris even to allow volunteers to go to the Middle East. President Eisenhower of America then refused to support Britain and France in the financial crisis unless they withdraw. More importantly, many of British officials were against the invasion. Consequently, Britain, France and Israel were forced to back down and retreat. To date, Britain and France called for a ceasefire on November 6. Shortly, a United Nations Emergency Force was set up. Its blue-helmeted soldiers moved into the area to keep the peace along the border between Egypt and Israel. It was empowered to patrol the border as well thereby helped to preserve an uneasy truce for more than ten years by acting as a buffer to prevent both enemies fighting each other. British, French and Israeli troops handed over to the new force and withdrew from the Canal Zone. In such a way that, the “Suez War” lasted from October to November 6.

Following the ceasefire, Israel received access to the Gulf of Aqaba. On the other hand, Britain, France and Israel were condemned as aggressors and accused of conspiring to bring about the crisis. Although Egyptian troops had been routed by the Israeli troops, for Egypt it was a victory. Already the war damaged the prestige of Britain and France but raised Nasser’s prestige high. No doubt, it led to a rapid decline in British power in the Middle East. Last but not least, Egypt retained the Suez Canal. By agreement, it paid the Suez Company for its property to the former proprietors.

FOCUS

Right after, the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the British and French prepared a counter attack. They were joined by Israelis who had their own reasons to enter the fray.

For a number of years Israelis had listened to Nasser's blood curdling rhetoric promising for the destruction of their state. They saw the 1956 incident as a good opportunity to deal with Nasser and to halt the border raids. The war lasted from October 29 until November 2, 1956. When the USA, the USSR and the UNO condemned the use of force, the invaders agreed to stop fighting.

Worried by the Suez Canal crises and its consequence, America continued providing economic and military aids to any state threatened by communism. This policy was known as 'Eisenhower Doctrine'. Egypt and Syria turned increasingly to the Soviet union for arms aid they needed. Soviet in return got foothold in the Middle East.

6.4 THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION AND ITS WAR EFFORTS AGAINST ISRAEL

Indeed, from 1954 to 1970, Egypt was ruled by Nasser. He did a great deal for Egypt. Estates belonging to rich land owners were broken up and given to the peasants. Some factories and industries were nationalized. He even improved education and health service. The Aswan Dam construction started in 1960 and ended in 1970 as a result of the Russian financial support. A great new irrigation projects were designed to cultivate a land and increase productivity to the benefit of Egyptians.

Side by side, Nasser encouraged other Arab states to eliminate Israel out of Palestine, so that, conducted full scale war intermittently, border skirmishes and the hijacking of Israeli aircraft by the subsequent years. Moreover, at one time Egypt blockaded Eliat, Israel's only outlet to the Red Sea, and prevented Israel's ships from using the Canal.

With the coming of Nasser to power, Egypt exerted much effort to play a dominant role in the Arab League and changed the League's objective to work for the Palestinian cause. He and other Arab leaders worked to destroy Israel altogether. To strengthen his position that he had created close relationship particularly with the ruler of Syria.

Syria in 1957 entered into economic and military agreements with the USSR due to upheavals in the country. Subsequently, it expelled three American diplomats. In some other

time, when the mood of Turkey was against Syria, Nasser sent troops which were received in Damascus with acclaim. The tension seemed eased soon in January 1958. Based on this understanding, Syrian officers went to Egypt and asked Nasser for union between the two countries in order to avert a communist take over in Damascus. The Syrian Bath Party had planned at the growing influence of the Russians. On January 1, 1958, the formation of United Arab Republic consisting of Egypt and Syria was proclaimed. Nasser had become president and the capital of the UAR was established at Cairo. All Arab states were invited to join but only Yemen became loosely attached to it on March 8, 1958. However, the union was short lived. In 1961, there was turmoil in Syria led by the army that brought the collapse of the Union. Even Egypt severed its ties with Yemen in December so the union ended in 1961.

On the other hand, the kings of Iraq and Jordan retaliated with the formation of the Arab Federal State on February 14, 1958 but due to revolution in Iraq, the Union misfired in July. King Feisal II and Nuries-Said were murdered in a military uprising led by General Aref and Kassim. Kassim was soon assassinated in February 1963. These instabilities already destructed Nasser's grand vision.

Needles to say, the 1956 war resolved none of the grievances that Egypt and Israel had accumulated over the years. Rather the state of war between the Arabs and the Jews continued. In the meantime, Al Fatah, a guerrilla group was organized. However, the most immediate threat to peace in the area came from the PLO led by Yassir Arafat. It was organized in 1964 in an effort to unify anti-Israel activity. It was organized by the Arab countries' effort. The members were Arabs who lived in Palestine and their children.

The chief aim of PLO was to create a new Palestine. To materialize this objective, guerrilla terrorist organizations such as the Black September and Al Fatah were organized and operated from the Arab countries close to Israel's borders after 1970. Side by side, guerrilla military camps were set up in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon to train young Palestinians for war against Israel. Particularly, Al Fatah (*fedayeen*) supported by the Soviet government carried out raids and attacks on Israel; they used bombs and mines; and Syrian guns shelled Israeli

villages. Even these hardliners used violence such as terrorism, kidnapping, murder and hijacking airliners so as to draw world attention to Palestinian cause. Any how, PLO weakened by splits of the more extremist Al Fatah led by Arafat and right-wing conservatives led by king Hussein of Jordan who was moderate towards Israel. However, PLO was delicately struggled to regain the “lost lands of Palestine” and to “wipe Israel off the map.”

So much so that Israel was supported by the USA while the Palestinian Arabs received support from Russia. Meaning Israel had the sympathy of most Western powers while the communist countries had sided with the Arabs. Due to the continuous harassment, Israeli troops attacked villages in Jordan and Lebanon from which raids originated. Especially, in November 1966 Israel attacked Hebron and killed eighteen Jordanians and much of Es samu village was destroyed. Soon, clashes between Israel and Syria across the border emerged. Nasser by then urged the UN force which had stood between Israel and Egypt since 1956 to evacuate Egyptian territory. In their place, he amassed the large Egyptian tank and army in the Sinai area. In the meantime, in April Egypt and Syria declared the destruction of Israel as their main policy. To effect, Nasser and Hussein of Jordan signed a five year military pact. When Hussein flew to Cairo to sign the pact, he was accompanied by Arafat and then consolidated their alliances. Shortly, Iraq joined the pact. In accordance with secret accord, Nasser closed the Straits of Train to Israeli shipping on May 22, thus, denying Israel’s access to her only southern port Eilat. Inevitably, tensions rose rapidly.

Apparently, in the early months of 1967, there was a series of clashes along the borders between Israel and Syria. The Israeli troops concentrated in large number on the Syrian border. On June 5, 1967, the Israelis struck first believing the inevitability of the third war. The well-trained Israelis with complete air supremacy put airfields in Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq out of action, destroying many planes on the ground. For instance, within a short hour nearly 300 Egyptian aircraft was destroyed. Even, the Egyptian army was crippled. Moreover, the Israeli troops drove through Sinai to the Suez Canal by June 8 and occupied the Gaza strip, the entire Sinai Peninsula from Egypt and all towns in the West Bank including the Arab area of East Jerusalem from Jordan. In these lightning operations, the

Golan Heights, a strategic plateau above Galilee from which Syria had been bombarding Israeli settlements were captured. By then, the Israelis captured vast amounts of weapons, mostly Soviet origin.

On June 8, Hussein and Nasser accepted a ceasefire and the fighting seemed ended. It was called as the Six Day War because it was six days before Syria finally gave in and accepted a ceasefire. In a matter of six days, the Arabs had suffered a humiliating defeat. It was really a spectacular military victory. In fact, Israel lost 1,000 fighters but the Arabs around 18,000. Israel refused to withdraw from the Occupied Territories. As such, these regions have become still the source of further contention. The Palestinians living in these annexed regions numbered over one million came under Israeli rule; even the Jews were allowed to settle there. So far, direct peace negotiations were held to recognize Israelis existence by the Arab countries but it was a futile effort.

FOCUS

PLO was organized by the encouragement of Arab countries to fight to regain the 'lost lands'. It had military camps from the Arab countries to train young Palestinians for war against Israel.

Nasser ordered the UN peacekeeping force to leave which had manned the Egypt Israel border since the Suez war. He soon gathered troops to attack Israel; signed military pact with Jordan and Iraq. Later, he closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping. This led to the Six Day War by which Israel emerged victorious.

Activity 6.5

Draw a sketch map and indicate the location of the Suez Canal, Sinai and Gaza strip.

How Israeli troops secured military victory over the Arabs? Describe the Israeli military tactics.

In November 1967, the great powers once again sought to make use of the United Nations to resolve the conflict. The United States and the Soviet Union were fearful of increasingly of

drawn into the Arab-Israeli wars, each backing one of the belligerents. Consequently, supported by these governments, the UN Security Council sought to resolve the crisis by passing Resolution 242, which called Israel to withdraw from territories conquered in the Six Day War, accompanied by a political settlement that would include an Arab recognition of Israel and a fair deal for Palestinian refugees. After some hesitation Egypt and Jordan accepted Resolution 242, but Syria and the militant Palestinians rejected it. Even the Israelis were not happy to give up all the spoils of victory, they too rejected it.

General Moshe Dayan, whose prominent eye-patch was worn as a proud badge of his heroism previously had been guerrilla fighter. He was appointed as Minister of Defense. More significantly, he was the architect of Israel's victory in the Six Day War. With regard to Israel's decision he expressed that "I would rather have land than peace" based on the conviction of extremist Arabs. King Hussein of Jordan replied, "Israel can have land or peace, but not both." This was really a deadlock manifestation of the Middle East politics.

The problem of the West Bank is complicated by the fact that its largest city, Hebron, contains the tomb of Abraham, who is revered by both Jews and Muslims. Both consider Abraham God's messenger and their spiritual and physical patriarch. The Jews considered themselves the direct descendants of one of Abraham's sons, Isaac; the Arabs see themselves as children of the other son Ismael. That is why, today Jews and Muslims worship at the tomb of Abraham separated by a single rope.

Be it as it might, within months the old pattern of raids and counter-attacks had begun again. In this crisis both Israel and the Arabs still had sympathy of most Western powers and communist countries respectively. Guerrilla attacks from Syria, Jordan and Lebanon were frequent with Israeli reprisal raids. Furthermore, militant Arabs continued in engaging in hijacking aircraft. For example, in July 1968 an aircraft of Israeli line El Al was forced to land at Algiers where its Israeli passengers were held until released through Italian mediation. And in December of the same year, the Israeli air force destroyed thirteen aircraft on the ground at Beirut in response to an attack by Palestinians on another El Al air craft at

Athens airport. In 1970, Palestinian extremists again hijacked three Western airliners and blew them up in the Jordanian desert.

Afterwards, Russia increased its arm supplies and military advisors to Egypt. Russia also stepped up anti-Israel propaganda and pressure against the Jewish community in the Soviet Union. It was so difficult to the Jews to leave the Soviet Union and to go to Israel rather decided to remain in their original homes despite Soviet' pressures.

On September 20, 1970, Nasser died of a heart attack and replaced by his vice Anwar Sadat. His sudden death created widespread dismay to the Arab world. Besides, another complication for the Arabs was king Hussein's interest to establish peace talks with Israel. Actually, his friendship caused civil war by opponent guerrilla fighters. So far, the negotiation between Israel and the Arab countries began under the auspices of the United Nations but brought no substantial point.

Sadat visited Moscow on March 1, 1970 seeking military supplies. On May 27, 1971 Moscow and Egypt signed a friendly relationship thereby secured further aircraft and arms from Russia. Russia then supplied SAM 3 anti-air craft missile and MIG fighters to Egypt. Russian armaments and technical experts poured into Egypt. Soviet MIG 23s later flew over Israeli air space on at least two occasions. To appease the situation, the United States tried to create pressure on Israel. It held back supplies of planes with the aim of persuading Israel to accept the USA as mediator in talks with Egypt. The answer to this given by Mrs. Golda Meier, the Israeli Prime Minister was "No planes, no talks." Following this position, guerrilla attacks basing from Lebanon continued against Israel; and Israel engaged counter-attacks on guerrilla posts across the border. But the response was disastrous. In the meantime, one of the most notorious events was hijacking of aircraft by Palestinian groups occurred. Palestinian terrorists kidnapped and then massacred 15 Jewish athletes at the Munich Olympic village before the opening of the summer 1972 Olympic Games. It seemed that the terrorists wanted to dramatize their cause before a worldwide audience.

FOCUS

The well-trained Israeli air force struck at Egypt's airfields so fiercely. Egyptian planes were shot down. Left without air cover, the Egyptian army in Sinai was wiped out. Within two days soon the Israelis turned north to defeat the Syrians and Jordanians. At last, Israel occupied the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the militarily vital Golan Heights from Syria and Jordanian territory of the West Bank. When Israel was asked to withdraw from these Occupied Territories through the UN mediation, she refused and the crisis increased.

Activity 6.6

Would you mention the Arab countries that suffered a humiliating defeat by the Israeli troops just in the six days fighting?

Why the Arab terrorists murdered the Israeli athletes in 1972?

Why Israeli troops occupied the Golan Heights?

Sadat built up Egypt's armed force and made military agreement with Syria. He continued the policy of Nasser to help the Palestinians to get back their land from the Israelis. Hence, the Palestinian guerrilla fighters were assisted in their military training and equipment and were encouraged to carry out hit-had-run raids into Israel.

The fourth Arab-Israeli conflict, the Yom Kippur War took place in October 1973, when Anwar Sadat initiated an offensive attack against the seemingly impregnable Israeli position across the Suez Canal during the Jewish religious festival. Yom Kippur is the day that all Jews ask God for forgiveness of their sins. Already between August 22 and 28, 1973 Egyptian and Syrian officers finalized a war plan against Israel. Soon, Libya joined in anti Israel connived attack. It was aimed to force Israel withdraw from the captured territories by the Six Day War. On October 6, 1973 (the Day of Atonement), when the Israeli business was closed down and activities in Israel were at stand still, Egyptian and Syrian armies equipped with up-to-date Russian weapons launched a sudden attack on Israel. They chose this day because many soldiers were on leave. Even Israeli radio was closed down for a day. It was a massive attack across the Suez Canal and the Golan Heights. Israel despite

intelligence warnings, had not mobilized her defense forces. During the war, Egypt enjoyed some initial success because it recaptured part of Sinai; Syrian soldiers on their part supported by helicopters and tanks took back the Golan Heights. In doing so, the Arab armies were more successful than ever before.

However, by October 10, the Israelis led by General Ariel Sharon who had organized his force for counter-offensive, began to hold and push back their enemies. Some of the greatest tank battles ever known were fought east of the Suez Canal. More fierce battles even more than those at Aleimn or the Russian Front during WWII took place. In the fighting, almost 2800 Israelis were killed and 8000 wounded. Despite such casualties, later, the Israelis successfully crossed the Canal into Egypt and captured important territory from Syria. They also reached to the Great Bitter Lake and began operations on Egyptian soil, destroying numerous Soviet-installed SAM missile sites, threatened to devastate the Egyptian Third Army which was trapped east of the Canal. Meanwhile, the United Nations and the two super powers intervened to stop the war. Both powers used their influence to force the Arabs and Israelis to make peace under the Rogers Plan. The then American Secretary of State H. Kissinger persuaded Sadat and Meier for agreement. At last, fighting ended on October 25 after three weeks fighting. Eventually, on November 11, 1973, direct negotiation between Israel and Egypt began for the exchange of prisoners and the disentangling of the armies. The king of Jordan, Hussein was forced to drive the Palestinian guerrillas out of his country because of their constant raids upon Israel. This process was achieved, and was followed in 1975 by a further mutual withdrawal and the stationing of the United Nations forces between the former combatants with the purpose of preventing surprise attack.

It is clear that Yom Kippur was a shattering experience for Israel and produced great financial burdens. On the other hand, PLO was recognized by the UNO to work for the Palestinian refugees. By the 1975 General Assembly, Yassir Arafat was invited to address the issues of Palestinian Arabs. This showed that he was recognized to demand the Palestinian cause with regard the problem of refugees and the establishment of a Palestinian state. In fact, Israel was urged to withdraw from the occupied West Bank of the Jordan. But

Israel refused rather preferred to occupy the Golan Height under the pretext for self-defense. When the government proposed the Jewish settlement on the West Bank, religious and militant groups supported the idea. These nationalists claimed that the place was part of the ancient land of Galilee. So that the UN attempt to reconcile the twoparties proved futile.

6.5 ARAB OIL DIPLOMACY AND ISRAEL'S EFFORT TO SURVIVE

The Middle East has still a crucial importance in world affairs because of its strategic location, natural resource, i.e., two-thirds of world's oil and vital transportation routes between Asia, Africa and Europe.

Oil is the essential lifeblood of Western industry. The supply of oil has become a global problem. Until the early 1960s, most North African and Middle Eastern Arab countries were controlled by Western powers' oil companies. In the Middle East, British, Dutch and American companies owned the oil fields so that the oil supply was cheap. Following the independence of Arab states, they gained increasing control of their major natural resource. Thereafter, oil offered them a powerful weapon because industrialized nations used great quantities of oil so they were dependent of this natural resource.

In late 1950s, world oil production considerably exceeded demand. The price of oil dropped and with it the amount of money paid by the international oil companies to the oil producing countries was unsatisfactory. In reaction to this payment, in September 1960 the leading Arab oil producing countries formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Founding members were Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. These founding states have been joined by Qatar in 1961, Indonesia and Libya in 1962, United Arab Emirates in 1967, Algeria in 1969, Nigeria in 1971, Ecuador in 1973-1992 and Gabon in 1975-1994. OPEC headquarters is in Vienna, Austria. It was set up to coordinate and to strengthen the crude oil prices of member states. Above all, it aimed to agree on a standard price for oil. Their objective was to get what they regarded as a fair price for their oil and at the same time to put political pressure on the users. The high level representatives meet at least twice a year to formulate policy. Subsequently, in 1968, the Organization of Arab

Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed to promote greater solidarity in the Middle East and to promote economic activities of Arab states.

At any rate, OPEC members increased their oil prices whenever members thought it advantageous to do so. So that, Western dependence on Arab oil paved the way to these countries to use their oil as a diplomatic weapon. They enforced these countries to do what they wanted and they could stop or slow down oil supplies to them. Moreover, they could increase the price of oil. The increase in fuel prices, for transport or heating, no doubt, affects the cost of production and, therefore, the price of goods in shops increased.

OPEC was using its power not only to jack up the price of oil, but also threatened to cut off the supply to any country which supported Israel. For example, in 1972-73, it quadrupled the oil price. Due to the Arab-Israel war, OPEC stopped, or reduced oil supplies to countries friendly with Israel. Chiefs among these were the United States. The Arabs increased the price of oil by seventy percent and caused industrial depression in the European countries. The flow of money to the Arab countries and world trade slowed down. The war led to an oil war. So far, since 1973 a series of oil prices were increased by OPEC. Fortunately, for the West, there is a division inside OPEC with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait standing against Libya and Iraq. But the West has had to consume less expensive oil and try to develop new methods of energy conservation as well as new sources of energy.

FOCUS

The Middle East is the source of petroleum. Arabs who live in the Middle East were against Israel. Western countries chiefly used petroleum as source of power. Time to time the price of oil increases to benefit the producing countries. Furthermore, these countries used the oil as a political weapon to influence the attitudes of Western governments towards Israel.

Activity 6.7

-
- Would you state about Golda Meier and Henry Kissinger, please?
 - What was the cause of industrial recession in 1973?
-

- Who were the founding members of OPEC?
-

In 1974 Anwar Sadat quarrelled with the leader of Russia. With no time delay, the American government approached Egypt smoothly and loaned a lot of money to strengthen Egypt's industries. Side by side, the USA continued to bring peace with Israel and Egypt. After suffering one humiliation after another for a quarter of a century, an Arab army had proven its battle worthiness. Hence, Sadat felt that now he could negotiate with Israel as an equal partner. In October 1977, President Sadat flew to Jerusalem on what was described as "the most significant journey of the year" and asked for peace development in the Middle East. He met Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel. In the Israeli Knesset (parliament) Sadat expressed about the history of the two countries which commonly shared Semitic origin and their interest in peaceful development.

Sadat's journey was followed by a return visit by Begin to Cairo. The Western world welcomed these initiatives. Subsequently, the Camp David Agreement conference was conducted from September 4-17, 1978 in the USA. Jimmy Carter acted as intermediary between Begin and Sadat. Agreement was reached by Begin, Sadat, and President Carter in March in 1979 which led directly to the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty. Sadat and Muhammed Ibrahim Kamel, Foreign Minister represented Egypt whereas Israeli representatives were Ezer Weizman, Minister of Defense and Begin. The treaty of the two parties was signed on March 26, 1979 that ended a state of war of thirty years' duration between Egypt and Israel and brought about the diplomatic recognition of Israel by Egypt. In doing so, Sadat became the first and only Arab head of state to recognize the existence of Israel. Accordingly, Israel pledged to withdraw its forces in the Sinai desert and to handover territory back to Egypt and did so by April 1982. In return, it was allowed free access through the Gulf of Aqaba. This shipping right was restored by the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty on March 26, 1979 when the two leaders decided to live in peace. This marked the first and only instance whereby an Arab state managed on its own way to regain territory lost to Israel. Sadat had achieved through negotiation what no other Arabs had achieved by war. For their efforts, the three leaders were nominated for the Nobel Peace

Prize. In the end, Begin and Sadat, former terrorists turned diplomats, shared the prize; inexplicably, Jimmy Carter was excluded.

In the Camp David Agreement, PLO leaders were not consulted to attend the meeting. Begin refused to talk with them, which he labelled as terrorists. Besides, the negotiation did not adequately address the thorny questions of Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Palestinian refugees. The Israelis believed that Jerusalem must remain indivisible as Israel's capital city. As a result, the PLO continued its attacks against the Israelis.

Inevitably, many Arabs sensed Sadat as a man who had betrayed the Palestinian and Arab cause so that he lost the whole Arab sympathy. His dealings with Israel contributed to his domestic problems as well. As his critics became more vocal, his regime became increasingly dictatorial and unpopular. Externally, Arab states expelled Egypt from the Arab League; the Arab League's headquarters was moved from Cairo to Tunis. OPEC member states cut off their aid to Egypt. More importantly, PLO has become a full member of the Arab League. Backed by the Arabs, it continued demanding all territories occupied by Israel since 1967 and called for the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. Moreover, it asked for a holy war against both Egypt and Israel. Sadat's opponents, i.e., militant Islamists who had been embittered got the opportunity to assassinate him in October 1981 and then Hussein Mubarek took power. Later on, in 1987 Arab leaders decided to renew diplomatic ties with Egypt. Following this development, it was re-admitted to the League in 1989 and the League's headquarters was moved back to Cairo.

Israel soon shifted her target against Iraq led by Saddam Hussein. Essentially, the situation in the Middle East was further complicated when an Israeli aerial attack succeeded in destroying an important nuclear plant installation in Iraq in 1981. Israel did this action under the pretext of Iraqi's intention to use the plant to produce nuclear weapons. This surprise attack took at the right time when Iran and Iraq were in armed conflict with each other. However, Israel's military action posed difficulties for her supporters, the United States which had worked for a peaceful settlement between Israel and her Arab opponents.

The festering Palestinian problem continued to rile up the region. Already time and again Israel raided Jordan and Lebanon. The Israelis plan was for the governments of these states of clamp down on the PLO. Consequently, in September 1970, king Hussein of Jordan ordered his soldiers to drive the PLO force out of their country in a short but bloody war. The PLO called this incident “Black September.” PLO then searched a new base in southern Lebanon, a nation already divided between a politically dominant Christian minority and the majority Muslim population. And it was from Lebanon that the PLO launched its raids into Israel. So that, Begin attempted to eliminate the Palestinian threat in Lebanon once and for all by launching an invasion into southern Lebanon. In order to root out the guerrilla raiders, Israel invaded parts of Lebanon in 1982. Begin already ordered the invasion up to forty kilometers thereby harassing the government of Lebanon.

By then, Israelis bombarded part of Beirut; destroyed Syrian forces and the military hardware provided by Soviet. Due to the intense condition, Egypt recalled its ambassador from Jerusalem in protest over Israeli action in Lebanon. PLO seemed a loser. Moreover, the Lebanese Maronite Christian Phalangist militia and the Shiite Muslims attacked the Palestinian civilians. Indeed, the war cost the lives of 600 Israeli soldiers.

After 1982, expulsion from Lebanon, the PLO was in disarray and its morale was low. Yassir Arafat moved to Tunisian and struggled to maintain the unity of the organization. He quarrelled with the Syrian president Hafez Assad, with whom some of the more radical elements of the PLO became linked. Instead, Arafat gravitated toward more moderate Arab leaders like Mubarek and Hussein and began to seek a peaceful talk with Israel, as opposed to a military one. Anyway, Israel’s relation with the Arab countries remained uncompromising.

Israeli government supported by Jews in the USA ordered conscription to defend Israel from the Arab assault. Every young Israeli man or woman had to spend time in the army, i.e., three years in the case of a man and twenty months for a woman. When training is completed they kept their uniforms at home, ready to become fighting soldiers at a

moment's notice. Israeli army and air force was armed with the latest weapons. More importantly, America interested in oil from the Arab countries of the Middle East given help to Israel.

On the other hand, the Israeli government supported by Jews in the USA showed developments. American Jews also urged their government to help Israel. Thereafter, Israel succeeded in building a modern, Western-style, urban, industrial and democratic society. The hardworking Israelis exported high-technology products and military hardware. Through irrigation schemes, they reclaimed vast stretches of the Negev desert, where they grew citrus fruits and other crops. In the latter years, the Israelis enjoyed the highest economic growth rates.

So much so that, the leading political parties in Israel such as the right-wing Likud and the left-of-center Labour party were unable to find a consensus on how to deal with the PLO. Indeed, they emerged prominent after 1984. Paradoxically, the Palestinians reorganized their position by calling their motto, the *intifada* (literally, "shaking off" the Zionist Yoke) that began its attack in Gaza. The *intifada* spurred a debate within Israel over the future of Gaza and the West Bank, and within the PLO over strategy and tactics.

In November 1988, the Likud and the Labour party squared off in another parliamentary election in Israel over the future fate of the occupied territories. Yishak Shamir, the incumbent Prime Minister and head of the Likud, took a hard line, insisting on no mercy for the *intifada*, no talks with the PLO, etc. His opponent, Shimon Peres took a more flexible approach favouring an international conference to resolve the conflict. In short, Shamir pointed that to survive, Israel must keep the West Bank and Gaza, whereas Peres insisted on that Israel must trade land for peace.

In November 1988, the PLO high level figures took a conference at Algiers and passed a resolution proclaiming its willingness to recognize the state of Israel if Israel accepted the UN Resolution 242 and 338, which called for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and the right for all groups in the Middle East to live in peace and security.

As time passed, Israel was virtually isolated due to its un-conciliatory firm stand. PLO, key Arab countries and the Soviet Union accepted the need for an international peace conference that would lead to the creation of an autonomous Palestinian state on at least part of the occupied territories. Still Shamir persisted in view on: there would be no international conference, no talks with the PLO, and no Palestinian state. Under such circumstances, the political deadlock remained. The situation is still dangerous because of the following factors. The Israelis want security; the Arabs want the restoration of their land. To achieve their end, each bought powerful weapons, i.e., Israel has American “Phantom” aircraft and Egypt has SAM anti-air craft missiles. As a whole, the Arab-Israel enmity has become a permanent source on international tension.

Activity 6.8

- What do we mean with regard “Black September”?
 - When the international community attempted for the Israel-PLO peace talks, Shamir refused? Why?
 - Mention two moderate Arab leaders.
-

SUMMARY

In the earliest times, the Holy Land was inhabited by the Jews and the Arabs. By historical accident the Jews were scattered all over the world. By the nineteenth century, these people looked for the establishment of a Jewish state in the Holy Land. Fortunately, the nation of Israel was created. The neighbouring Arab states unanimously objected the resolution of UN that decided the partition of Palestine into two Arab and Jewish state.

The Arab states and the Arab League were forefront opponents to the Israelis so jointly declared four wars to destroy the Jews from the Middle East. In these Arab-Israel wars, Egypt played the leading role in organizing forces against Israel but in a vain. Furthermore, PLO was organized under the leadership of Yassir Arafat. It had terrorist groups who frequently raided into Israel and hijacked Israel jets. It had military camps in Jordan and Lebanon. Palestinian Arabs also obtained military support from Czechoslovakia and Russia.

Actually, with the death of Gemal Abdel Nasser in 1970, Anwar Sadat assumed power. For a couple of years, he followed Nasser's anti-Israel policy. In the meantime, he quarrelled with L-Brezhnev of Russia which was a good opportunity to the USA and Israel. In 1978 by the Camp David meetings in the USA, Sadat and Begin shared common understanding to end hostility through peaceful means which angered Islamic extremists in the Egyptian army.

Israel's attention latter shifted against Iraq and Lebanon. Iraq had Soviet made weapons and nuclear installation that endangered Israel's security. Lebanon again persistently provided shelter to PLO guerrillas which created sudden terrorist attack along the border that annoyed Israel. Without solution, the Arab-Israel conflict continued that brought the involvement of other Western countries.

Review Exercises 6

2. What was the purpose of Zionism?
3. When the British did violate the Balfour Declaration? Why?
4. What happened in 1956 with regard the Suez Canal?
5. Who was Gemal Abdel Nasser?
6. Which countries formed the United Arab Republic? When?
7. What is Yom Kippur? What happened in 1973?
8. What is *intifada*?

Check list

Put a tick mark (✓) in the boxes under 'Yes or 'No

I can

- I can mention what the Balfour Declaration means
- I can explain about the UN decision of 1947 on Palestine
- I can describe about Yassir Araft and A-Sharon
- I can mention how the Suez Crisis was over
- I can state how Anwar Sadat was assassinated
- I can mention how provided strong support to PLO
- I can state how PLO utilized terrorist attacks

Yes	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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UNIT 7 SOVIET UNION AND THE DISSOLUTION OF COMMUNIST BLOC

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Introduction

In this unit the political and economic supremacy of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republic commonly known as USSR will be discussed. Stalin although dictatorial, he was upgraded the Russian position to one of the great powers. During his tenure, there were purges, misplacement, imprisonments and execution on the Russian who had been suspected of his rivals. This suppression also applied in the Soviet Satellites.

With the death of Stalin, his successors endeavored to maintain good relation with the West. At last, the unit presents about the policies introduced by M. Gorbachev that replaced the communist misgivings in Russia as well as in the Soviet satellites. This historical event brought the collapse of communist rule in these countries and the end of the Cold War. For the sake of knowledge important historical concepts will be dealt.

Objective

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:-

- as certain opportunities that helped Stalin's to consolidate his power;
- explain the measures applied by Stalin to destroy his opponents in the ex-USSR and her satellites;

- point out the major positive internal external and political developments that were undertaken by N. Khrushchev;
- understood the political developments and the mood of the people who had been under communist regimes in late 1980s;
- decompose the dynamic policies introduction by M. Gorbachev and the subsequent disintegration of the Soviet Union.

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7.1 THE SOVIET UNION UNDER J. STALIN (1920s-1953)

The first Soviet constitution had been drafted in 1918. Consequently, in 1924 another constitution was prepared that formalized the creation of the federal union of Soviet socialist republics. The third constitution was drafted by Bukharin and Radek in 1936. The prepared Soviet Union constitution seemed fantastic because it incorporated some of the following impractical statements. All the Soviet citizens could vote by secret ballot at the age of eighteen. Civil rights or liberties such as freedom of speech, of expression, of assembly and of religion were guaranteed. Also individual states that formed or would form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were guaranteed the right of self- determination up to secession from the union if they so wished. As such, it seems the most progressive constitution ever devised in the world.

Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) by his very nature could not act through persuasion, explanation rather lacked patience and cooperation with people so worked by imposing his concepts and

demanding complete submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed his concepts or tried to prove his viewpoints, and the correctness of his position was doomed to removal from the leading collective and subsequent morale and physical humiliation. He, thence, eliminated the possibility of any kind of ideological fight or the making of one's view known. Disobedient communists were purged. "Confessions" were acquired through physical pressures. He imposed a "Terror" on the Soviet Union to bend even the humblest peasant to his will.

Stalin's government was the most thorough dictatorship in the world has known. All writings were censored. Even history was rewritten to blacken or belittle the actions of his rivals. In fact, during the wartime, writers, artists and musicians had enjoyed a slightly greater degree of freedom. After 1945, Andri Zhdanov, the party's cultural watchdog, re-imposed a strict censorship. Censorship, i.e., "thought control" had become much stricter. It was more intolerant and more rigorously applied than in the tsarist times. Newspaper editors were carefully chosen who had regular meetings with officials, in order to plan future news. Newspapers were censored twice, before printing and before distribution. Possibly this exhaustive scrutiny brought only free of misprints. Commonly information was distorted. Soviet being a single party dominated country, there were no free elections.

For that matter, information about the outside world was distorted than the domestic ones. Some who have dared openly to express their belief have been sent to labour camps and mental homes. Hundreds of thousands of Russians were shipped to labour camps as alleged enemies of the state. Freedom of worship was barely tolerated. Churches were openly attacked. In addition, when the Soviet war prisoners by Nazis and civilian deportees arrived their motherland, they were treated severely for their cowardice and because of their exposure to the West. So, Stalin sent off them to labour camps. As such, the net of forced labour camps grew in size which tightened ideological opposition.

In a similar manner, the NKVD (Security force) later the KGB gained ascendancy over the party itself to watch out security matters.

So that the Russian constitution was prepared for a form. The articles and freedoms were quite meaningless because the NKVD or the politburo could override any legal obstacle. Stalin was feared and loathed in Russia, in the Western world and in the Soviet satellite states. He aspired the satellite states to be mere loyal states to Russia. Leading communists in these states were also expected to work and think in line with him; otherwise, they would face difficulty.

However, not all communist party leaders in Eastern European countries were always pure instruments of his aggrandizement. A case in point, Gomulka of Poland and Kada of Hungary opposed his policy but later they were imprisoned for “Titoism”, while others such as Slankey of Czechoslovakia were executed. These states again were forced to produce what Russia needed with low prices and would buy only Russian products with unfair prices under the pretext of socialist solidarity. On the other hand, other leaders denied democratic rights to their people, suppressed anti government movement and aspiration by force in order to please Stalin and his successors. The worship of Stalin in the Soviet Union and her satellite states continued that made him to be superman. This act was manifested by constructing statues, by drawing paintings and by hanging the photographs of Stalin. This practise was also practised in the developing countries which superficially embraced socialism.

Stalin retained two key posts: head of government and party secretary. To stay in power, he was guarded at all times. Therefore, his secret policies lurked everywhere. They wire-tapped telephones; they listened in on private conversations in restaurants, on trains, even in washrooms. In fact, when Nazi Germany invaded Russia, on the radio Stalin spoke to the people to fight for the freedom of the “motherland.” After the war, he promised them Russia would be a freer and better place of its citizens. At first, the Russians assumed the Germans as liberators so decided to cooperate them thereby to destroy Stalin. But now they have changed their ideas and continued supporting the war effort against the aggressors. With the elimination of the Nazis, Stalin broke his promise rather re-imposed his dictatorship. It was natural that, Russians were taught to look upon him as a heroic war leader as well as the

great builder of communism. Practically, Stalin's Russia was rigidly bureaucratized, an authoritarian police state whose highest priority was to keep the ruling authorities in power.

Indeed, in 1941 the Germans destroyed buildings, livestock and machinery, and poisoning the farmland. Previously, there was the Russian 'scorched earth' policy and by 1943 there followed a thorough 'scorched' earth tactics applied by the retreating Germans in Russia. When the war ended there were nearly twenty-five million homeless Russians. Long lengths of railway track had been torn up. Dams, bridges and factories had been wrecked and livestock destroyed. During the war, there were three million or more prisoners in 'forced labour camps', and German war prisoners were also forced to work towards the rebuilding of the USSR. Plant machinery and livestock were taken from Germany and other defeated Axis members to equip factories and mines, to provide transport and to stock farms as reparation to the Soviet Union.

Despite his authoritarian leadership, Stalin attempted to attain economic and technological achievements. So, the (1946-50) Fourth Five-year plan was designed to restore the Soviet economy to the pre-war level. Gosplan, the State Planning Commission planned his prewar economic plan in 1946 to attain greater production. Again the plan aimed to surpass the output before 1940 in both heavy industrialization and agricultural mechanization. Besides, in order to reduce the labour problem in 1948, the Red Army was reduced to 11 million to less than three million. The economy recovered very rapidly. In doing so, such practise brought the Soviet post-war 'industrial miracle'. Similarly, with regard the military science, in September 1949, Russia exploded its atomic bomb. In 1953, it tested its H-bomb, even sophisticated missiles were produced.

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Stalin, indeed, made Soviet Union the second most powerful state on earth. Most of his achievements, in fact, had been at a huge cost in human lives happiness. He had misunderstood the true spirit of communism. By late 1940s he transformed the machinery of the government into the hands of obedient communists but still there was fear of spies

and foreign subversion, which led in 1948-9 to a new 'Little Stalin terror' to root out enemies of the system.

Stalin also took steps to increase the birth rate. Women were encouraged to beget more children. By then, they were given longer maternity leaves and mothers who ever produced large number of babies were rewarded with medals and titles- 'Mother-Heroine' if they produced ten or more infants. According to the Family Law, surprisingly divorce was made more difficult and expensive to obtain. In the meantime, huge amounts of money were spent on social welfare. The wide range of benefits included loss of bread-winners allowances, student grants, etc. All medical service and treatment and basic education were free for the people. Compulsory vaccination programmes were carried out; the number of doctors increased; hospital beds and facilities rose, etc. Females were encouraged to be doctors. Housing, heating, lighting and transportation were relatively cheap. Retirement pensions were paid to men at 60 and women at 55. As such, the Russians seemed stratified in social services. High schools, colleges and elementary schools were built. Compulsory schooling was applied up to seven years. New schools were established for young workers and peasants. Due to shortage of place, many schools worked a two-or three-shift system. Russian language was virtual essential for high schools or towards wider job opportunities but the service remained authoritarian. People were forced to engage in hard labour whereby some died because of hunger and cold.

Although Stalin was oppressive, he worked a lot to increase production and better living conditions in Russia. In his time, he has changed the backward agrarian Russia into the world's second greatest military and industrial power. He established Russia as a military giant, possessing powerful modern weapons capable of destroying much of the world as well. He aimed to transform the country from a poor agricultural weakling into a modern industrial giant. To do so, he encouraged the construction of railways, power stations and factories.

Soviet Union and America distrusted each other. Particularly, the CIA was busy supporting anti-Soviet Ukrainian nationalists. Moreover, the British intelligence was shipping anti-

Soviet emigrants back into the Baltic republics to organize anti-Soviet rising. However, neither Americans nor the British were a match for the Soviet security organization. As a result, hundreds of brave Ukrainians and Lithuanians were sacrificed.

Again in January 1953, it was announced that a group consisted of nine doctors (of whom seven were Jewish) had been accused of working for a Jewish organization and killing of Zhdanov, i.e., Minister of state security and other high Soviet leaders whom they had treated in 1948. Stalin suspected that Zhdanov was poisoned by certain doctors. This is called the 'Doctors' Plot'. Some doctors were tortured and interrogated. Then almost 8, 000 alleged saboteurs and foreign agents many of them Jews along with the doctors were arrested. The survivor doctors were released when Stalin successors withdrew the charges of plotting to poison Kremlin leaders.

Furthermore, the Truman Doctrine was viewed by the Soviets as potentially offensive rather than defensive. Obviously, the Marshall Plan was aimed to be available to all who applied, regardless of a government's political make up. But Stalin regarded it as a form of economic imperialism so refused participation in the programme. Satellite states like Czechoslovakia which aspired for economic aid were prevented from participation in the Marshall Plan. Besides, local communist parties in Italy and France were instructed to begin a campaign of strikes, demonstrations and sabotage but brought casualties and loss of electoral position to the communists in these two countries.

In general, the Soviet Union foreign policy under Stalin was dismal. Two of the NATO members, i.e., Turkey and Norway bordered the USSR and, thus, outflanked the new line of 'People's Democracies', which formed a buffer zone between the USSR and the West.

In so far, the people continued to live in fear. The USSR already experienced a great fear of spies and foreign subversion which led new "Little Stalin Terror" in 1948-49 to root out enemies of the system. While a huge personality cult was built around Stalin glorifying his every action, artists and scientists were subjected to a blundering regimentation. By the year

1952, the Soviet communist party members reached seven million. Indeed, loyalty and discipline were keynotes in the Soviet society as a whole.

Stalin in his last years was very secretive even preferred to work at night rather than in day light. He led even a poor health condition .On Sunday March 1, 1953, he suffered from a blood vessel rupture in his brain that made him speechless and died on March 5. No doubt, his death brought relaxation of the harshness of government practises in the Soviet Union as well as in other satellite states. Actually, his death opened the door to a possible relaxation of tensions. In short, from 1928 to 1953, he had been in almost total control of the USSR, an awesome and brutal dictator.

Stalin ruled USSR with more authoritarian power that the people had never experienced than the Tsar government. Needless to say, there are two contradictory views with regard Stalin; one considered him as a great leader and the other as evil tyrant. Of course, he enabled USSR great and industrial power second to USA; his strong leadership saved the USSR from Nazi invasion; he brought together the lost territories by the Brest-Litovsk treaty in1918; all Russians were given free education for the first time; again in health and welfare, there was successful progress by building adequate hospitals and by training enough medical workers .As such, Stalin made Russia modern and one of the world's two superpowers.

On the other hand, Stalin is blamed as if he was not a good communist leader whom destroyed the real communist thinkers rather filled the communist party by 'yes-men' of his supporters ;he ascertained the party members who had talent and independent mind and replaced by impotent ones so continued with his mistakes; industrial and agricultural successes were often exaggeration for political consumption, the reality was his agricultural policies that brought great disasters; there was shortage of bread and vegetables for some time; the *kulaks*, i.e., the best farmers were attacked and discouraged ,even collectivization was compensated by low production; workers and peasants led grim living condition; he destroyed Russian best army officers who could easily defend their motherland from the Germans, even army commanders who retreated were recalled to Moscow and shot. In such

a way that he would be counted as one of the most evil dictators who ever lived and who ever lost the lives of his own fellowmen/women in millions.

Stalin already designated George Malenkov, his successor. But the politburo members forced him to give up one of the two posts he held, either the post of Secretary General or that of Prime Minister. Malenkov, inexplicably decided to hold on to the position of Premiership.

As a result, Nikata Khrushchev took charge of the daily operations of the party inside the party secretariat and in the politburo. The party then took another step to prevent the consolidation of power in the hands of one person. It officially established a collective leadership, a *troika* consisting of Malenkov, Viachedlav Molotov as foreign minister and Lavrenti Beria as the head of the secret police and other important Soviets. Shvernik was made “President” of the USSR, Khrushchev received no ministerial appointment. Indeed, Beria, who had been an agent of Stalin’s terror being as the head of the secret police since 1939 remained a threat to the party with industries, troops and informers.

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Needless to say, Stalin is supposed to be Russia’s twentieth century Peter the Great. He was responsible for industrialization; the expansion of the nation’s borders the consolidation of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the emergence of the Soviet Union as a nuclear super power.

7.2 SOVIET UNION UNDER N-KHRUSHCHEV (1953-1964)

Following the death of Stalin, power struggle broke out for leadership. Just two weeks after the death of Stalin, Malenkov was demoted rather kept his chairmanship of the Council of Ministers. His party secretaryship was transferred to Khrushchev who had been previously Minister of Agriculture. His opinion, thus, was increasingly first among equals, for he was the voice of the party. Now that, all important decisions were made by a collective, or shared leadership. So far, the new leadership inclined towards relaxation in all fields of Soviet life.

The party then continued to attempt to come to terms with the Stalinist legacy. In July 1953, the party with the help of the Red Army arrested Beira. At the Kremlin meeting he was denounced by his colleagues then arrested at pistol-point by six generals who had been secreted in an adjoining room. The party charged him with the abuse of power and then shot that ended persecution and terror.

Gradually, the reformers gained the upper hand and some of the shackles of Stalinist past were cast off. Meanwhile, a general amnesty was made in releasing political prisoners. Some of the labour camps were closed and their inmates freed. Again the censorship was to be lessened. Writers many of whom had been “writing for the desk drawer” succeeded in seeing their works in print. Also they began to criticize the government cautiously. They continued expressing their true feelings instead of just turning out propaganda in support of communism. Changes were underway towards peaceful co-existence with the West. Consequently, Russian leaders made visits abroad, and Western visitors began to arrive Moscow. Furthermore, the power of the security force was curtailed. As such, Khrushchev introduced internal and external policy changes.

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Khrushchev attempted to put an end the excesses of Stalinism, the terror and the arbitrary and abusive use of the state power, and to institute reforms aimed at restoring orderly and legal procedures to Soviet rule and revitalizing the economy.

Activity 7.1

When the Nazi war prisoners returned to Russia, Stalin ordered their severe attack. Why? What was their fate?

Mention some of Stalin’s achievement to the greatness of Russia. Again point out the challenges of the people during his tenure.

Malenkov from his position urged Khrushchev for radical changes in policy. He pressed on greater emphasis on agriculture and consumer goods, relaxation of international tension which might reduce the need for high military spending. However, Khrushchev attacked

such ideas as 'revisionist' (departing from the true path of Marxism-Leninism) So, in February 1955, Malenkov was forced to resign, conceding that he lacked sufficient experience for the post and his negligence to shift resources from heavy to light industry and the policy of ploughing up the 'virgin land' to solve the food problem. Khrushchev, thence, began to place his own nominees in key positions. Many of them were former colleagues from the Moscow and Ukrainian organizations. A case in point, Nikolai Bulganin, a former mayor of Moscow replaced Malenkov and Marshal Zhukov, hero of the 'Great Patriotic War' became Defense Minister. Bulganin held this position until 1958.

Khrushchev wanted to soften Russian external relations concerning its satellites and the West even to liberate his own fellowmen/women. Eastern European countries were to be free to run their own governments and economies and armed forces. Eastern European politicians who had been jailed for their opposition to Soviet rule in their countries were to be released.

It was not until 1956, that big move could be made against the Stalin myths. By the February Twentieth Annual Party Congress in Moscow, Khrushchev in his long speech flayed Stalin for being dictatorial and brutal, for encouraging cult of his own personality and for mishandling the development of Russian agriculture, for being intolerant and for his abuse of power in general. By then, he delivered a seething attack on Stalin's crime and mistakes. To strengthen his words, he read out Lenin's political Testament that was written by Lenin's wife N.K. Krupskaya at Lenin's death bed. It says that by Lenin, "Trotsky was too much obsessed by "self-confidence" and Stalin is "too much rude.... " Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way of removing Stalin from that position." Subsequently, Khrushchev explained about Stalin's cruelty, terror, destruction of the party's role in the affairs of the states as an act of lawlessness, and for other numerous errors of judgment in war and peace, etc. Immediately a loud voice was heard among the participants saying 'where were you then'? Implying why did Khrushchev fail to oppose by the time. Khrushchev moved up and down in front of the crowd in the hall and then asked them to know who said that phrase a few minutes ago. But there was no response. Soon, he said "*Vot tak*" in Russian to mean this is tit/ That was what happened to me, Khrushchev seemed to say.

Khrushchev's speech marked the transition of power from totalitarian to collective leadership thereby confirming "socialist legality" in the place of one-person rule. Afterwards, the great upsurge of de-stalinization started. Newspapers stopped the worshipping of Stalin. This was a sign of objection to Stalin's policies. History books which did nothing but praise him were re-written. His statues and pictures were taken from public places. Cities named in Stalin's honour were renamed, thus, Stalingrad became Volgograd in 1961. His corpse was removed from Lenin's mausoleum Red Square and reburied outside the Kremlin wall in 1961. The attempt to make Russia a freer country by loosening grips on the people is referred to as thaw.

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In one move, Beira was arrested and shot. Subsequently, Khrushchev reduced the power of the secret police. In 1954 the former NKVD, changed to KGB and became the new Soviet state security. Prison camps were closed down so prisoners were set free. People began to feel free and speak their minds. Writers and artists abandoned propaganda works rather started to express their true feelings.

Activity 7.2

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- What do you understand by collective leadership? What was its objective?
 - What were the major disputable issues between Khrushchev and Malenkov?
-

The news of desalinization reached the Soviet satellite states. Even Soviet leaders flew into the satellite capitals and insisted that more liberal policies should be introduced. Albeit, Khrushchev wanted to soften his attitudes towards Russian satellites but his plan led to open Anti-Stalin revolt in Eastern Europe even the people demanded more freedom from Russian rule. Some states took drastic measures aimed at eliminating Soviet domination and the rigid puppet governments of their own. A case in point, a strike in Posen, Poland erupted and angry protesters condemned the worst features of the Soviet rule; industrial production designed to benefit the USSR. Khrushchev, in fact, aware of the peoples' interest, told communist leaders that they could make changes by retaining communism and friendly to

Russia. Hoping to appease the people's mood, the ruling elites purged notorious Stalinist elements and brought W. Gomulka to power. Obviously, he had been imprisoned by Stalin for his "Titoism" stand. He, thence, instituted the policy of de-collectivisation, lifted many restrictions on the Catholic Church and stayed in power until 1970.

In Hungary the people encouraged by Poland's success organized demonstration in October 1956. A number of officials closely identified with the oppressive regime, i.e., notably the secret police and party members were hunted down and killed. Moreover, protesters broke open the jails and set free political prisoners. By then, the forefront revolutionaries were students, trade unions and the army. Shortly a group of liberal communists under the popular Imre Nagy took power by driving out the old communist bosses. Nagy announced that from now on Hungary would run its own affairs without the interference from the USSR. Immediately, he asserted the independence of Hungary from the Soviet Union. Actually, Nagy was one of the survivors from one of the Stalin's prison camps. In practise, he failed to cool down the already erupted public feeling. Rather he promised for free elections, to set up a government included non-communists and to order Soviet forces away. This was too much for Khrushchev.

The Russians who were afraid of other satellites, soon, decided to suppress the movement by force. So as to block the tanks' movement, the Hungarians poured liquid soaps onto roads. Bales of silk were unrolled on the roadway and covered with oil, which sent tanks sliding hopelessly. Even freedom fighters upturned soup plates in the road. Despite such methods, the Soviet tanks cruised into Budapest on November 14, 1956. They rumbled into the streets to crush the Hungarians. The Hungarians then sent out desperate appeals for help to Americans. The help never came. Hungarian soldiers, workers and students fought bravely but crushed. The Russians relied on indiscriminate terror and ultimately put down the riots evicted the liberal nationalist leaders and put their own loyal subordinates to run the government. In actual fact, the fighting was fierce that cost nearly the lives of 30,000 Hungarians and brought nearly 200,000 people to flee to the West. Already Nagy was captured shot; many of his associates were imprisoned, and pliable puppets were installed in

his place. Imre Nagy was made ruler by the Russians and ruled for more than twenty years.

Khrushchev encouraged for the production of consumer goods and agricultural products. Already the USSR reached the status of the world's superpowers. In fact, still more consumer goods, better housing and more food were promised. Thence, in 1958, the Sixth Five-Year Plan was abandoned and a new Seven-Year Plan was introduced which aimed to produce more consumer goods and raise the general standard of living. "Virgin lands" in Siberia and Kazakhstan were to be cultivated. Obviously, he was a reputed agricultural expert who was considered as Stalin's right-hand person by the time. Until 1958, agricultural activities brought much production. But later there followed stagnation due to the unfavourable climatic condition for grain crops. And in many areas, bad planning led to crop failures.

Consequently, Khrushchev decentralized the economy by creating regional economic councils. Apparently, he steadily is taking up Malenkov's economic policies for agricultural expansion and for more consumer goods, just as Stalin had taken up many of Trotsky's policies. Urban administrators were transferred to the rural area. Incentives for peasants to work hard were given. Quotas were reduced but if peasants wished to sell, they earned high price. He spent much of his time in the countryside. After his visit to the USA in 1959, the cornflake was introduced to Russia.

Actually, life at the top had certainly changed since Stalin's death. The government paid for holidays, pensions, family allowances, better medical treatment and large housing subsidies. These were among the benefits that Russians enjoyed during Khrushchev's rule. Fees for high school and higher education were abolished. A seven-hour working day became the norm and harsh penalties for absenteeism were dropped. Furthermore, wages increased and private plots to farmers were allowed. Concerning his opponents, he was not that much sadist like Stalin. He disgraced or demoted them rather than killing. For example, Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister from 1939 to 1949 and from 1953 to 1956 led anti-party group by siding Malenkov. Malenkov was out of Moscow and Molotov was sent to Mongolia as

Soviet ambassador. With regard technological advancement, Soviet Union achieved successful progresses. In October 1957, it demonstrated its technical prowess in the new era at rocket technology when they effectively launched Sputnik, the world's first artificial satellite to orbit in outer space. When this happened, the Western world was startled because they depicted Russia as technically backward. Then they were forced to budget more provision for education to coup with the Russian way. Any how, in a few months the USA abled to launch its own space satellite, Explorer I. Consequently, in 1958 the Soviet developed the first intercontinental ballistic missiles or (ICBM). As a result, American cities were vulnerable to nuclear destruction. Soon, the USA developed its own ICBM. Soviet proceeded in its achievement and exploded a 50-megaton bomb on October 30, 1961. All this attested Russian high technological advancement.

Khrushchev's vision with regard the external world was liberal. He already accepted the idea that war was not inevitable with the United States thereby improved his relation for some time and other capitalist states. First in 1955, he participated the Geneva meeting with the American, the British and the French leaders and discussed in a friendlier manner. He met President Eisenhower and the British prime minister, H. Macmillan. Subsequently, in order to narrow down the enmity gap between the East and the West, he was invited to the USA to hold talks at Camp David. He travelled to the USA on August 3, 1959. By then, he was able to visit American farms, hi-tech enterprises and Hollywood.

Khrushchev was in favour of peaceful co-existence between east and West. Once he said that. "In our day there are only two ways, peaceful co-existence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third way. He continued that "Let us see which system is best but let us do it with out fighting!" Meaning he wanted capitalist and communist countries to live side by side peacefully. So that he proposed the importance of peaceful co-habitation and even mutual disarmament for bright world.

Later, leaders agreed to meet in Paris in May 1960. However, shortly before the meeting, an American supersonic spy-plane U-2 was shot down by the Soviets from high altitude when it violated Soviet air space. The plane was a photographic reconnaissance aircraft. During

the summit conference, Khrushchev stormed out after President Eisenhower to apologize plus punishment for those involved. But Eisenhower refused to do so. Then the meeting was cancelled even Eisenhower cancelled his plan to visit Moscow. Khrushchev to show his sincerity of the policy of 'peaceful co-existence' with the West, and to divert military spending to the civilian, embarked on reduction of the armed forces, from the existing 3.6 million men to 2.4 million in 1960. With that understanding, the leaders of Soviet Union, America and Britain signed a Test Ban Treaty in 1963 which forbade nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

On the contrary, Soviet Union created antagonistic diplomacy with China. Mao had revered Stalin but despised Khrushchev. More significantly, the relation began to be deteriorated by late 1950s. The two countries quarrelled because of the following issues. 1) Mao after the death of Stalin considered himself as if he were the best and senior communist leader. 2) The Chinese claimed lands taken by Tsarist Russia in 1869 and were fighting on the Ussuri River. As if the Chinese were poor and Asiatic, they claimed that they would help the Africans and Asians better than Russians in their struggle to establish socialist governments. They claimed that their ways of revolutions and reform were more suitable to these people. So that, countries like Tanzania in the 1960s, and Kampuchea in the 1970s were helped by China. Mao blamed the Russians for giving privileges to their educated class-scientists, inventors, engineers and scholars. Again Khrushchev's visited Yugoslavia, Egypt, Afghanistan, India and Burma. At the same time, he dealt armament deal with Egypt and promised Soviet aid to others. For that matter, he visited Belgrade in 1955 and established friendly relationship by commenting that "there is more than one road to socialism." All these moves created animosity from Mao.

After 1960, Maoist criticism of Soviet communism mounted to the point of denouncing the Russian regime as "revisionist," or not authentically revolutionary. Even following the commencing of a 'war of words' between Moscow and Peking, socialist parties split into pro-Russian and pro- Chinese in the 1960s. For instance, Rumania broke off relation with Russia and sided with China in 1961. Again Russian and Chinese soldiers fought along the disputed frontier of Sinkiang in 1962.

FOCUS

In theory from the Soviet state, power was to flow upward from the many people at the base. In reality, it was the few men notably Stalin at the top who ran the country. With the death of Stalin Russians decided to minimize the tension by establishing collective leadership, Khrushchev planned to proceed in the technological and agricultural development. Metro, underground railway was constructed; virgin lands in the Kazakhstan area were to be cultivated. But it was not successful due to crop failure. With regard technology A. Sakharov the 'father' of Russian hydrogen bomb upgraded Russian position. Again in April 1961, a Russian Major Yuri Gagarin has become the first man to go into space.

With the passage of time, Khrushchev worn out his welcome. His quarrel with China, his erratic moves and innovations as hare-brained schemes discredited him. The attempt to place nuclear missiles in Cuba and the retreat in Cuba was viewed as humiliation. His agriculture and other economic policies failed. For that matter, in 1963 there was high importation of grain. Even industry was not reaching its targets. Although demobilized soldiers found places in the economy, thousands retired officers were less to be accommodated. Some found lowly clerical or manual work, but their loss of status and prospects was shattering. Besides, he attempted to reform the party. All these factors led to the downfall of Khrushchev. It was clear that, he had lost the support of the majority in the central committee as well as in the army. Moreover, his foreign policies were not successful. In October 1964, the decision-making body of the communist party voted to his dismissal from power. He was forced to spend his last years on a pension in quite retirement outside Moscow until his death in 1971. Leonid I. Brezhnev who had helped engineer Khrushchev's downfall, took the power of leadership.

Activity 7.3

Would you state the major problems that led to Khrushchev's flexibility with regard his foreign policy to the West?

What were the major achievements of Soviet Union during the tenure of Khrushchev? Mention at most three points.

7.3 THE BREZHNEV REGIME (1964-1982)

After the departure of Khrushchev, the new Soviet leaders were Leonid Brezhnev, the previous deputy secretary who took over as Party General Secretary and Alexei Kosygin who became Prime Minister. The government dominated by old men moved quickly to reverse some of Khrushchev's policies. These higher party members refused any reforms that might reduce their authority. The regional economic councils were scrapped in 1965, and planning was re-centralized in Moscow. Critiques to the communists were not allowed. Prison camps were reconstructed to get rid of critics of the government.

Podgorny was appointed 'president' in 1965. By 1966, public attacks on Stalin and official anti-Stalinism were plainly ended. In so doing, Brezhnev's regime seemed 'new-Stalinist'; censorship has become much stricter. Writers unless they wrote in line with the party line, their works were not published. Some, who defied the rule and dared to express openly their beliefs, would be sent to labour camps and mental homes.

During Brezhnev's period, civil liberties were by and large guaranteed, in so far, they did not injure the interests of the society, and this time the rights included those of peasants to private plots. Some how, there was religious tolerance. By 1970s, most Soviet citizens seemed satisfied with their lives. The state met the needs of people in an industrialized society; it gave them job security and enough to eat; it provided adequate and sometimes superb medical facilities; and it insisted on the education of their children. Peasants produced more and were benefited by higher procurement prices. Fertilizer was the main factor to increase agricultural production in the 1970s.

The USSR was not, of course, an egalitarian society; the obscene cruelty of those earlier times had gone. Opposition to the party and government was no longer silenced by the gun,

the knife and the rope, but neither was it tolerated. Political power was in the hands of the party members. The government clamped down on dissidents at home. Yet in spite of repression, the dissidents' movement underground journals appeared; privately printed manuscript (called *samizdat*) circulated secretly, scientists and other intellectuals signed open petitions of protest. Some fled abroad others were expelled from Soviet. For example, the greatest nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov, for speaking against the return of Stalinism was removed from his work in Moscow and banished from the capital to the city of Gorky in 1980. Soviet Jews chafing at the restrictions on their cultural and religious freedom emigrated. Of course, when the rule was changed in early 1980s emigration reduced.

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During Brezhnev's rule, there was repression and abuse of authority and economic stagnation and war in Afghanistan. Bribery, embezzlement of state funds, and corruption became wide spread.

Activity 7.4

Discuss in the class about the fate of the Hungarians in November 1956?

Would you mention two measures taken by decision-makers in the party soon after their assumption of power in 1964?

Who was H-Kadar? What was his vision?

In 1977, the head of state was dismissed due to disagreement with Brezhnev. Brezhnev then took the offices of party leader and head of state. A new constitution was adopted that described the USSR as 'developed socialist society', leading to communist society. Articles guaranteed free health services, cheap housing, and public participation in decision-making. So far, Brezhnev's rule was stable. The leading communist party was consisted of sixteen million members in 1977. In a relative term, industrial and technological developments were steadily effective. However, Brezhnev aspired to make USSR the greatest power so he spent more on weapons. The country's military and naval strength increased. By the 1970s, the USSR possessed more and bigger, nuclear missiles than its adversary the USA. In addition,

Soviet Union was the world's leading producer of coal, steel, pig iron, cement, cotton, natural gas and oil.

During the tenure of Brezhnev, the Soviets intervened actively in the affairs of Eastern European countries in the name of "proletarian internationalism" to protect socialism against "internal and external" forces and to prevent the "restoration of a capitalist regime." This was further consolidated by the so-called "Brezhnev Doctrine." In 1968, the Brezhnev Doctrine had declared that a "threat to socialism" in one country is a threat to all. Thus, it was a kind of mirror image of the Truman Doctrine, which emphasized on the preservation of socialist system and Soviet influence in Eastern Europe.

In late 1960s, the Czechoslovak communist party under Alexander Dubcek had been steadily liberalizing the authoritarian rule and relaxing censorship due to the people's pressures seeking for change among other things, he gave more freedom of speech. Television, radio and newspapers were soon filled with lovely discussion-including criticism of communist ideas. Even the security police lost most of its powers. The Russians became afraid that other communist-ruled peoples would follow Dubcek's example. Soon, the Red Army, supported by army units of some of the other peoples' democracies, i.e., East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria armed with tanks rolled in Czechoslovakia. By the order of the Prague government and party, armed resistance was not offered. In the meantime, the 'Prague spring' was over; Dubcek deposed and had been taken to Moscow in chains. Later, a puppet regime which revoked many of the reforms was installed. Although the invasion of Czechoslovakia earned the Soviet Union widespread condemnation in world public opinion, Russian leaders were willing to withstand criticism.

On the other hand, efforts were made to relax tensions with the West. In 1972, President Nixon visited Moscow and the following year Brezhnev visited Washington. Agreements were signed to restrict anti-ballistic missiles to a certain extent. Subsequently, the USA granted trade rights and financial credits to the USSR. But the developing friendliness relationship between the USA and China aroused nervousness to Russia. Anyhow, arms limitation talks started. Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) agreement between the

USA and the USSR held in 1972. Another SALT agreement between Brezhnev and G. Ford took in 1974 at Vladivostok. After lengthy and very difficult discussion, participants agreed to fix the number of inter-continental missiles to each of the two powers. For one reason or another confirmation of this second SALT agreement delayed year after year. However, the SALT did not restrict the Powers building the numbers of missiles they wished to build. Despite such anxieties, the Soviets joined in the European Economic and Security Conference at Helsinki in 1975. In addition to America and Soviet Union, other European governments East and West took part in the conference. The Helsinki agreement pledged for peace, cooperation and respect for human rights. So much so that, by the early 1980s, the Cold War tension revived.

From 1975 on, when Brezhnev suffered a stroke, a small clique around him made the important decisions that injured the economic, political and social conditions of the USSR. In mid-November 1982, Brezhnev died and succeeded by Yuri Andropov who had been the head of the security police (KGB) since 1967. When Suslov, the party secretary died in 1982, it was Andropov who was assigned to run the party secretariat and clearly many of his politburo colleagues favoured him to the position. Being the head of the KGB, he successfully pursued offensives against political dissidents and against corruption.

The old Andropov brought economists and other specialists to Moscow to assist him. Publicly he inveighed against the corruption of party and government officials dismissed some of the old guard, and pledged incentives and rewards for efficient farm and factory workers. Indeed, Andropov was affected by renal, cardiac and diabetic disease. After his brief fifteen-month tenure, he was incapacitated by illness and died in August 1984. After his death the ancient city of Rybinsk was renamed in his honour.

In fact, Andropov who was too ill unable to speak wrote that his protégé Michael Gorbachev should succeed him. Latter the paragraph about Gorbachev was deleted to assure Konstantin Chernenko's succession. Chernenko continued Andropov's line, with some slackening of pace. With no sound reform, economic problems worsened, the war in Afghanistan that had been started in 1979, dragged on, and armed race continued. By the

end of 1984, he was seriously sick and died in March 1985 and succeeded by M. Gorbachev.

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Brezhnev succeeded Khrushchev in 1964. He along with his colleagues reversed some of his predecessor's schemes. He had been much concerned with foreign policy and international relations. The party accepted the need for another round reform in the field of agriculture and industry. Andropov and Chernenko initiated the first modest steps but both were hampered Chernenko was often absent, and business was largely left in the hands of Gramyko (foreign affairs), Gorbachev (economy), and Ustinou (defense) ministers.

Activity 7.5

What the major weaknesses of the Brezhnev regime were with regard its domestic and external policies?

What was the previous, position of Yuri Andropov?

Mention respectively Russian leaders that took office from 1928 to 1984.

7.4 SOVIET UNION UNDER M. GORBACHEV (1985-1991)

Michael Gorbachev was born in the Stavropol region of the North Caucasus on March 2, 1931. He went to Moscow University in 1950 where he graduated in law in 1955, and subsequently, he followed a correspondence course in agriculture. He began his political career in 1956 as the *Komsomol* first secretary in Stavropol town. In 1970 he took the post of first secretary of the party's Stavropol regional organization and has become a member of the central committee in 1971 and a full member of the politburo in 1980. Charm and ability had made full use of his influential connections for he was impressed with liberal ideas.

Gorbachev took in the parliamentary delegations to Canada and Britain. His visit to England and Scotland in December 1984 further enlightened him. Instead of the customary visit to Karl Marx's grave at High Gate cemetery, he visited West Minster Abby even spoke about the need of disarmament. M. Thatcher, the then Prime Minister liked his gesture. He also caused another stir by his speech in February 1985, in which he declared that the Soviet Union was in need of a radical transformation. Soon after the demise of Chernenko,

Gorbachev took power. Unlike Andropov and Chernenko, he had good health and relatively youth on his side. When he assumed power in March 1985, he was fifty-four. He was by far the youngest member of the Politburo.

Already the Soviet government had encountered economic, political, social and foreign problems. To mention: by the mid-1980s there was slackening of growth rate of agriculture that led to the importation of grain not only from the USA but also from India. Industrial production was below the plan. Even many economic sectors like the transport lagged behind. A case in point, the railways performed badly that brought frequent accidents due to alcoholism. Drunkenness in public was an increasing burden for the police. Again there was more drinking by teenagers and women. More over, nationalism within the Soviet Union had become other long-standing problem.

The gap between morality and legality remained obviously irreconcilable. Government officials, mainly party members and privileged class were almost above the law. But the ordinary innocent citizens were regularly punished or mistreated. Higher officials by telephone message, i.e., “telephone law” could decide the outcome of court cases in the place of judges. Another social service in need of reform was the medical service. Doctors, nurses and officials needed bribe from patients to provide the prescribed drugs, hospital beds, etc., doctors largely females were less paid in comparison to other occupations. Ambulance services were poor and their staffs were mostly untrained in first aid.

Furthermore, the USSR had problems with regard its external relations. Due to its bold policies and its power in Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Angola, the USA, Japan and China created closer relationships. In Moscow this alliance aroused nightmare vision of a new encirclement. Even Soviet diplomats were expelled from Western capitals including the Third World countries like Bangladesh and Thailand. A number of countries imposed economic sanctions, notable curtailment of trade. US-Soviet cooperation in space ventures deteriorated as well. Several attempts to reach agreements on arms’ limitation failed.

Obviously, Soviet industry was inefficient lagged behind the West in many respects in quality and quantity. And too much wealth was spent on the armed forces and weapons. Even the performance of *Gosplan* was questioned. Gorbachev aware of the realities of the USSR once spoke “paper shuffling, and addiction to fruitless meetings, wind beggary and formalism” would no longer do. By then, he pointed out about practical change to save Russia from its immersed crises. Right after his assumption of power, he intended to reorganize the system inherited from his predecessors and to liberalize the Soviet Union. His major visions were to 1) be more popular with and less remote from the ordinary people, 2) to replace inefficient men in important positions 3) to reduce drunkenness, a widespread problem in Russia and 4) seek better relations with the USA.

To effect his new plan of modernization and peaceful relationships, Gorbachev attempted to reorganize several ministers which shared responsibility for agriculture. So, he designed to reinvigorate the Soviet economy. Some ministers like the transport minister were dismissed. The chairman of the *Gosplan* was removed. Obstacles like Grishin, Romanov and Tikhonor were dismissed. On the contrary, strong supporters to his reform programme like Yeltsin, Sheverdnaze and Yakovlev were promoted to key posts. An effort to reduce Vodka consumption by encouraging wine drinking was applied. To prevent a driver taking out a train, a circular was dispatched that ordered breathe smell to alcohol on drivers.

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Gorbachev was appointed to the party secretariat in Moscow in 1978. He worked as agricultural researcher so became familiar with deep economic troubles. In 1980, he became member of the politburo. His predecessors died in office when the country was mired in difficulties. He was the youngest man to lead the Soviet Union since Stalin. He spoke openly about problems of in efficiency and alienation, and he recognized the importance of radical reform.

Gorbachev displayed more subtle political skills than Khrushchev, steadily and skillfully isolating and moving his opponents towards changes. He then, continued to convince the party members that the country seeks fundamental economic reconstructing to overcome

economic stagnation. The two catchwords of his policies were *perestroika* and *glasnost*. He used the word *perestroika* to describe his policy of restructuring or reorganizing the country's economy in 1987. Its aim was to accelerate the country's economic and political progress and renewing all spheres of life. In other words, *perestroika* meant a drastic modification of the centrally planned command economy. His proposed remedies were decentralization, self-management for industry and agriculture collective farms, an end to the rigidities imposed by the *apparat*, or party and government bureaucracy, and incentives for higher productivity. Privately owned farms were allowed; more payment was encouraged for those workers who produced more in industries. Some of these moves clashed with the vested interests of the then officials.

The second policy was *glasnost* or frankness or greater openness because the communist regime had maintained power largely through suppression of information. Therefore, by *glasnost* Gorbachev meant the right to voice the need for change, the freedom to criticize the existing system, the willingness even to re-examine past mistakes and wrongdoings. It was the intention to liberalisation of the people, the press and eliminating of totalitarian regime. Shortly, the rigid censorship of public opinion lifted and non-communists were allowed to criticize communist party officials and the government. Protest meetings were allowed; people were free to forward suggestions for improvements. He invited intellectuals who had been expelled from the Soviet Union to return to their native soil. Political prisoners like Anatoly Scharansky were freed. Consequently, citizens were allowed to read books that had been banned and the Western publications. The ferment chocked off after Khrushchev's "thaw" was reborn. The press, publications, theatre and political discourse opened up as to no time before. Discovering that their long-suppressed thoughts were shared by others, many ordinary people became ever bolder in their criticism and demand.

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Gorbachev also ended the long and debilitating conflict between the state and organized religion ended the isolation of his country's intellectuals; sent an unprecedented number

of Soviet citizens abroad; permitted the sale of Western publications; forced the Soviet Union conservative historians to come to grips with their history; and broke down the power of the party. Moreover, he permitted the physicist A.Sakharov, strong opponent of the regime to return from exile and take an active part in political life. Gorbachev's reformist policies eased ideological tensions in Europe.

Gorbachev spoke of freedom of conscience and tolerance. At one point, Soviet Jews who had been refused permission to leave the country were permitted to emigrate in large numbers. The government allowed freedom of conscience and tolerance to religion so negotiated a rapprochement with the Russian Orthodox Church. Moreover, the legal codes were revised to encompass civil liberties, allow freedom of expression and reduce police abuse. Similarly, new history textbooks were prepared as well as the party's history was to be revised. In meetings individuals explained freely about poverty, corruption, crime, alcoholism and drugs; of shortcomings in medicine, health and housing of environmental decay. Perhaps one-fifth of the population lived in poverty.

Activity 7.6

Who were Scharansky and Sakharov?

Mention the major problems that Gorbachev campaigned to eliminate in the Soviet Union.

Which European minister was influenced by M-Gorbachev in his state visit to her country?

Gorbachev allowed Soviet contact with the outside world. After 1985 US- Soviet relations abruptly changed. Needless to say, *perestroika* redefined the Soviet Union's position Vis-à-vis China, Eastern Europe, the West, and the Third World. Above all, it brought greater friendship between the Soviet Union and the USA. Initially, in 1985, President Reagan and he appeared to have created a good mutual understanding. Afterwards, foreign capital for trade and investment and joint ventures with foreign firms were welcomed. Soviet managers were encouraged to travel abroad to learn advanced business and accounting practises. Furthermore, he campaigned against the threat of nuclear war so was ready to negotiate with its reduction with the West; soon Soviet troops and weapons from Eastern Europe and Afghanistan were removed and leaders were encouraged to introduce reforms. Already

Russian troops had gone to Afghanistan in 1979 to support a communist government entangled in a bloody guerrilla war against rebels heavily supported by the United States. Also it was ordered to go back.

The Eastern European countries, anti-democratic model of communism were already imposed by Moscow at Stalin behest. To effect this, the Russian Red Army occupied the territories' of these satellite states. The newly established regimes were militaristic that denied political reforms such as various freedoms of expression and private property ownership. To re-establish their freedom and sovereignty, they continued struggle. For instance, in 1953, the East Berlin uprising, the 1956 and 1968 Hungarian and Czechoslovakian revolts respectively were suppressed by the Russian Red Army. Actually, the West did nothing to help the East Germans, Hungarians, or Czechs. Nevertheless, post-Stalinist rulers of Russia continued to restrain political liberalization and to veto democratization by threat of military force.

Gorbachev proceeded in introducing better management and higher standards of workmanship by preparing reward incentives and encouraged to practice more open information system. Many of the Soviet citizens accepted the changes but the conservative party members suspected even criticized him. They wanted to keep the old system. On the other side, he was criticized by the reformers who were disappointed by the unfulfilled ness of the policies. Indeed, many reforms remained paper decrees. Particularly the conservative party members conspired to depose Gorbachev. When the conservatives appeared to have won a controlling influence over him, there was a move towards tighter control of radio and television.

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- Gorbachev set about to restructure Soviet society by decentralizing decision-making, which required more open communication and reduction in the role of the communist party.
- In 1988, Gorbachev had promised to the UNO that the Soviet Union would allow

its allies to go their way. As a whole, the Soviet political system fundamentally was changed under Gorbachev.

So far, the years from mid-1980s to the mid-1990s were full of remarkable events. Communist parties lost control of all the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Cold War came to end. Also apartheid came to an end in South Africa. Terrible conflicts took place in the Middle East, Africa and Yugoslavia. The European Community changed to European Union (EU) by the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 to indicate its greater integration and then adopted a common European currency (Euro) in 1999. Finally states like the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Ethiopia broke up.

As of late 1980s, East European countries showed popular resistance to the already imposed communist rule. Particularly, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland whose cultural ties were attached with the West sought changes. Workers and Catholics in Poland mobilized their fellowmen to revolution. In Poland despite martial law, Solidarity Movement under Lech Walesa continued its underground propaganda with wit and daring. The Solidarity supported by the majority workers and the Roman Catholic Church were in favour of the Polish nation.

In order to appease, W-Jaruzelski the leader of the Polish party granted Solidarity the right to strike against the state. Jaruzelski understood that he could not rule his nation without Solidarity, particularly as economic situation continued to deteriorate. In January 1989, the party agreed to resume talks with Solidarity. The lengthy discussions at the round table led to the legalization of Solidarity in April and to the elections in June 1989. When the election took place, Solidarity won almost all the seats in the parliament. Communist party members stunned and frightened, did not know what to do. In so doing, Poland was the first country to have a non-communist Prime Minister as a result of revolt.

The Polish Communist Party was in no mood to simply handover power to people. It sought to retain the parliament and limit Solidarity to 35 percent of the seats. However, Solidarity balked at this proposal. At last, the opposition party became the government and elected

Tadeusz Mazowiecki as Prime Minister in August 1989, the first non-communist leader in Eastern Europe.

Hungarians were aware of events in Poland. Political discussions, like economic activity were freer in Hungary than in other communist countries. In May 1988, Janos Kadar, the Soviet tool was gently nudged aside as the leader of the party. In April 1989, some party officials joined in public discussions of the need for free speech, civil rights, and the protection of private property. Public demonstration took place; other political parties were legalized. In October, the communist party changed its name to the socialist party and the parliament re-wrote the constitution to permit multiparty election so promised free elections scheduled for March 25, 1990. By the March and April election, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, a populist nationalist party led by Jozsef Antall won the highest vote in the parliament. The socialist party won minimal seats. The new government guaranteed its citizens the right to a passport and freedom of travel and emigration. On September 13, 1989, East German refugees mostly youngsters and skilled men crossed into Austria through Hungary.

In October 1989, Erich Honecker, the head of East Germany's party and its prime minister was convinced to introduce reforms. When the people demonstrated on October 9, the party backed down. It did not use force. Nine days later the politburo forced Honecker to step down in favour of his protégé Egon Krenz. The successor announced that East Germany's border with West Germany would be opened that day. The Berlin Wall approximately 90 mile- long German- German border was to be broken so as to bring the unification of Germany. Work crews began dismantling the Wall. Late that night, guards shrugged and stepped aside as hoards of people pushed through the gates of the Berlin Wall on November 10, 1989. Germans in thousands cheered and waved from atop that symbol of oppression before strolling past the well-stocked shops of West Berlin. Subsequently, meetings which had been illegal a few weeks earlier took place in churches and public squares as the police watched and then withdrew.

Chancellor Kohl pushed for the immediate unification of East and West Germany. Obviously, by the end of 1989, he had gained the support of the United States and then France for German unification. In August 1990, the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France signed a treaty with the two Germans.

The fourth communist domino to fall in 1989 was Czechoslovakia. The revolutionary vanguard against the old communist regime was intellectuals and students. Moreover, Jiri Hajek and Václav Havel were protagonist personalities. The government then arrested the leaders but demonstrators in thousands in Prague urged the government for their release even demanded for the resignation of officials. The struggle continued to oust the communists from power. The workers were slow to join because most of them enjoyed high standard of living. But when they joined the demonstrators on St. Wenceslas square in Prague the end had arrived for the party. Familiar rites and slogans were written everywhere; posters covered the walls. Soon government officials resigned. It folded like a house of cards at the end of November 1989 as a result of what is called ‘the velvet revolution’, non-communists took power. Havel, the popular playwright, became the new prime minister by representing the Civil Forum Movement. Alexander Dubček who had been one of the architects and heroes of the “Prague Spring” in 1968, became the country’s provisional president. He played for a free press and free elections, dissolved the secret police, and abolished the compulsory teaching of Marxism-Leninism in the universities. In so doing, the “Velvet revolution” ended party–state dictatorship.

The five participants in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 formally declared the invasion to have been an “illegal action” and pledged strict non-interference in the future in each other’s internal affairs. But in January 1993, Czechoslovakia was divided into two Czech and Slovakia when Slovak political leaders urged secession.

Khrushchev already visited Belgrade in 1955, and blamed the rift between the two countries on mistakes done by Stalin. The following year, Tito made a return trip to Moscow. Thereafter, Moscow’s relation to Yugoslavia was friendly. Essentially, there were different ethnic groups in Yugoslavia. It consisted of six major republics. These were Serbia,

Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. There were three main religions: Catholic and Orthodox Christians and Muslims. Among the republics Croatia and Slovenia were economically developed. Serbians in the latter periods dominated the government. The Serbs and Croats disliked each other. In fact, local freedoms were granted by Marshal Tito, a Croat who had created the Yugoslav federation and kept the nation intact wisely. The communist party led by him kept united the people until his death in 1980. Even later for some time the unity resumed.

When East Europe was tormented by freedom movements, communists in Yugoslavia resisted calls for reforms. By 1990-1991 tensions reached a point in Yugoslavia following the collapse of communist rule round the world. In the meantime, four republics declared their independence. Serbia and Montenegro the two Serb states led by Slobodan Milosevic stayed together and called themselves Yugoslavia. Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina seceded. Subsequently, ideological, economic and regional differences led to ethnic civil war. Slaughter and rape destroyed whole villages by recalling past injustices.

Again Bulgaria and Rumania could not escape the historic pressure. Bulgaria's communist party was led by Todor Zhivkov since 1954. In late 1980s, being head of state, he showed no signs of stepping down. No doubt, his long rule had breed widespread opposition. Be it as it might, he forced the one-million Muslim Turkish minority to adopt Slavic names. When they refused, he ordered over three hundred thousand Muslims to emigrate in May 1989. This exodus wrought international condemnation and havoc with the country's economy. Consequently, a green movement called *ecoglasnost* supported by large population defied the government and took demonstration-demanding change. Mass demonstrations in Sofia protested against government officials and their bad practises. In the end, the defense minister, Dobri Dzurlov, foreign minister, Petar Mladenov, and Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov, carried out meeting of the Politburo. In the mean time, Zhivkov resigned and then jailed for trial.

The charges against Zhivkov consisted of corruption, nepotism, and the ruination of the economy. The new leadership promised radical changes, economic reform plus *glasnost*.

Hard-liner of the old regime officials sought to divert public attention from political reform by encouraging their supporters to protest against a decision by the new government. But it was to no avail. At last, on January 15, 1990 Mladenov and his party caved in and announced the concession that communist parties in Warsaw, Budapest, East Berlin and Prague had granted. The party, thence, agreed to give up its leading political role and to hold free elections.

The last communist dictator to be toppled in 1989 was Nicola Ceausescu, who had come to power in 1965 in Rumania. He left the Warsaw Pact and reserved his country in the annual war games of the pact, continued to recognize Israel after the 1967 Six Day War, refused to participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1984, he refused to join the Moscow-led boycott of the Olympic Games in Los Angeles, where the Rumanian team received a standing ovation at the opening ceremonies. As a reward, R. Nixon and J. Carter visited Bucharest.

Despite his repressive regime, the West approached Ceausescu smoothly. He governed with police force. The work week increased to six days; gasoline price raised, electricity was strictly rationed, and hospitals lacked medicine. His administrative style was a combination of that of Stalin and Benito Mussolini. With the increasing of years, his dream to rule Rumania as dictator increased. He remained uncompromising to opposition groups' idea and believed in the use of force to deny public freedom and share power.

Gorbachev visited Bucharest in 1987 and spoke out against nepotism and expressed the need for reform. As the follower of the Chinese model, Ceausescu ignored the appeal became firm in using force to suppress any protester. He continued murdering demonstrators who demanded for changed. When the army refused to fire on the crowd, the dictator's security police fired and killed people. The police even refused to return the bodies of those killed. Especially the dead of Timisoara killed in December 1989 were damped into a mass grave on the outskirts of the city and their bodies were denied to their families. This disaster led to anti-Ceausescu demonstration.

In contrast to other East European states, Rumania suffered weeks of bloodshed. When crowds gathered in Bucharest, the government gave order to the police to shoot. Still the crowds were formed and violence increased. Bit by bit, the dictator Ceausescu lost control of the army. He soon planned to escape but the armed force turned its guns onto the police, captured Ceausescu and his wife and installed a new government headed by Ion Iliescu, who had been Gorbachev's classmate and popular with many party members. Fighting between the army and special police force loyal to Ceausescu continued fighting for a week.

At last Ceausescu and his associates were captured and put before a military tribunal and charged with genocide, as well as theft and having established Swiss bank accounts. The unrepentant dictator denied all charges and claimed to be still the leader of his nation. A firing squad ended the discussion by executing Ceausescu on Christmas Day. At last, the communist government (except for Albania) had fallen.

As usual, the new government followed the precedent established in other East European countries. It stocked the stores with food, reduced the work week to five days, cut the price of electricity by more than half, permitted farmers to have private land for cultivation, abolished the death penalty, abolished secrete police and promised for free elections for April 1990.

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1989 was the year of popular uprising in Eastern Europe. Freedom movements swept like wild fire through the satellite states. Already, Gorbachev opened the way for these states to be independent of Russian domination.

Workers and Catholics in Poland, party members and entrepreneurs in Hungary, students and intellectuals in Czechoslovakia mobilized their fellow citizens with surprising speed and skill for a change. Youngman and women, especially students were prominent in all these events of revolts. So much so that, the communist governments were collapsed or overthrown throughout Eastern Europe. In fact, there was little bloodshed, except in Rumania.

A hero in Western Europe and the United States, Gorbachev was never so popular at home. Efforts to create more of a market economy threatened jobs. The new price structure increased inflation, uncertainty and hoarding. Anti-alcohol campaign brought Gorbachev's unpopularity. Many party members and the army resented the erosion of their own authority and the weakening of the Soviet Union's international position. On the other hand, reformers viewed Gorbachev, as a barrier to further change.

In this dilemma seeking a strong political base, Gorbachev called for a huge congress of people's Deputies as a step toward greater democracy. It met in 1989 and elected him president of the Soviet Union. Discussions were more open than ever before. By then Deputies attacked old abuses, denounced the KGB, and gave to a rising chorus of competing ethnic differences.

Enemies of Gorbachev were active. Suddenly on August 18, 1991, a small group of hard-line communist leaders, the military and the KGB staged a coup. Gorbachev was in Crimea on his vacation. Tanks filled the streets and coup leaders announced that Gorbachev had been replaced and their rejection to what Gorbachev did. Boris Yeltsin the head of the communist party in Moscow and others held firm position against the coup with remarkable support from public opinion. Consequently, people rallied against the new leaders. Crowds pleaded with the soldiers not to act, miners in Siberia went on a strike, demonstrators marched in city after city, and some army officers declared their support to Yeltsin. Within two days the coup was aborted. Leaders fled from Moscow but were captured and imprisoned. On August 22, Gorbachev returned to Moscow to rule the USSR but he was now overshadowed by Yeltsin. Even his power base began to be eroded.

Tensions remained high. Living conditions in Moscow became worse and worse strikes continued. Furthermore, the federated constituent republics began to raise demands for sovereignty, self-government and an end to central control in political and economic spheres. Gorbachev then engaged in promotions and demotions during the winter of 1990. Above all, Eduard Shevardnadze, foreign Minister resigned on December 20, 1990. Despite

his efforts, the people demonstrated against the continuation of Gorbachev's rule crowds cried out against continued communist rule. Even in October 1991, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan declared that the Soviet Union could not exist. Unable to stem popular outcry, he addressed his resignation on television on December 25, 1991. As such, he became a victim of a revolution.

Shortly, after Gorbachev's resignation, the Republics disintegrated. The Red flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics-bearing the hammer and sickle of communism and the Soviet republics flags were lowered for the last time from the flag poles top the Kremlin in Moscow. The communist regime no longer was in command. The Soviet Union no longer existed since January 1, 1992. People on their part pulled down symbols of communism, closed and sometimes looted communist party offices; the totalitarian government system, which existed for seventy-five years ceased.

In fact, internationally, Gorbachev's foreign policy made him the most popular figure in Soviet history. He was applauded by Westerners as bold .As a result, he was awarded the Noble Peace Prize in October 1990. However, it had no benefit to him at home for the Westerns responded hesitantly to his calls for economic help to stifle the mounting economic hardship. Although Gorbachev was no longer popular at home, his eventful career, including his dramatic attempts to improve the Soviet system of government undoubtedly has earned him a place in history among the most important world leaders of the twentieth century. After the fall of Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin the outspoken populist and one of the reformers replaced him.

Obviously, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a federation composed of fifteen republics. Among the republics, Ukraine and Byelorussia had seats at the United Nations for they were independent states before the formation of USSR in 1924. The largest republic with large population within the USSR was the Russian republic, which occupied fourth-fifths of the entire Soviet Union. Most of the people living in the smaller republics were not Russians. From the very beginning minorities opposed "russification", i.e., the attempt of imposing Russian values and practises that denied them to respect for national differences

guaranteed in the Soviet constitution. Now that, they wanted to be independent so the union was disintegrated. Soon after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, fifteen separate states emerged. These were: Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Belarus, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Russia. Already eleven republics joined together and formed a very loose organization called the Confederation of Independent States (CIS) on December 25, 1995. These Russian Federation was consisted of Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan. Georgia by then in turmoil did not join. The Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania refused to join this association. So far, all these “federated Republics” adopted their own constitutions, flags anthems and enjoyed a sort of independence. By then, Russia succeeded the Soviet Union’s permanent UN seat in the Security Council.

When free elections produced a congress of People’s Deputies, Yeltsin was elected by popular vote, president of the Russian republic in 1991. His opponents, in fact, communists and nationalist members of the military, representatives of regional movements began to challenge his power. Actually in Russia, Yeltsin faced economic problems. Production declined; the ruble fell in value and poverty tormented the people. Corruption and criminal activities were widely spread in the country. Of course, Russia received loans obtained from the United States and other funding agencies but immersed in deep disorder. Privatisation was declared. But the businessmen continued to run a mafia-type economy.

During the 1993 national presidential election, Yeltsin risked but secured victory with narrow majority vote. Soon a new constitution that empowered more authority to the president was drafted in December. The Duma composed of communist party representatives failed to pass reforms. A few months later, he dissolved the parliament. Officials opposed the measure and refused to leave the parliament building rather they resorted to use power. The army remained silent. When they took a meeting to bring down the government, Yeltsin decided to act against them; shoots were fired and bombarded the parliament building to disperse them on October 4. Actually, a hundred more people died on the spot and many more injured. Ring leaders were arrested.

Already Russians in millions could live, in other parts of Soviet Union. After 1991, they were viewed as foreigners and hated by other peoples. Violence against them was serious practically in Georgia. Again Chechnya, where Muslims dominantly lived created political instability to Russia.

Caucasus is rich in oil. These people commonly opposed Russian domination. During the disintegration, thus, Chechens demanded independence. But Russia planned to keep it under control. Militant guerrilla forces started fighting for secession in 1994, Yeltsin then ordered to destroy these rebels. However, the Russians failed to break the guerrilla fighters. Unable to secure quick military victory, Yeltsin ordered the bombardment of Groznyy, the capital and killed thousands of civilians. Indeed, the war was criticized at home and abroad. Consequently, Russia withdrew its army in 1996. Be it as it may, Chechnya guerrillas crossed the border to take terrorist attacks. The government was, thus, retaliated by using large-scale air and military attacks on Chechnya cities and the rural areas.

Time to time Yeltsin's health deteriorated. In December 1999 he announced his resignation by appointing Vladimir Putin as acting president. And in August of the same year, Putin took the office of premier. By the 2000 election, he won the presidential election.

FOCUS

In the autumn of 1989, the Berlin Wall came crumbling down. Roughly speaking, the "Iron-Curtain" was avoided. The fall of communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union meant the end of the Cold War. No doubt, domestic politics, economic policies, and international relations would be different, i.e., peacefully. By and large the late 1980s popular movements were bloodless revolutions that brought the crumbling of communism in 1991. Of course, the dictator Ceausescu of Sofia was overthrown by violent uprising.

Activity 7.7

Would you state about A. Dubcek's personality?

Discuss the difference of B. Yeltsin and E. Shevardnadze. State the two independent Soviet republics that seceded in northwest, following the disintegration of the USSR.

SUMMARY

The ex-USSR was the largest country in the world composed of fifteen autonomous republics, in theory. Moscow was the capital of the Soviet Union and Russian was the official language. Between 1946-1949 backed by the Russian Red Army, communist parties in Eastern Europe ousted the existed government and established Soviet-style totalitarian regimes.

Stalin's government was the most thorough dictatorship the modern world has known. Until his death in 1953, he was feared not only by the Soviet citizens but also by the citizens of Soviet satellite states. Following his death N-Khrushchev introduced internal and external reforms that a bit pleased the Soviets and the American governments. His successor L-Brezhnev supported by the old party members endeavoured to block reforms started by his predecessor.

Essentially, with the assumption of political power, Gorbachev tried to liberalize the Soviet domestic and foreign policies. Meanwhile, he unleashed powerful winds of change. He opened the way for the Soviet republics as well as Eastern European countries to be independent of Russian domination. As a result, 1989 has become the year of popular uprising in Soviet Union and its satellite states. Popular upheavals threatened and then toppled communist regimes in 1990/91. All states of Eastern Europe faced nationality problems. Slovaks always resented Czechs. In Poland Byelorussians, Ukrainians and Germans; in Rumania, Hungarians and Germans; in Bulgaria, Turks; in Hungary, Slovaks, Germans and Jews lived. During the 1989/90 demonstrations they demanded to respect their rights. In fact, the most serious ethnic problems existed in Yugoslavia, a state of seven major ethnic regions, i.e., Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Vojvodina and Serbia.

In the case of Soviet Union, economic crisis created social unrest. Later, Gorbachev resigned and Soviet republics seceded and became separate governments. Anyway, he is considered as one of the great reformers in history. Yeltsin was the first democratically elected president to the Russian republics who allied with reformers but his effort to introduce Western-style market reforms that had little success. Eventually, command economy gave way to market economy. Russia was to be ruled by a constitution, civil liberties, freedom of religion and free elections were to be practiced

So far, the late twentieth century revolution brought political liberalism to Soviet Union and its Satellites. Many of the communist regimes were thrown off. Even in Western Europe, especially in France Italy, Spain and Portugal, communist parties were forced to re-examine their beliefs to the extent of changing party names and taking some improving measures. Despite the fact, Communist countries such as China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and Albania remained as totalitarian governments under the name of socialist ideology. The official formula that all citizens would enjoy the rights and privileges of an egalitarian “socialist” society had only concealed political repression, economic stagnation, and social immobility.

Reformers later sought to exercise free elections, to allow political and civil rights to the people and respect human dignity. But the road to democracy and free economy was difficult.

Review Exercises 7

1. What were the contributions of Joseph Stalin to Soviet Union?
2. What was the fate of Gomulka of Poland and Kadar of Hungary until 1954?
3. What kind of impetus created Khrushchev's 1956 criticism on Stalin's mistakes and crimes to the people of Poland and Hungary?
4. Mention the two immediate successors of Brezhnev respectively.
5. What are the two policies coined by M. Gorbachev? Mention their objectives.
6. What happened in August 18, 1991 with regard Soviet politics connected with Gorbachev?
7. State the last communist rulers of Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria and Rumania.

Check list

Put a tick mark (✓) in the boxes under 'Yes or 'No

I can

	Yes	No
- I can describe about J-Stalin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can mention about Soviet's rulers after the death of Stalin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can delineate Khrushchev's moderate measures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can explain what 'Peaceful co-existence' means	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can mention the internal and external policies of L, Brezhnev	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can describe the two reforms undertaken by Gorbachev and the factors that led to the disintegration of the USSR in 1991	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

UNIT 8

THE MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

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INTRODUCTION

This topic presents about the political, social and economic developments that took place in the last quarter of the twentieth century in the Middle East.

Admittedly, the formation of Islamic extremists and their motto, i.e., Islamic Purification, the causes and effects of Iraq –Iran war and the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and American intervention in the Persian Gulf will be discussed.

Objective

At the end of this unit, the students will be able to:

- define what fundamentalism means;
- point out the major Islamic militant organizations,
- elaborate the causes for Iraq –Iran war in 1980,
- delineate the factors that brought America to stand on the side of Kuwait during the Gulf war in 1990,
- describe countries that formed a military defense pact with the USA.

Resources

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8.1 ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism is defined as a movement with strict view of doctrine: be it religious or political based on a literal interpretation of and strict adherence to doctrine. Islamic Fundamentalism especially is thus emphasized on a return to former principles.

Islamic fundamentalism, or Islamic revival, or Islamism is a religious, social and political reform in the Muslim world. Islamist perceptions focused on creating a unified ethos against secular regimes and Western and Zionist influence in the Muslim world. It is manifested in the form of religious movement. Advocates of this idea are labelled “Islamic fundamentalists” or “Islamic extremists” or “terrorists” by those who oppose or fear them.

Islamism rejected secularism of the modern world rather encouraged the reading of ancient texts and practicing. As such, it is/ was a reaction to the internal decay in Qoranic practises. So, it sought the revival of traditional Muslim values. It urges adherence to the sacred texts regardless of changing times and circumstances. On the contrary, it opposed modernity for it is assumed that it endangers Islam. Under such circumstances, it opposes Zionism and Western values and culture, denies the right of self-determination; discourages the existence of democratic institutions and practices for it advocates Qoranic practises in one’s everyday life and administration, etc. On top of that, it objects the idea that said the Western values, which developed following the Renaissance and Industrial Revolution are worthy so should be universal values. However, some Muslim states accepted these views but the majority opposed it. Again secularists, Zionists, humanists, socialists, and feminists strongly object it.

The roots of Islamic fundamentalism originated from Egypt when Hasan al Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928. By then, he was worried by the morale laxity of Muslims as a result of the abolition of the office of Caliphate by Mustafa Kamal Atatürk of Turkey in 1924. Essentially, the Caliph provided a sense of Islamic unity maintained by commitment to Islamic values by Muslims governed by *Sharia*. So that, Hasan and his associates aimed to create a vibrant Muslim mission, i.e., a new society with economic development and social justice which is free from alien domination. He aspired to seize political power at the expense of secular political leadership.

In 1954, Gamal Abdul Nasser suppressed the Brotherhood movement in Egypt for his aspiration was to build Arab nationalism. Nevertheless, it was not totally wiped out. The first Islamic fundamentalists emerged in Lebanon and Pakistan. Eventually, branches of the Muslim Brotherhood sprang in Palestine, Lebanon, Algeria, Nigeria, Turkey, South Yemen, and Afghanistan. Some reasons put forwarded are the defeat of the Muslims by the Israeli troops during the Six Day War of 1967; the Arabs bankruptcy due to the reduction of oil prices, and the accelerated pace of modernization in the Muslim world. Mainly leaders were educated men in modern schools and their followers were young urban dwellers.

Focus

Religion in the twentieth century weakened in the West by skeptic and materialism and in the Communist world by the officials whom wanted to be atheist. Essentially, in some countries/places, religious conflicts occurred and brought enmity and tension within a country and with neighbouring countries. Above all, Islamic militancy was created by fanatic Muslims who desired to restore Islamic tradition and to free the Arab world from the Western influence. They aimed to overthrow secular regimes by force thereby to seize power and impose theocracies, and use state power to enforce religious views.

The Quajar dynasty that ruled Persia was overthrown in 1923. The premier called Reza Khan made himself king and named Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1925. Consequently, Persia was changed to Iran in 1935. In 1941, the Shah died and replaced by his son Muhammed Muhammed Shah. This new leader had been influenced by Western culture so introduced modernizing reforms. A case

in point, he liberated females from cultural oppression. His efforts, in fact, were accepted by urban dwellers. However, his plan was opposed by traditionalists and the inhabitants of the rural areas. They rejected secularism and the disruption of older religious and cultural institutions as a Western subversion. Among the opponents of the Shah's reforms was Ayatollah Khomeini who strongly opposed females' liberation in 1963, which forced him to exile first to Iraq and later to France. From there, he criticized the Iran government.

Muhammed being supported by the American government used force to put down his opponents and proceeded in his process of modernization. Albeit Iran was endowed with oil resources which benefited the ruling family and his associates, the population remained unsatisfactory with the regime. Again some activities like gambling, alcoholic drink, cinema that displayed sex and violence practised by the Iranians were labelled as evil, copied from the Western by hard- line Muslims.

In stead of reducing the tension, the Shah continued as an autocrat ruler. Meanwhile, workers and other poor elements of the society pressed by corrupt administration and economic crisis, demonstrated and demanded for free press, respecting of human rights and the abolition of the secret police (*savak*). Above all, in 1977/78 political violence around the universities increased. The Shah first tried to liberalise his measures but soon he changed his idea and ordered firm suppression of the violence. He even decreed martial law in September 1978 and imposed censorship in order to suppress the mounting crisis. In spite of the fact, religious – inspired Iranians protested but were killed in the thousands in Tehran. Subsequently, the furious people voiced for the return of Khomeini from exile to lead Iran and for the end of the Pahlavi dynasty. Unable to defend the Islamic revolutionaries, the American – backed Muhammad advised by his advisors left Iran on January 15, 1978 never to return.

Indeed, this Islamic revolution was an urban based revolution in contrast to all other post – World War II peasant insurrections. Ayatollah Khomeini who had been in Paris arrived Tehran on February 1, 1979 with great jubilation. He then, made himself the *defacto* ruler of Iran and declared the establishment of “Islamic Republic” on April 1, 1979. The state power was held by Islamic Revolutionary committee and their political instrument was Islamic Republican Party

(IRP) led by Ayatollah Muhammad Beheshti. And the Revolutionary Committee was formed to do the day-to-day administration. Consequently, the authorities announced the restoration of traditional Islamic way of life. Women were ordered to wear the chador, the traditional long black dress covering them from head to toe. The neck tie was outlawed for men rather were encouraged to grow beards. They even forbade listening Western music, radio and watching television programmes and enforced the prohibition of alcoholic drinks. *Sharia* replaced the secular law. Furthermore, the regime imposed tight state control over the economy and nationalised many industries.

Revolutionaries targeted against dissenters and foreigners. The old regimes functionaries were hunted down; even secular or moderate officials in the government and in the army were expelled from their posts, some were purged out of Iran. Then after, they were replaced by religious ones.

Afterwards, Iran determined to be a model for the Muslim world by becoming the center of Islamic militancy soon it served as a strong fundamentalist region and an example to others who wished to imitate it. Thence, it continued inspiring extreme groups. In the mean time, Islamic fundamentalists emerged in the Middle East, Central Asia, South East Asia, North Africa and Caucasian.

Due to Khomeini's incessant calls for Muslims to rise against their corrupt and impious rulers, Iran was isolated including by Muslim countries except Libya which showed cooperation. Both the two superpowers followed anti – Iran policy. For the simple reason USSR was threatened by such religious movement because Sunni and Shiite Muslims inhabited in its territory again shared border with Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. The USA on its part, opposed the Iranian regime. Above all, what made matters worse the US- Iran relation was that when the exile Muhammed Shah left France for the USA in January 1979.

Revolutionary Guards and furious students invaded American embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979. These militants captured 53 US diplomatic workers as hostages. Thereafter, they voiced

a slogan that said “Death to America!” Even they demanded the return of Muhammed and his wealth to Iran.

The then president, Jimmy Carter was upset so decided to impose economic sanctions on Iran and freezing all Iranian assets in American banks. Subsequently, in order to release captives, he orchestrated an airborne rescue mission in April 1980 who travelled in a helicopter to free the hostages. The crew was, in fact, a fiasco that brought casualties, disarray and embarrassment.

Later on, there was a change of ruler in Iran. Abolhassen Bani – Sadr the son of Khomeini was made president of Iran and followed liberal policy .After a series of negotiations between the US delegates and Iranian officials, American hostages were released on January 20, 1981. After 444 days of captivity, American hostages were freed during the tenure of Ronal Reagan. For America, it was a diplomatic success but for Beni Sadr it brought bad consequence. In the meantime, friction between the IRP and the premier Rajai broke out. The president was considered as pro – Western. Unable to stem the pressure of his opponents, he was removed from his power and fled into exile.

So much so that after 1981, Islamic administration was further tightened in Iran that strictly opposed Western liberalism. Need less to say, Ali Rajai took the office of presidency but soon assassinated. His successor Ali Khameni in late 1981, managed to settle the uproar.

Focus

When Ayatollah Khomeini appealed for Muslims of the world to over throw their secular governments, many Arab autocrat leaders opposed Islamic fundamentalism and Iranian leader. They felt threatened so continued repressing fundamentalist organizations.

Essentially, anti–Western movement was not peculiar to Iran. Prior to Iran, colonel Muhammed al –Gadafy of Libya, who seized power in 1969, projected a holy war against the Europeans and a programme to correct Qoranic practises. In the latter years, fundamental Islamic groups mushroomed in Morocco, Turkey, Indonesia, South Yemen, etc. The major Islamic fundamentalist organizations are al – Takifir, Wa al – Hijira, al – Jihad, and al – Qutbiyyun in

Egypt; Hamas in Palestine; and Hizbullah in Lebanon, which strongly oppose US foreign policy that favours Israel. These Islamists later engaged in armed struggle as militants to achieve their cause. They believe that political power should be controlled by *Ulemma* in order to execute Islamic tenets effectively. In such a way these hard-liners determined to scarify themselves in war and destroy others for the sake of Islam of course, for the sake of political power. A case in point, Muslim fundamentalists called National Islamic Front overthrew the government in Sudan in 1989; and in 1996 the Taliban in Afghanistan seized power after toppling the existed governments. The Sudanese fundamentalists were led by Hassan Abdullah al – Turabi. Thereafter, these new governments attempted to impose Qoranic law on the people. Indeed, Turabi was removed from power and imprisoned in 2001 that liberated the Sudanese from fundamentalists’ oppression. But other militants proceeded in assassination activities to destroy some political figures. For example, the Egyptian militants assassinated Anwar al –Sadat in 1981 and then the continued attacking the Coptic community moderate government officials and foreign visitors. On the contrary, the Brotherhood affiliates like the Islamic Action Group in Jordan and Jamiyyat al–Islah in Kuwait and others found in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Yemen show moderate stands willing to accommodate ideas and practices of the modern world. Meaning they want the blending of traditional values with modernization. These groups, by the closing of twentieth century competed in elections to power. In fact, they were not successful.

Apparently, fundamentalism is not only restricted to the Muslims. There are extremists in other religions as counter part to Muslim fundamentalism. To mention: Hindus Christians, Jews and Buddhists. Hindu fundamentalists in India unleashed violence against Muslims in India and threatened the secular government. Moreover, there are extremists among the Christians and Orthodox Jews. At any rate, fundamentalists are marked by intolerance, separatism and opposing the blending of cultures in this dynamic world. For all fundamentalists, by and large, adherents are young, and college educated individuals.

Some Muslim extremists continued armed struggle against their secular governments. For instance, Group Islamique Arme (GIA) in Algeria carried out a ferocious bloody struggle that led to civil war. Its terrorist attacks also extended as far as Paris and ‘exploded bombs.’ Religious wars again occurred in Chechnya and Tajikistan. Commonly volunteer militants moved from

place to place in order to participate in what they called Jihad. Currently, the notorious Islamist leader is a Saudi, Osman bin Laden who first went to the Sudan and then to Afghanistan.

Eventually these fundamentalists targeted on America, which was blamed for its support to Israel and for its presence in the Arabian Peninsula following the Gulf War. Under this pretext, they projected terrorist attacks. To mention, in 1993 the World Trade Centre in New York and in 1996 a US complex in Dhahran in Saudi Arabia were bombed. Furthermore, there occurred bomb attacks on US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; in 2000 these resurgent also attacked the US destroyer, US Cole while fueling at the fuel station in Aden, Yemen. Above all, the September 11, 2001 bombing that destroyed the twin towers of the World Trade Centre by terrorists has far-reaching consequences. Thence, America is forced to proceed in her plan of “war against terror.”

Focus

Muslim militant scholars justified in their publications that Islamism is neither a terrorist nor reactionary movement rather a forward-looking, creative, and open ideology receptive to movement and change. On the contrary, Western scholars sensed fundamentalists as Marxists whom advocate equality and discipline ideology. They added that groups are extremists, terrorists and destabilizing forces, which endangered human kind political and social interest.

Activity 8.1

-
- What are the major characteristics of fundamentalism?
 - Who was the founder of “Islamic Republic of Iran?”
 - Mention two moderate Muslim fundamentalist organizations.
-

8.2 IRAN – IRAQ WAR (1980 – 1988)

The causes of the war were diverse but the major were three. First both Iraq and Iran had an old border dispute over the Shatt el – Arab waterway which was a vital outlet to Iraq to the Persian Gulf. Secondly, Khomeini attacked Saddam Hussien for his persecuting of Shiits and abandoning

Islamic principles. Thirdly, minorities like Kurds were not happy with the Islamic revolution because they were denied self-government by Khomeini when they appealed to other Kurds inhabiting in Iraq and Turkey and then to form a separate state. Due to the revolutionary chaos, Saddam assumed that Iran was disunited. Above all, Saddam viewed the revolutionary turmoil as a good opportunity so designed to invade Iran. Thence, the Iraq government being afraid of the Shiit militancy invaded Iran on September 22, 1980, thereby to establish political and military hegemony over the Persian Gulf.

The Iraqi helicopters bombed Iranian oil fields and then occupied the disputed territory. By then, Iraq received political and financial support from Arab countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which resented Islamic militancy and hoped to topple Ayattollah Khomeini's government. In retaliation, Iran raided these countries across the Gulf. Following this disturbing condition, the Kurds began fighting against Iranian government to free themselves.

Practically speaking, the Iranians had better weaponry and determined volunteers who were eager for battle. These fighters fought heroically and pushed back Iraqi troops even moved deep into Iraq aimed at toppling Saddam and replace by a fundamentalist leader.

Both of them used poison gas that brought destruction during the confrontation to achieve military victory. Despite the fact the war dragged. Offensives and counter-offensives ensued across the border. Even from both sides oil industries were destroyed. Again oil shipment in the Persian Gulf was insecure for both Iraq and Iran attacked neutral countries' shipping aimed at preventing arms deliveries.

Like 1973, OPEC increased oil prices that brought oil crisis. The world suffered from the region's instability and the disruption of oil in mid -1980s. To protect the oil tankers and other merchant vessels from attack in the Gulf, American, British and France stepped up naval squadrons to patrol the Gulf as of 1987. The UN Security Council sought to end the war so demanded for cease-fire by its meeting held on July 20, 1987. Resolution 598, thus, ordered the two belligerent countries for an immediate cease fire. When there was rapprochement for peace,

the Iranians demanded that Iraq, the aggressor should pay war indemnity and Saddam be removed from power. This decision blocked the peace process.

Iraq continued attacking civilians. When Iraq planned to bomb Iranian villages of Halabjah on March 16, 1988, the bombs exploded on the villages of Iraqi Kurds and killed over 2,000 civilians. Iraq again dropped poison gas against the civilians to force Iran accept the cease – fire. Side by side, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 612 on May 9, 1988 that urged Iraq to stop the use of poison gas. In spite of the effort, Iraq proceeded in attacking civilians and Iranian oil sites at Larak Islands.

Meanwhile, Iran accepted a cease fire due to the following factors. The Kurds continued fighting against the Irani troops hoping to free themselves. Again Syria since 1986 declined in supporting Iran. In the end, Iran’s economy shrank; its armed force exhausted and depleted.

Besides, anti – war protest broke out in Iran. Be it as it might, Khomeini was seriously sick and virtually become incapacitated. In the meantime, the Iranian aircraft was shot down by Iraq and 290 passengers and crew lost their lives. Hence, the Iranian Foreign Minister sent a letter to the UN Secretary General that Iran accepted Resolution 598. Saddam Hussien on his part showed his willingness to accept the cease fire. Consequently, when the UN peace– keeping force moved to the battle grounds, the cease- fire had become effective as of August 20, 1988.

Focus

Iraq and Iran the two countries situated in the Middle East had border problems. Besides, the Iranian government led by Ayatollah Khomeini created bad relation with Saddam. Saddam whom wanted to destroy the fundamentalist regime and hoped to assure Iraqi hegemony, declared war in 1980 that dragged until 1988.

Khomeini died in 1989 and his successor followed moderate and pragmatic policy. Officials urged economic reconstruction and reestablishment of the country’s ties with the outside world. President Rafsanjani was able to restrain the most radical excesses of the revolution. Above all, the election of President Muhammad Khatami in 1997 brought new chapter to Iran. He had Western experience that studied Western philosophy. For he was reform minded, he committed

himself to political and economic reform, a civil society, the rule of law, and freedom of speech and the press and he planned to change his foreign policy by following lenient stand. The stringent dress and behaviour codes were relaxed. Women dressed as they wished. Religious authorities, in fact, were made chiefs in the military, the police, the courts and the media. As expected, young people supported the regime. Externally, he made clear that Iran was against terrorism and did not want to involve in nuclear weapons production. In return, the United States toned down its rhetoric and took steps to improve relations.

Focus

These fundamentalist later evolved in different Muslim countries fanned the idea of anti – America and Anti – western

During the Iraq – Iran war, USA indirectly helped Saddam; Iraq used chemical weapons against the civilians and poison gas against the Iranian troops. Especially, the death of many Kurds was proved by UN Enquiry Commission .But Iraq was unrepentant for the atrocity.

Activity 8.2

-
- What was the immediate cause for the Iraqi – Iran war?
 - Compare and contrast Ayatollah Khomeini with Muhammed Khatami.
-

8.3 THE INVASION OF KUWAIT BY IRAQ

Until 1930s, the Middle East was dominated by Britain and France. Especially, Kuwait and British relation was high for it was considered as a British autonomous protectorate. In 1961, the 1899 agreement which had given the United Kingdom responsibility to conduct Kuwait’s foreign affairs was officially terminated. And Kuwait achieved independence on June 19, 1961. After its independence this small country was admitted to the Arab League and later established relationship with USA. Of course, right after its independence, Iraq claimed Kuwait so planned to annex and make it part of its realm. Britain sent troops to protect the *amir*. Even the Arab League ordered member countries to contribute contingents to defend Kuwait. In the meantime,

the United Arab Republic, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Jordan sent troops and Kuwait survived. Any how, for its survival Kuwait reinforced a policy of Pan-Arabism and solidarity with Arab causes. But, its commitment on the actions to be taken against Israel led to its distance with the USA. In such a way that, the Arab – Israeli conflict clouded the US- Kuwait relations. However, the relationship was not that much bad.

Until the early 1970s, Britain had much influence in the Gulf. Following the withdrawal of Britain, USA sought the region for its oil resource intended to ensuring the easy access to and safe transport of oil from the region while keeping the Soviets at bay.

Following the end of the Iran –Iraq war, the US government discovered that Saddam used chemical weapons against the Kurds for their collaboration to the Iranians. Again it suspected Iraq for producing mass destructive nuclear weapons. As a result, the US – Iraqi relations changed from bad to worse. Despite such fact, limited cooperation continued between USA and Iraq. For that matter, Iraq was removed from the lists of terrorist- sponsor states so loan was given to her which was invested for the improvement of agricultural activities. But when Iraq violated the sovereignty of Kuwait, the US-Iraq bad relationship ironed out.

For the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, some reasons are forwarded. Previously, OPEC members agreed to produce oil for world market in accordance with the given fixed quota. Arab states, thence, wanted to increase oil price by reducing the production. In spite of this accord, Kuwait began to produce oil more than her quota that annoyed others, particularly Iraq. Again, there was border dispute between Iraq and Kuwait for Iraq claimed territory from Kuwait. Above all, Saddam wanted to incorporate Kuwait into his realm by undermining its sovereignty. To effect this, Iraqi aggressive forces invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990. This is known as the Gulf War. Iraq ordered the closure of diplomatic missions in Kuwait and declared Kuwait as the 19th governorate of Iraq.

The *amir* along his associates fled to Saudi Arabia and urged the UNO for political solution. Soon, this aggression brought internal as well as external opposition to Saddam. The Western governments were shocked. Especially, America was upset because it was assumed that Saddam

would continue to attack Saudi Arabia and then would control the Persian Gulf. Jordan and PLO pledged their support to Saddam. Whereas other Arab states like Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria expressed their opposition to his aggrandizement. In order to protect the world's oil producing area from Saddam, first he was informed by the UN Security Council to withdraw his forces from Kuwait until January 15, 1991. Again a trade embargo was imposed on Iraq. But Saddam refused and the deadline expired. In the mean time, the United States of America defamed Saddam for his violation of Kuwait's right to self – determination and following the request of Saudi Arabia, America deployed its troops and aircraft to Saudi. Besides, it took a vanguard role to mobilise anti – Iraq states. In actual fact, she raised over a half – million troops of her own and other states such as Britain, France, Saudi Arabia, Egypt Syria, the United Arab Emirates Bahrain and Turkey contributed troops. Israel on its part feared Saddam for his use of chemical weapons against its people so ordered its citizens to receive gas masks.

Upon the expiry of the date, on January 17, 1991, a UN backed US-led forces launched anti-Iraq war to liberate Kuwait. The Operation Desert Storm and Operation Desert Shield led by America waged war against the Iraqi forces on January 17, 1991. The ground force was supported by a crushing air attack in early 1991. Strategic installations and air fields were bombarded. Both Iraq and Iraqi- held regions in Kuwait were bombed. Soon, Saddam's scud missile began to storm Tel Aviv and Haifa United States then transported military equipment to Israel. The UN force entered Kuwait triumphically on February 24, 1991. The Iraqi forces being defeated were forced to withdraw. Consequently, the Iraqi government announced that it was ready to accept all the resolutions of the UN Security Council concerning Kuwait that ended the aggression. But Saddam remained in power.

Focus

Saddam Hussien had a plan to occupy Kuwait as his province.

Kuwait member of the OPEC failed to comply with the resolution with regard oil production to world market. By then Saddam ordered his force to annex this state.

Afterwards, the UN Security Council imposed sanction that banned Saddam the manufacture of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction. Again UN dispatched an inquiry

commission to investigate nuclear weapons in Iraq. Saddam obstructed the teams' inspection. America, thence, wanted to dictate Iraq to comply with all United Nations Resolutions. It labeled Iraq's as criminal and irredeemable. This act was rejected by the Islamists. In fact, at first they condemned Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. However, the war led by US government under the pretext of preventing the aggression was viewed by them as an attempt aimed at robbing Arabs' and Muslims' wealth thereby to destroy their power but to maintain Israel's supremacy in the Middle East. They argued that when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, America provided chemical weapons of mass destruction like napalm, phosphorus and fragmentation bombs to kill civilians. Actually, the UN passed a resolution to apply sanction on Israel but the USA voted the measure. In such a way that they seems to be correct since the US government followed inconsistent foreign policy. So, the war seemed to control the oil resources, protect Israel, and maintain us hegemony in the Middle East

Focus

- While Iraq was defamed for possessing mass destruction nuclear weapons and depriving of human rights to its own people, Iran was condemned for its support to terrorism and subversion even its effort to have mass destructive weapons. Later, Libya was added to Iran by the western.
- Iraq had ethnic minority rebellions in the north by the Kurds and by the Shia in the South.

USA was worried by the political crisis that appeared around the Middle East. So, its cooperation with Kuwait increased. On September 19, 1991 a ten – year military defense pact was signed with Kuwait. The objective was to consolidate its presence in the Gulf. In accordance with the treaty, USA would train Kuwait armed forces, sale arms to Kuwait and cost sharing. In return Kuwait would provide logistics for the US naval force, including port facilitate. Later, other Arab states like Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and Saudi Arabia joined this military defense pact fearing the future aggression by other war monger states, particularly Iran. In so doing, the Gulf War polarized divisions in the Arab world.

Activity 8.3

- When was the beginning of US- Kuwait relationship?
 - Which Arab countries opposed the invasion?
 - What is the importance of the formation of the military defense pact?
-

SUMMARY

The Middle East has become a source of international tension since the mid – twentieth century. Islamists centered in this area preferred the revival of ancient religious practices to be practiced by all Muslims through out the world.

In 1979, the Islamic revolutionaries seized power and continued working for the expansion as well as consolidation of Islamic fundamentalism which has little success rather created animosity with other countries.

Obviously, economic modernization and social changes separated people from long –standing local identities. Those who oppose this phenomenon and secularization are labeled “fundamentalists.” Their stand, so far, is entangled with politics and national interests.

Kuwait is a small oil producing country. She allied with America for its security. America which sought to establish hegemony in the oil producing area established strong ties with Kuwait. When Kuwait was invaded, America mobilised other states to protect Kuwait from invasion. After the defeat of the Iraqi forces, Kuwait and other Arab countries formed a military defense pact fearing aggression.

Review Exercises 8

1. What are the major features of fundamentalism?
2. What is Muslim Brother hood and its first objective?
3. Who are members of fundamentalist movements? Why?
4. Who are the Kurds? Where do they live?
5. How Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990?

6. What is the importance of military defense pact for America as well as to the Arab countries?

Check List ✓

Put a tick mark in the boxes under “Yes” or “No”

	Yes	No
- I can state what fundamentalism means	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can mention extreme fundamentalist organizations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can elaborate the causes for Iraq – Iran War	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I understood how the Iraq – Iran War settled	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- I can mention Arab countries which formed the military defense pact with the USA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

ANSWERS FOR EXERCISES**Answers**

1. Japan was the ally of Axis powers. Already the Axis powers were defeated, i.e., Italy in 1943 and Germany in May 1945. Despite the military success of the Allied powers, the militarists in Japan were determined to fight up to the last man the last bullet. Even they conducted Kamikazi (suicidal) action. Thence, to end the war shortly, the American president ordered the air force to drop the atomic bombs which brought success and destruction.
2. He was one of the German Generals who had assured the capitulation of Nazi Germany to the Allied forces on May 8, 1945. Soon, he was captured as one of the war criminals and sentenced to death according to the decision of the Nuremberg court.
3. It is one of the UNO Sub-agencies. It was founded in 1946. It was organized for the purposes of promoting cooperation among the world countries to facilitate educational, scientific and cultural activities. It supported countries with finance, material and skilled man power aimed at preserving heritages and transmitting ideas for the posterity.
4. In 1951 Eritrea which had been under the British rule as Enemy occupied Territory was federated with Ethiopia. In 1960 the British Somaliland Italian-Somaliland joined together to form independent state of Somalia.
5. Obviously, China was as one of the founding members of the UNO and veto powers. When the communists led by Mao Zedong seized power by purging the Pro-American leader Chiang Shai Sheik in 1949, America declined to recognize the new government. So that the place of China was replaced by Formosa (now Taiwan). By 1971 American relation with communist China was improved. Soon America allowed China to take (exiled) government centered at Taiwan.

Answers 2

1. Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Albania, which are more or less countries located between the ex-USSR and Germany
2. Nationalization of private properties and collectivization of farmlands.
3. It was a military alliance organized by Soviet Union and its satellites in May 1955. Its main objective was to establish security and unity of the communist regimes against American aggression.
4. Greece and Turkey were under British influence. Obviously, the Second World War eroded away the greatness of Britain. Local communists in Greece and Russia against Turkey created anxiety. Britain failed to assist these governments. The American government devised a programme known as “Truman Doctrine” proceeded in assisting these governments. The American government devised a programme known as “Truman Doctrine” proceeded in assisting these governments materially and financially so as to enable the governments in their power. At last, Greece and Turkey survived.
5. Molotov was the Russian Foreign Minister Moscow prevented its satellites no to take part in the Marshall plan. As of 1955, the Molotov plan was launched to create collaboration among communist states. It was nominal because practically the plan benefited the interest of Moscow.

Answers 3

1. These personalities were John-F-Kennedy in 1963, Martin Luther king and Senator Robert Kennedy and his Attorney General in 1968. Kennedy was assassinated when he competed for his second term presidential election king was assassinated when he organized mass strike hoped to assure the blacks’ civil rights. Senator Robert Kennedy was assassinated during his effort for presidential election.
2. Black Americans started living in America since the sixteenth century. There was discrimination due to their colour and African origin. To end their racial discrimination, blacks united and demanded the American presidents for equality. Essentially, blacks were to be seated in a separate seat in a single vehicle-Rosa park

once violated this rule and sat on seat reserved for a white. Then she was arrested by a police for defying the established “American apartheid.”

3. The nationalized industries included coal mining, transport i.e. railways, canals, London’s buses and tube trains, and long distance road haulage and steel industry. The electricity and gas industries were also confiscated by the government.
4. In late 1950s, France was in great political chaos. The French then needed a strong man to lead it. Charles was invited to seize power. He planned to end Algerian crisis through negotiation. A secret organization called OAS refused the decision so plotted to assassinate De Gaulle. When the army refused to follow the rebel generals, the plot failed and its leaders ended up in prison. This group fiercely resisted his rule.
5. The Post-war Italian politics was dominated by the Christian Democratic Party. But by late and early 1970s, communists had become strong rivals to this party. They had significant number of followers. Surprisingly enough, members were against the Russian government rather were infavour of the western governments. Partly there were successful because some influential communists held key positions in the Italian cities.

Answers 4

1. African fighters during the Second World War were enlightened. They were experienced in warfare tactics and had become familiarize with the notion of nationalism and liberty. Soon after their return to their homelands, they thought of freedom. To assure they organized national liberation movement which were well-organized and stronger ever before with the best leaders.
2. Subcontinent India was under British rule until 1947. When the British promised for independence, the Hindus preferred a unified India but the Muslims feared domination by the majority Hindus so wanted separation. When it was decided to be partitioned, refugees began to flee across the borders. As they went, they were attacked by fanatics of the religion. At the same time they were uprooted from their original homeland.
3. Since independence, Pakistan had political problem- Leaders were impotent to govern the people by maintaining pace and order worried army officers organized a

coup and removed the civilian politicians from power. The commander – in – Chief General Ayubkhan made himself president of Pakistan and introduced reforms and outlawed political parties.

4. Pakistan was made of two disconnected regions, i.e. West Pakistan and East Pakistan. East Pakistani aspired for their own independent state. In 1971, national liberation movement led by Sheik M-Rahman was organized. The rebel leaders proclaimed a new state of Bangladesh. The Pakistani government sent troops to suppress the movement by arresting the movement leaders. Civil war broke out. Many refugees poured across the border into India. India on the side of Bangladesh declared war on Pakistan. Pakistan was soon defeated and Bangladesh became recognized in 1971.

Exercises 5

1. Ho Chi Minh was a Vietnamese who had western exposure. Even had been in Moscow and China. More than the western democracy, he was pro-socialism. During the Second World War, he returned to Vietnam, organized his fellowmen to fight for independence-Right after the withdrawal of the Japanese, he established a communist regime in Northern Vietnam. To defend Northern Vietnam from the French, the Vietnamese fought and retained their sovereignty and ideology. Then after, he continued his effort to unify Vietnam under a communist rule but died in 1969.
2. The Vietcong were communist bands who worked for the unification of South Vietnam with North Vietnam. They had headquarters from Hanoi so were encouraged, trained and armed by the government of North Vietnam. They applied guerrilla warfare tactics to disturb the government of South Vietnam.
3. By the end of 1974, the North Vietnam force and the Vietcong invaded South Vietnam. By 1975, they effectively defeated their rivals in the South because the South Vietnam forces were poorly led and armed. After their complete defeat and the capture of Siagon, communists proclaimed the unification of North and South Vietnam.

4. Mao wanted to increase industrial goods and agricultural out put. By 1958 a new economic plan known as the Great Leap Forward was launched. Again Mao suspected his colleagues as if they lacked revolutionary zeal. So in 1966 he launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution claimed at reasserting the primary of Marxist Leninist doctrine against 'revisionist' tendencies thereby keeping the revolutionary enthusiasm alive.
5. Mao who ruled China for twenty-seven years died in 1976. Following his death, there was power struggle for succession. Above all, his widow organized the so-called the 'Gang of Four's' to seize power but aborted. The new leaders opened a new era prisoners were released; western governments were invited to invest their capital in China.
6. Korea until 1945 was under Japanese control. When the Japanese were defeated the Northern part was occupied by the Russian army who encouraged the ruling group to establish pro-Soviet government. The South was under the control of the Allied forces notably by American forces. By agreement Korea was divided into two by the 38^o parallel.
7. Castro who was a left-wing lawyer after his assumption of power nationalized foreign and domestic-owned enterprises. For it seemed socialist-oriented reforms dissatisfaction emerged among the Cubans and the American government.

Answers 6

1. Zionism was a movement that symbolized the Jewish nationalism. It was a movement organized by an Austrian Jew called Theodore Harzl in 1897. Its aim was to resettle all the Jews in Palestine around Mount Zion.
2. The Middle East was under Ottoman Turkish rule until the First World War. During the war, Britain established its influence in the area. In order to obtain the Jews to Palestine. In the inter-war period the Palestine Arabs tolerated the coming of Jews to Palestine for their in significant number. But by late 1930s, Jews persecuted by Nazis moved to Palestine with large numbers. This condition alarmed the Arabs and opposed British Policy. Soon in order to secure the Arabs support against Nazi Germany, Britain forbade the immigration.

3. Suez canal serves as a path for international trade. By 1956 the last British contingents withdrew from the Canal Zone. The Egyptians seized the canal. Hoping to increase the revenue of Egypt thereby to oust the European shareholder. Nassir nationalized it. Soon the Suez Crisis broke out. The British government, the chief partner, i.e., held almost half of the shares in the Suez Canal Company decided to invade Egypt and depose Nassir. France disappointed by Nassir's action for he had assisted the Algerian rebels wanted to punish him. Israel, which was frequently raided by Egyptian commandos, saw the event as an opportunity to strike against the Egyptian force. Within a short time Israel secured crushing victory. Anglo-French aircraft bombarded Egyptian airfields. At last president Eisenhower opposed the use of force. Even the USSR and the UNO condemned the aggression so a ceasefire took place that ended the Suez War.
4. Nassir was a professional soldier who had fought bravely against the Jews in 1948 war. He along with General Neguib took power by ousting king Farouk in Egypt. He planned to modernize Egypt, fanned Arab nationalism and aspired Egypt to be a leading country in the Arab World.
5. Egypt and Syria on February 7, 1958.
6. Yom Kippur or the Day of Atonement is a Jewish religious day. All the Jews ask God for forgiveness of their sins. In order to withdraw Israelis from the lands captured by the six-day war, Anwar Sadat launched a sudden invasion of Israel in October 1973 during the Jewish religious festival.
7. It is the PLO uprising against Israel. Literally it means, "shaking off" the Zionist Yoke). It began in Gaza when an Israeli truck collided with two cars, killing four Palestinian refugees.

Answers 7

1. During his tenure Stalin elevated the international status of Russia as a military giant, possessing powerful weapons and agriculturally as well as industrially strong through intimidation and coercion methods.
2. Joseph Tito of Yugoslavia defeated the Nazis almost single-handed. He again defied Stalinist Russia and pursued nationalist policies but quarrelled with Stalin. Those

nationalist leaders in eastern Europe were perceived by Stalin as potential enemies and were labeled ‘Titoism.’ A case in point, Gomluka and Kadar were imprisoned for Titoism.

3. Khrushchev’s serious attack on Stalin’s foreign policy and the destalinization process brought momentum surprise to Soviet satellite states. Notably the Poles and Hungarians were forefront to be involved in uprising. Anti- Soviet demonstrations took place; hard-line Soviet officials were removed from power; reforms were introduced to meet in people’s demand. However the Russian tanks rolled in Warsaw and Budapest to crush the uprising.

4. Yuri Andro Pov and Constantine Cherneko.

5. Perestrioka meaning restructuring, Glasnost meaning frankness or greater openness. Perestroika aimed to recognize the political and economic system of Soviet Union internally and externally. Glasnost aimed to encourage people to comment on government policies and leaders freely and able them to speak their mind.

6. Gorbachev while he was on vacation in Crimea, hard-line communists who had been disappointed with his reforms organized a coup and took power. The Moscow dwellers opposed the political power take over by force so rallied against the coup makers. The coup leader fled from Moscow but captured. Gorbachev returned Moscow triumphantly to rule the USSR with his enlightened mind but failed to succeed.

7. M. Gobachev, W. Jaruzeski, Janos Kadar, E. Hnecker, T. Zhivkov, N. Ceausescu.

Answers for 8

1. Intolerance, separatism, and objecting the blending of cultural practices in this dynamic world.
2. It was an Islamic movement aimed at purifying by practicing the old religious practices.
3. Young and educated ones who sought new. They could be easily manipulated for they had no deeply rooted feelings.
4. These are minorities that live in different countries. They live in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran

5. Iraq wanted to annex Kuwait as part of .The after border dispute continued with out solving their disagreement Kuwait produced much oil production by disregarding the OPEC decision. Annoyed by this, Iraq declared war.
6. In the Middle East both Iran and Iraq were feared by other Muslim countries. To avoid such hardship these worried countries got the chance of American protection. America on its part wanted to establish friendship in the Gulf.

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