

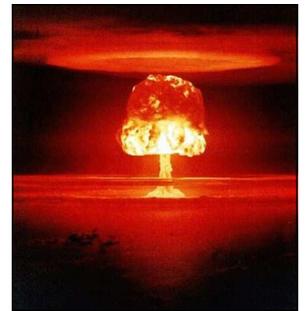


Lycée Evariste Galois

Terminale OIB  
Handbook

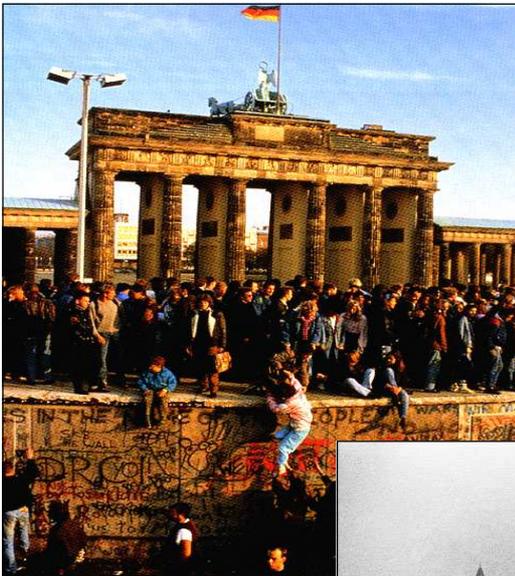
History

2008-2009





# Cold War 1945 - 1991



## Few Cold War signs

- **ABM** : Anti Ballistic Missile treaty
- **CIA** : Central Intelligence Agency
- **COMECON** : Abbrev. Council for Mutual Economic Assistance ; Also known as CMEA
- **FBI** : Federal Bureau of Investigation
- **ICBM** : Intercontinental Ballistic Missile ; **IRBM** : Intermediary Range Ballistic Missile
- **INF** : **Intermediate**-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (ended the Euro missiles crisis in 1989)
- **KGB** (transliteration of "КГБ") is the Russian-language abbrev. for **State Security Committee**
- **NATO** : North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- **NSA** : National Security Agency
- **NSC** : National Security Council
- **Politburo** is short for *Political Bureau*. A *Politburo* is the executive organization for a number of political parties, most notably for Communist Parties.
- **SALT** : Strategic Armament Limitation Talks
- **SDI** : Strategic Defence Initiative
- **SLBM** : Sea Launched Ballistic Missile
- **START** : Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
- **USSR** : Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
- **Warsaw Pact** or **Warsaw Treaty**, officially named the **Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance**.

## Timeline of the Cold War

### 1940s

- 1945: February 4-11-- Yalta Conference
- 1945: August 6 -- United States first used atomic bomb in war
- 1945: August 14 -- Japanese surrender
- 1946: March -- Winston Churchill delivers "Iron Curtain" Speech
- 1947: March -- Truman declares active role in Greek Civil War
- 1947: June -- Marshall Plan is announced
- 1948: February -- Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia
- 1948: June 24 -- Berlin Blockade begins
- 1949: July -- NATO ratified
- 1949: May 12 -- Berlin Blockade ends
- 1949: September -- Mao Zedong, a Communist, takes control of China
- 1949: September -- Soviets explode first atomic bomb

### 1950s

- 1950: February -- Joe McCarthy begins Communist witch hunt
- 1950: June -- Korean War begins
- 1953: June 19 -- Rosenberg executions
- 1953: July -- Korean War ends
- 1954: March -- KGB established
- 1954 -- CIA helps overthrow unfriendly regimes in Iran and Guatemala
- 1954: July -- Vietnam split at 17th parallel
- 1955: May -- Warsaw Pact formed
- 1956: October - November -- Rebellion put down in Communist Hungary. Egypt took control of Suez Canal; U.S. refused to help take it back
- 1957: October 4 -- Sputnik launched into orbit

- 1958: November -- Khrushchev demands withdrawal of troops from Berlin
- 1959: January -- Cuba taken over by Fidel Castro
- 1959: September -- Khrushchev visits United States; denied access to Disneyland

#### 1960s

- 1960: May -- Soviet Union reveals that U.S. spy plane was shot down over Soviet territory
- 1960: November -- John F. Kennedy elected President
- 1961: April -- Bay of Pigs invasion
- 1961: July -- Kennedy requests 25% spending increase for military
- 1961: August 13 -- Berlin border closed
- 1961: August 17 -- Construction of Berlin Wall begins
- 1962: -- U.S. involvement in Vietnam increased
- 1962: October -- Cuban Missile Crisis
- 1963: July -- Nuclear Test Ban Treaty ratified
- 1963: November -- President Kennedy assassinated in Dallas, Texas
- 1964: August -- Gulf of Tonkin incident
- 1965: April -- U.S. Marines sent to Dominican Republic to fight Communism
- 1965: July -- Announcement of dispatching of 150,000 U.S. troops to Vietnam
- 1968: August -- Soviet troops crush Czechoslovakian revolt
- 1969: July 20 -- Apollo 11 lands on the moon

#### 1970s

- 1970: April -- President Nixon extends Vietnam War to Cambodia
- 1972: July -- SALT I signed
- 1973: January -- Cease fire in Vietnam between North Vietnam and United States
- 1973: September -- United States helps overthrow Chile government
- 1973: October -- Egypt and Syria attack Israel; Egypt requests Soviet aid
- 1974: August -- President Nixon resigns
- 1975: April 17 -- North Vietnam defeats South Vietnam
- 1979: July -- SALT II signed
- 1979: November -- Shah of Iran overthrown; Iranian Hostage Crisis
- 1979: December -- Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

#### 1980s

- 1983: -- President Reagan proposes Strategic Defense Initiative
- 1983: October -- U.S. troops overthrow regime in Grenada
- 1985: -- Iran-Contra Affair (arms sold to Iran, profits used to support contras in Nicaragua)
- 1985: -- Mikhail Gorbachev ascends to power in Soviet Union
- 1986: -- Gorbachev ends economic aid to Soviet satellites
- 1986: October -- Reagan and Gorbachev resolve to remove all intermediate nuclear missiles from Europe
- 1986: November -- Iran-Contra Affair revealed to public
- 1987: October -- Reagan and Gorbachev agree to remove all medium and short-range nuclear missiles by signing treaty
- 1989: January -- Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan
- 1989: June -- China puts down protests for democracy; Poland becomes independent
- 1989: September -- Hungary announces the settling of free elections
- 1989: November -- Berlin Wall falls
- 1989: December -- Communist governments fall in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Rumania

#### 1990s

- 1990: March -- Lithuania becomes independent
- 1990: May 29 -- Boris Yeltsin elected to presidency of Russia
- 1990: October 3 -- Germany reunited
- 1991: April -- Warsaw Pact ends
- 1991: August -- End of Soviet Union ; Cold War Ends

# Introduction : Leaving the Second World War (1944-1946)

When the war ends in 1945, it is considered as the major turmoil in the world history of the twentieth century with following figures concerning destructions, casualties and civilian atrocities

## **A world in ruins**

At the end of the war, millions of refugees were homeless, the European economy had collapsed, and 70% of the European industrial infrastructure was destroyed.

## **Casualties**

In total, almost 70 million people lost their lives in World War II—almost 20 million soldiers and 50 million civilians (estimates on the precise number vary widely).

- ◆ Allied forces suffered approximately 12.3 million military deaths (of which 8 million were Soviet) and Axis forces 7.2 million (of which 5 million were German).
- ◆ The Soviet Union suffered by far the largest death toll—approximately 28 million Soviets died in total.

## **Civilian impact & atrocities**

The Second World War saw large-scale atrocities aimed against the civilian populations of many of the nations involved. The scale of the atrocities of the Second World War is a key part of the war's legacy, and they have had a lasting impact on world civilisation.

- Germany killed between 11 million and 24 million civilians in deliberate acts of genocide and mass murder. This includes the estimated 11 million lives lost due to the Holocaust, consisting of 6 million Jews and 5 million non-Jews made up of Poles, Roma, homosexuals, communists, dissidents, Afro-Germans, the disabled, Soviet prisoners and others.
- Japan killing around 6 million civilians in areas they occupied,
- and the Soviets approximately 4 million civilians, half of these were from among the Soviet Union's own citizens.
- While British and American forces did not directly massacre civilians, they carried out strategic and atomic bombings against Japanese cities where the industrial facilities were intermixed with the civilian populations, resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths. Allied strategic bombing, including the firestorm bombing of Japanese and German cities including Tokyo, Hamburg and Dresden by Anglo-American forces and the American atomic bombing of two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, likely killed over 400,000 German civilians and between 350,000 and 500,000 Japanese.



All these facts are contributing to the growing idea for the allies that they have to build peace around world cooperation and talks. The USA, USSR, and others are strongly thinking that, once their enemies destroyed or erased, they have to act in this direction. We will explain that very quickly and while they are still finishing the war, their relations will get worse before falling into a clear and direct logic of opposition

## **Plan of the section**

I) An aspiration toward peace

- A) The Yalta conference
- B) The birth of UNO
- C) The denazification

II) Growing tensions

- A) The Soviet choices for Eastern Europe
- B) The Potsdam conference
- C) A clear opposition

## I) An aspiration toward peace

### A) The Yalta conference

One of the main meetings of the Grand Alliance was made in Yalta and has been considered as one of the moments which will settle the post-war world organization.

It was a meeting of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> of February

Four main issues were under discussion :



- **Allied strategy to complete the defeat of Germany** and the terms and ground-rules for the occupation and denazification of Germany
- **Defeat of Japan.** Secret agreements between the USA and the Soviet Union covered the status-quo in Mongolia, and extension of Soviet interests to cover the Kourile Islands and South Sakhalin, in return for Stalin's commitment to enter the war against Japan. Churchill was excluded from this agreement.
- **The "declaration on liberated Europe"** was issued to cover the future settlement in Eastern Europe concerning territory "liberated" and/or "occupied" by the Soviet Red Army. Agreements were reached on the constitution of a Polish Government of National Unity (a combination of the Lublin Committee of Stalin-controlled communist Poles together with the London-based Polish government in exile) and Polish frontiers (Eastern borders with the USSR on the Curzon line).
- **Establishment of a peaceful world order based upon the United Nations**, in which both the US and the USSR would participate, and which should, therefore, be better constituted for its purpose than the League of Nations had been.

There was broad agreement between the Allies on the future of Germany, and approval was given to the plans prepared by the Three Power Commission for occupation zones, different sections of Berlin and for the setting up of the Allied Control Commission. The intention was that Germany and Austria should maintain their national unity.

### B) The birth of UNO



The idea for the United Nations was elaborated in declarations signed at the wartime Allied conferences in Moscow, Cairo, and Tehran in 1943.

United States president Franklin D. Roosevelt suggested the name "United Nations" and the first official use of the term occurred on January 1, 1942 with the Declaration by the United Nations.

From August to October 1944, representatives of France, the Republic of China, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the USSR met to elaborate the plans at the Dumbarton Oaks Estate in Washington, D.C. Those and later talks produced proposals outlining the purposes of the organization, its membership and organs, as well as arrangements to maintain international peace and security and international economic and social cooperation.

## Main accusations

The International Military Tribunal was opened on October 18, 1945, in the Supreme Court Building in Berlin. The prosecution entered indictments against 24 major war criminals and six criminal organizations - the leadership of the Nazi party, the SS and SD, the Gestapo, the SA and the High Command of the German army (OKW). The indictments were for:

- ◆ Conspiracy to commit crimes against peace
- ◆ Planning, initiating and waging wars of aggression
- ◆ **War crimes**
- ◆ **Crimes against humanity** : acts of murderous persecution against a body of people, as being the criminal offence above all others.



## II) Growing tensions

### A) The Soviet choices for Eastern Europe

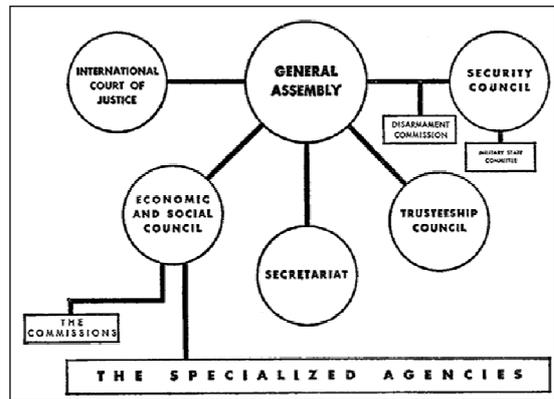
At Yalta, the allies had signed a joint declaration calling for the establishment of broadly representative governments as interim government and the conduct of free elections in all of Germany's ex-satellites. However at the very moment he was assuring the West of his democratic intentions, Stalin was working towards the elimination of democracy in Eastern Europe :

- ◆ Use of the Allied Control Commissions set up to oversee the implements of armistice terms with Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary
- ◆ High ranked soviet generals as leaders, and used for the promotion of soviet interests
- ◆ Stalin had emphasised the need for the USSR to increase its security through the establishment of friendly governments in the countries along the west borders (which was recognized as a legitimate demand). They were prepared to accept an increase of the soviet influence over the external relations of its immediate European neighbours, but did not consider this incompatible with the applications of democratic principles in domestic policies.
- ◆ In contrast the Soviet view was that security could only be archived through the establishment of governments that shared its own ideological outlook. In consequence the Soviet authorities backed the efforts of the local communist parties to secure a leading position in government.
- ◆ Communist popularity increased by the anti German resistance but nowhere did they hold a parliamentary majority and so had to participate in coalition governments. In direct communication with Moscow, the east European communists used a range of violent methods to gain dominance over the other political parties and gradually eliminate them from effective government.
  - February 1945 : pro soviet coup d'état was carried in Romania
  - July 1945 : a communist dominated government installed in Poland

### B) First difficulties : the Potsdam conference

The Potsdam Conference (Berlin), from the 16<sup>th</sup> of July to 2 of August 1945, was the final meeting of the Grand Alliance. It was attempted by Churchill, Stalin and Truman. Attlee accompanied Churchill who left the conference on 26<sup>th</sup> of July after his electoral defeat.

- Every nation will be represented in the General Assembly
- Five permanent members would constitute the Security Council, along with temporary delegates from other nations.
- Each major power could veto Security Council decisions
- The agreements were the bases for the drafting of the UN charter at the conference in San Francisco.



On April 25, 1945, the United Nations Conference on International Organizations began in San Francisco. In addition to the Governments, a number of non-government organizations, were invited to assist in the drafting of the charter. The 50 nations represented at the conference signed the Charter of the United Nations two months later on June 26. The UN came into existence on October 24, 1945, after the Charter had been ratified by the five permanent members of the Security Council — Republic of China, France, the Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and the United States — and by a majority of the other 46 signatories.

### C) The denazification

One of the conditions to restore a long term peace was to get rid of all the people and institutions which had been involved in the declaration and implementation of the war, as well as the major atrocities against man kind

The **Nuremberg Trials** is the general name for two sets of trials of Nazis involved in World War II and the Holocaust. The trials were held in the German city of Nuremberg from 1945 to 1949. The first and most famous of these trials was the **Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal** or IMT, which tried twenty-four of the most important captured (or still believed to be alive) leaders of Nazi Germany. It was held from November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946.



#### Creation of the court

At the meetings in Tehran (1943), Yalta (1945) and Potsdam (1945), the three major wartime powers USA, USSR and Britain agreed on the format to punish those responsible for war-crimes during World War II. France was also awarded a place on the tribunal.

The legal basis for the trial was established by the 'London Charter', issued on August 8, 1945, which restricted the trial to "trial and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis countries". Thus, accusations of Allied war crimes could not be tried. Some 200 German war crimes defendants were tried at Nuremberg, and 1,600 others were tried under the traditional channels of military justice. The legal basis for the jurisdiction of the court was that by the Instrument of Surrender of Germany, political authority for Germany had been transferred to the Allied Control Council which having sovereign power over Germany could choose to punish violations of international law and the laws of war.

Issues covered included :

- Allied Control Commission for Germany (Britain and USA already felt Germany should be treated as an economic entity meaning unified control of the German economy, with free exchanges between zones)
- Reparations : question quite complicated because each zone controlled by the allies had not the same economic orientation and the Soviet which had already transferred all the industrial installations from their zone demanded more from the others
- Poland's government and borders : acceptance of the Western Neisse as Poland's border with Germany (which involved the transfer of German refugees). In return they extracted pledges on free elections, press freedom and the repatriation of Polish forces
- The existence of the atomic bomb was revealed to Stalin (who already knew, but Churchill and Truman did not know that he knew)
- Britain also wanted an early settlement with Italy and to retain influence on the future of South Eastern Europe

The Allies failed to agree at Potsdam :

- A basis for a future European peace treaty
- An accepted settlement on the future of Poland
- A settlement on the future of Germany



### C) A clear opposition

September 1945, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov went as far as to insist that the USSR had the right to determine unilaterally the political complexion of the post-war governments in Eastern Europe. For the British and American it was a clear breach in the terms of the Yalta Declaration.

Furthermore the Western countries were looking at the consolidation of the communist power as a way to transform eastern Europe into a Soviet stronghold, which could be used as a springboard for the extension of Soviet influence in the adjoining areas.

Proofs of such behaviour were found in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean :

- Acting in 1946 in **Persia** with the stay of Red Army troops installed there during World War Two and staying longer than the war agreements said
- **Situation in Greece** : elections carried out under British supervision in March 1946 ; victory of the right wing populist Party ; beginning of an insurrection led by the communist forces. No direct involvement of the SU as Stalin had promised to Churchill in Yalta but public criticism of British handling of the Greek affairs (question even raised at the UN General Assembly)
- **Pressure since 1945 over Turkey** : demand of a revision of the Friendship treaty between the two countries, giving more power to the SU for the control of the straits in war time but also peace time. Refusal of Turkey and denunciation of the treaty by the Soviet, even ready to invade the country. US and UK pressure to stop such action.

>>>> Churchill address on the Iron curtain at Fulton, MI, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of march.

# Documents (1945-1946)

- 1) Yalta final statement extracts
- 2) Indictment presented to the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg
- 3) The Manchester Guardian over the outcome of the Potsdam Conference.
- 4) Map of Europe in 1946
- 5) Churchill 'Iron Curtain speech'

## Extract from the Yalta final statement

**Source : Foreign Relations of the United States. Tome B: The Conference at Malta and Yalta 1945. Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1955, pp.968-975. Copyright : United States of America Government Printing Office**

### IV : United Nations Conference

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a Conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States on April 25th, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Government of China and the Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the Conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

### V : Declaration on liberated Europe

We have drawn up and subscribed to a Declaration on liberated Europe. This Declaration provides for concerting the policies of the three Powers and for joint action by them in meeting the political and economic problems of liberated Europe in accordance with democratic principles. The text of the Declaration is as follows:

[...] They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter — the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live — the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (a) to establish conditions of internal peace; (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed people; (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and

*(Suite page 12)*

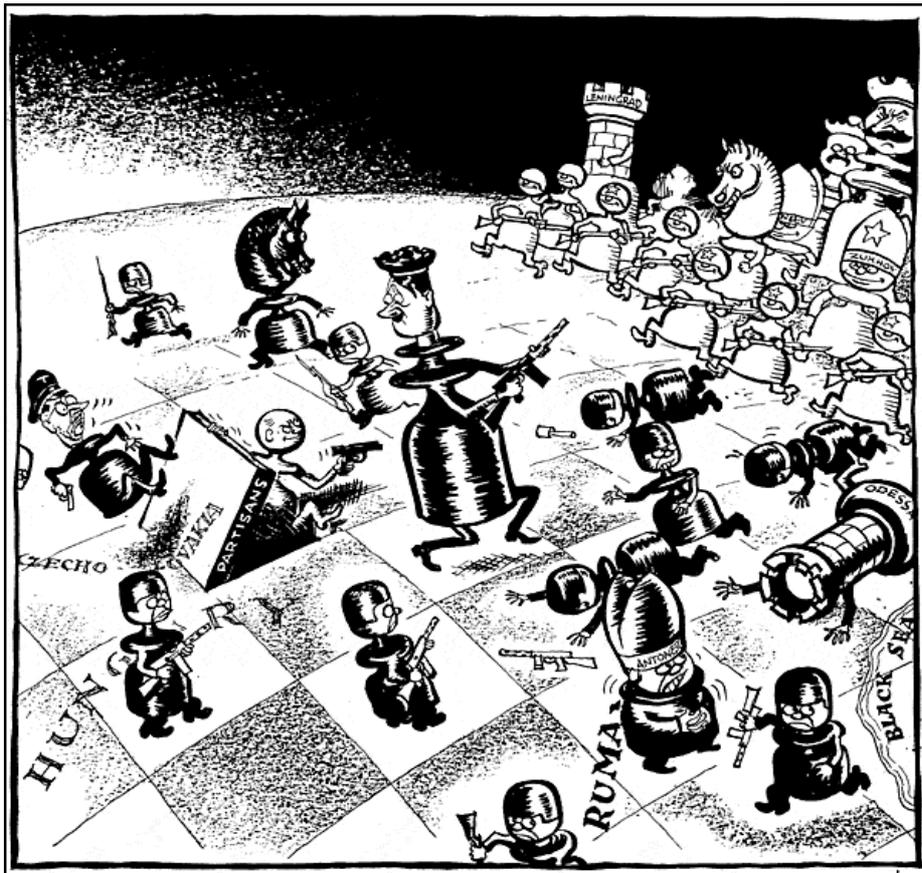
(d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations, and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace loving nations a world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the Three Powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.



Source : [http://www.illgc.org.uk/illingworth/illingworth\\_s040.htm](http://www.illgc.org.uk/illingworth/illingworth_s040.htm)

## Indictment presented to the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg, 18 October 1945)

**Source :** Indictment presented to the International Military Tribunal sitting at Berlin on 18th October 1945. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, November 1945, pp.2-50. Copyright : Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office and the Queen's Printer for Scotland

### INDICTMENT

I. The United States of America, the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the undersigned, Robert H. Jackson, Francois de Menthon, Hartley Shawcross and R. A. Rudenko, duly appointed to represent their respective Governments in the investigation of the charges against and the prosecution of the major war criminals, pursuant to the Agreement of London dated 8th August, 1945, and the Charter of this Tribunal annexed thereto, hereby accuse as guilty, in the respects hereinafter set forth, of Crimes against Peace, War Crimes, and Crimes against Humanity, and of a Common Plan or Conspiracy to commit those Crimes, all as defined in the Charter of the Tribunal, and accordingly name as defendants in this cause and as indicted on the counts hereinafter set out: HERMANN WILHELM GÖRING, RUDOLF HESS, JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP, ROBERT LEY, WILHELM KEITEL, ERNST KALTENBRUNNER, ALFRED ROSENBERG, HANS FRANK, WILHELM FRICK, JULIUS STREICHER, WALTER FUNK, HJALMAR SCHACHT, GUSTAV KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, KARL DÖNITZ, ERICH RAEDER, BALDUR VON SCHIRACH, FRITZ SAUCKEL, ALFRED JODL, MARTIN BORMANN, FRANZ VON PAPEN, ARTUR SEYSS INQUART, ALBERT SPEER, CONSTANTIN VON NEURATH AND HANS FRITZSCHE, individually and as members of any of the Groups or Organizations next hereinafter named. [...]



### COURT ONE : THE COMMON PLAN OR CONSPIRACY

#### III. Statement of the Offense

All the defendants, with divers other persons, during a period of years preceding 8th May, 1945, participated as leaders, organizers, instigators or accomplices in the formulation or execution of a common plan or conspiracy to commit, or which involved the commission of, Crimes against Peace, War Crimes, and Crimes against Humanity, as defined in the Charter of this Tribunal, and, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, are individually responsible for their own acts

and for all acts committed by any persons in the execution of such plan or conspiracy. The common plan or conspiracy embraced the commission of Crimes against Peace, in that the defendants planned, prepared, initiated and waged wars of aggression, which were also wars in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances. In the development and course of the common plan or conspiracy it came to embrace the commission of War Crimes, in that it contemplated, and the defendants determined upon and carried out, ruthless wars against countries and populations, in violation of the rules and customs of war, including as typical and systematic means by which the wars were prosecuted, murder, ill treatment, deportation for slave labor and for other purposes of civilian populations of occupied territories, murder and ill treatment of prisoners of war and of persons on the high seas, the taking and killing of hostages, the plunder of public and private property, the wanton destruction of cities, towns, and villages, and devastation not justified by military necessity. The common plan or conspiracy contemplated and came to embrace as typical and systematic means, and the defendants determined upon and committed, Crimes against Humanity, both within Germany and within occupied territories, including murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against civilian populations before and during the war, and persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, in execution of the plan for preparing and prosecuting aggressive or illegal wars, many of such acts and persecutions being violations of the domestic laws of the countries where perpetrated. [...]

**On 3 August 1945, the British daily newspaper The Manchester Guardian casts a critical eye over the outcome of the Potsdam Conference.**

Source : "Potsdam", in The Manchester Guardian. 03.08.1945. Copyright © GUARDIAN www.guardian.co.uk

The Potsdam Declaration is a formidable document. Twice as long as the Crimean Declaration, it is on the whole less wordy. One has a feeling that this time the Big Three were more careful not to pretend agreement where there was none and to take refuge in noble-sounding phrases. The cynical will note that the word "democracy" is still made to work overtime without any attempt to define it, but that, perhaps, is inevitable and it would be wrong to assume that its use is insincere. There are still passages of surpassing ambiguity, such as the one in which the three Governments "have no doubt that in view of the changed conditions resulting from the termination of the war in Europe representatives of the Allied press will enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon develop-



ments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland." One would have welcomed a little more conviction. Another curious paragraph states that the Allied Control Commissions in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary are to be revised "on the basis of Russian proposals" without giving any hint as to what these proposals are. There are also many obvious omissions. Those who expected a declaration on Japan will be disappointed, though they may take comfort from the sly remark, put in almost as an afterthought, that the Chiefs of Staff of the three Governments discussed "military matters of common interest."

But the Declaration will stand or fall on the policy which it outlines for Germany. It must be said at once that as expressed in the text this policy is more sensible and more liberal, and more humane than might

have been expected. There is to be at last a "co-ordinated Allied policy" with a Central Allied Council. Germany is not to be partitioned or destroyed or reduced to the level of a peasant State. She is to be punished. Indeed she is being punished, for "chaos and suffering are inevitable." But she is also to be given the opportunity for reconstruction and return to a decent, democratic life. Militarism and Nazism are to be utterly destroyed (even clubs and associations which "serve to keep alive the military tradition in Germany" are to be abolished), but all democratic parties will be "allowed and encouraged throughout Germany"; local self-government is to be restored through elective councils; free trade unions are to be permitted; and there is to be freedom of speech, press, and religion. The German people, moreover, are to be given an immediate share in their own government in region, province, and State. For the moment there is to be no central German Government, though one is envisaged eventually, but there will be certain essential central German administrative departments under the Allied Central Council for such things as finance, transport, communications, foreign trade, and industry. This is wise, for only a central administration can hope to defeat famine in Germany this winter. There are, of course, some "ifs" and "buts." Military security must be safeguarded, and there is a weakness for the mystical word "eventually." But on the whole, and provided that the economic clauses make it possible (which is less certain), the Declaration offers the German people a fair chance of salvation.

[...]. The duty of the Council, which will meet in September, will be to prepare for the Peace Conference and its first task to prepare peace treaties with the defeated countries. In this Italy is to be given priority as a reward for her services to the Allied cause and as recognition of her new democracy. This, however, is unlikely to save her former colonies, whose disposal will also be discussed at the September meeting. When peace treaties have been signed with the enemy countries, they will be admitted to membership of the United Nations, as also will the neutral States — with one exception. General Franco's regime in Spain does not "in view of its origin, its nature, its recent and its close association with the aggressor States provide the qualifications necessary to justify such membership." There is a hearty ring of unanimity about these words which is missing from the sections on certain other European countries — notably Austria and Poland. It must be admitted that with the exception of the sections on Germany there is not much in the declaration to justify the hope that the Big Three have yet agreed on a common policy for Europe.



## Churchill "Iron Curtain" speech

*In 1946, Winston Churchill delivered his "Iron Curtain" speech to an audience at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. Although today it is regarded as one of the most influential speeches of the period, the speech was not well received at the time. Some thought Churchill was seeking an Anglo-Saxon alliance against the Soviet Union -- something the general American public felt unnecessary at the time.*



### THE SINEWS OF PEACE

Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri

[...] From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone -- Greece with its immortal glories -- is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed of are now taking place. The communist parties, which were very small in all these eastern states of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy.

Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are being made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-communist party in their zone of occupied Germany by showing special favors to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British armies withdrew westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles upon a front of nearly 400 miles, in order to allow our Russian allies to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western democracies had conquered.

If now the Soviet government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the Western democracies. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts -- and facts they are -- this is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

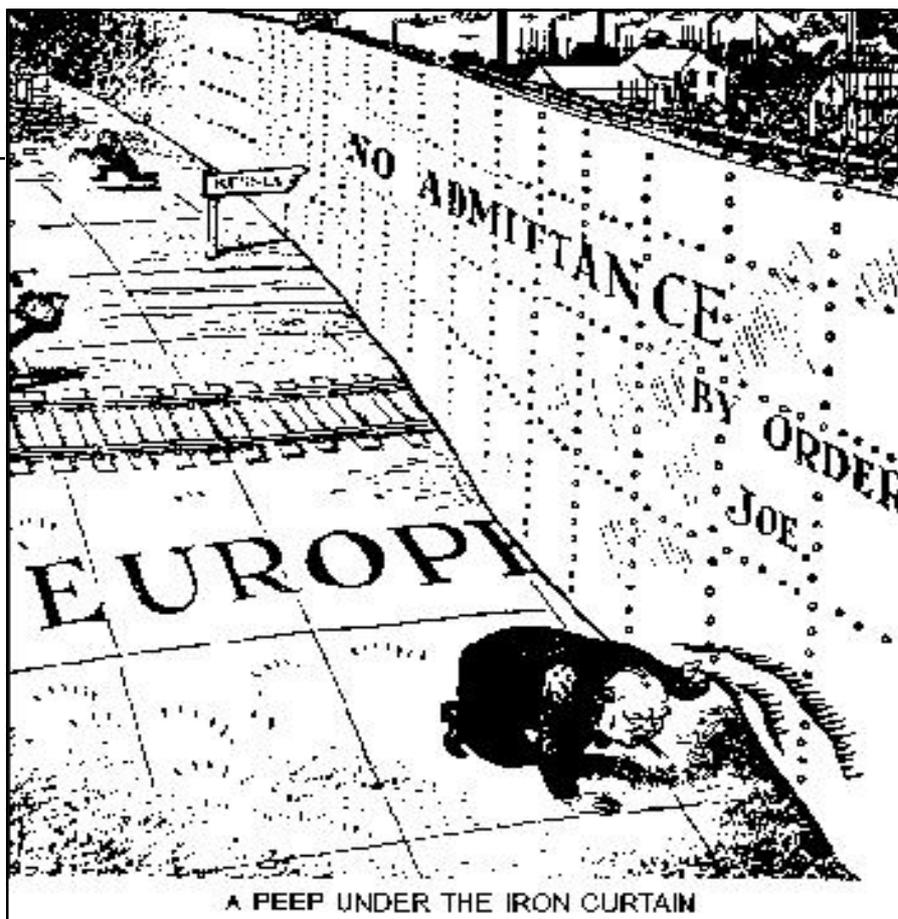
[...] In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist Party is seriously hampered by having to support the communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now. However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, communist fifth columns are established and work in

*(Suite page 17)*

complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the communist center. [...]

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further 18 months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well-informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

[...] From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If however they become divided or falter in their duty and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all. [...]



The Cold War era  
from Containment  
to Détente  
(1947-1975)

# I) The settling of the two blocks

## A) Mutual disrupt

From 1946 onward, Winston Churchill was one of the first to denounce the existence of an “Iron curtain” separating the European continent into two parts. Even if the USSR and the UK had fought together against Nazism, W. Churchill was nonetheless conscious that the Communists **had not taken power in a democratic way in Eastern Europe**. His opinion reinforced Americans in their mistrust towards Soviets and the “Red Peril”, even if both countries were members of the UN’s Security Council.

Another warning was sent by George Kennan, an official in the US Embassy in Moscow, and was instrumental in changing attitude. **On February 22 he sent the State Department a telegram which**

In the Telegram, Kennan argued that Russian rulers had always been weak and exerted limited authority over their people. Therefore they needed to invent an external enemy in order to unite the Russian people behind them. The enemy was the West. Facing their fear of an invasion from that side, their response was to fix Russian borders as far west as possible. Adding some consideration over ideology, he concluded that a communist Soviet Union was inevitably expansionist and hostile to the West.

**offered an historical analysis of the motives of Russian foreign policy.** His telegram encouraged Truman to define the USSR as an enemy and prompted a much clearer and tougher policy toward the Soviets

The Red Army crowned with glory for its resistance to the Nazis, was indeed powerful. The USSR had spread its political influence. **For its**

**Bretton Woods Agreement**: elaborated by the British economist J M Keynes and the American Harry White, the agreements were signed by 45 countries on July, 22nd 1944. Their main goal was to develop international trade. The dollar became convertible into gold

**part, the USSR also feared American expansionism. Owing**

**to the Bretton Woods Agreement,** the American economy grew stronger, while the creation of the UN strengthened America’s diplomatic clout.

## B) Two opposing doctrines

In March 1947, President H. Truman developed the doctrine of containment. He wanted to stop the spread of communism by creating a sort of “sanitary cordon” in Europe. According to him, the American model was the guarantee of freedom against the oppression and terror of the Soviet regime.

Convinced that poverty nourished totalitarianism, **The Secretary of State proposed on June 5<sup>th</sup> 1947 a massive programme of economic assistance for the**

### George Frost Kennan 1904-2005



He was an American advisor, a diplomat, a political scientist and historian. He’s been studying in Europe so that he could speak German and Russian and other languages such as French.

In 1933, he accompanied William C. Bullitt to Moscow. In July 1944 to April 1946, he’s the deputy head of US mission in Moscow.

He sent the “long telegram” to James Byrnes in 1946 where he proposes him a new strategy to handle diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. This Long telegram was well received in Washington and hundreds of copies circulated within the administration. The warnings he makes would be use for the Truman Doctrine, based on this document.

In June 1947, he wrote The Sources of Soviet Conduct, under the name “X”, in which he explains Stalin’s policy and aims, he proposed *Containment* for protection. Between April 1947 and December 1948 he participated to the build-up of the Marshall Plan.

In 1949 *Containment* is over, a new policy based on nuclear weapons appeared, he lost his influence on the government during this period. He’s then ambassador in Moscow and in Yugoslavia. He finished his life with a literary career in USA getting twice the Pulitzer price.

In 1948, after the Czech “coup” the Congress granted the President \$17 billions which was to be distributed to the participating countries. Between 1948 and 1952, 13 billions were spent as aid.

**countries of western Europe. It was known as the Marshall Plan** and proposed large dollar grants which western European states would use to purchase food, raw materials and industrial machinery in the USA.

Sixteen countries were interested and in 1948 constituted the **OEEC** (Organization of European Economic Cooperation). **The USSR and its satellite states refused the**



**“imperialist endeavour”** as Stalin considered the Plan as a challenge to Soviet political control over Eastern Europe, and to create an economic empire on their borders. **By the way they produced their own version of the Marshall Plan** (the Molotov plan) which was an attempt to bind the countries of EE and USSR into a single economic area.

**Some month later, Andrei Zhdanov, the Soviet theoretician responsible for ideology, developed a doctrine to mobilize communist forces against the USA and their allied countries.** According to him, Americans were antidemocratic and reactionary colonizers, France and the UK were American’s vassals, whereas the Soviet bloc was antifascist and anti-imperialist. He proposed a new democracy based on communist parties and worker’s movements and set up a new organization to unite them all : **the Cominform**. In March 1947, the French communist had quit the coalition government and its members were asked to act against the Marshall plan by fomenting strikes.

**OEEC** founded in 1948 to coordinate the Marshall Plan for European economic recovery following World War II. Members countries are pledged to work together to promote their economies, to extend aid to underdeveloped and to contribute to the expansion of world trade.

**Cominform** : The Communist Information Bureau ; its functions were to circulate propaganda abroad, liaise with the communist parties of western Europe and assist their attempts to obstruct elected governments.

### C) A bipolar world

It is said that NATO was created first to keep the Russians out, the Germans down and the Americans in”

Since 1947, the world had been divided into two blocks which organized their own networks of alliances and never directly confronted each other. **NATO** (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was created in 1949 to unify the Western block militarily, and united 12 states.

**In 1951, the USA and Japan signed an alliance treaty.**

In **1954 SEATO** (South East Territories Organization) brought together the USA, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

**In 1949, the countries of Central Europe were integrated into the CMEA** (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) so as to develop trade.

**CMEA** : 1949-1991 was an economic organization of Communist countries and a kind of Eastern European equivalent to the European Economic Community.

**In 1950, the USSR and China signed a friendship treaty.**

**The Warsaw Pact, a military alliance under Soviet leadership signed in 1955,** was the communist answer to the integration of the German Federal Republic to NATO.

## II) The core of the tensions

### A) Berlin 1948 –1961

The Western part of the town was occupied by Western military forces although Berlin was located in the Soviet zone.

Moreover, West Berlin received the Marshall aid and a new currency : the Deutsch Mark when the American and the British decided to unite their occupying zone into one, in the perspective of giving back to a German government the responsibility of reorganizing Germany, and so to regain part of their sovereignty without waiting for the hypothetical peace treaty and reunification of the country.

Stalin decided to organize a blockade so that the town would no longer have relations with Western Germany

President Truman organized an air-lift from June 1948 to May 1949. By the end of July 1948, British and US planes were managing to fly into West Berlin an average of 2000 tones of food and raw materials a day. Yet during the winter they managed to send 5600 tons a day in January, and 8000 tons a day in April.

He also transferred 60 B29 bombers to East England. It was assumed at the time that these carried atomic bombs, but in fact it was a bluff, as the modified B29's which could carry them would only arrived in GB in 1949. By doing though he limited the chance of Stalin to use the force to cut the air corridors used for the airlift.



Stalin gave in and by May 12th, the blockade was called off ; the agreement was only made on the organisation of a meeting of Foreign Ministers in Paris to talk about these issues

- Germany was then divided into two parts :
  - ◆ The GFR (German Federal Republic) was created in May 1949 and joined NATO in 1954. The creation did not meant the end of the occupation status, the three countries keeping the final say on West German foreign policy, security questions, exports.
  - ◆ The GDR (German Democratic Republic) was later crated in October 1949 (as the Soviets were willing to keep a chance to create a unique Germany under their wing) and became a member of the Warsaw Pact in 1955.

In 1961, Berlin will b the place of a new crisis, when in on 13<sup>th</sup> of August 1961, N. Khrushchev will accept the creation of a wall around the Western zones in order to stop the massive clandestine migrations westwards (for example on the 12<sup>th</sup> of August only, 4000 refugees had fled ; 19 000 each month since the beginning of the year)

## The Berlin blockade 1948-1949



### Measures to safeguard the Soviet Zone (18 June 1948)

Source : Soviet News, 21/06/1948, n° 1965, p.2

In order to protect the interests of the population and the economy of the Soviet zone and prevent disorganisation of currency circulation, the Soviet Military Administration has been obliged to carry out the following measures in view of the separate currency reform in the Western occupation zones in Germany :

1. To suspend passenger train traffic between the Soviet occupation zone in Germany and the Western zones.
2. To bar entry into the Soviet occupation zone to all automobile and horse transport from all zones, including traffic along the Helmstedt Berlin motor road. Exit from Berlin to the Western zone along the Berlin-Helmstedt motor road will continue in accordance with previous rules.
3. All means of transport, proceeding along the waterways from the Soviet zone to the Western zones and vice versa, must obtain a licence from the chief of the transport department of the Soviet Military Administration and will be allowed passage only after thorough preliminary inspection of cargoes and ships and personal luggage of ship crews.
4. The passage through control points of demarcation lines of persons proceeding on foot from the Western zones to the Soviet occupation zone in Germany with interzonal passes issued in the Western zones is discontinued. Persons proceeding from the Soviet zone to the Western occupation zones in Germany pass through the control points in accordance with previous rules.
5. Freight train traffic will continue unhindered, but on condition of thorough inspection of all cargoes as well as of personal belongings of train crews and train guards.
6. All these instructions come into force as from midnight of June 18

# Hot war in Korea (1950-1953)



## Korean War Casualties



United States	
<b>Killed</b>	54,246
<b>Wounded</b>	103,284
South Korea	
<b>Killed</b>	415,004
<b>Wounded</b>	428,568
United Nations	
<b>Killed and Wounded</b>	15,465
China	
<b>Killed and Wounded</b>	900,000
North Korea	
<b>Killed and Wounded</b>	520,000

## B) The Korea war

### 1) New Communist threats

- Soviet atomic bomb test in August 1949 in Kazakhstan got by spies ; panic for the US Government with the end of the US atomic monopoly ; Arms race priority
- Creation of People's Republic of China (a vast new state exist) which is a disaster for the USA. Suspicion of links with the USSR coming true with a 30 years mutual assistance treaty

### 2) NSC 68

- Document produced by the National Security Council in April 1950
- Objective of US diplomacy : confining communism
- Downfall of the Soviet system itself, and domination of the US (channelling dollars to strategically vital areas and an increase in military strengths (ex : hydrogen bomb) especially through conventional troops deployment in Europe
- NSC 68 is a set of proposals which was initially refused by Truman because it was politically unpopular (taxes and enlargement of the armed forces) but finally accepted because of the Korean war events

### 3) Causes of the Korean war

- Kim's ambition to unite Korea, as it was supposed to be politically done (decision of Potsdam)
- He was thinking the USA will not intervene as Dean Acheson's defence perimeter speech of January 1950 excluded South Korea from a list of countries which the US would automatically defend in the event of aggression.

### 4) Course of Korean war

In June 1950, North Korean forces invaded South, which brought about the intervention of the American army under the command of General Mac Arthur. North Korean aggression with 90000 soldiers and 150 T34 under the leadership of Kim Ill Sung, who wanted to unite the Korean peninsula under communist rule.

US initial response was to rush military supplies to Korea from the units occupying Japan and to sponsor a resolution in the UNSC for a military action (accepted because USSR was not in the SC due to her boycott policy) in June 27<sup>th</sup>, 50.

They manage to obtain a UNO condemnation of the NK aggression and the sending of soldiers from many countries under this resolution of the Security Council. Three days later US troops based in Japan went to Korea

Truman is applying the domino theory "If we let Korea down, the Soviet will keep right on going and swallow up one piece of Asia after another". It's seen as a test of American credibility.

- UN counter offensive from the Pusan defence perimeter

- In September 50, Seoul is captured and then the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel is crossed >> US policy of rollback. The NK are loosing battles on the ground especially after the disembarking of Mc Arthur in September in the bay of Seoul, at Inchon.

- Chinese intervention : The presence of American troops on the Chinese border is seen as a threat to China national security. Mao is fearing threat of a Jiang Seishi 's counter revolution supported by the American. At first volunteers then 260 000 Chinese troops across the Yalu River : 3000 American soldiers killed. Seoul is recaptured in January 1951.



- Stalemate : in February 51 new offensive by Ridgway and in March new offensive which allows the US troops to re cross the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. Stabilisation of the war in this zone. Stalemate. Negotiations but obstacles such as Stalin and the questions of the war prisoners. Armistice finally signed in July 1953. 38<sup>th</sup> parallel is the new boundary.

5) Consequences

- implementation of NSC 68 : development of the armed forces
- Strengthening of NATO : between 51-55, 25 billions given to allies
- Proposal to rearm Western Germany
- Restoration of sovereignty to Japan
- Increased aid to the French in the Indochina war
- Resumption of aid to Taiwan



**Mac Arthur**



**Dean Acheson**

**Harry Truman**

Harry S. Truman was a very popular president, using often several sentences, one of the most famous being : «if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen».

He was born on may, the 8<sup>th</sup>, 1884, and died the day after Christmas, 1972.

He was a farmer and never had any diploma from the university.

The years 1947–48 were distinguished by civil-rights proposals, the Truman Doctrine to contain the spread of Communism, and the Marshall Plan to aid in the economic reconstruction of war-ravaged nations.

Truman's general record, highlighted by a vigorous Fair Deal campaign, brought about his unexpected election in 1948 over the heavily favored Thomas E. Dewey.

Truman's second term was primarily concerned with the cold war with the Soviet Union, the implementing of the North Atlantic Pact, the United Nations police action in Korea, and the vast rearmament program with its accompanying problems of economic stabilization (see NSC 68).



### III) From thaw to Détente

#### A) The thaw

##### 1) Causes

Stalin's death changed the international situation dramatically in 1953.

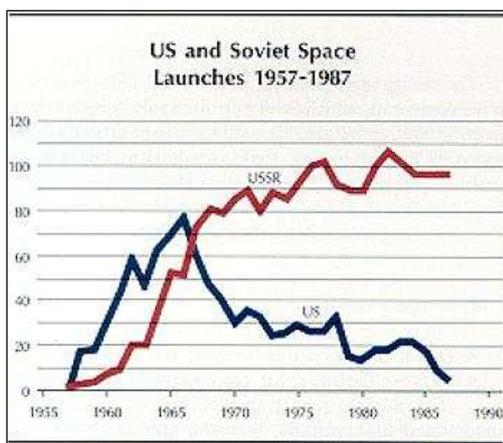
Stalin was denounced by Khrushchev in his speech *On the Personality Cult and its Consequences*, delivered at the closed session of the 20th Party Congress, behind closed doors, after midnight on February 25, 1956. In this speech, Khrushchev described the damages done by Stalin's Personality Cult, and the repressions, known as Great Purges that killed millions and traumatized all people in the Soviet Union.

After the delivery of the speech, it was officially disseminated in a shorter form among members of the Soviet Communist Party across the USSR starting March 5, 1956. Then Khrushchev initiated a wave of rehabilitations that officially restored the reputations of many millions of innocent victims, who were killed or imprisoned in the Great Purges under Stalin. Further, tentative moves were made through official and unofficial channels to relax restrictions on freedom of speech that had been held over from the rule of Stalin. He by the way started the transformation of the leading teams in these countries with less Stalinists hard liners as the ones installed in the 50's.

He also started economic and social reforms to face the difficulties of Soviet economy



##### 2) Impact of K policy on the international relations



Khrushchev's Thaw is known as a temporary thaw in the icy tension between the USA and the USSR.

The base was Khrushchev's theory of peaceful co-existence which believed the two superpowers (USA and USSR) and their ideologies could co-exist together, without war (peacefully). The struggle was to be economic and ideological but no longer military (it will be the period which will see the start of a new competition toward what will be known as the space race).

The tensions were able to thaw also because of US

President Eisenhower's attitude and peace attempts. For example, both leaders attempted to achieve peace by attending the 1955 Geneva International Peace Summit and developing the Open Skies Policy and Quest for Arms Agreement.

K also tried to prove peaceful coexistence by attending international peace conferences, such as the Geneva Sum-



mit, and by traveling internationally, such as his trip to America's Camp David in 1959.

### 3 ) limits of thaw

#### Polish and Hungarian Revolutions of 1956

The first big international failure of Khrushchev's politics came in October-November of 1956.

As part of his destalinization campaign, Khrushchev had put pressure on the Hungarian CP in July to replace its old-style Stalinist leader Rakosi, with the more liberal Gero. In the early autumn the pressure for further change continued to grow. A turning point was reached on 23 October when a large demonstration in Budapest, called in support of the Polish reformers, escalated out of control. Even before he had received a formal request for help, K decided to send in 30 000 troops. A new government under Imre Nagy, was formed. K at first tried to reconcile his pledges to concede greater independence to the satellite states with Soviet security needs. He issued on 30 October the "Declaration on the Principles of Development and a Further Strengthening of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and other Socialist Countries" which attempted to provide a legal and mutually agreed framework for Soviet military bases in Eastern Europe. He also began to pull out the troops from Hungary, but then Nagy, under the pressure of the street threatened the whole foundations of USSR's power in Eastern Europe by announcing that he intended to withdraw Hungary from the Warsaw Pact. He was also planning to share power with non-Communist groups. This step of the crisis has to be seen according to the events occurring in Suez and K then decided that the Soviet Union could not face two set backs for its power and prestige.



The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was brutally suppressed by the massive invasion of the Soviet tanks and the Red Army troops in Budapest after the 4th of November. The street fighting against the invading Red Army caused thousands of casualties among Hungarian civilians and militia. The disastrous attack of the Soviet Red Army also caused massive emigration from Hungary, as hundreds of thousands of Hungarians had fled as refugees. A new government loyal to the USSR under Kadar was installed. K had nothing to fear from Western intervention, as Eisenhower, suspecting that the USSR might be willing to risk war rather than losing Hungary made it absolutely clear to the Soviet leaders that there was no question of American intervention to save Nagy

At the same time, the Polish October emerged as the political and social climax in Poland. Such democratic changes in the internal life of Poland were also perceived with fear and anger in Moscow, where the hard-line "Stalinists" did not want to lose control, fearing the political threat to the Soviet strength and power in Eastern Europe.

The spirit of cooperation was also severely damaged by the U-2 spy plane incident. The Soviet presentation of downed pilot Gary Powers at the May 1960 Paris Peace Summit and Eisenhower's refusal to apologize ended much of the progress of this era.

Then Khrushchev approved the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Further deterioration of the Thaw happened during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

## Focus : The Construction of the Berlin wall (08/13/1961)

After November 1953, Berliners in the western sectors wishing to enter the eastern sector were required to obtain a pass issued by the East German authorities. Despite East Germany's introduction of the offence of "fleeing the Republic", with a penalty of 16 months to 4 years imprisonment, the queues of "people voting with their feet", as the Mayor of Berlin, Ernst Reuter, described them, only got longer. By now there was only a single way out to the West – Berlin, where each day 500 000 inhabitants (border residents, students and stowaways) crossed over to the other side.

Out of 2 700 000 East Germans (including 3 400 doctors, 17 000 teachers and 17 000 engineers) who escaped to West Germany between 1949 and 1961, over 1 600 000, i.e. the equivalent of the entire population of East Berlin, passed through West Berlin.

During the first seven months of 1961, 160 000 left East Germany. Despite claiming on 15th June 1961 that "nobody has any intention of building a wall", Walter Ulbricht was intent on stopping this haemorrhage which endangered the long-term survival of the communist regime.



Tension continued to rise around Berlin, as refugees continued to flock out of East Germany, destabilizing the regime. Ulbricht repeatedly asked Khrushchev for permission to take radical steps. At the meeting of Communist Party heads in Moscow on 5th August, he finally got what he wanted – closure of the border between East and West Berlin. Two days later, Khrushchev announced in a radio broadcast that this "handy escape route" via West Berlin absolutely had to be closed. This disturbing news instilled "fear of the closing door" among would-be escapees, and a further upsurge in the number of refugees – over four thousand on 12th August alone!

Operation "Wall of China" was secretly decided on by Ulbricht and planned by Honecker. It actually began at around 4 p.m. on 12th August, when Ulbricht signed the orders to close the border and sent them on to Honecker. In preparation for this operation, 40 kilometres (25 mi.) of barbed wire and thousands of posts were stored in barracks. The Interior Ministry announced that East German citizens would now need a "special authorization" to enter West Berlin. At midnight, the security services were put on the alert; East Berlin was covered by army units (NVA); 25 000 armed militiamen and the People's Police (Vopos) armed with Kalashnikovs were posted at six-foot intervals along the demarcation line. On 13th August 1961, a holiday Sunday, at 1.11 in the morning, the official East German press agency announced that the Warsaw Pact countries had asked the East German government to set up "effective controls" in and around Berlin. Within an hour, 67 of the 81

crossing points were sealed off, soon followed by another seven. All traffic was stopped between East Germany and West Berlin. The underground and the S-Bahn linking the two sections of the city were no longer in operation.

Under the watchful eye of the police and the army, barbed wire and wire entanglements were placed across access points to West Berlin. Roads were dug up and barricades erected. Within a matter of hours, the entire border around West Berlin was under control.

Access to West Berlin was now barred to East Berliners and East Germans; then on 23rd August, it became impossible for West Berliners to visit the East without a residence permit.

<http://www.wall-berlin.org/gb/berlin.htm> ; Caen Memorial



## Focus

# Cuban missiles crisis 1962

### Origins

**Key issues** : why did Cuba become the scene of a Cold War crisis in 1962 ? How far was America responsible for the Cuban missile crisis ?

The origins of the crisis lie in the **Cuban revolution** :

At the time of the successful coup against Batista in January 1959, Fidel Castro was not even a member of the Cuban communist party . The radicals within his movement were his brother Raul and Che Guevara.

**Gradual movement to the left and closer to the Soviet Union in 1960 and 1961 :**

February 1960, trade agreement : 100 millions \$ in credit to Cuba and promises of buying 5 millions tons of Cuban sugar over the next three years

Such sponsorship was part of K strategy of promoting communism in the developing world

**Belief by Castro that the US were trying to sabotage his power :**

March 1960 “La Courbe” incident : explosion of a ship carrying a Belgian arms shipment to Cuba in Havana harbour killing 100 people.

March 1960 : approval by Eisenhower of plans for an invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro expatriates trained by the CIA

September 1960 : air drop of supplies to anti Castro rebels in the South East part of the island

**Radicalisation of the Castro’s revolution :**

Nationalisation of US oil refineries and other US assets.

October 1960 : 382 US companies had had their property confiscated

Intensification of anti American rhetoric (denunciation of Yankee imperialism)

**Belief that an American invasion of the island was inevitable :**

Turned to the SU for military protection

July 1960 : K threatened to use nuclear weapons against the US if it invaded Cuba. Acceptation of Cuba as a full member of the Soviet bloc

Castro proclaimed “Moscow is our brain and great leader”

**First decision of Kennedy on Cuba** was whether to proceed with the invasion of the island by CIA trained paramilitaries :

In spite of doubts approval of what would be called the **Operation Zapata**

But imposition of clear limits on the action(for example no air support)

View which was the “Monroe doctrine” had to be applied in that case.

**Operation Zapata was a fiasco**

1400 strong force landed at the bay of Pigs on **April 17, 1961** but was easily overcome

1189 paramilitaries surrendered and no beachhead was established

No spontaneous internal rising against Castro

**Bay of Pigs humiliating personal rebuff for Kennedy** and victory for Castro, with the solidification of his regime as Cubans united against the external threat posed by their mighty neighbour

**Reorientation of US policy following the rules of flexible response.**

Programme of covert action, economic and diplomatic isolation of Cuba and military pressure

Inauguration of **Operation Mongoose in November 1961** : Sabotage by

the CIA of petroleum installations, sinking of Cuban merchant vessels and organization of anti-Castro elements in Cuba into a counter-revolutionary movement.

Removal of Castro almost an obsession for the Kennedy brothers

Strict embargo on all Cuban imports and in February 1962 Cuba was expelled from the OAS

Conduction of amphibious exercises near Puerto Rico in the Caribbean unsightly codenamed "ortsac" (Castro spelled backwards) aimed at overthrowing an imaginary dictator.

**Interpretation of this by Havana as a sign that the Americans were on the point of attacking Cuba** (invasion scare)

**Request of further military aid from the SU.**

Shipment of 125 tanks and 925 anti-aircraft guns had been made in **April 1961**

**New step in May 1962**, with the decision of the Soviets to deploy four motorized regiments, two tanks battalions, a Mig 21 fighter wing, 12 anti-aircraft missile batteries, tactical nuclear cruise missiles and offensive R12 and R14 MRBM in the island. Almost **40000 Soviet military personnel** were garrisoned on the island

Installation and build up of forces were masked by the Soviet with some success, except that the growing numbers of ships arriving as well as some reports from refugees of large numbers of Russians aroused the suspicion of the CIA

Director speculated on the presence of ballistic missiles on Cuba as early as August, but with no concrete proofs which will not arrived until October



## The crisis

**Reasons why Kennedy could not tolerate such weapons :**

An unprecedented threat to national security (could strike the whole US territory and especially its interior)

Allowing their presence in Cuba could be considered as the equivalent of the Munich Agreement of 1938

Fear that missiles in Cuba were a smokescreen for a move against West Berlin

Personal confrontation : Kennedy was thinking the placement of the missiles was a new test of his character by the Soviet leader. Position also to prove to the Congress that he was able to stand up in front of K.

**Creation of a team of advisers** to manage the crisis, known as the ExComm (Executive Committee of the NSC)

Key members : The President, his brother

The Secretary of State (Dean Rusk), Defence Secretary (Mc Namara) NS adviser (Bundy) Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (General Maxwell Taylor) and Director of the CIA (John McCone)

**Two first choices debated : blockade or air strikes** : opposition within ExComm between the military and the civilians, which finally win in a vote with a narrow majority.

The aim of the blockade was to prevent warheads and other components necessary for the operation of the missiles from reaching Cuba

Deliberation and choice of blockade brought Kennedy and his team valuable time as no formal contact existed at that time between Washington and Moscow.

Early days were dangerous as

K was ready to send a nuclear attack if any attempt to invade Cuba was made (not in any case though)



**Annunciation of the blockade by Kennedy on public television on October 22**

Described the measure as a **quarantine** since under international law a blockade could be seen as an

act of war ; shipments of weapons would be turned back by the US Navy and all non-military supplies would be allowed through. **Warning to the USSR that the use of the missile from Cuba against any countries in the Western atmosphere would be considered as an attack on the US requiring a full retaliatory response on the SU.**

Strategic Air Command is on nuclear alert. Quarantine started on October the 24<sup>th</sup>.

**Critical point of the crisis, several Soviet ships maintaining their course for Cuba.** Kennedy thought they were on the brink of war as ships were sent to stop them.. Then they got the news that the Soviet ship had stopped or turned around.

Still even if the Soviets had decided not to run the blockade they remained silent about the missiles already in Cuba. The missiles crisis continued.

	<b>SS-4 SANDAL</b>	<b>SS-5 SKEAN</b>
<b>Warheads</b>	Single	Single
<b>Yield (Mt)</b>	1-1.3/2-2/3	1.0 or 2.0 -2.3
<b>Range (km)</b>	2,000 km	4500 or 3200
<b>Background Information:</b> The SS-4 was the first Soviet strategic missile using storable propellants and a completely autonomous inertial guidance system. With its capability to deliver a megaton-class nuclear warhead the rocket provided a capability to attack strategic targets at medium ranges. This system constituted the bulk of the Soviet offensive missile threat to Western Europe. It was deployed at both soft launch pads and hard silos. The SS-5 was a single-stage, storable liquid-propellant, intermediate range ballistic missile. .		

**The crisis resembled a terrifying game of poker with each player having to guess the intention of the other :**

**The decision of the Soviet to respect the blockade was the first clear signal** that they wanted to avoid the war

**Second sign with the K telegram of October 26<sup>th</sup>** where he declared his hand

- He knew a war in the Caribbean over Cuba was unwinnable
- He conceded Soviet nuclear inferiority (since then it has been calculated that the US had over 4000 warheads, while the Su had only 220 from which many will not have been able to reach their target.
- He accepted to dismantle the missiles in return of a promises not to invade Cuba

No immediate response from Kennedy, because a non invasion guarantee meant losing a valuable policy option on internal policy. And K proposals were looked as too vague to serve as a basis of settlement

K then waiting, thought that if Kennedy waited that meant he was not ready for a military action. **So he decided to raise the stakes in a second telegram** where he asked that the removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba must be reciprocated by the withdrawal of Jupiters missiles from Turkey. Kennedy was surprised by the new offer ; with confusion among his advisers over what to do

**New turn with the shooting on October 27<sup>th</sup> of a U2 and the death of its pilot, by Cuban anti-aircraft gunners.**

- Many advisers thinking that it was a decision ordered by the SU **wanted to retaliate.**

- **Even the President** was learning toward military action but decided to postpone a decision until the next day.

**He decided to make an opening with the sending of his brother to meet the Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.** Opening made without the knowledge of ExComm. Information given to the Soviet ambassador that Kennedy was ready to issue a non invasion guarantee as suggested in K first letter. The US will also remove the Jupiters in 4 or 5 months time but could not be seen as doing so a direct trade off for the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba.

**On its side K was about to resolve the crisis according to his first letter :**

The shooting of the U2 showed that the possibility remained of a war starting by accident.

Arrival of the message from the meeting of Bob Kennedy and Dobrynin

K sized the initiative and sent two messages to Washington about the two sides of the deal.

**The Jupiters were dismantled in April 1963 without the knowledge of the American public**

**In November 1962 U2 photographs showed workers bulldozing the missile sites and loading military equipment onto ships. The crisis was over.**



## The consequences

**Kennedy gained politically and personally :**

Democrats retained the control of both House of Congress following mid-term elections in November 1962

The outcome of the crisis was seen as a personal triumph : he had achieved the evacuation of the missiles from Cuba and avoided a nuclear war with the SU

Assured crisis management compensated for the Bay of Pigs fiasco

**The voters were not aware that the resolution of the crisis had only been a partial victory achieved at high price**

- The withdrawal of the missiles could be seen as a public embarrassment for K but had cost the Soviets nothing in that the missiles had not been there before.
- In return K had extracted from Kennedy an undertaking in public not to invade Cuba and a commitment in private to decommission the Jupiters in Turkey
- Soviet gambit which had forced Kennedy in concessions he would not otherwise have made

In the other hand the Jupiters were already outmoded and were remaining in Turkey only as a symbolic value. Their removal did not change the strategic balance since the development of late ICBM and Polaris missile enabled the USA to launch an attack deep in SU territory without positioning missiles on its borders.

**Decisive event in the Cold War: of course the two parts remained adversaries but the crisis had brought home the real danger of a nuclear conflict**

**Neither side had wanted to be the first to cross the nuclear threshold.**

Kennedy had often wondered aloud about what kind of world it would be if he allowed nuclear weapons to be used.

Clear reminder of the parameters of the Cold War. Tacit assumption that while nuclear weapons were to be manufactured (in the interests of preserving strategic superiority or at least parity) and maintained in case of the other side decided to go nuclear first, and sometimes even bargained away, they were never to be used first.

**Alert for the superpowers to the need to negotiate on matters of mutual interests. It inaugurated a major thaw in their relations which was the basis of the later policy of détente.**

**Creation of the “hot line” between Moscow and Washington** as communication during the crisis were slow (danger of long intervals in formal contacts and mutual ignorance of the other side’s real intentions

**Support of both parts to a UN resolution prohibiting the deployment of weapons in outer space.** Space competition remained but it would not be militarised

**Test Ban treaty in June 1963** : cease atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons)

## Cuba crises **TIMELINE**

<b>1959</b>	<p><b>JANUARY</b></p> <p>Fidel Castro assumes power in Cuba, culminating a six-year rebellion that topples the government of General Fulgencio Batista.</p> <p><b>OCTOBER</b></p> <p>Turkey and the U.S. sign an agreement for the deployment of 15 nuclear- tipped Jupiter missiles in Turkey.</p>
<b>1960</b>	<p><b>FEBRUARY</b></p> <p>Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan visits Cuba and attends the opening of a Soviet trade exhibit in Havana. Mikoyan negotiates economic and trade agreements that help Fidel Castro wean Cuba away from economic dependence on the United States.</p> <p><b>MARCH</b></p> <p>Eisenhower agrees to CIA proposal to train Cuban exiles to subvert Castro regime.</p> <p><b>JULY</b></p> <p>U.S. suspends the Cuban sugar quota, effectively cutting off 80 percent of Cuban exports to the U.S. The following day, the Soviet Union agrees to buy sugar previously destined for U.S. market.</p> <p><b>AUGUST</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· The first assassination plot by the United States against Fidel Castro is initiated when a CIA official is given a box of Castro's favorite cigars and told to poison them.</li> <li>· The United States imposes an embargo on trade with Cuba.</li> </ul> <p><b>SEPTEMBER</b></p> <p>The first large Soviet Bloc arms shipment arrives in Cuba.</p>
<b>1961</b>	<p><b>JANUARY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· United States and Cuba sever diplomatic relations.</li> <li>· John F. Kennedy is inaugurated as 35th president of the United States.</li> </ul> <p><b>APRIL</b></p> <p>With U.S. direction, training and support, 1,500 Cuban Emigres attempt an invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs; 114 are killed and 1,189 are captured. In response, Fidel Castro orders the arrest of some 200,000 suspected dissidents to prevent internal uprisings.</p>

**1962**

**APRIL**

U.S. Jupiter missiles in Turkey become operational.

**JULY**

Around this time, Soviet cargo ships begin moving out of the Black Sea for Cuba.

**AUGUST**

- U.S. intelligence receives several reports of Soviet missiles in Cuba during the month.
- 17: CIA Director John McCone suggests that the Soviet Union is constructing offensive missile installations in Cuba.
- 29: At a news conference, President Kennedy tells reporters: "I'm not for invading Cuba at this time...an action like that...could lead to very serious consequences for many people."
- 31: President Kennedy is informed that the August 29 U-2 mission confirms the presence of surface-to-air missile batteries in Cuba.

**OCTOBER**

- 16: McGeorge Bundy informs President Kennedy that "hard photographic evidence" shows Soviet medium-range ballistic missiles in Cuba. Kennedy immediately gathers a group that becomes known as "ExComm", the Executive Committee of the National Security Council.
- 22: President Kennedy the nation.
- 23: U.S. establishes air and sea blockade in response to photographs of Soviet missile bases under construction in Cuba. U.S. threatens to invade Cuba if the bases are not dismantled and warns that a nuclear attack launched from Cuba would be considered a Soviet attack requiring full retaliation.
- 28: Khrushchev agrees to remove offensive weapons from Cuba and the U.S. agrees to remove missiles from Turkey and promises not to invade Cuba.

**NOVEMBER**

21: U.S. ends Cuban blockade, satisfied that all bases are removed and Soviet jets will leave the island by December 20.

**1963**

**JUNE**

"Hot Line" is established, a direct teletype link between the White House and the Kremlin.

**\*\*For a detailed account of the events and communications during the crisis, see: [http://www.seas.gwu.edu/nsarchive/nsa/cuba\\_mis\\_cri/cmccron4.html](http://www.seas.gwu.edu/nsarchive/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/cmccron4.html)**

## B) Auspicious years for “détente”

### 1) Causes

Both sides had **pressing reasons to seek relaxation in tensions**.

Leonid Brezhnev and the rest of the Soviet leadership felt that the economic burden of the nuclear arms race was unsustainable.

The Sino-Soviet Split had caused great concern in the Soviet Union. The leadership was terrified of the potential of a Sino-American alliance against them and thus felt improving relations with the United States would be necessary.

The Soviets hoped that with Détente more trade with Western Europe would be possible. Soviet thinkers also felt that a less aggressive policy could potentially detach the Europeans from their American ally

The American economy was also in financial trouble as the Vietnam War drained government finances at the same time as Lyndon Johnson, and to a lesser extent Richard Nixon, sought to expand the government welfare state. Improved relations with China also helped thaw the American view of communism in general.

There was rough parity in nuclear weapons and it was clear that a state of **mutually assured destruction** had been reached, and there were new fears connected to the realization that there was a possibility that the "relative gains" theory as to the predictable consequences of war was no longer appropriate. A "**sensible middle ground**" was the goal.

Both Brezhnev and Nixon felt that improved relations would lead to a domestic popularity boost and secure their positions of power.

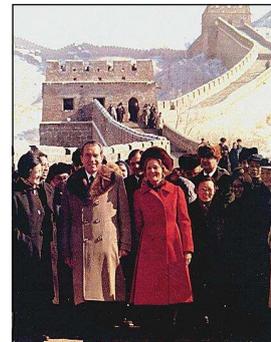
### 2) forms of Détente

In Europe the **Ostpolitik** of Willy Brandt was decreasing tensions.

- ◆ In 1970 the Treaty of Moscow was signed between West Germany and the Soviets and quickly afterwards treaties with Poland and other Eastern Bloc states were signed.
  - Treaty of Warsaw in 1970, In the treaty, both sides committed themselves to non violence and accepted the existing border - the Oder-Neisse line. This was a very sensitive topic at the time as Poland was afraid that one day a German government would lay to claim to some of the territory Germany lost after World War II

#### US China relations in the seventies

Several events in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, led Beijing and Washington to reexamine their basic policies toward each other. After the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the Sino-Soviet border clashes in 1969, China saw its major threat as clearly coming from the Soviet Union rather than the United States and sought a closer relationship with Washington as a counterweight to Moscow. When President Richard M. Nixon assumed office in 1969, he explored rapprochement with China as part of his doctrine of reduced United States military involvement in Asia. Moves in this direction resulted in an American ping-pong team's trip to China and Henry A. Kissinger's secret visit, both in 1971, followed by Nixon's dramatic trip to China in 1972. In 1971 Beijing finally gained China's seat at the UN when relations with the United States changed for the better. Taipei's representatives were expelled from the UN and replaced by Beijing's.



The Shanghai Communiqué, a milestone document describing the new state of relations between the two countries, and signed by Nixon and Zhou Enlai, included a certain degree of ambiguity that allowed China and the United States to set aside differences, especially on the Taiwan issue, and begin the process of normalizing relations.

After the signing of the Shanghai Communiqué, however, movement toward United States-China normalization during the 1970s saw only limited progress. The United States and China set up liaison offices in each other's capitals in 1973, and bilateral trade grew unevenly throughout the decade.

- ◆ The most controversial agreement was the **Basic Treaty** of 1972 that created mutual recognition between the FRG and GDR as two separate states (though explicitly not as two separate nations).
  - This was opposed by West German conservatives who felt the policy would result in a permanent division of Germany; to assuage them, Brandt took a very tough stance at the same time against radical leftists within West Germany itself.
  - This agreement also made it possible for the two states to become members of the United Nations in 1973.

### Summits and Treaties

The most obvious manifestation of Détente was the series of summits held between the leaders of the two superpowers and the treaties that resulted from these meetings.

Earlier in the 1960s, before Détente the **Partial Test Ban Treaty** had been signed in 1963.

Later in the decade the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** and **Outer Space Treaty** were two of the first elements of Détente. These earlier treaties did little to curb the superpower's abilities, however, and were mostly to limit the nuclear ambitions of third parties that could endanger both superpowers.

The most important treaties were not signed until Nixon took power.

- Beginning in 1969 at a summit in Helsinki the **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks** led to the signing of the **SALT I** treaty in 1972, this treaty limited each power's nuclear arsenals.
- It was quickly out of date as a result of the development of **MIRVs**.
- However. In the same year SALT I was signed the **Biological Weapons Convention** and the **Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty** were also agreed to.
- Talks on **SALT II** also began in 1972.

In 1975 **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe** met and produced the Helsinki Accords, a wide ranging series of agreements on economic, political, and human rights issues. 35 European states signed the treaty.

### Trade

Trade relations between the two blocks increased substantially :

- most notable were the vast shipments of grain that were sent from the west to the Soviet Union each year, and helped make up for the failure of collectivized agriculture.
- At the same time, the Jackson-Vanik amendment, signed into law by Gerald Ford on January 3 1975, was designed to leverage the trade relations depending on improvements of human rights within the USSR.

### 3) Limits

Despite the growing amicability, heated competition continued between the two superpowers, especially in the Third World. Wars in South Asia in 1971 and the Middle East in 1973 (see Kipour war in the ME conflicts chapter) sought to back their sides with material and diplomatic support.

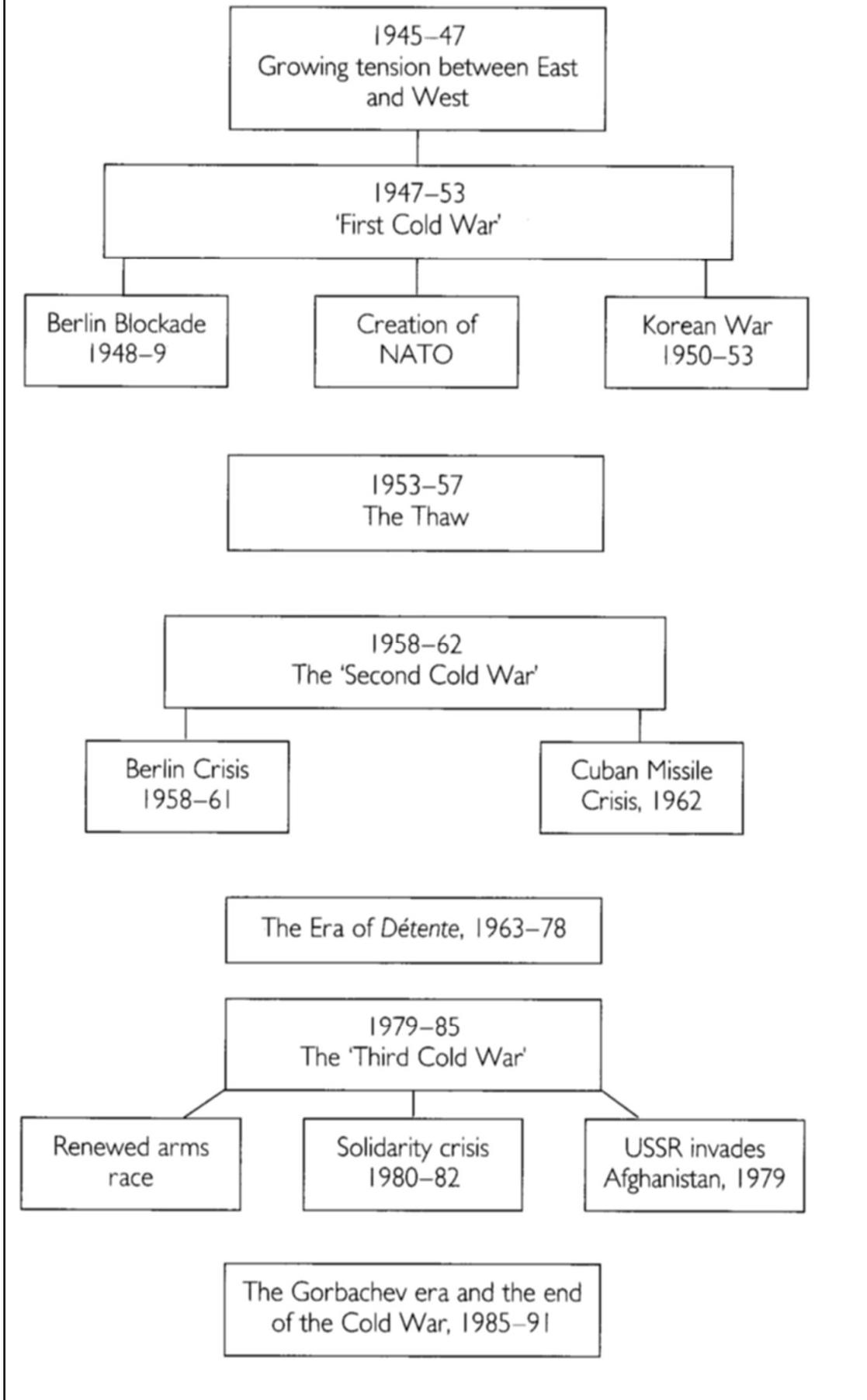
In Latin America the United States continued to block any leftward shift in the region with military coups. For much of the Détente period, the Vietnam War continued to rage.

Neither side trusted the other fully and the potential for nuclear war remained. Each side continued to develop their nuclear arsenal, and forces guarding disputed borders in Korea and Europe. The espionage war continued unabated as defectors, reconnaissance satellites, and signal interceptions were still a priority for both sides.

# Documents (1947-1975)

- 6) Summary diagram, the Cold War in Europe 1945-1991
- 7) Truman doctrine
- 8) Marshall Plan speech
- 9) Soviet Objections to the Marshall Plan : Statement by Molotov
- 10) Vyshinsky speech to U.N. General Assembly (September 1947)
- 11) Korean War : Ciphred Telegram From Shtykov to Vyshinsky : January 19, 1950
- 12) CIA Weekly Summary : Intelligence Memorandum n°302 ; subject : consequences of the Korean incident July
- 13) Joseph McCarthy: McCarthyism: The Fight for America (excerpt)
- 14) McCarthy: Weighed in the Balance ; article from TIME
- 15) Security Treaty Between the United States and Japan; September 8, 1951
- 16) Dwight D. Eisenhower: The Domino Theory Principle (1954)
- 17) Khrushchev's address to 20th Party Congress
- 18) Working Notes from the CPSU CC Presidium on 23 October 1956 On the Situation in Budapest and Overall in Hungary
- 19) NSC 5616 : U.S. Policy Toward Developments in Poland and Hungary
- 20) John F. Kennedy: "Ich bin ein Berliner"
- 21) Memorandum from the Central Intelligence Agency on an invasion of Cuba (1961)
- 22) JFK Television Address on Cuba, October 22, 1962
- 23) Khrushchev letter to Kennedy October 24, 1962
- 24) Pravda Editorial: The Anti-Soviet Policy of Communist China (February 16, 1967)
- 25) Mac Namara mutual deterrence nuclear strategy (1967)
- 26) The Vietnam conflict timeline
- 27) Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
- 28) Robert S. McNamara, "Our Government Lacked Experts...on Vietnam"

**Summary Diagram**  
 The Cold War in Europe, 1945–91: An Overview



**President Harry S. Truman's Address  
Before a Joint Session of Congress (Excerpt)  
Also known as the “Truman doctrine”**

Source: U.A. Congress, Congressional Record, 80th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), Vol. 93, p.1981.

[...] I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

[...] The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

[...] One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

[...] It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

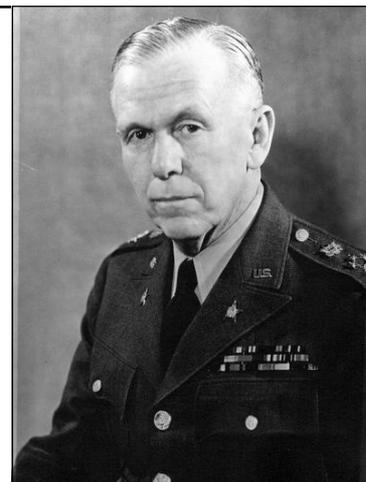
It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

## Marshall Plan Speech

**Address By General George C. Marshall, Secretary of State of the United States**

**Harvard University, June 5, 1947**



[...] In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe, the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines and railroads was correctly estimated but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. For the past 10 years conditions have been highly abnormal. The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. [...] The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete. Recovery has been seriously retarded by the fact that two years after the close of hostilities a peace settlement with Germany and Austria has not been agreed upon. But even given a more prompt solution of these difficult problems the rehabilitation of the economic structure of Europe quite evidently will require a much longer time and greater effort than had been foreseen.

[...] The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products - principally from America - are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character.

The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole. The manufacturer and the farmer throughout wide areas must be able and willing to exchange their products for currencies the continuing value of which is not open to question.

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative. Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full co-operation I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

It is already evident that, before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. [...]



**U.S. Economic Assistance Under the European Recovery Program**  
**April 3, 1948 - June 30, 1952**  
**(Total Amount in Millions of U.S. Dollars)**

<b>United Kingdom</b>	3,189.8
<b>France</b>	2,713.6
<b>Italy</b>	1,508.8
<b>Germany (West)</b>	1,390.6
<b>The Netherlands</b>	1,083.5
<b>Greece</b>	706.7
<b>Austria</b>	677.8
<b>Belgium/Luxembourg</b>	559.3
<b>Denmark</b>	273.0
<b>Norway</b>	255.3
<b>Turkey</b>	225.1
<b>Ireland</b>	147.5
<b>Sweden</b>	107.3
<b>Portugal</b>	51.2
<b>Iceland</b>	29.3

## Soviet Objections to the Marshall Plan

### Statement by Molotov (Paris, 2 July 1947)

Statement by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov at the Final Meeting of the Three Power Conference, July 2, 1947

**Source :** Department of State (sous la dir.). A Decade of American Foreign Policy, Basic Documents 1941-1949. Washington: Department of State Printing Office, 1985, pp.807-809.

The Soviet delegation has carefully examined the proposal submitted by the French delegation on July 1.

[...] Therefore, the question of American economic aid of which indeed nothing definite is yet known has now provided an occasion for the British and French Governments to seek the creation of a new organization standing over and above the countries of Europe and interfering in their internal affairs down to determining the line of development to be followed by the main branches of industry in these countries.[...].

What would then remain of the economic independence and sovereignty of such European countries? Under these conditions how would the small countries and in general the less powerful states be able to safeguard their national economics and independence?

[...] When efforts are directed toward Europe helping herself in the first place and developing her economic potentialities as well as the exchange of goods between countries, such efforts are in conformity with the interests of the countries of Europe. When, however, it is stated as in the French proposal that the decisive hold on the rehabilitation of the economic life of European countries should belong to the United States and not to the European countries themselves, such a position stands in contradiction to the interests of European countries since it might lead to a denial of their economic independence, which denial is incompatible with national sovereignty.

The Soviet delegation believes that internal measures and the national efforts of each country should have a decisive importance for the countries of Europe and not make calculations for foreign support which should be of secondary importance. The Soviet Union has always counted above all on its own powers and is known to be on a steady way of progress of its economic life.

The first form of cooperation is based on the development of political and economic relations between states possessing equal rights and in that case their national sovereignty does not suffer from foreign interference.

There exists, however, a different form of international cooperation based on the predominant position of one or several strong powers in relation to other countries which slip into the position of subordinated countries deprived of their independence.

The Soviet Government, while favouring the development of international collaboration on the basis of equal rights and mutual respect for the interests of the contracting parties, cannot lend its assistance to anyone in arranging his affairs at the expense of other countries of less strength or size because this has nothing in common with normal cooperation between states. [...] It would lead to no good results.

It would lead to Great Britain, France and that group of countries which follows them separating themselves from the other European states and thus dividing Europe into two groups of states and creating new difficulties in the relations between them.

In that case American credits would serve not to facilitate the economic rehabilitation of Europe but to makes use of some European countries against other European countries in whatever way certain strong powers seeking to establish their domination should find it profitable to do so.

The Soviet Government considers it necessary to caution the governments of Great Britain and of France against the consequences of such action which would be directed not toward the unification of the efforts of the countries of Europe in the task of their economic rehabilitation after the war, but would lead to opposite results, which have nothing in common with the real interests of the peoples of Europe.

## Vyshinsky speech to U.N. General Assembly (September 1947)

**Context :** *In this speech to the U.N. General Assembly in September 1947, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky outlined his government's interpretation of the Marshall Plan.*

The so-called Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan are particularly glaring examples of the manner in which the principles of the United Nation are violated, of the way in which the organization is ignored.

As the experience of the past few months has shown, the proclamation of this doctrine meant that the United States government has moved towards a direct renunciation of the principles of international collaboration and concerted action by the great powers and towards attempts to impose its will on other independent states, while at the same time obviously using the economic resources distributed as relief to individual needy nations as an instrument of political pressure. This is clearly proved by the measures taken by the United States government with regard to Greece and Turkey which ignore and bypass the United Nations as well as by the measures proposed under the so-called Marshall Plan in Europe. This policy conflicts sharply with the principle expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution of 11 December 1946, which declares that relief supplies to other countries "should ... at no time be used as a political weapon."

As is now clear, the Marshall Plan constitutes in essence merely a variant of the Truman Doctrine adapted to the conditions of postwar Europe. In bringing forward this plan, the United States government apparently counted on the cooperation of governments of the United Kingdom and France to confront the European countries in need of relief with the necessity of renouncing their inalienable right to dispose of their economic resources and to plan their national economy in their own way. The United States also counted on making all these countries directly dependent on the interests of American monopolies, which are striving to avert the approaching depression by an accelerated export of commodities and capital to Europe. ...

It is becoming more and more evident to everyone that the implementation of the Marshall Plan will mean placing European countries under the economic and political control of the United States and direct interference by the latter in the internal affairs of those countries.

Moreover, this plan is an attempt to split Europe into two camps and, with the help of the United Kingdom and France, to complete the formation of a bloc of several European countries hostile to the interests of the democratic countries of Eastern Europe and most particularly to the interests of the Soviet Union.

An important feature of this plan is the attempt to confront the countries of Eastern Europe with a bloc of Western European states including Western Germany. The intention is to make use of Western Germany and German heavy industry (the Ruhr) as one of the most important economic bases for American expansion in Europe, in disregard of the national interests of the countries which suffered from German aggression.

I need only recall these facts to show the utter incompatibility of this policy of United States, and of the British and French governments which support it, with the fundamental principles of the United Nations.

## Ciphered Telegram From Shtykov to Vyshinsky

January 19, 1950

**Source:** AVP RF, Fond 059a, Opis 5a, Delo 3, Papka 11, listy 87-91

### From To Attack or Not To Attack

Kim, addressing the advisers Ignatiev and Pelishenko in an excited manner, began to speak about how now, when China is completing its liberation, the liberation of the Korean people in the south of the country is next in line. In connection with this he said: "The people of the southern portion of Korea trust me and rely on our armed might. Partisans will not decide the question. The people of the south know that we have a good army. Lately I do not sleep at night, thinking about how to resolve the question of the unification of the whole country. If the matter of the liberation of the people of the southern portion of Korea and the unification of the country is drawn out, then I can lose the trust of the people of Korea."

Further Kim stated that when he was in Moscow, Comrade Stalin said to him that it was not necessary to attack the south, in case of an attack on the north of the country by the army of Rhee Syngmann, then it is possible to go on the counteroffensive to the south of Korea. But since Rhee Syngmann is still not instigating an attack, it means that the liberation of the people of the southern part of the country and the unification of the country are being drawn out, that he (Kim Il Sung) thinks that he needs again to visit Comrade Stalin and receive an order and permission for offensive action by the Peoples' Army for the purpose of the liberation of the people of Southern Korea.

Kim underscored that Mao Zedong promised to render him assistance after the conclusion of the war in China.

Then Kim Il Sung came toward me, took me aside and began the following conversation: can he meet with Comrade Stalin and discuss the question of the position in the south and the question of aggressive actions against the army of Rhee Syngmann, that their people's army now is significantly stronger than the army of Rhee Syngmann. Here he stated that if it is impossible to meet with Comrade Stalin, then he wants to meet with Mao Zedong, since Mao after his visit to Moscow will have orders on all questions.

In the process of this conversation Kim Il Sung repeatedly underscored his wish to get the advice of Comrade Stalin on the question of the situation in the south of Korea, since [Kim Il Sung] is constantly nurturing his idea about an attack.



## CIA Weekly Summary

### INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM NO.302

**SUBJECT: CONSEQUENCES OF THE KOREAN INCIDENT JULY 1950**

#### **I. SOVIET PURPOSES IN LAUNCHING THE NORTHERN KOREAN ATTACK.**

- A. Apart from immediate strategic advantages, basic Soviet objectives in launching the Northern Korean attack probably were to: (1) test the strength of US commitments implicit in the policy of containment of Communist expansion; and (2) gain political advantages for the further expansion of Communism in both Asia and Europe by undermining the confidence of non-communist states in the value of US support.
- B. The Soviet estimate of the reaction to the North Korean attack was probably that: (1) UN action would be slow and cumbersome; (2) the US would not intervene with its own forces; (3) South Korea would therefore collapse promptly, presenting the UN with a fait accompli; (4) the episode would therefore be completely localized; and (5) the fighting could be portrayed as US-instigated South Korean aggression and the north Korean victory as a victory of Asiatic nationalism against Western colonialism.

#### **II. PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE KOREAN INCIDENT.**

There are at present four major alternative courses of action open to the USSR. They are not mutually exclusive courses of action. In particular, it is estimated that the USSR is very likely to try to prolong the fighting in Korea (alternative "B" below) for the short run and then within a few weeks or months, if conditions appear favorable to Soviet leaders, shift to the more aggressive course of creating similar incidents elsewhere (alternative "C" below). The alternatives are examined not in order of probability, but in order of increasing risk of global war and increasing expenditure of effort on the part of the USSR:

**ALTERNATIVE A.** The USSR may localize the Korean fighting, permitting US forces to drive the North Koreans back to the 38th Parallel and refrain from creating similar incidents elsewhere. In the meantime, the USSR would remain uncommitted in Korea and would develop the propaganda themes of US aggression and imperialistic interference in domestic affairs of an Asiatic nation.

1. This alternative is the most cautious course for the USSR to take. Its adoption would indicate complete surprise at the US reaction to the Korean incident and would suggest strongly that the USSR was unwilling to run even a minimum risk of provoking a global conflict involving the US and the USSR.
2. US prestige and political influence would be substantially augmented, particularly with Western European allies and other nations aligned with the US.
3. Soviet prestige and influence would be damaged, but there would be compensations in the form of secondary political gains that would accrue as a result of:
  - (a) promoting the "peace campaign" and portraying the US as military aggressor;
  - (b) exploiting the theme of Asian nationalism versus Western imperialism;
  - (c) maintaining the North Korean and Chinese Communist threat to south Korea as an embarrassment to development of a constructive US or UN policy in

*(Suite page 47)*

Korea.

4. This alternative course of action is unlikely; Soviet advantages would be secondary, comparatively long-range, and intangible, while Soviet disadvantage would be immediate.

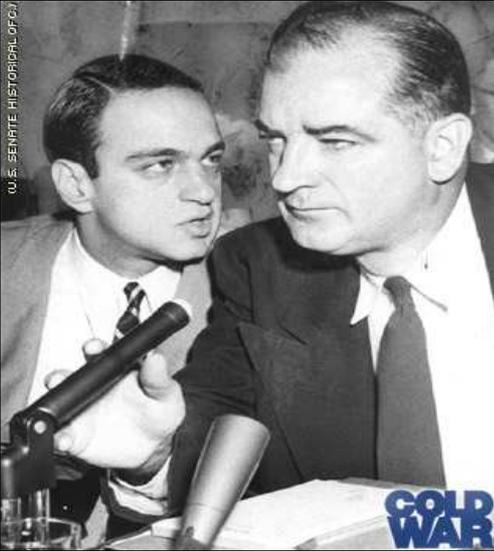
**ALTERNATIVE B.** The USSR may localize the Korean fighting, still refrain from creating similar incidents elsewhere, but in order to prolong US involvement in Korea, give increasing material aid to the North Koreans, perhaps employing Chinese Communist troops, either covertly or overtly. The USSR would remain uncommitted in Korea and would develop the propaganda themes of US aggression and imperialistic interference in domestic affairs of an Asiatic nation.

**ALTERNATIVE C.** The USSR, while attempting to prolong the fighting in Korea as in alternative "B", may also attempt to disperse and perhaps overstrain US military forces-in-readiness by creating a series of incidents similar to the Korean affair. Without directly and openly involving Soviet forces, such incidents could be created in Formosa, Indochina, Burma, Iran, Yugoslavia, and Greece. The effects of such incidents could be aggravated by renewed pressure on Berlin and, possibly, Vienna.

1. This alternative would be a comparatively aggressive course for the USSR to take. Its adoption would indicate willingness to run an appreciable risk of provoking a global conflict because of the possible US reaction. The USSR could easily turn to this alternative at any time, but it is not likely to turn to it until the USSR has fully analyzed the implications of the US commitment in Korea.
2. Having employed its armed forces in support of its commitment in Korea, the US will have to honor similar commitments or lose most of the advantages of the policy of supporting the Korean commitment.
3. Deep involvement of US military forces in the Far East or Near East would leave Western Europe even more dangerously exposed than at present.
4. At some point further Korean-style incidents (requiring the commitment of US forces to stabilize the situation) presumably would force the US to adopt one of the following alternatives:
  - (a) revise the policy of general containment by limiting US commitments and by planning to combat Soviet aggression only at those selected points where existing US military strength would permit;
  - (b) begin partial military and industrial mobilization in attempt to enable the US to combat any further Soviet-sponsored aggression anywhere in the world; or
  - (c) begin total mobilization to enable the US to threaten to meet any Soviet or Soviet-sponsored aggression with war against the USSR.
5. If Soviet development of this alternative course of action leads to a general US mobilization it appears at this time that the USSR probably would in that event continue limited aggressions, accompanied by the customary "peace" propaganda, discounting actual US initiation of a general war and perhaps estimating that the political and economic strains of mobilization would weaken or discredit the US and its foreign policy. The USSR, however, may:
  - (a) desist from further aggression of the Korean type, fearing a global war and taking mobilization as an indication of greater risk than Soviet leaders had anticipated in choosing this course of action; or
  - (b) expecting US-initiated global war, attempt to seize the initiative by immediately attacking the US (in effect turning to alternative "D", below).

## Red Scare, Mc Carthysm and Witch Hunt in the USA in the 50's

**Joseph McCarthy: McCarthyism: The Fight for America (excerpt) Source: (New York; The Devin-Adair Company, 1952) pp. 779-80.**



...During the public phase of my fight to expose pro-Communists and Communist treason in government, a vast number of deeply disturbed Americans have asked [many] questions. They want the answers—documented and proved—so they may determine for themselves the true situation.

This book is my answer to those questions. This is my answer to every American who seeks to know the truth about my fight against pro-Communists and Communist treason in government...

Here [is one of] the important questions that [has] been asked by friends and enemies of my anti-Communist fight together with my [answer]...

Is not a person presumed innocent until proven guilty?

Yes.

Why do you condemn [some] people...who have never been convicted of any crime?

The fact that these people have not been convicted of treason or of violating some of our [spy] laws is no more a valid argument they are fit to represent this country in its fight against Communism than the argument that a person who has a reputation of [associating] with criminals, hoodlums, gamblers, and kidnappers is fit to act as your babysitter, because he has never been convicted of a crime...

A government job is a privilege, not a right. There is no reason why men who chum with Communists, who refuse to turn their backs upon traitors and who are consistently found at the time and place where disaster strikes America and success comes to...Communism, should be given positions of power in government...

We are concerned with the question of whether the individual who associates with those who are trying to destroy this nation, should be admitted to the high councils of those planning the policies of this nation; whether they should be given access to top secret material to which even Senators and Congressmen are not given access.

The best [comparison] perhaps is the case of the applicant for a job as a bank cashier who travels with safe-crackers, robbers, and gamblers. Naturally, such a man would not be hired as cashier and allowed access to depositors' money. The fact that the bank president does not give him a job as cashier does not mean the job applicant has been found guilty of any crime. It merely means that the bank president, using good horse-sense, decides that his depositors are entitled to have this man kept away from their money while he has associates who are bank robbers and safe-crackers. Certainly in dealing with the lives of countless sons of American mothers and the liberty of the American people, we should be using the same good common horse-sense that the bank president uses.

## McCarthy: Weighed in the Balance

**(Editor's note: Following are excerpts from an article published in TIME magazine on October 22, 1951.)**

"Man is born to do something," says restless Joe McCarthy. Joe is doing something. His name is in headlines. "McCarthyism" is now part of the language. His burly figure casts its shadow over the coming presidential campaign. Thousands turn out to hear his speeches. Millions regard him as "a splendid American" (a fellow senator recently called him that). Other millions think McCarthy a worse menace than the Communist conspiracy against which he professes to fight.

McCarthy does not face some questions which the nation cannot evade:

- 1) Precisely what has McCarthy done?
- 2) Is his effect on the U.S. good or bad?
- 3) Does he deserve well of the republic, or should he be treated with aversion and contempt?

McCarthy's jump from obscurity to the national limelight began nearly two years ago, when he made a speech in Wheeling, W. Va. He said: "I have here in my hand a list of 205, a list of names made known to the secretary of state as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department." Next day in Salt Lake City, he declared: "I hold in my hand the names of 57 card-carrying Communists" working in the State Department. Ten days later, on the Senate floor, he cited 81 "cases," particularly "three big Communists." Said McCarthy: "While there are vast numbers of other Communists with whom we must be concerned, if we can get rid of these big three, we will have done something to break the back of the espionage ring within the State Department."

In a nation that had finally learned (without any help from McCarthy) that it was locked in a life-or-death struggle with world Communism, these charges were as grave as any that could be made. The underlying accusation was that its State Department was harboring Communists, knew they were Communists, and was doing so deliberately. To investigate these charges, the Senate set up a committee headed by conservative Democrat Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland.

McCarthy, who had said that he "held in his hand" the names of 205 Communists then in the State Department, did not give the Tydings committee the names of 205. He did not give it the names of 57. He did not produce the name of even one Communist in the State Department.

Logically, that failure might have been expected to end the rocketing flight of Joe McCarthy. That it was a beginning, not an end, is partly explained by McCarthy's personality. Another man, humiliated by failure to produce evidence he said he held, would have retreated and wiped a bloody nose. McCarthy, who was a boxer in college, says: "I learned in the ring that the moment you draw back and start defending yourself, you're licked. You've got to keep boring in." This is not necessarily true of either boxing or politics -- but Joe McCarthy thinks it is true.

Some have argued that McCarthy's end justifies his methods. This argument seems to assume that lies are required to fight Communist lies. Experience proves, however, that what the anti-Communist fight needs is truth, carefully arrived at and presented with all the scrupulous regard for decency and the rights of man of which the democratic world is capable. This is the Western world's greatest asset in the struggle against Communism, and those who condone McCarthy are throwing that asset away. As The New York Times put the case: "He has been of no use whatever in enabling us to distinguish among sinners, fools and patriots, except in the purely negative sense that many of us have begun to suspect that there must be some good, however small, in anybody who has aroused Senator McCarthy's ire."

## Security Treaty Between the United States and Japan; September 8, 1951

Web Version: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/japan/japan001.htm>

Japan has this day signed a Treaty of Peace with the Allied Powers. On the coming into force of that Treaty, Japan will not have the effective means to exercise its inherent right of self-defense because it has been disarmed.

There is danger to Japan in this situation because irresponsible militarism has not yet been driven from the world. Therefore Japan desires a Security Treaty with the United States of America to come into force simultaneously with the Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and Japan.

The Treaty of Peace recognizes that Japan as a sovereign nation has the right to enter into collective security arrangements, and further, the Charter of the United Nations recognizes that all nations possess an inherent right of individual and collective self-defense.

In exercise of these rights, Japan desires, as a provisional arrangement for its defense, that the United States of America should maintain armed forces of its own in and about Japan so as to deter armed attack upon Japan.

The United States of America, in the interest of peace and security, is presently willing to maintain certain of its armed forces in and about Japan, in the expectation, however, that Japan will itself increasingly assume responsibility for its own defense against direct and indirect aggression, always avoiding any armament which could be an offensive threat or serve other than to promote peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Accordingly, the two countries have agreed as follows:

### ARTICLE I

Japan grants, and the United States of America accepts, the right, upon the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and of this Treaty, to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down largescale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power or powers.

### ARTICLE II

During the exercise of the right referred to in Article I, Japan will not grant, without the prior consent of the United States of America, any bases or any rights, powers or authority whatsoever, in or relating to bases or the right of garrison or of maneuver, or transit of ground, air or naval forces to any third power.

### ARTICLE III

The conditions which shall govern the disposition of armed forces of the United States of America in and about Japan shall be determined by administrative agreements between the two Governments.(3)

### ARTICLE IV

This Treaty shall expire whenever in the opinion of the Governments of the United States of America and Japan there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements or such alternative individual or collective security dispositions as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance by the United Nations or otherwise of international peace and security in the Japan Area.

**Extract from a White House conference**  
**Dwight D. Eisenhower: The Domino Theory Principle (1954)**  
**Web version:** <http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/domino.html>

The President.

We will go right to questions this morning, ladies and gentlemen.

[...] Q. Robert Richards, Copley Press:

Mr. President, would you mind commenting on the strategic importance of Indochina to the free world? I think there has been, across the country, some lack of understanding on just what it means to us.

The President.

You have, of course, both the specific and the general when you talk about such things.

First of all, you have the specific value of a locality in its production of materials that the world needs. Then you have the possibility that many human beings pass under a dictatorship that is inimical to the free world.

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the "falling domino" principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.

Now, with respect to the first one, two of the items from this particular area that the world uses are tin and tungsten. They are very important. There are others, of course, the rubber plantations and so on.

Then with respect to more people passing under this domination, Asia, after all, has already lost some 450 million of its peoples to the Communist dictatorship, and we simply can't afford greater losses.

But when we come to the possible sequence of events, the loss of Indochina, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia following, now you begin to talk about areas that not only multiply the disadvantages that you would suffer through loss of materials, sources of materials, but now you are talking really about millions and millions and millions of people.

Finally, the geographical position achieved thereby does many things. It turns the so-called island defensive chain of Japan, Formosa, of the Philippines and to the southward; it moves in to threaten Australia and New Zealand.

It takes away, in its economic aspects, that region that Japan must have as a trading area or Japan, in turn, will have only one place in the world to go -- that is, toward the Communist areas in order to live.

So, the possible consequences of the loss are just incalculable to the free world. [...]

## Khrushchev's address to 20th Party Congress (excerpt)

**Context** : *On February 25, 1956, Khrushchev addressed the 20th Party Congress of the U.S.S.R. In his lengthy speech, Khrushchev extensively discusses the paranoia and brutality of Stalin's reign. He spoke openly to his colleagues on a subject that previously would have brought death to the speaker. The contents of the speech, originally secret, were soon known to the world, and the truth of Stalin's reign began to come out. In Hungary and Poland, newly permitted protests led to violence and governmental changes.*



February 1956

Quite a lot has been said about the cult of the individual and about its harmful consequences. ... The cult of the person of Stalin ... became at a certain specific stage the source of a whole series of exceedingly serious and grave perversions of party principles, of party democracy, of revolutionary legality.

Stalin absolutely did not tolerate collegiality in leadership and in work and ... practiced brutal violence, not only toward everything which opposed him, but also toward that which seemed to his capricious and despotic character contrary to his concepts.

Stalin abandoned the method of ideological struggle for that of administrative violence, mass repressions and terror. ... Arbitrary behavior by one person encouraged and permitted arbitrariness in others. Mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear and even desperation.

Stalin showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power. ... He often chose the path of repression and annihilation, not only against actual enemies, but also against individuals who had not committed any crimes against the party and the Soviet government. ...

Many party, Soviet and economic activists who were branded in 1937-38 as "enemies" were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers and so on, but were always honest communists; they were only so stigmatized, and often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges-falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes.

This was the result of the abuse of power by Stalin, who began to use mass terror against the party cadres. ... Stalin put the party and the NKVD up to the use of mass terror when the exploiting classes had been liquidated in our country and when there were no serious reasons for the use of extraordinary mass terror. The terror was directed ... against the honest workers of the party and the Soviet state. ...

Stalin was a very distrustful man, sickly suspicious. ... Everywhere and in everything he saw "enemies," "two-facers" and "spies." Possessing unlimited power, he indulged in great willfulness and choked a person morally and physically. A situation was created where one could not express one's own will. When Stalin said that one or another would be arrested, it was necessary to accept on faith that he was an "enemy of the people." What proofs were offered? The confession of the arrested. ... How is it possible that a person confesses to crimes that he had not committed? Only in one way -- because of application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. ...

**Working Notes from the Session of the CPSU CC Presidium on 23  
October 1956 (Malin Notes)  
On the Situation in Budapest and Overall in Hungary**

**Copyright:** Translation by Dr. Mark Kramer

**Source:** TsKhSD, F. 3, Op. 12, D. 1006, Ll. 4-4ob, compiled by V. N. Malin.

Those Taking Part: Bulganin, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Molotov, Pervukhin, Saburov, Khrushchev, Suslov, Brezhnev, Zhukov, Furtseva, Shepilov ;

(Cdes. Zhukov, Bulganin, Khrushchev)

Information of Cde. Zhukov. A demonstration by 100 thous. in Budapest The radio station is on fire. In Debrecen the obkom [provincial party committee--trans.] and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs--trans.] buildings were occupied.

Cde. Khrushchev speaks in favor of sending troops to Budapest.

Cde. Bulganin believes Cde. Khrushchev's proposal to send troops is justified.

Cde. Mikoyan: Without Nagy they can't get control of the movement, and it's also cheaper for us. Expresses doubt about the sending of troops. What are we losing? The Hungarians themselves will restore order on their own. We should try political measures, and only then send troops.

Cde. Molotov--With Nagy left on his own, Hungary is coming apart. Favors the sending of troops.

Cde. Kaganovich--The government is being overthrown. There's no comparison with Poland. Favors the sending of troops.

Cde. Pervukhin--Troops must be sent.

Cde. Zhukov--There is indeed a difference with Poland. Troops must be sent. One of the members of the CC Presidium should travel there. Martial law should be declared in the country, and a curfew introduced.

Cde. Suslov--The situation in Poland is different. Troops must be sent.

Cde. Saburov--Troops must be sent to uphold order.

Cde. Shepilov--Favors the sending of troops

Cde. Kirichenko--Favors the sending of troops. Cdes. Malinin and Serov should be dispatched to Budapest.

Cde. Khrushchev--We should recruit Nagy for political action. But until then we shouldn't make a chairman of the government.

Cdes. Mikoyan and Suslov are to fly to Budapest.

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (NSC 5616): U.S. Policy Toward Developments in Poland and Hungary (Excerpts) October 31, 1956

SECRET

### HUNGARY

Developments in Hungary have differed significantly from those in Poland. In Hungary, a nationalist movement, similar to that in Poland, was triggered into national revolt by the intervention of Soviet troops called in by the Hungarian Government in the first hours of its difficulty. The demands of the people on the government have since gone far beyond those originally sought and are now anti-Communist as well as anti-Soviet.

The situation in Hungary is still fluid and the outcome is difficult to foresee. The Nagy Government, already comprised by the fact of Soviet intervention, is seeking to restore its authority over the country by appearing to accede to many of the demands made upon it. Soviet forces are still in Hungary and the Soviet press has asserted that they are legally there under the terms of the Warsaw Pact. At the request of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, the Hungarian situation has been brought before the UN Security Council under Article 34.



In immediate situation, two courses are open to the United States: (1) The mobilization of pressure, through such means as the UN and public appeals, to inhibit the Soviet Union from further armed intervention and to prevent the use of harsh measures of repression and retaliation, while at the same time extending assistance in the form of medical supplies and food to alleviate the sufferings of the Hungarian population. (2) A course of action ranging from immediate covert support of the rebels; through open recognition of their belligerent status; to overt military support and recognition of their government if one be formed and succeeds in holding a portion of the country. A third immediate course of action is open under which the United States endeavors to facilitate the complete withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Hungary and the development of a Hungarian government broadly based on Hungarian public support with an independent sovereign status not allied to either the West or the East in a manner similar to the establishment of Austria.

### Policy Conclusion

In the present situation, the Basic Objectives of NSC 5608/1 of July 18, 1956 remain valid. However, in the light of developments in Poland and Hungary, certain tentative conclusions may now be drawn and certain courses of action can be taken to advance U.S. policies and objectives toward the satellite area.

The participation of Soviet troops at the "invitation" of the Hungarian Government in fighting the Hungarian population, and the near intervention of Soviet forces in Poland, illustrate that, at least in



those countries where Soviet troops are stationed, the Soviet Union is willing to use its armed forces to prevent the coming into power of a non-communist government, or to prevent a communist government from altering a policy of close military and political alliance with the USSR.

Moscow is apparently willing to accept, however reluctantly, a communist government, which, while remaining loyal to its military and political alliance with the USSR, asserts its "national independence" and its right to pursue its own internal road to communism.

It seems unlikely that U.S. action short of overt military intervention or obvious preparation for such intervention would lead to the USSR deliberately to take steps which it believed would materially increase the risk of general war. Soviet suspicions of U.S. policy and present circumstances which involve Soviet troop movements and alerts probably increase the likelihood of a series of actions and counter-actions leading inadvertently to war.

Actions taken by the United States and other friendly governments in the present situation should strive to aid and encourage forces in the satellites moving toward U.S. objectives without provoking counter-action which would result in the suppression of "liberalizing" influences.

The events in Poland and Hungary have revealed to both the Soviet Union and the rest of the world how much the maintenance of Soviet control in the East Germany and Eastern Europe depends upon the presence of Soviet forces in this area. These events represent a serious defeat for Soviet policy, and may cause the Soviet Union to reappraise the value of continuing its control through the presence of its force in the light of the increasing costs of such a policy. It will be in the U.S. interest, therefore, through appropriate inducements and pressures, to encourage developments which may lead to reduction and withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe.



In pursuing our immediate objectives of discouraging and, if possible, preventing further Soviet armed intervention in Hungary as well as harsh measures of repression or retaliation, mobilize all appropriate pressures, including UN action, on the USSR against such measures, while reassuring the USSR we do not look upon Hungary or the other Satellites as potential military allies.

In line with this approach, consider whether it is advisable to make in the UN or elsewhere a proposal of Hungarian neutrality on the Austrian model.

In line with this approach, consider now whether it is advisable to encourage Soviet withdrawal of its armed forces from Hungary by indicating a willingness of the U.S. to consult with NATO on the probable withdrawal of some U.S. forces from Western Europe if the Soviet does withdraw all of its forces from Hungary.

## John F. Kennedy: "Ich bin ein Berliner" ("I am a 'Berliner'")

delivered 26 June 1963, West Berlin

I am proud to come to this city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolized throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed.



Two thousand years ago, two thousand years ago, the proudest boast was "civis Romanus sum." Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner."

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world.

Let them come to Berlin.

There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future.

Let them come to Berlin.

And there are some who say, in Europe and elsewhere, we can work with the Communists.

Let them come to Berlin.

And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress.

Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen. Let them come to Berlin. [...]

While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system -- for all the world to see -- we take no satisfaction in it; for it is, as your Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

What is true of this city is true of Germany: real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In 18 years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace, with good will to all people.

You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.

Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one and this country and this great Continent of Europe in a peaceful and hopeful globe. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.

All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin.

And, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words "Ich bin ein Berliner."

## Memorandum from the Central Intelligence Agency on an invasion of Cuba (1961)

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/baypig2.htm>

...The Secretary called on Mr. Mann to give a resume of activities regarding Cuba in the diplomatic field over the last several months. Mr. Mann said that several months ago he had talked with members of the Latin American diplomatic corps and had indicated to them that the United States wanted to know whether the OAS system could prevent Castro's exportation of communism elsewhere in the hemisphere. The reaction of most members of the corps was that they wanted to know first where the Kennedy administration and the Quadros administration would stand.

...At this point, Mr. Merchant noted that two distinctions should be made regarding possible Latin American support for action against Castro. First a distinction should be drawn between the attitudes of governments and the attitudes of peoples within Latin American countries. A second distinction should be made with regard to the difference between what governments would be willing to support publicly and what they would be willing to support only privately.

...The Secretary next asked at what point did we begin to consider that Castro had gone beyond the watershed in Cuba, adding that it seemed clear there was little hope now. Mr. Mann indicated it was difficult to name a specific point. There were a number of things that Castro had done that led to the conclusion that he had crossed the watershed. One early action on his part was his initiative in seeking ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc, which he had undertaken before we had acted on sugar quotas. Mr. Mann then listed other actions on Castro's part such as expropriation of land, setting up the militia, etc. He summarized by saying that history may indicate that Cuba had been one of the most rapidly communized states--faster even than those in Eastern Europe. He pointed out that Castro has complete control, something totally different from the situation in the traditional dictatorships in Latin America.

...The Secretary then called on General Lemnitzer to review the military situation in Cuba. After having emphasized the extreme sensitivity of some of the information he was about to give, General Lemnitzer estimated that the Revolutionary Army had 32,000, the Revolutionary National Police 9,000, the Militia over 200,000. He said that Cuba was an armed camp. They had received more than 30,000 tons of arms and equipment over the past five or six months. This buildup had made a decided change in the U.S. contingency plans to deal with it. He said there was no evidence of jet aircraft, missiles, or nuclear weapons; on the other hand, about 100 Cuban pilots were being trained in jet aircraft in Czechoslovakia. Their return to Cuba would add a new dimension to the problem.

...The Secretary then called on Mr. Dulles to outline the program for which he has been responsible with regard to Cuba. Mr. Dulles said that last March 17th the President had approved a covert action program to eliminate Castro. There had been three major lines of development under this program. The first was the political front, the second the psychological front, and the third was training Cubans for paramilitary activities.

...The Secretary then commented on the enormous implications of putting U.S. forces ashore in Cuba and said we should consider everything short of this, including rough stuff, before doing so. He said he felt we might be confronted by serious uprisings all over Latin America if U.S. forces were to go in, not to mention the temptation that the commitment of such forces in Cuba would provide elsewhere in the world.

## JFK Television Address

### RADIO-TV ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE NATION FROM THE WHITE HOUSE OCTOBER 22, 1962

Good evening, my fellow citizens:

This government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military build-up on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on the imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.

[...] The characteristics of these new Missiles sites indicated two distinct types of installations. Several of them include Medium Range Ballistic Missiles, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of striking Washington, D. C., the Panama Canal, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City, in or any other city in the South-eastern part of this United States, in Central America, or in the Caribbean area.

Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles - capable of traveling more than twice as far - and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the Western hemisphere, ranging as far North as Hudson's bay, Canada, and as far South as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncrated and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.

This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base - by the presence of these large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction - constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americans, in flagrant and deliberate defiance of the Rio Pact of 1947, the traditions of this Nation and Hemisphere, the Joint Resolution of the 87th Congress, the Charter of the United Nations, and my own public warnings to the Soviets on September 4 and 13. This action also contradicts the repeated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms build-up in Cuba would retain its original defensive character, and that missiles on the territory of any other nation.

[...]

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantial increase possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace.

For many years, both the Soviet Union and the United States, recognizing this fact, have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation, under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history. Unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II, demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the bull's eye of Soviet missiles located inside the USSR or in submarines.

In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger - although it should be noted the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat.

*(Suite page 59)*

[...] Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation, which leads a worldwide alliance. We have been determined not to be diverted from our central concerns by mere irritants and fanatics. [...]

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by Constitution as endorsed by the Resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be take immediately:

1. **First:** To halt this offensive build-up, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We were not at this time, however, denying the necessities of lie as the Soviets attempt do in their Berlin blockade of 1948. [...]
2. **Third:** It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.
3. **Fourth:** As a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at Guantanamo, evacuated today the dependents of our personnel there, and ordered additional military units to be on a standby alert basis.
4. **Fifth:** We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organ of Consultation under the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security and to invoke Articles 6 and 8 of the Rio Treaty in support of all necessary action. The United Nations Charter allows for regional security arrangements - and the nations of this Hemisphere decided long ago against the military presence of outside powers. Our other allies around the world have also been alerted.
5. **Sixth:** under the Charter of the United Nations, we re asking tonight that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be convoked without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will al for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of UN observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.
6. **Seventh and finally:** I call upon Chairman khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this curse of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and transform the history of man. He has an opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction - by returning to his government's own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these w weapons from Cuba - by refraining from any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis - and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions.

This Nation is prepared to present its case against the Soviet threat to peace, and our own proposals for a peaceful world, at any time and in any forum - in the OAS, in the United Nations, or in any other meeting that could be useful - without limiting our freedom of action. We have in the past made strenuous efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. We have proposed the elimination of all arms and military bases in a fair and effective disarmament treaty. We are prepared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides - including the possibilities of genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish o war with the Soviet Union - for we re a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.

## Khrushchev to Kennedy October 24, 1962

Dear Mr. President,

Imagine, Mr. President, what if we were to present to you such an ultimatum as you have presented to us by your actions. How would you react to it? I think you would be outraged at such a move on our part. And this we would understand.

Having presented these conditions to us, Mr. President, you have thrown down the gauntlet. Who asked you to do this? By what right have you done this? Our ties with the Republic of Cuba, as well as our relations with other nations, regardless of their political system, concern only the two countries between which these relations exist. And, if it were a matter of quarantine as mentioned in your letter, then, as is customary in international practice, it can be established only by states agreeing between themselves, and not by some third party. Quarantines exist, for example, on agricultural goods and products. However, in this case we are not talking about quarantines, but rather about much more serious matters, and you yourself understand this.

You, Mr. President, are not declaring a quarantine, but rather issuing an ultimatum, and you are threatening that if we do not obey your orders, you will then use force. Think about what you are saying! And you want to persuade me to agree to this! What does it mean to agree to these demands? It would mean for us to conduct our relations with other countries not by reason, but by yielding to tyranny. You are not appealing to reason; you want to intimidate us.

No, Mr. President, I cannot agree to this, and I think that deep inside, you will admit that I am right. I am convinced that if you were in my place you would do the same.

... This Organization [of American States] has no authority or grounds whatsoever to pass resolutions like those of which you speak in your letter. Therefore, we do not accept these resolutions. International law exists, generally accepted standards of conduct exist. We firmly adhere to the principles of international law and strictly observe the standards regulating navigation on the open sea, in international waters. We observe these standards and enjoy the rights recognized by all nations.

You want to force us to renounce the rights enjoyed by every sovereign state; you are attempting to legislate questions of international law; you are violating the generally accepted standards of this law. All this is due not only to hatred for the Cuban people and their government, but also for reasons having to do with the election campaign in the USA. What morals, what laws can justify such an approach by the American government to international affairs? Such morals and laws are not to be found, because the actions of the USA in relation to Cuba are outright piracy. This, if you will, is the madness of a degenerating imperialism. Unfortunately, people of all nations, and not least the American people themselves, could suffer heavily from madness such as this, since with the appearance of modern types of weapons, the USA has completely lost its former inaccessibility.

Therefore, Mr. President, if you weigh the present situation with a cool head without giving way to passion, you will understand that the Soviet Union cannot afford not to decline the despotic demands of the USA. When you lay conditions such as these before us, try to put yourself in our situation and consider how the USA would react to such conditions. I have no doubt that if anyone attempted to dictate similar conditions to you -- the USA, you would reject such an attempt. And we likewise say -- no.

The Soviet government considers the violation of the freedom of navigation in international waters and air space to constitute an act of aggression propelling humankind into the abyss of a world nuclear-missile war. Therefore, the Soviet government cannot instruct captains of Soviet ships bound for Cuba to observe orders of American naval forces blockading this island. Our instructions to Soviet sailors are to observe strictly the generally accepted standards of navigation in international waters and not retreat one step from them. And, if the American side violates these rights, it must be aware of the responsibility it will bear for this act. To be sure, we will not remain mere observers of pirate actions by American ships in the open sea. We will then be forced on our part to take those measures we deem necessary and sufficient to defend our rights. To this end we have all that is necessary.

Respectfully yours,  
N. Khrushchev

## Pravda Editorial: The Anti-Soviet Policy of Communist China (February 16, 1967)

Web Version: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1967pravda-china.html>

...never before has such a fierce campaign been savaged against [the Soviet Union] as the one launched by the present leaders of China...In their shameless violations of the existing standards and customs of international law the Chinese authorities go to lengths which even the most reactionary of imperialist governments have rarely permitted themselves....

...The facts show that the persons who are today directing the policy of China, are setting themselves the goal not only of bringing up the Chinese people in a spirit of enmity towards the U.S.S.R. but of worsening Soviet-Chinese relations to the limit, and, in the last analysis, bringing those relations to the point of a complete break.

...Why does the Mao Tse-tung group need this worsening of the position and what goals is it pursuing? The answer to this question should be sought in the entire nationalistic, great-power policy of the present Chinese leadership...one of the direct reasons for the anti-Soviet policy and the anti-Soviet propaganda of the present Chinese leadership is a desire to divert the attention of the Chinese people from the privations and difficulties they are experiencing and from the many mistakes and failures in the domestic and foreign policy of China. Here we are actually confronted with the old and hackneyed method employed by all unprincipled politicians when facing bankruptcy....

It was by no means accidental that they fired their first shots in the political war against the Soviet state and the C.P.S.U. shortly after the failure of the ill-starred policy of the "Great Leap" and the "people's communes." As the scale of the setbacks in domestic policy and the failure of the line in the foreign policy pursued by the C.P.C. leadership, which led the country to isolation, became increasingly clear, the intensity of the anti-Soviet campaign grew more and more. . . .

In an atmosphere of tense struggle inside the party and among the people, Mao Tse-tung's group needed this slander precisely in the interests of the power struggle. Mao Tse-tung simply could not have remained in power without such slander, because the Soviet Union's successes in building communism and the successes in building socialism in other countries expose his apostasy and the bankruptcy of his political line...

...Mao Tse-tung's group has long been attacking its own party. The most elementary standards and principles of inner party life-the elective nature of party bodies, the responsibility of leaders to the party and party organizations, publicity in the discussion of the party line...been trampled underfoot in China. The cult of the personality of Mao Tse-tung has reached absurd lengths and has become actual idolatry...

The anti-Soviet campaign of the Chinese leaders is being waged in the most outrageous ways, with real hooliganism.

...In reality, the actions of Mao Tse-tung's group are motivated not by their strength but by their weakness, by their fear of their own party and their own people. The most recent events show that the Peking leaders have sufficient grounds for that fear. The "cultural revolution" has brought to light the great degree of dissatisfaction that exists among the workers, peasants and intellectuals-dissatisfaction which has spread even to the army and the youth on whom Mao Tse-tung's group is gambling. The events which began under the banner of the "cultural revolution" have actually developed into a fierce struggle by Mao Tse-tung and his followers to retain power. Their policy shows that for the sake of power they are ready to sacrifice everything - the interests of socialism, the interests of their people and the interests of the revolution....

The main thing is, however, that already today Mao Tse-tung and his entourage, by their policy, are rendering invaluable services to the imperialists.

This group has actually replaced the struggle against imperialism by a struggle against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and against the communist movement. It is thereby weakening the front of the anti-imperialist forces and worsening the entire political situation in Asia. All this is, in the first place, a stab in the back for the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against the American aggressors, Imperialist circles fully approve of this line of Mao Tse-tung's group. [...]

...the domestic and foreign policy of Mao Tse-tung and his group is contrary to the interests of socialism, to the interests of the revolution, and plans into the bands of imperialism, and in the first place, United States imperialism. . . .

Having replaced the struggle against imperialism with a struggle against the Soviet Union, against the whole socialist community, and against the international communist and liberation movements, Mao Tse-tung's group is doing considerable harm to the cause of world socialism, including harm to the Chinese people and the cause of building socialism in China. The adventurist anti-Leninist policy of this group has in store for the Chinese people only a further worsening of economic difficulties, a lowering of living standards, a deterioration in the international situation and the prospect of China becoming completely isolated from the socialist community.

**One of US strategy of potential use of nuclear weapons**  
**The doctrine of Mutual Deterrence**  
**Defined by Robert S. Namara, US Secretary of Defense 1967**

*In the following speech, given September 18, 1967, Robert McNamara, then U.S. secretary of defense, explains a supplement to the "No Cities" doctrine of 1962 -- "mutual deterrence." According to this policy, if the Soviets knew that an attack on the U.S. would guarantee the equivalent destruction of the U.S.S.R., then the Soviets would be less likely to attack. Mutual deterrence meant that the weapons buildup would continue, and new technology would enable U.S. missiles to be launched, even if the United States were to come under attack.*

#### Mutual Deterrence

In a complex and uncertain world, the gravest problem that an American Secretary of Defense must face is that of planning, preparation and policy against the possibility of thermonuclear war. It is a prospect that most of mankind understandably would prefer not to contemplate. For technology has now circumscribed us all with a horizon of horror that could dwarf any catastrophe that has befallen man in his more than a million years on earth.

Man has lived now for more than twenty years in what we have come to call the Atomic Age. What we sometimes overlook is that every future age of man will be an atomic age, and if man is to have a future at all, it will have to be one overshadowed with the permanent possibility of thermonuclear holocaust. About that fact there is no longer any doubt. Our freedom in this question consists only in facing the matter rationally and realistically and discussing actions to minimize the danger.

[...] One must begin with precise definitions. The cornerstone of our strategic policy continues to be to deter nuclear attack upon the United States or its allies. We do this by maintaining a highly reliable ability to inflict unacceptable damage upon any single aggressor or combination of aggressors at any time during the course of a strategic nuclear exchange, even after absorbing a surprise first strike. This can be defined as our assured-destruction capability.

It is important to understand that assured destruction is the very essence of the whole deterrence concept. We must possess an actual assured-destruction capability, and that capability also must be credible. The point is that a potential aggressor must believe that our assured-destruction capability is in fact actual, and that our will to use it in retaliation to an attack is in fact unwavering. The conclusion, then, is clear: if the United States is to deter a nuclear attack in itself or its allies, it must possess an actual and a credible assured-destruction capability.

When calculating the force required, we must be conservative in all our estimates of both a potential aggressor's capabilities and his intentions. Security depends upon assuming a worst plausible case, and having the ability to cope with it. In that eventuality we must be able to absorb the total weight of nuclear attack on our country -- on our retaliatory forces, on our command and control apparatus, on our industrial capacity, on our cities, and on our population -- and still be capable of damaging the aggressor to the point that his society would be simply no longer viable in twentieth-century terms. That is what deterrence of nuclear aggression means. It means the certainty of suicide to the aggressor, not merely to his military forces, but to his society as a whole.

Let us consider another term: first-strike capability. This is a somewhat ambiguous term, since it could mean simply the ability of one nation to attack another nation with nuclear forces first. But as it is normally used, it connotes much more: the elimination of the attacked nation's retaliatory second-strike forces. This is the sense in which it should be understood.

[...] Our strategic offensive forces are immense: 1,000 Minuteman missile launchers, carefully protected below ground; 41 Polaris submarines carrying 656 missile launchers, with the majority hidden beneath the seas at all times; and about 600 long-range bombers, approximately 40 percent of which are kept always in a high state of alert. . [...]

## The Vietnam conflict



<b>1954</b>	<p><b>MAY</b> Fall of Dien Bien Phu; French army is defeated in Vietnam</p>
<b>1960</b>	<p><b>DECEMBER</b></p> <p>Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, organizes the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the Vietcong. Ho commits the NLF to the overthrow of the non-Communist government in South Vietnam, the ousting of U.S. advisers and the unification of Vietnam.</p>
<b>1963</b>	<p><b>NOVEMBER</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem is assassinated</li> </ul>
<b>1964</b>	<p><b>AUGUST</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Johnson orders immediate retaliation for the attack on U.S. destroyers Maddox and Turner Joy in the Gulf of Tonkin, allegedly by the North Vietnamese.</li> <li>Congress approves Gulf of Tonkin Resolution giving the President power to take "all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States, and to prevent further aggression."</li> </ul> <p><b>NOVEMBER</b></p> <p>Lyndon Johnson is elected President.</p>
<b>1965</b>	<p><b>FEBRUARY</b></p> <p>Soviet Premier Kosygin visits Hanoi and agrees to give unconditional military aid to the North Vietnamese.</p> <p><b>MARCH</b></p> <p>First U.S. Marines in Vietnam land at Da Nang.</p> <p><b>DECEMBER</b></p> <p>U.S. forces in Vietnam number 184,300.</p>
<b>1966</b>	<p><b>MARCH</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Anti-Vietnam War rallies staged in seven U.S. and European cities.</li> </ul> <p><b>DECEMBER</b></p> <p>U.S. forces in Vietnam number 362,000.</p>

<b>1967</b>	<p><b>JANUARY</b></p> <p>United States begins Operation Cedar Falls.</p> <p><b>DECEMBER</b></p> <p>U.S. forces in Vietnam number 485,000.</p>
<b>1968</b>	<p><b>JANUARY</b></p> <p>Tet Offensive attacks on South Vietnamese cities by North Vietnamese and NLF troops.</p> <p><b>MARCH</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· My Lai massacre.</li> <li>· Johnson withdraws from presidential contest.</li> </ul> <p><b>OCTOBER</b></p> <p>Johnson halts bombing of North Vietnam, invites South Vietnam and the Vietcong to Paris peace talks.</p> <p><b>NOVEMBER</b></p> <p>Nixon is elected President.</p> <p><b>DECEMBER</b></p> <p>U.S. forces in Vietnam number 535,000.</p>

Document 26

## **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**

### **Proposed by Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the USA**

Joint Resolution of Congress : H.J. RES 1145 August 7, 1964

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Section 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Section 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

**Robert S. McNamara,  
"Our Government Lacked Experts...on Vietnam"**

--a brief excerpt from In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam (Random House, 1995)

Two developments after I became secretary of defense reinforced my way of thinking about Vietnam: the intensification of relations between Cuba and the Soviets, and a new wave of Soviet provocations in Berlin. Both seemed to underscore the aggressive intent of Communist policy. In that context, the danger of Vietnam's loss and, through falling dominoes, the loss of all Southeast Asia made it seem reasonable to consider expanding the U.S. effort in Vietnam.

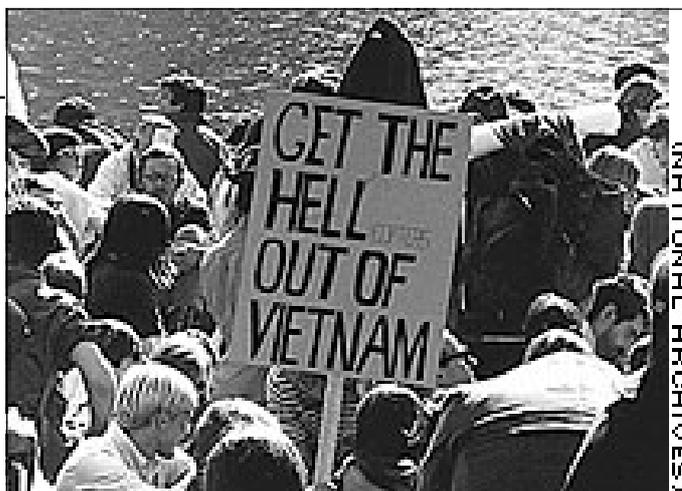
None of this made me anything close to an East Asian expert, however. I had never visited Indochina, nor did I understand or appreciate its history, language, culture, or values. The same must be said, to varying degrees, about President Kennedy, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy, military adviser Maxwell Taylor, and many others. When it came to Vietnam, we found ourselves setting policy for a region that was terra incognita.

Worse, our government lacked experts for us to consult to compensate for our ignorance. When the Berlin crisis occurred in 1961 and during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, President Kennedy was able to turn to senior people like Llewellyn Thompson, Charles Bohlen, and George Kennan, who knew the Soviets intimately. There were no senior officials in the Pentagon or State Department with comparable knowledge about Southeast Asia. I knew of only one Pentagon officer with counterinsurgency experience in the region--Col. Edward Lansdale, who had served as an advisor to Ramon Magsaysay in the Philippines and Diem in South Vietnam. But Lansdale was relatively junior and lacked broad geopolitical expertise.

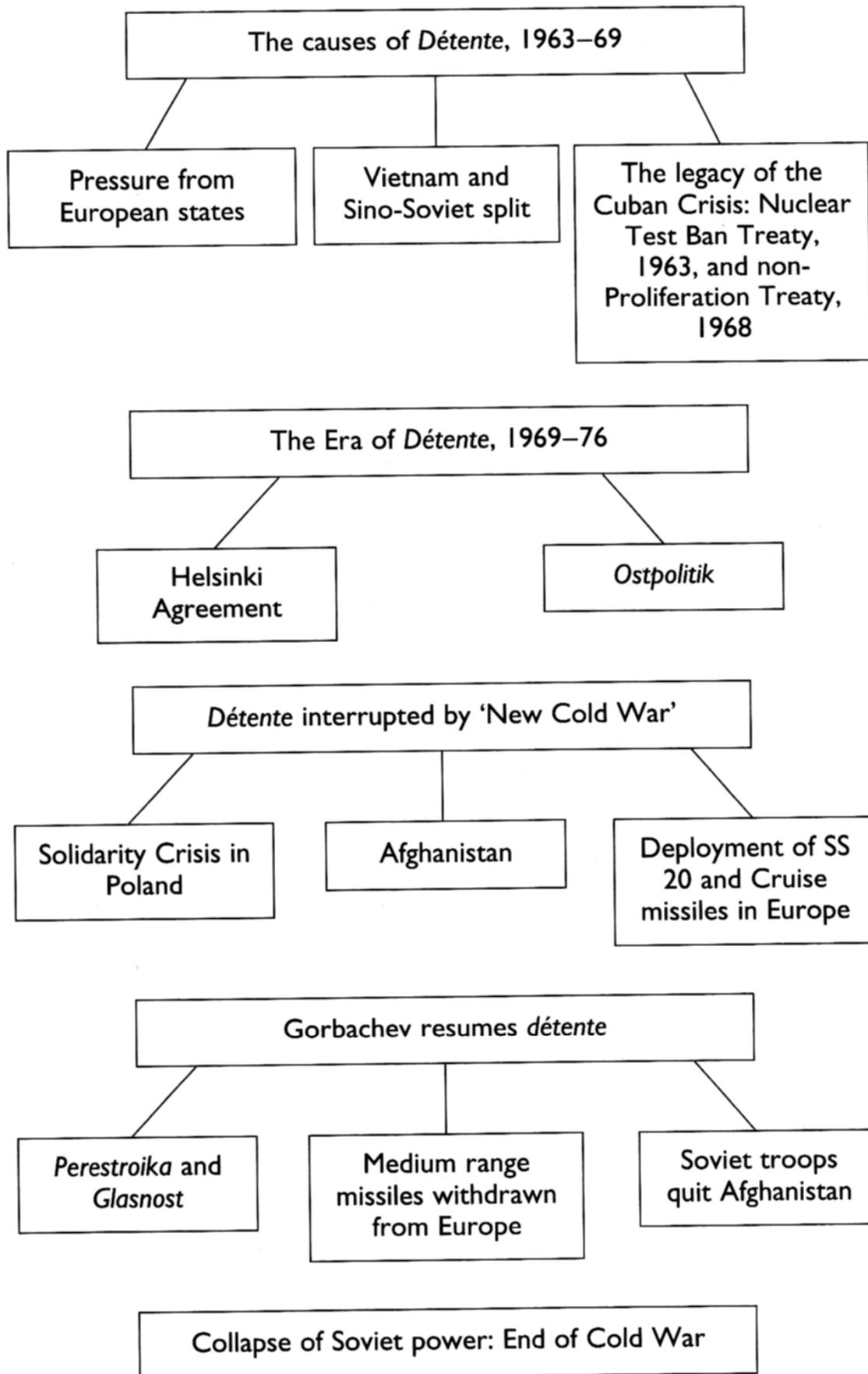
The irony of this gap was that it existed largely because the top East Asian and China experts in the State Department--John Paton Davies, Jr., John Stewart Service, and John Carter Vincent [and Edmund Clubb]--had been purged during the McCarthy hysteria of the 1950s. Without men like these to provide sophisticated, nuanced insights, we--certainly I--badly misread China's objectives and mistook its bellicose rhetoric to imply a drive for regional hegemony. We also totally underestimated the nationalist aspect of Ho Chi Minh's movement. We saw him first as a Communist and only second as a Vietnamese nationalist...

Such ill-founded judgments were accepted without debate by the Kennedy Administration, as they had been by its Democratic and Republic predecessors. We failed to analyze our assumptions critically, then or later. The foundations of our decision making were gravely flawed.

from pp. 32-33



### Summary Diagram The Cold War in Europe, 1963–1991



# The end of the Cold War (1975-1991)

## I) Ultimate tensions : the “Fresh war”

### A) Soviet more active policy

The USSR nevertheless tried to spread its influence over the world again by supporting newly independent African socialist regimes like Angola in 1975 and Ethiopian in 1977. With its support Vietnam invaded Cambodia and Laos in 1979.

This was also the application for the the **Brezhnev Doctrine** introduced by Leonid Brezhnev in a speech at the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party on November 13, 1968, which stated:

*"When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries."*

Implicit in this doctrine was that the leadership of the Soviet Union reserved, for itself, the right to define "socialism" and "capitalism". This meant in practice that no country was allowed to leave the Warsaw Pact or to disturb that nation's communist party's monopoly on power. The doctrine was used to justify the invasions of Czechoslovakia (that terminated the Prague Spring in 1968) and of the nation of Afghanistan in 1979

All these attempts and developments hid the fact that the USSR had some difficulties in controlling popular democracies :

Lech Walesa, the President of the Solidarnosc trade Union in 1981 symbolised Polish resistance to the communist government. Anyway, after gaining some openings through negotiations and strikes (The Gdansk Agreement), they faced a coup in November 1981, led by communist generals which sized the power for almost ten years with the help of the USSR.



The American response was immediate since Jimmy Carter put an embargo on the cereal trade with the USSR and boycotted the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980. Under Ronald Reagan's presidency, tensions reached their peak though what will remain as the Fresh war :

### B) Reagan

#### The Evil Empire

On 8<sup>th</sup> March 1983 President Reagan in a speech in Orlando, Florida described the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and followed this up 15 days later by announcing the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) to research anti-ballistic missile defences. The Second Cold War reached a critical stage a few months later when Soviet fighter planes shot down Korean Airlines passenger flight KAL 007 when it strayed into Soviet airspace on a routine flight from Alaska to South Korea. All 269 passengers were killed. The incident caused outrage in the west not least because of the Soviet leadership's insensitive response which was simply to repeat in robotic fashion the standard line that any unidentified aircraft flying over Soviet airspace would be treated in the same way.

Ronald Reagan had been elected following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. His attacks on the

USSR were a major factor in the escalation of the Second Cold War. He saw the USSR and communism in unsophisticated moral terms as the embodiment of evil. Yet, although lambasted for his simplicity of approach to foreign affairs, many in the USA warmed to his homespun philosophy of American good versus Soviet evil.

To detractors, Reagan's stance made war more likely and delayed ending the Cold War whereas to his supporters he is a plain-speaking hero whose policies ended the Cold War.

Elected at a time when "America was in retreat" following communist success in Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Cambodia, Nicaragua and El Salvador and the feeling of military impotency following Vietnam and most recently in Iran, Reagan chose to go on the offensive. In this he had a staunch ally in the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

### Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The rise of the communist Sandinista government in Nicaragua in 1981 and the communist challenge to the right-wing government of El Salvador were Reagan's most pressing issues. Unable to convince a sceptical US public let alone US Congress of the Soviet/Cuban plot to spread communism throughout Central and South America, Reagan had to resort to more subtle methods. The CIA was used to Channel covert military and financial support to the 'freedom fighters'. These right-wing death squads were responsible for murdering 60,000 civilians (according to the International Court of Human Rights in 1986). Further scandal was aroused when it became known that Colonel Oliver North had to carry the can for the 'Arms to Iran' issue in which arms were sold to Iran in order to raise money for the Contras, a right wing guerrilla group fighting the Sandinistas.

### Defence Spending

The most serious challenge to the USSR was the approval of a vast 53% increase in the US defence

### Policy orientation

The administration oversaw a massive military build-up that represented a policy called "**peace through strength.**" The Reagan administration set a new policy toward the Soviet Union with the goal to win the Cold War through a three-pronged strategy outlined in NSDD-32 (National Security Decisions Directive). The directive outlined Reagan's plan to confront the Soviet Union on three fronts:

**Economic** - decrease Soviet access to high technology and diminish their resources, including depressing the value of Soviet commodities on the world market; military

**Increase American defense expenditures** to strengthen the U.S. negotiating position and force the Soviets to devote more of their economic resources to defense.

He proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative, dubbed "Star Wars", a space-based missile shield, widely viewed outside the US as an offensive weapon. It was proposed to deploy a space-based defense system to make the U.S. invulnerable to nuclear weapon missile attack, by means of a network of armed satellites orbiting the Earth

**Clandestine - support anti-Soviet factions around the world :**

Support for anti-communist groups including armed insurgencies against communist governments was also a part of administration policy, referred to by his supporters as the **Reagan Doctrine.**

Following this policy, the administration funded groups they called "freedom fighters" such as the mujahideen in Afghanistan, the Contras in Nicaragua, and Jonas Savimbi's rebel forces in Angola.

The Reagan administration increased military funding for anti-communist dictatorships throughout Latin America

### The Euromissile crisis

Worried by Soviet deployment of nuclear SS-20 missiles (commenced in 1977), the NATO allies had in 1979 agreed to continued Strategic Arms Limitation Talks to constrain the number of nuclear missiles for battle field targets, threatening to deploy some 500 cruise missiles and *Pershing II* missiles in West Germany and the Netherlands in case the negotiations were unsuccessful. The negotiations, taken up in Geneva, November 30, 1981, were bound to fail. Reagan took the stance to deploy the US IRBM. In the countries in question, the planned deployment of *Pershing II* met intense and widespread opposition from public opinion across Europe, which was the site of massive demonstrations. *Pershing II* missiles were deployed in Europe from January 1984.

budget in 1981. This represented the biggest military build up in US peacetime history. New nuclear missiles were developed including the Stealth Bomber and Trident submarines. The SDI would be central to this army build up. Mrs Thatcher readily agreed to have these US nuclear missiles based in Britain in order to 'squeeze' the Soviet leadership further towards reform and negotiation.

The debate over 'squeezers' and 'dealers' in the US Administration is made sterile when the state of the Soviet leadership is examined. Clearly, USA was making all the running at this point despite its critics crying foul at every point.\* The Reagan Doctrine showed the USSR that the USA would take forceful action against Soviet expansion.

\*Latin America, power of the industrial military plant, rejection of **compromise with USSR ,plans for fighting a nuclear war, Reagan's** talk of 'theatre nuclear war' in Europe, Star Wars, criticism over the invasion of Grenada, US support for nasty regimes such as Marcos in the Philippines, the growth of peace campaigns.

## II) The end of the Cold War

### A) Development within the USSR

#### 1) The Gerontocracy

When compared to the geriatrics ruling in the Kremlin, it is not difficult to see why Reagan was viewed as dynamic. The stagnation of Soviet policy planning is understandable when its leadership is examined. When the aged and confused Brezhnev died in 1982, his successor Yuri Andropov was already an ill man. Wired to a dialysis machine most of the time, he died of kidney failure in February 1984. His replacement was the elderly Konstantin Chernenko who was unfortunately already dying of emphysema . He passed away within a year. At a time when the Soviet Union needed strong leadership, it could only appoint from the same gene pool of Stalinist officials. A leader from a new generation would have to be found.

#### 2) The Crisis of the USSR

The Soviet system was clearly failing by the 1980s. Contrary to its propaganda, there was no chance of communism eclipsing capitalism. The paralysis of leadership at the top meant that any fundamental domestic issues and tough choices were never addressed. These included:

Economic decline

Separatism/nationalism

Human Rights

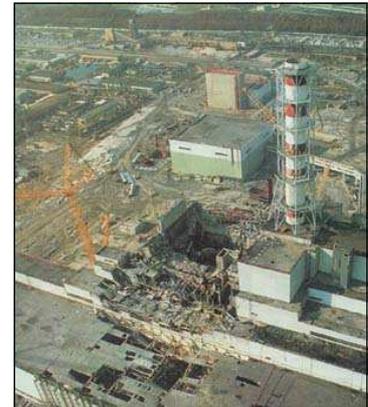
#### **Economic Decline**

Leaving aside philosophical issues on the economic sustainability of communism or the inevitable triumph of capitalism, there were many specific problems within the *Soviet Model* which needed attention. These reached deep within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) itself and would prove impossible to resolve without the break up of the Soviet Union at the same time.

At national, regional and local levels the vast army of Soviet bureaucrats, the ***nomenklatura***, **governed every aspect of life in the USSR. These same people enjoyed varying degrees of privilege** which inevitably led to abuses of power. Corruption was rife and it was left to the KGB chief Yuri Andropov to stamp it out. This resulted in many arrests (including Brezhnev's daughter and son-in-law) and executions or imprisonment. It also gave him the authority to succeed Brezhnev when he died in 1982. A difficult task for any one man, Andropov himself died before he could make much impact on the country. However, he did begin to shake up the **complacent *nomenklatura***. Replacing ministers, regional Party chiefs and promoting a new generation including Mikhail Gorbachev to the Politburo.

Andropov did try to reach agreement with the White House in order to reduce arms spending which was crippling the Soviet economy. Reagan rejected his offer of a 25% reduction in strategic weapons and a freeze on nuclear-weapons development. Any hope he had of the peace movements pressuring western governments into disarmament was dashed with the election of Mitterrand and Kohl and the re-election of Thatcher by 1983.

The USSR was in sharp economic decline. The planned economy was failing and with it the standard of living. Empty shops, poor housing, subsistence diets, high infant mortality (almost at Third World levels), pollution (with for example the Tchernobyl explosion) and the return of the barter economy all indicated economic ruin. All this plus a lack of any social diversion produced a population which took refuge in the vodka bottle with all its unpleasant results. This stagnation was a result of unrealistic Five Year Plans, poor infrastructure, high cost of arms spending, over-reliance on heavy industry and lack of any workers incentives.



### The Rise of Nationalism

The separatist issue dogged the old Tsarist empire and continued to trouble the USSR. Stalin's approach failed to resolve these long-standing issues. Most republics had been 'Russified' and the Brezhnev Doctrine dictated the limits of independence. Only the Red Army bound the USSR together. Poland, with the rise of Solidarity, was in open revolt. Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary were all distancing themselves *from* Russian leadership and in the Baltic States, Ukraine and Georgia demands for independence were growing. On top of this the invasion of Afghanistan only served to intensify opposition to Soviet rule within the predominately Muslim southern USSR.

### Human Rights

Human Rights gained momentum after the Helsinki Accords of 1975 guaranteed freedom of speech and protest. However, KGB chief Yuri Andropov soon grasped its danger among a population growing tired of food queues and poor living conditions. Soon these commentators began to criticise and reject communism itself. In order to silence dissent, he declared all dissidents mentally ill and confined them to mental hospitals. This was intended to buy the Soviet Union time for reform but Andropov died before making any impact. His endorsement of Mikhail Gorbachev as new General Secretary only days before his death was ignored by the Politburo. The die-hard conservative Konstantin Chernenko who called for "moderation in the speed of change" was appointed. His death a few months later and the failure to replace him with the 70 year old Viktor Grishin signalled the end of the old order. On 11<sup>th</sup> March 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev was publicly declared General Secretary of the CPSU. The USA did not realise it, but the Cold War was effectively over and the battle for the very survival of the USSR had begun.

### Glasnost and Perestroika

Domestically, Gorbachev implemented economic reforms that he hoped would improve living standards and worker productivity as part of his *perestroika* program. The Law on Cooperatives enacted in May 1987 was perhaps the most radical of the economic reforms during the early part of the Gorbachev era. The law permitted private ownership of businesses in the services, manufacturing, and foreign-trade sectors. Under this provision, cooperative restaurants, shops, and manufacturers became part of the Soviet scene. Gorbachev also brought *perestroika* to the Soviet Union's foreign economic sector. It permitted the ministries of the various industrial and agricultural branches to conduct foreign trade in sectors under their responsibility rather than having to operate indirectly through the bureaucracy of trade ministry organizations..

The introduction of *glasnost* gave new freedoms to the people, such as a greater freedom of speech. This was a radical change, as control of speech and suppression of government criticism had previously been a central part of the Soviet system. The press became far less controlled, and thousands of political prisoners and most (but not all) dissidents were released. Gorbachev's goal in undertaking *glasnost* was to pressure conservatives within the CPSU who opposed his policies of economic restructuring, and he also hoped that through different ranges of openness, debate and participation, the Soviet people would support his reform initiatives.

## B) Gorbachev

### 1) New Political Thinking

Within weeks of coming to power Mikhail Gorbachev introduced the world to two new Russian words: Glasnost and Perestroika. Glasnost *or openness* allowed for an open and honest appraisal of the problems facing the USSR and Perestroika *or restructuring* addressed the fundamental reform of the Soviet economy and the organisation of the CPSU. It was Glasnost which ended the Cold War and Perestroika which ended the USSR. Such was the impact of Gorbachev's New Political Thinking.

A committed communist, Mikhail Gorbachev was determined to make the Soviet system better. Key to this was a reduction in military spending which accounted for between 15% and 18% of the country's GNP. Maintaining its military power and global ambitions in these circumstances severely weakened the Soviet economy. In a view to addressing this issue arms limitation talks were quickly reopened and Gorbachev replaced the veteran Foreign Minister Gromyko with the more flexible Eduard Shevardnadze.

Military Doctrine. Gorbachev introduced the concept of 'reasonable sufficiency' (i.e. fewer nuclear weapons needed) and 'defensive defence' to quell western concern about Soviet snacks. This led to the following agreements:

- Geneva 1986. Established a personal rapport between the two leaders
- Reykjavik 1986. Talks broke down due to Soviet linkage with SDI.
- Washington 1987. INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) Treaty.

Abandonment of Marxist-Leninism and changing the goals of Soviet foreign policy. Gorbachev jettisoned the concept of international class warfare and instead stressed 'human values' and the role of the United Nations. Soviet foreign policy was thus 'normalised' and weakened the need for satellite States ready to do the Soviet Union's bidding.

Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan announced in 1988. The final troops leaving on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1989. This war had cost the lives of over 15,000 Red Army soldiers and around \$8 billion per annum.

Withdrawal of Soviet military and political support from Marxist regimes including Nicaragua, Angola, Vietnam, Cambodia and Ethiopia. The USSR had spent around \$40 billion annually on propping up such communist governments around the world.

Altered Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe. In his speech to the UN in December 1988, Gorbachev signalled the end of the Brezhnev Doctrine. In the summer of 1989 his press secretary uttered what became known as the 'Sinatra Doctrine' when he emphasised the right of countries "to find their own way to socialism". Gorbachev himself repeated this point at a meeting of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers in October 1989.

### **Why did Gorbachev make such drastic changes in Soviet Foreign Policy?**

It was **not** in response to the military strength of the west nor to the Reagan Doctrine for these factors had been present in various forms for over 40 years. Far more important was the emergence of a new generation of Soviet leaders determined to do something about their country's deteriorating productivity and economic position. The USSR was "the Upper Volta with missiles-" in some ways (not all) a Third World country with a vast nuclear arsenal which was its only justification for meriting the epithet 'superpower'. One way to relieve the pressure on the Soviet economy was through arms control and arms reduction agreements. Another way was to release Eastern Europe from Soviet hegemony as it was no longer regarded as vital to national security. There were at least five aspects to the Soviet view of Eastern Europe which caused this shift:

- Economic. After World War II Eastern Europe was a target of Soviet economic exploitation. Economic relations were structured to be overwhelmingly favourable to the USSR through COMECON. However, by the 1980s not only was Eastern Europe a considerable drain of Soviet resources, it also cost the USSR in terms of lost hard currency in world markets.
- A solid bloc support for USSR in international relations. In 'normalised' circumstances this would no longer be required.
- Political and ideological legitimisation of the Soviet social, economic and political system. Under Glasnost this was changing rapidly.
- The heroic Soviet mythology of the Red Army 'liberating' Eastern Europe from the Nazis.
- Vital to Soviet national security. The abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine in December 1988 ended this.

What is noticeable is the speed of change in Eastern Europe once the Brezhnev Doctrine was renounced. If anything can be said to have triggered the end of the Cold War it must be Gorbachev's speech to the UN in December 1988 when he announced huge troop withdrawals — a total of 500,000 personnel and 10,000 tanks were to be withdrawn from Eastern Europe and the western part of USSR.

In Poland in January 1989 it was announced that Solidarity would be given legal status and that free elections would be held in June. In Hungary legislation was introduced allowing for greater individual freedom and in May the barbed wire fence on the Austrian border began to be dismantled. In July, in a speech to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, Gorbachev stated that there would never again be an invasion of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In East Germany the Honeker regime fell and the Berlin Wall was torn down. The communist systems in Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria were dismantled. By the end of the year communism no longer existed as a credible or coherent force in Eastern Europe. Soon, other instruments of Soviet control such as COMECON and the Warsaw Pact itself were dismantled.

## **2) The End of the Soviet Union**

The west watched the disintegration of Eastern Europe in silence. It seemed that President Bush 'was sleepwalking through history' as the White house could only look on without comment, fearing a Tiananmen Square type backlash. Mrs Thatcher herself, caught off guard, was lukewarm in her response to the prospect of a re-unified Germany.

Gorbachev remained extremely popular in the West but on May Day 1990 the jeers and boos of protesters forced him to withdraw from the traditional procession. The forces of change unleashed by Gorbachev's New Political Thinking had run out of his control. By the summer of 1991 the superpowers had signed the START (Strategic Arms Reduction) Treaty. The nuclear arsenals were to be sharply reduced, the hostility between East and West had gone, the Cold War was a thing of the past. However, the protests within the CPSU soon fragmented the party. On one wing was Boris Yeltsin who had been sacked by Gorbachev in 1988 and who now was elected President of Russia in 1990. On the other wing lay the conservatives including his own prime minister Valentin Pavlov. The weakness of the conservative position was revealed by the failure of their attempted coup against Gorbachev in August 1991. When the coup collapsed Gorbachev was back in power but no longer in control. The rise of nationalism sealed his fate. On 8<sup>th</sup> December eleven of the fifteen republics formed the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and 31<sup>st</sup> December was declared the transition date from the USSR.

Impatient for the end and to Gorbachev's anger, Yeltsin insisted that he vacate the Kremlin on Christmas Day 1991. Boris Yeltsin personally supervised Gorbachev's expulsion from his office and escorted him off the premises. The USSR thus ended without any ceremony.

# Documents (1975-1991)

- 29) Ronald Reagan, the Evil Empire
- 30) Ronald Reagan program of SDI
- 31) Appeal by the government of Afghanistan to the USSR
- 32) Russia's bold challenge , article from TIME on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
- 33) Mikhail Gorbachev in front of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly Session
- 34) Minutes of the Politburo meeting September 20th, 1990
- 35) Gorbachev's address after the coup August 22 1991

## Ronald Reagan: The Evil Empire



### Remarks at the Annual Convention of the the Association of Evangelicals

delivered 8 March 1983, Orlando FL

Well, I think the refusal of many influential people to accept this elementary fact of Soviet doctrine illustrates a historical reluctance to see totalitarian powers for what they are. We saw this phenomenon in the 1930s. We see it too often today.

This doesn't mean we should isolate ourselves and refuse to seek an understanding with them. I intend to do everything I can to persuade them of our peaceful intent, to remind them that it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the forties and fifties for territorial gain and which now proposes 50 percent cut in strategic ballistic missiles and the elimination of an entire class of land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

At the same time, however, they must be made to understand we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace. But we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some.

The truth is that a freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud, for that is merely the illusion of peace. The reality is that we must find peace through strength.

I would agree to a freeze if only we could freeze the Soviets' global desires. A freeze at current levels of weapons would remove any incentive for the Soviets to negotiate seriously in Geneva and virtually end our chances to achieve the major arms reductions which we have proposed. Instead, they would achieve their objectives through the freeze.

A freeze would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup. It would prevent the essential and long overdue modernization of United States and allied defenses and would leave our aging forces increasingly vulnerable. And an honest freeze would require extensive prior negotiations on the systems and numbers to be limited and on the measures to ensure effective verification and compliance. And the kind of a freeze that has been suggested would be virtually impossible to verify. Such a major effort would divert us completely from our current negotiations on achieving substantial reductions.

A number of years ago, I heard a young father, a very prominent young man in the entertainment world, addressing a tremendous gathering in California. It was during the time of the cold war, and communism and our own way of life were very much on people's minds. And he was speaking to that subject. And suddenly, though, I heard him saying, "I love my little girls more than anything." And I said to myself, "Oh, no, don't. You can't -- don't say that." But I had underestimated him. He went on: "I would rather see my little girls die now; still believing in God, than have them grow up under communism and one day die no longer believing in God."

[...] Yes, let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness. Pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the State, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on the earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.

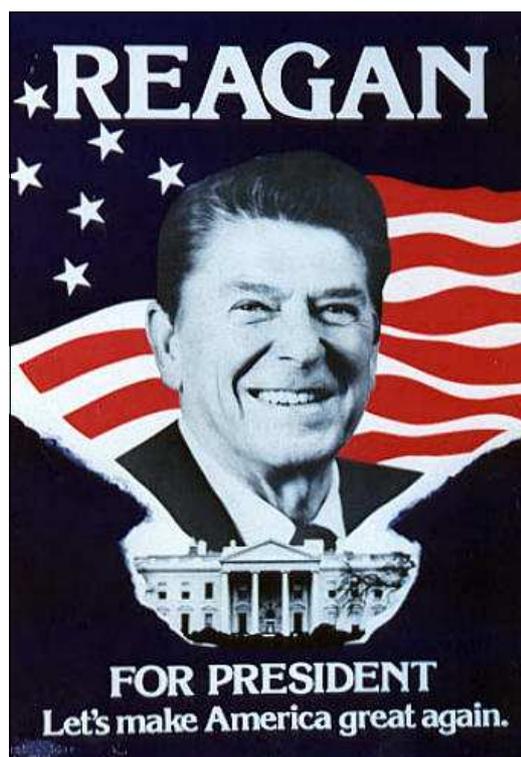
[...] So, I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority. You know, I've always believed that old Screw Tape reserved his best efforts for those of you in the Church. So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride --the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you withhold your support for our efforts, this administration's efforts, to keep America strong and free, while we negotiate real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals and one day, with God's help, their total elimination.

While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I've always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root, it is a test of moral will and faith.

[...] I believe we shall rise to the challenge. I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last -- last pages even now are being written. I believe this because the source of our strength in the quest for human freedom is not material, but spiritual. And because it knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man. [...]

God bless you and thank you very much.



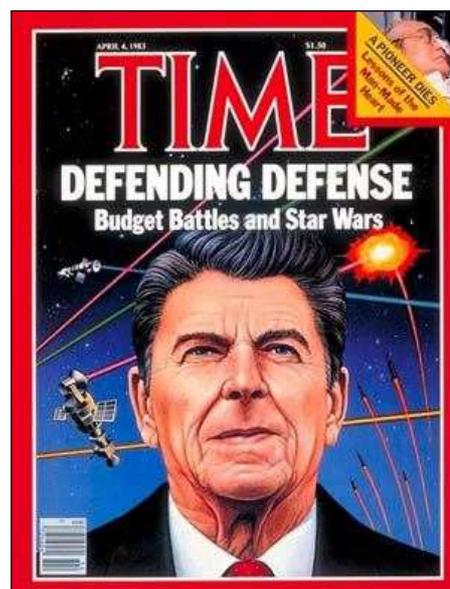
## Ronald Reagan: SDI "Star Wars" – 1983

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/22/documents/starwars.speech/>

...Our efforts to rebuild America's defenses and strengthen the peace began 2 years ago when we requested a major increase in the defense program. Since then, the amount of those increases we first proposed has been reduced by half, through improvements in management and procurement and other savings.

The budget request that is now before the Congress has been trimmed to the limits of safety. Further deep cuts cannot be made without seriously endangering the security of the Nation. The choice is up to the men and women you've elected to the Congress, and that means the choice is up to you.

Tonight, I want to explain to you what the defense debate is all about and why I'm convinced that the budget now before the Congress is necessary, responsible, and deserving of your support. And I want to offer hope for the future.



...The defense policy of the United States is based on a simple premise: The United States does not start fights. We will never be an aggressor. We maintain our strength in order to deter and defend against aggression -- to preserve freedom and peace.

Since the dawn of the atomic age, we've sought to reduce the risk of war by maintaining a strong deterrent and by seeking genuine arms control. "Deterrence" means simply this: making sure any adversary who thinks about attacking the United States, or our allies, or our vital interest, concludes that the risks to him outweigh any potential gains. Once he understands that, he won't attack. We maintain the peace through our strength; weakness only invites aggression.

This strategy of deterrence has not changed. It still works. But what it takes to maintain deterrence has changed. It took one kind of military force to deter an attack when, we had far more nuclear weapons than any other power; it takes another kind now that the Soviets, for example, have enough accurate and powerful nuclear weapons to destroy virtually all of our missiles on the ground. Now, this is not to say that the Soviet Union is planning to make war on us. Nor do I believe a war is inevitable -- quite the contrary. But what must be recognized is that our security is based on being prepared to meet all threats.

There was a time when we depended on coastal forts and artillery batteries, because, with the weaponry of that day, any attack would have had to come by sea. Well, this is a different world, and our defenses must be based on recognition and awareness of the weaponry possessed by other nations in the nuclear age.

...For 20 years the Soviet Union has been accumulating enormous military might. They didn't stop when their forces exceeded all requirements of a legitimate defensive capability. And they haven't stopped now. During the past decade and a half, the Soviets have built up a massive arsenal of new strategic nuclear weapons -- weapons that can strike directly at the United States.

...The Soviet Union is acquiring what can only be considered an offensive military force. They have continued to build far more intercontinental ballistic missiles than they could possibly need simply to deter an attack. Their conventional forces are trained and equipped not so much to defend against an attack as they are to permit sudden, surprise offensives of their own.

...I know that all of you want peace, and so do I. I know too that many of you seriously believe that a nuclear freeze would further the cause of peace. But a freeze now would make us less, not more, secure and would raise, not reduce, the risk of war. It would be largely unverifiable and would seriously undercut our negotiations on arms reduction. It would reward the Soviets for their massive military

build up while preventing us from modernizing our aging and increasingly vulnerable forces. With their present margin of superiority, why should they agree to arms reductions knowing that we were prohibited from catching up?

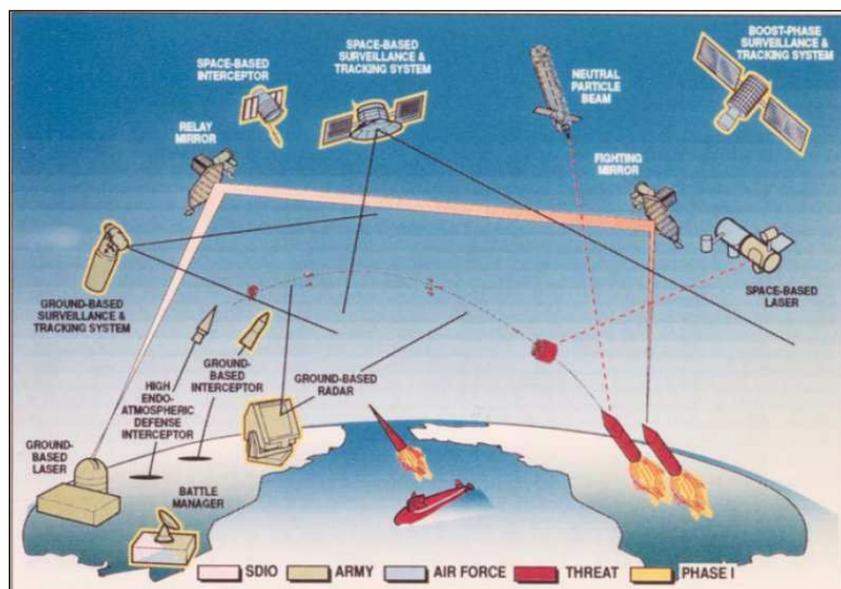
...If the Soviet Union will join with us in our effort to achieve major arms reduction, we will have succeeded in stabilizing the nuclear balance. Nevertheless, it will still be necessary to rely on the specter of retaliation, on mutual threat. And that's a sad commentary on the human condition.

...After careful consultation with my advisers, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I believe there is a way. Let me share with you a vision of the future which offers hope. It is that we embark on a program to counter the awesome Soviet missile threat with measures that are defensive. Let us turn to the very strengths in technology that spawned our great industrial base and that have given us the quality of life we enjoy today.

What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?

I know this is a formidable, technical task, one that may not be accomplished before the end of the century. Yet, current technology has attained a level of sophistication where it's reasonable for us to begin this effort. It will take years, probably decades of efforts on many fronts. There will be failures and setbacks, just as there will be successes and breakthroughs. And as we proceed, we must remain constant in preserving the nuclear deterrent and maintaining a solid capability for flexible response. But isn't it worth every investment necessary to free the world from the threat of nuclear war? We know it is.

...I clearly recognize that defensive systems have limitations and raise certain problems and ambiguities. If paired with offensive systems, they can be viewed as fostering an aggressive policy, and no one wants that. But with these considerations firmly in mind, I call upon the scientific community in our country, those who gave us nuclear weapons, to turn their great talents now to the cause of mankind and world peace, to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete. Tonight, consistent with our obligations of the ABM treaty and recognizing the need for closer consultation with our allies, I'm taking an important first step. I am directing a comprehensive and intensive effort to define a long-term research and development program to begin to achieve our ultimate goal of eliminating the threat posed by strategic nuclear missiles. This could pave the way for arms control measures to eliminate the weapons themselves. We seek neither military superiority nor political advantage. Our only purpose -- one all people share -- is to search for ways to reduce the danger



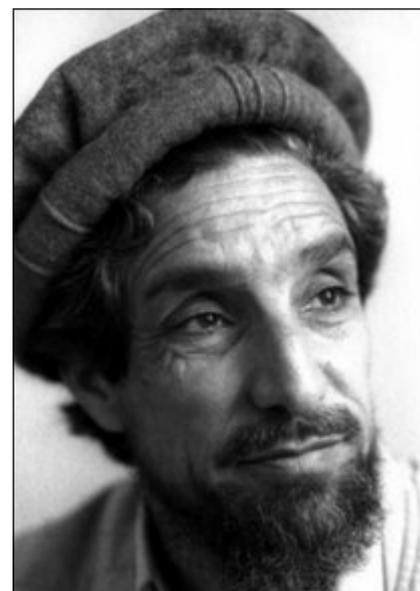
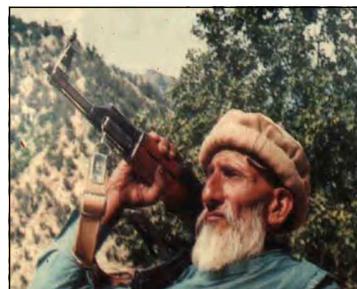
## Appeal by the government of Afghanistan

(The following appeared in the December 29, 1979, edition of Pravda and has been translated from the Russian.)

Today the Radio Kabul broadcast a statement by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. It says:

"The DRA government, taking into account the continuing and broadening interference and provocations by external enemies of Afghanistan and with a view to protecting the gains of the Afghan revolution, territorial integrity and national independence and maintaining peace and security, and proceeding from December 5, 1978, Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation, has asked the USSR for urgent political, moral and economic assistance, including military assistance which the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had earlier repeatedly requested from the government of the Soviet Union.

"The government of the Soviet Union has satisfied the Afghan side's request."



## Russia's Bold Challenge

Following are excerpts from an article published in **TIME** magazine on January 14, 1980, two weeks after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

It was as though a time warp had plunged the world back into an earlier and more dangerous era.

Soviet divisions had swarmed across the border of a neighboring country and turned it into a new satellite. Moscow and Washington were exchanging very angry words. Jimmy Carter accused Soviet Communist Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev of lying, and the Soviets' TASS press agency shot back that Carter's statements were "bellicose and wicked." For Carter, the rapid series of events in Afghanistan seemed to provide a remarkable kind of revelation. Said he, sounding strikingly naive in an ABC television interview: "My opinion of the Russians has changed most drastically in the last week [more] than even in the previous 2 1/2 years before that." He added that it was "imperative" that "the leaders of the world make it clear to the Soviets that they cannot have taken this action to violate world peace ... without paying severe political consequences."

What those consequences might be was the subject of week-long strategy sessions, and then on Friday night Carter set forth his response to the bold Soviet challenge. Appearing for 13 minutes on nationwide television, he delivered the toughest speech of his presidency. Warned Carter: "Aggression unopposed becomes a contagious disease." He denounced the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as "a deliberate effort by a powerful atheistic government to subjugate an independent Islamic people" and said that a "Soviet-occupied Afghanistan threatens both Iran and Pakistan and is a steppingstone to their possible control over much of the world's oil supplies."

Carter then announced that he was sharply cutting the sale to the Soviets of two kinds of goods they desperately need: grain and advanced technology. Contracts for 17 million tons of grain, worth \$2 billion, are being cancelled. Soviet fishing privileges in American waters are also being severely curtailed, as are new cultural exchange programs; Carter further hinted that the U.S. might boycott this summer's Moscow Olympics. To shore up Afghanistan's neighbors, Carter said that the U.S. "along with other countries will provide military equipment, food and other assistance" to help Pakistan defend its independence.

These actions were only the latest in an escalating series of retaliatory moves. Carter officially requested the Senate to postpone any further consideration of the U.S.-Soviet treaty to limit strategic arms, once the chief symbol of superpower détente. The U.S. and nearly 50 other countries then called for an emergency session of the U.N. Security Council to condemn the latest Soviet aggression. That meeting convened on Saturday. And the U.S. summoned Ambassador Thomas J. Watson Jr. home from Moscow for consultations. (Not even during the crisis triggered by the Soviet invasions of Hungary in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was the American ambassador recalled from Moscow.)

Had a new cold war erupted between the U.S. and the Soviet Union? Not quite. At least not yet. But it seemed certain that the policy known as détente, which stressed cooperation between the two competing nuclear giants, had not survived the 1970s. The events of last week stood also as a grim reminder that it is not the American hostages in Iran that are the central object of U.S. foreign policy, but rather the potentially life-and-death relationship with the Soviet Union.

A Soviet foreign affairs analyst told **TIME** that "it was not easy for us to make this decision, but we were committed in Afghanistan from the beginning." Employing a rationale heard frequently in Washington in the 1960s to explain the growing U.S. presence in South Viet Nam, the Soviet official added: "Whether we like it or not, we have to live up to our commitments. We can't wash our hands of them. There was no other choice."

## Excerpts of Address by Mikhail Gorbachev 43rd U.N. General Assembly Session December 7, 1988

*On December 7, 1988, Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the United Nations General Assembly. After speaking about the recent changes in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev amazed the global community when he announced drastic cuts in the Soviet military presence in Eastern Europe and along the Chinese border -- a move that ultimately allowed Soviet satellites to choose their own paths.*

[...] Today I can inform you of the following: The Soviet Union has made a decision on reducing its armed forces. In the next two years, their numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 persons, and the volume of conventional arms will also be cut considerably. These reductions will be made on a unilateral basis, unconnected with negotiations on the mandate for the Vienna meeting. By agreement with our allies in the Warsaw Pact, we have made the decision to withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and to disband them by 1991. Assault landing formations and units, and a number of others, including assault river-crossing forces, with their armaments and combat equipment, will also be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces situated in those countries. The Soviet forces situated in those countries will be cut by 50,000 persons, and their arms by 5,000 tanks. All remaining Soviet divisions on the territory of our allies will be reorganized. They will be given a different structure from today's which will become unambiguously defensive, after the removal of a large number of their tanks. [...]

By this act, just as by all our actions aimed at the demilitarization of international relations, we would also like to draw the attention of the world community to another topical problem, the problem of changing over from an economy of armament to an economy of disarmament. Is the conversion of military production realistic? I have already had occasion to speak about this. We believe that it is, indeed, realistic. For its part, the Soviet Union is ready to do the following. Within the framework of the economic reform we are ready to draw up and submit our internal plan for conversion, to prepare in the course of 1989, as an experiment, the plans for the conversion of two or three defense enterprises, to publish our experience of job relocation of specialists from the military industry, and also of using its equipment, buildings, and works in civilian industry, It is desirable that all states, primarily the major military powers, submit their national plans on this issue to the United Nations.





Document 34

Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Not for publication

TOP SECRET

MINUTES Of Meeting No. 2  
of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU  
September 20, 1990

Chairman: Comrade M.S. Gorbachev

...

- I. On the state of the nation and the problems facing the CPSU in connection with the conversion to a market economy.  
(Comrades Gorbachev, Burokiavichius, Gurenko, Dzasokhov, Ivashko, Karimov, Luchinskii, Masaliev, Makhkamov, Nazarbaev, Prokof'ev, Rubiks, Semenova, Sillari, Sokolov, Stroev, Shenin, Baklanov, Gidaspov, Kuptsov, Manaenkov, Falin, Ryzhkov, Aganbegian, Shatalin, Abalkin, Masliukov, Sitarian, Pavlov, Beliakov)

We adopt the position that was elaborated during the discussions of the Politburo of the Central Committee on the further activity to be taken by party organizations in connection with the conversion to a market economy, with the proviso that this matter is to be reviewed at the next Plenum of the Central Committee.

[ ... ]

SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE  
SOVIET UNION [signed] M. GORBACHEV

## Gorbachev's address after the coup August 22 1991

*In the early morning hours of August 22, 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev returned to Moscow after being held under house arrest at his Black Sea dacha by old-guard communists who had plotted the coup. At the airport he was greeted by a cheering crowd of officials and well-wishers, and delivered the following address. Gorbachev returns to Moscow*

August 22, 1991

The most important thing is that everything that we have done since 1985 has already brought tangible results.

Society, our people, are now different, and this became the main obstacle in the way of this reckless adventure undertaken by a group of individuals right from the beginning. I will yet make a statement on this because our society must know about this, the whole world must know about this, about what was being concocted here, and what they wanted to do to me, and what they wanted from me, and what they failed to get from me. I will speak about this, perhaps tomorrow, or at the latest, the day after tomorrow. I will give a news conference. The attempted overthrow did not succeed.

I congratulate our people who have both a sense of responsibility and a feeling of dignity; they are concerned that there should be a feeling of respect for all those in whom they have placed their trust. Under the cover of attractive slogans and taking advantage of the difficulties of which we are well aware, difficulties which we are concerned about and which we intend to resolve, that pitiful bunch, and there can be no two opinions on this matter, wanted to plunge the people and our whole society into a catastrophe. They did not succeed. That is one of the greatest triumphs of perestroika.

I express my gratitude to the Soviet people. I express my gratitude for the principled stand taken by the Russians, to the president of Russia, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, to all the deputies, to all the worker collectives who took a decisive stand to block this reckless adventure.

That is something that we can be proud of, that such a resolute and uncompromising stand was taken on this issue. We are facing a lot of problems, and we know about them, and they are a matter of concern to us. I was working on these problems even when I was planning to go on vacation, and in fact, I was working on these problems during my vacation -- I refer to the problems of food, fuel, finances, the rouble, the situation on the market, what is going to happen to our people tomorrow -- all these problems must be resolved.

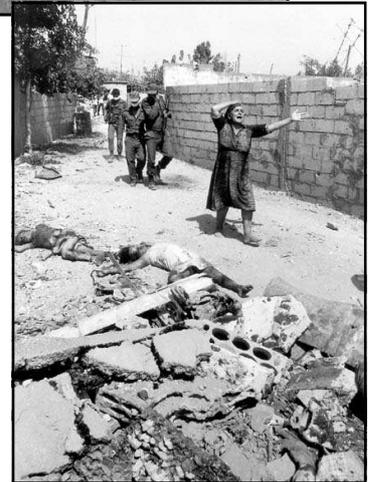
These people took advantage of the difficulties of the transitional period, and the tension in society and anxiety about what is going to happen to us, and decided to carry out far-fetched plans that would have plunged our society into utter turmoil. That was a reckless adventure. I rejected it outright when their emissaries came to me with a proposal to support their reckless undertaking. And I told them that this would "be the end of them and the country." I was resolutely against it. I demanded that a Congress be convened immediately, or at least a session of the Supreme Soviet. I shall yet present the details of all that happened during these days a little later on.

The president of the country was blocked off, isolated from the people, from the country, from the world, and he had to persevere and uphold his stand. Apparently, their [the plotters'] aim was "to break" the president morally, "to break" him there by putting pressure on his family. But nothing came of all this. Nothing came of this because above all I was convinced that they would not succeed. I will tell you all about it later on.

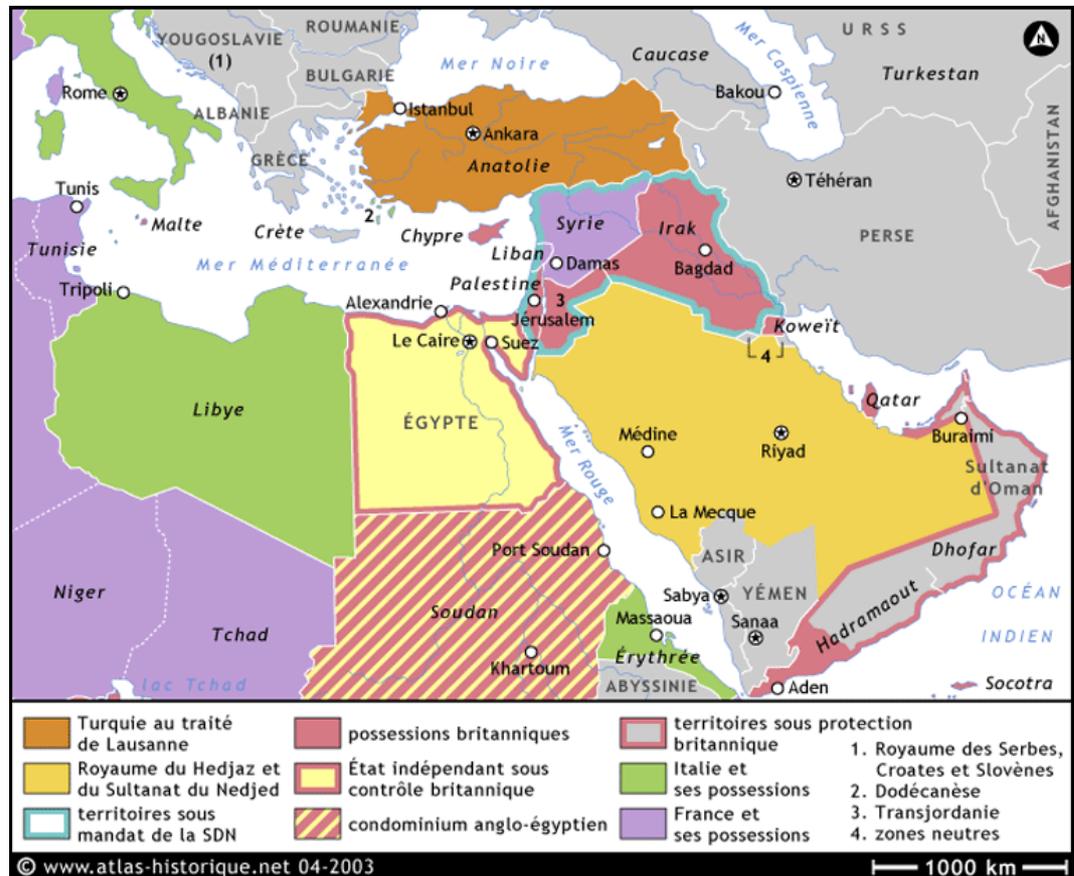




# Middle East 1948 - 1991



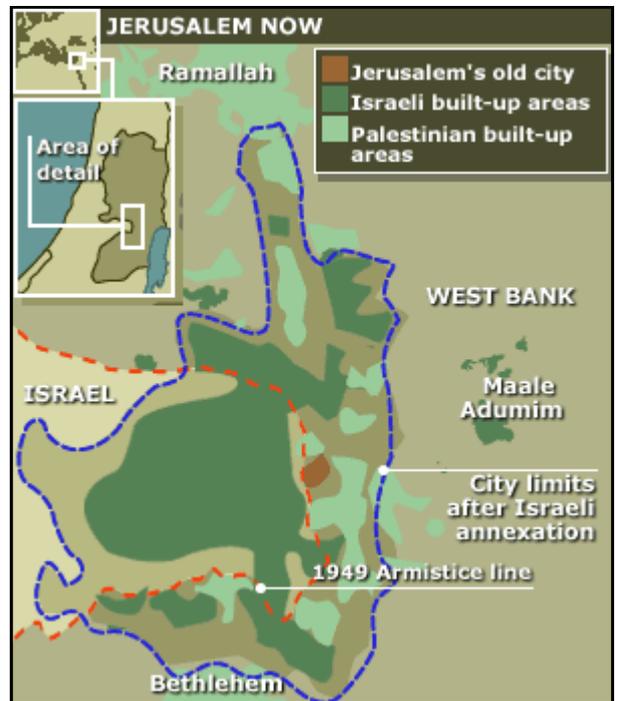
# Middle East maps 1914 and 1929



# Maps of Palestine / Israel after 1945

BBC World web site





For further explanations on each map :  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle\\_east/03/v3\\_israel\\_palestinians/maps/html/default.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_israel_palestinians/maps/html/default.stm)

# Background : The Middle East from 1914 to 1948

## I) World War I policies and impact

- \* Place of Turkey along the “Entente”
- \* In favour of British and French imperialist interests already expressed in the region :
  - Building of the Suez canal in 1869 by interests of the two countries
  - Foundation of the Anglo Persian oil in 1909
- \* Very complex policy of Great Britain during the war
  - On one side increase of colonial imperialism
    - Transformation of the status of Egypt (Ostensibly to protect its investments, the United Kingdom seized control of Egypt's government in 1882, but nominal allegiance to the Ottoman Empire continued until 1914 when as a result of the declaration of war with the Ottoman Empire, Britain declared a protectorate over Egypt and deposed the khedive, replacing him with his uncle who was appointed Sultan of Egypt)
    - Secret agreement with the French (Sykes Picot agreement) in May 1916 to share the Ottoman empire into sphere of influence
  - On the other hand, the British are playing the card of Arab nationalism against the Turks.
    - Uprising of the Mecca sheriff Hussein, on the promises of the creation of a great Arabic kingdom around Mesopotamia
    - Work done and led by T. E. Lawrence in 1915-1916, organizing the Great Arab Revolt, and using the influence of the Hashemite family
  - Finally the well known “Balfour declaration” of November 1917 giving the promises to the Zionist movement, that a national homeland for the Jews would be created in Palestine

### The Sykes-Picot Agreement

Secret understanding negotiated by the vigorous British diplomat Sir Mark Sykes and his French counterpart François Georges-Picot. In simple terms, to keep the Russians out of the region, the Sykes-Picot Agreement divided the Middle East into five parts. Britain and France were each to have an area they controlled directly and another that lay within their 'sphere of influence'. The huge British sphere contained a rather vague 'Independent Arab State'. The fifth area was the 'international sphere' of Palestine.

### The Balfour Declaration

The third Middle Eastern agreement was more of a one-sided announcement. On 2 November 1917, the intellectual British Foreign Secretary, Arthur James Balfour, declared that, 'His Majesty's Government viewed with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'. Although many reasons have been suggested for Britain's willingness at this point to back the idea of a Jewish homeland in the Middle East, none of them is entirely convincing. In the end, though, the motive was irrelevant. What did matter was that the world's foremost imperial power had given its blessing to the idea of a homeland in the Middle East for a specific racial group. Moreover, they had done so without consulting either those already living there or someone — perhaps the Emir Hussein? — who might speak on their behalf.

**Full text of the declaration to read in the documents section**

## II) Consequences of the war

- \* Difficulties to have a general and complete agreement / settlement due to :
  - > The British military control over the region
  - > The French British rivalry
  - > The opposition between Arab leaders
    - Example of the war between Hussein and Ibn Seoud
  - > The growing tensions between Jews and Arabs in Palestine
  
- \* Solution chosen by the Society of Nations
  - > Mandate given to Great Britain over Iraq, Palestine, minus Transjordan
  - > Mandate given to France over Syria and Lebanon
  - > Failure of the Arab nationalism with the disappearance of the idea of a great Arab kingdom



## III) Between the two wars

The French mandate over Syria is contested

by the Arabs who are proclaiming their independence in 1920

- They are naming as their king Faycal, son of Hussein, who has to be driven out by force by the French
  - Later refugee in London, he will receive later in compensation the Iraq throne by the Druzz minority in 1925
  - War with the French until 1926 and the bombing of Damascus
- Problems going on, the Leon Blum government will sign treaties in 1936 promising independence to Syria and Lebanon after three years. Promises not respected with the failure of the Popular Front on the French internal political scene.
- Problems still alive with the arrival of WWII

On the other side the British are playing the card of the friendship with the Arab nationalists :

- Faycal is placed on the throne of Iraq in 1922, and later they are giving independence to the country (1930), even if keeping troops stationed there
- Transjordan is given to the second son of Hussein Abdullah with whom UK is signing a friendship treaty in 1928
- Ending their protectorate over Egypt in 1922 but in fact keeping the control of the country until the London treaty in 1936, recognizing then the total independence of the country (while having the right then to keep troops along the Suez canal, and de facto keeping an eye on the country foreign policy)

Problem in Arabia

Their protégé Hussein is kicked out of Mecca in 1925 by Ibn Seoud who is then giving the right of oil exploitation to the American companies in his new kingdom

This raise by the way the problem of the oil interests which have a growing place in the Middle East. New form of imperialism from the USA and UK petroleum companies sharing the prospecting and exploitation of this “black gold” in all the region.

## Britain's headache : Palestine

The Arabs rejected the idea of a British mandate from the stars. As far as they were concerned, its only positive feature was the recognition of Palestine as a separate political entity. The rest they abhorred. What right had foreigners either to divide their land or force them to accept a state within a state? What they wanted, quite reasonably, was a fully democratic Palestine that embraced all peoples living there. Some moderate Arab leaders suggested a compromise whereby the US would replace Britain as the supervising power. Since the mandate was responsible to the League of Nations, a body that the US Congress had rejected, the idea was a non-starter.

British administrators carried out the logistical side of their mandated duties with laudable efficiency. As far as the second part of Britain's mandated duties was concerned — preparing Palestine for democratic self-government while also honoring the Balfour Declaration — most far-seeing administrators soon realized it was impossible. Caught between two irreconcilable communities, they came to see the mandate as a sort of curse. Consequently, since no time limit had been set on it, observers began to wonder whether they would ever leave.

## 1920s

It is estimated that the Jewish population of Palestine doubled in the ten years after the First World War. Immigrants did not arrive in a steady flow. After an initial rush, the British, worried by the Arab reaction, imposed limits. At the same time, Jewish land purchases continued apace. These were sometimes made from absent Arab landlords. On a number of occasions such acquisitions led to Arab peasants being turned off land they and their ancestors had farmed for years. Tensions ran understandably high and the British declaration that it was not their intention to turn Palestine into a Jewish state did little to ease the disaffected Arabs. Moreover, the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew, as Britain's first all-powerful High Commissioner for Palestine hardly displayed tactful even-handedness.

There were serious outbreaks of Arab-Zionist fighting immediately after the First World War. These reflected the uncertainty of the political situation, Arab disappointment at the rejection of their demand for independence, and their fear over what they saw as the potentially overwhelming tide of Jewish immigration. Conciliatory statements by the British and a fall in Jewish immigration (there was actually a net emigration in 1927) helped the situation remain calm until 1929.

As ever, the Arabs were not helped by divisions within their ranks. Their nominal leader was Amin al-Husseini, Grand Mufti (expert on Muslim religious law) of Jerusalem. His authority was weakened by traditional rivalry and by the fact that his positions as mufti and president of the Supreme Muslim Council were both British appointments.

The Jews were less divided. During the 1920s they generally co-operated with the British, setting up the apparatus of a distinctively Jewish state: elected assembly, trade unions, schools, industrial enterprises and so forth. They even had their own defence organization, the Haganah. Nevertheless, rifts were starting to appear within the Zionist ranks. The majority followed the more moderate ('Labour') leaders of the World Zionist Organization, Chaim Weizmann in London and David Ben Gurion in Palestine. They sought a socialist Jewish state in Palestine separate from a Palestinian Arab one. The Haganah would be needed to defend this state, but force was not an integral part of it.

Opposition to this Labour view came from Ze'ev Jabotinsky and his World Union of Zionist Revisionists. These hard-liners attracted considerable support during the late 1920s and set up a militant security force of their own, the Irgun. They followed what came to be termed the 'iron wall' policy, based on four principles.

## Focus : Zionism

Following violent attacks on Jewish communities in Russia, in 1882 a group of Jewish exiles met in Constantinople. They named themselves the 'Lovers of Zion' and called for 'a home in our country. It was given to us by the mercy of God; it is ours as registered in the archives of history.' The 'our country' they spoke of was Palestine.

### **The Jewish state**

The next important step in the Zionist movement came some ten years later. An Austrian Jew named **Theodore Herzl**, journalist and playwright, was asked by his newspaper to cover an anti-Semitic (anti-Jewish) scandal in France. His reporting convinced him that there was a 'Jewish problem' that could be solved only by the creation of a Jewish nation state. He set out his ideas in a highly influential little book, *The Jewish State* (1896). Interestingly, he did not specifically plume for Palestine as the place where this state might be established. A sparsely populated area of Argentina was one option.

The year after Herzl's publication saw the first meeting, in Basel, Switzerland, of the World Zionist Organization. Here the mood was far more positively pro-Palestine and a mission was sent out to explore the ground. Jewish leaders set about furthering their program of raising national awareness, winning international support and encouraging immigration into Palestine. In his quest for backing by a major power, Herzl first tried Constantinople. This was the obvious choice since Palestine still lay within the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan was unwilling to welcome more Jewish immigrants into a region where they were already attracting criticism as unwanted outsiders.

Herzl then turned to Britain, still the world's wealthiest and most influential nation and certainly the leading imperial power. Here he received a more favorable reception (as well as a suggestion that part of East Africa might make a less controversial national home for the Jews than Palestine). Although Britain did not formally agree to back Zionism, foundations were laid for a relationship that became official with the Balfour Declaration

An intellectual link had also been established between Zionism and imperialism. The principal motive for Britain's acquisition of an empire was commercial. It was justified on less materialistic grounds: Europeans were more politically, technologically and perhaps even morally advanced than the peoples they governed so it was their duty — 'the white man's burden' — to civilize them.

The lower esteem in which many Jews held the Arabs is reflected in the extraordinary Zionist slogan: 'A land without people for a people without land'. No one disputed the second half of the catchphrase, but to dismiss the 535,000 Muslims (mostly Arabs) and 70,000 Christians living in Palestine in 1914 as non-existent was extraordinarily dangerous arrogance.

Prominent members of the European and American Jewish community helped establish banks and funds to assist Jewish immigration into Palestine. The most prominent individual benefactor was the French philanthropist Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Precise figures are impossible to come by, but perhaps 35,000 Jews entered Palestine in the 30 years before the outbreak of the First World War. By the same date, Jews may have owned two per cent of Palestinian land.

The proportion of Palestinian land held by the Jews in relation to their numbers was greatly less than that held by Arabs. Furthermore, the number of Jews entering Palestine was as nothing compared with the estimated 2 million who went to live in the United States over the same period. Here they formed an economic and political community whose influence would impact powerfully on the Middle East in the latter half of the century.

- First, the Jews were the standard-bearers of a superior Western civilization into the Middle East
- Second, Zion had to comprise all Palestine on both banks of the Jordan ('Greater Israel')
- Third, the Arabs would never voluntarily accept this
- Fourth, the only answer, therefore, was force: Zionists had to carve out their state and secure it behind an iron wall. Only then, when the Arabs knew they could never win, would they accept the presence of the Jewish state in the Middle East.

This led to the birth of active Jewish groups conducting campaigns of violence against the British and Arab targets. For example the Lehi (Stern gang) or even Irgun which were even labelled as terrorist organizations.

## **Tensions in the thirties**

The uneasy post-war peace collapsed in 1929. The trouble was sparked off, oddly enough, by furniture. Jews believed that the 'Wailing Wall' in old Jerusalem represented the only tangible relic of the ancient kingdom of Israel. The wall and its environs, the third most sacred site in the Islamic world, were owned by Muslims. Not only that, but immediately above the wall stood the al-Aqsa mosque.

Inter-community tension over co-usage of the sacred site was fired up by the taunting of extremists on either side. On 23 August, the Muslim community went on the rampage and indulged in a full-scale orgy of murder, rage and pillage in which 133 Jews and 116 Arabs were killed, the great majority of the latter by the British security forces as they struggled to restore order. Whatever slight hope there had been of Jew and Arab living together in a single harmonious Palestine was now gone.

During the rest of the 1930s, the situation deteriorated further as the British floundered from one expedient to the next. After the August Massacre, for example, they ordered a reduction in Jewish immigration only to reverse the decision under Zionist pressure. Similarly, when Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany began flooding into Palestine (30,000 in 1933 rising to 61,000 in 1935), the British again tut immigration before increasing it once more. The result was simply confusion and resentment. By the time of the Second World War there were some 300 Zionist colonies in Palestine. The 467,000 Jews, who owned about 15 per cent of the land, made up almost one-third of the population.

The Arab response was a national revolt. Husseini called a general strike, taxes were not paid, local government broke down, and violence in all its forms increased. This time it was directed at both Jews and the British. The former fought back with the services of the Haganah and the terrorist-like Irgun. The latter declared martial law and increased the Palestine garrison to over 20,000 troops. One British officer went as far as to prepare Special Night Squads of Jews to attack Arab villages. Within four years perhaps 5,000 Arabs had been killed and 15,000 wounded.

The Arab revolt forced the British to accept the inevitable: they would not be able to prepare Palestine for independence as a single democratic state. The Peel Commission Report (1937) recommended that Palestine be partitioned into Jewish and Arab states, with Jerusalem and neighboring Holy Places remaining under British control.

Husseini and his advisors rejected it outright. Confused, the British government then put forward another idea: a Jewish homeland within an Arab state, and strict limits on

Jewish immigration. This compromise was turned down by both sides. The Arabs were way beyond trusting the British, and it was now the turn of the Jews to feel betrayed.

By the outbreak of the Second World War, Palestine was in turmoil. Intolerance and incompetence had changed a complex two-sided struggle between Jews and Arabs into an impossible three-sided one in which Arabs, Jews and the British were all at loggerheads. If there was a way out of this slough, it was certainly not well signposted.



## Palestine during World War II

The outbreak of war in 1939 had a considerable impact on the Palestinian situation. Moderate Arabs and Jews agreed to support Britain and its allies in their struggle against fascism, and inter-community conflicts died down considerably. As many as 27,000 Jews and 25,000 Arabs (particularly the famous Arab Legion) fought with the British Army. With huge funds pouring into the mandate to support the 250,000 Allied troops based there, the economy flourished. The Jewish sector did particularly well, developing its industry to meet Allied war needs.

There were exceptions on both sides to this comparative harmony. The Grand Mufti drew down much disapprobation upon his head by making his way to Germany and entering into negotiations with the Nazis. His reputation tarnished, after the war he chose to settle in Egypt rather than Palestine. On the other side, Revisionist Zionists of the Irgun and the Stern Gang, a group of hard-line Zionist terrorists, carried out a series of attacks on British personnel and positions. Their most notorious achievement was the assassination of a British minister in Cairn.

Two things irked the more fervent Zionists. One was the proposed partition of their promised land, the other was Britain's attempt to curry favor with the Arabs by limiting further Jewish immigration. The British, as we have seen, had extensive interests around the Persian Gulf. An uninterrupted oil supply from these protectorates and Saudi Arabia was essential for the war effort. Although large numbers of immigrants continued to arrive in Palestine (perhaps 40,000 in 1940), there were several high-profile tragedies involving boatloads of helpless refugees.

Another effect of the war was to draw the United States deeply into Middle Eastern politics for the first time. Like Britain, the US needed Arab oil and poured money into Saudi Arabia to keep it stable and on side. The pro-Arab stance of President E. D. Roosevelt ran contrary to the pro-Zionist feeling of the country at large. Following a visit of Ben Gurion to the US, the Baltimore Program of support for the Zionist project gained widespread backing, even from Congress and presidential election candidates.

By the end of the war, as the full extent of the horrifying Nazi slaughter of some 6 million European Jews became known, the side of support for Zionism ran even stronger. Both President Truman and his Congress urged Britain to take a more relaxed line over Zionist immigration.



Meanwhile, the Palestine question was having positive effects within the Arab world. In 1945, Egypt organized an Arab League that comprised itself, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Yemen. The League's primary purpose was to foster unity and co-operation among Arab peoples. To begin with its activities were largely cultural, social and economic. Political activity was limited by the fact that only Egypt and Yemen were truly independent. Saudi Arabia and Jordan were reliant upon Western funds, while Syria, Lebanon and Iraq were still under occupation.

#### IV) The end of the British mandate / creation of Israel

Post-war Britain, exhausted, impoverished and much weakened, clung to its Palestinian mandate. Its personnel were still subject to terrorist attacks by Zionist extremists, most notably when the King David Hotel in Jerusalem was bombed, killing 91 people. Immigration, much of it technically illegal, continued to swell the Jewish population. The British Labour government wished to shed its burden of responsibility and get out of Palestine as swiftly as possible, while maintaining sufficient bases there to protect the Suez Canal. At the end of 1945, therefore, it invited the US to form a joint committee to look into the situation in Palestine.

The committee's proposals, emerging as the Morrison-Grady Plan, were rejected by both Zionists and Arabs. Further plans, proposals, schemes and so on were thrown up and then rejected until Britain surrendered and handed over the entire Palestinian business to the newly formed United Nations (UN). A UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) came up with a suggestion not unlike that put forward by the Peel Commission: separate Jewish and Arab states, united in an economic union, with Jerusalem and its environs under international control. 'Israel' was accepted as the name of the Jewish state-to-be. The UNSCOP proposal was accepted by the UN General Assembly at the end of 1947, with Britain and all Muslim countries voting against. After some uncertainty, Britain declared that its Palestinian mandate would end on 14 May 1948.



The boundaries of the two UN-arranged states were contorted to incorporate the wishes of both Jews and Arabs. Such mathematical frontiers were hopelessly unrealistic and, as soon as they were known, fighting broke out as each side strove to alter and extend them. In other words, the UN's intervention lied polarized the position in Palestine rather than placated it.

The Zionist campaign was predominantly masterminded by the Jewish Agency, headed by Ben Gurion, which controlled the disciplined and relatively experienced Haganah forces numbering at least 40,000. The Irgun and Stern Gang terrorist groups worked more or less together with the official forces. The Palestinians were less warlike and certainly less well organized. Their own force of about 3,000 men, led by a Husseini relative of the Mufti, was poorly equipped. The Arab League's contribution, an 'Arab Liberation Army' of 3,000 disorganized volunteers, contributed little. Better motivated were 2,000 Muslim Brotherhood volunteers from Egypt.

Unfortunately for the Palestinians, few, if any, Arab states were really interested in helping them. Certainly three neighbouring countries – Egypt, Transjordan and Syria – all saw the chaos on their borders as an opportunity for territorial expansion of their own. So behind the scenes, while the world was shocked by hot-blooded killings such as the massacre of 254 Arab villagers in Deir Yassin by the Stern Gang and the brutal ambush of a medical convoy by Palestinians, politicians were making a more cold-blooded appraisal of the situation.

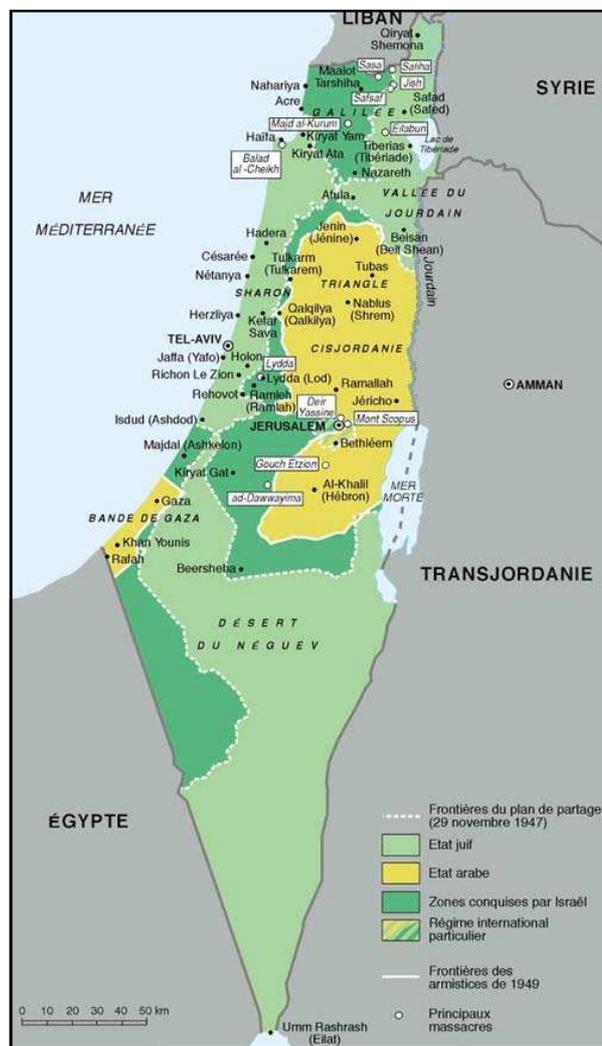
As the date for the expiry of the British mandate drew closer, the fighting intensified. The all too familiar pattern of terrorist attack, reprisal, counter-reprisal, and so on was by now commonplace. While it is impossible to say precisely who was primarily responsible for the escalation, there are indications that Zionist extremists were more to blame than most. By May 1948, Zionist forces had fought their way into the ports of Haifa and Jaffa, broken the siege of Jerusalem and defeated the Arab Liberation Army.

The Arab League now warned that if the Zionists made a unilateral declaration of independence, regular Arab forces would immediately attack the newly-formed Israel. In secret, however, most Arab leaders feared that war would simply be an excuse for Transjordan to expand to the west. To make this more difficult, King Abdullah was given nominal command of the Arab League forces. He produced no coordinated plan of attack.

Nevertheless, the Zionists were alarmed that Arab pressure might force King Abdullah to break his pact with them. Golda Meir put herself in considerable personal danger and, disguised as an Arab woman, sneaked across the Jordan for another secret meeting with Abdullah. Clearly troubled, the wily monarch explained that it might not be possible to honor his previous agreement. He could not afford to fall out with fellow Arabs. After all, they had chosen him as their commander in chief ...

Meir returned safely to Zionist territory where her news was received with no surprise. Two days before the end of the British overlordship, the Zionist Provisional State Council met to decide the future. The Americans were strongly urging caution. Ben Gurion successfully advised his colleagues to reject their advice. The time had come, he declared, for the Jews to form what they had long dreamed of — the state of Israel.

Israeli independence was declared on 14 May 1948, the day the last British High Commissioner left Palestine. The boundaries of the new country were not defined. Both Israelis and Arabs knew that they would be decided by the rifle, not the Pen. The following day troops from Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel.



# The Arab-Israeli dispute 1948—1991

## I) Consolidating the state of Israel

Proclaiming the state of Israel was one thing ; making it a viable nation that could survive surrounded by hostile Arab neighbours was quite another. Just one day after Ben Gurion announced the existence of Israel, soldiers from six Arab countries - Egypt, Syria, Transjordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Iraq - joined the Palestinians in armed struggle against the Jews. The war of Independence lasted from May 1948 to January 1949.

The results were 4000 Jewish soldiers casualties and 2000 civilians, and an estimated 725 000 Palestinian refugees in the surrounding Arab states. In the war, Israelis not only defended land allocated to them by UN Partition Plan, but also extended their control over additional parts of Palestine. Most Arab refugees fled in direction of Arab state proposed in Partition Plan. But one of these areas, the Gaza strip, was occupied by Egypt in 1948. Another, the West Bank was occupied by Transjordan in 1949 and annexed in 1950. Jerusalem became a divided city (West Jerusalem held by Israel, and East by Jordan).

To stand a chance of surviving, Israel needed international recognition.

- American President Harry S. Truman was the first to recognize Israel after the declaration of independence. Truman was motivated by a moral commitment to the Jews and by the political necessity to win Jewish-American votes in a tight presidential election race in 1948 (real beginning of Jewish American Lobby, powerful pressure group that has exerted influence on US policy in the ME ever since
- Soviet leader Josef Stalin recognized Israel only hours after Truman had.

Now recognized by both superpowers, Israel's prospects had improved.

Israel's chances of surviving were further increased when the new state was admitted as a member of the United Nations. It was fortunate for Israel that at this time the UNO resembled a Western club dominated by the USA and its allies. Decolonization would later transform the organization so that in 1975, a General Assembly with a Third World majority sided with the Palestinians and passed a resolution denouncing Zionism as “ a form of racism”

### **Reasons for original Soviet support**

- Israel was strongly influenced by socialism. Early leaders like Ben-Gurion were of working class origins. Collectivist approach to society (with the Kibbutz) was guiding the development of the country. Stalin hoped Israel might develop ideological affinity with communist Russia (In fact although Israel was governed by the Labour Party continuously from 1948 to 1977, its democratic socialism turned out to have no natural sympathy for Stalinist totalitarianism)
- Arab world governed by conservative monarchs like king Farouk of Egypt who were pro-West in their politics. Israel therefore appeared to offer Moscow a better chance of gaining influence in the ME

### **Why Soviet policy in ME changed**

Radicalisation of Arab world - eg. Overthrow of King Farouk (Egypt) and king Idris (Iran), emergence of Nasser and pan Arabism - made it a more fertile area for Soviet diplomacy. The Arabs shared Moscow's hostility to the West because of its backing for Israel, a hostility that increased when the Anglo-French plotted the Suez War in 1956.

Soviet leaders claimed a special interest in the ME which Brezhnev would call “an area in the immediate vicinity”. Russia did not interfere with US involvement in its backyard (Latin America) ; America should reciprocate by allowing Soviet influence in its backyard (ME) ... Argument never accepted by the West especially due to the petrol question

Moscow 's diplomatic shift from Israel to the Arabs reached a peak in 1967 when Soviet diplomatic relations were broken off to protest the territorial conquests of the Six Days War and express solidarity with the Palestinian cause.

USSR would eventually finance and arm the P.L.O.

### **Soviet arms agreement with**

- |             |      |
|-------------|------|
| • Egypt :   | 1955 |
| • Syria :   | 1955 |
| • Iraq :    | 1958 |
| • Yemen :   | 1958 |
| • Algeria : | 1962 |
| • Sudan :   | 1967 |

## Israel dilemma

Recognition by the superpowers and admission to the UN were not enough to guarantee Israeli security. A tiny state less than 10 miles wide at its narrowest point and with a population less than one million, Israel was surrounded by an entirely hostile Arab world. The Arab League would not recognise Israel's right to exist ; instead it endorsed the right of Palestinians to a national state and resolved to "drive the Jews into the sea"

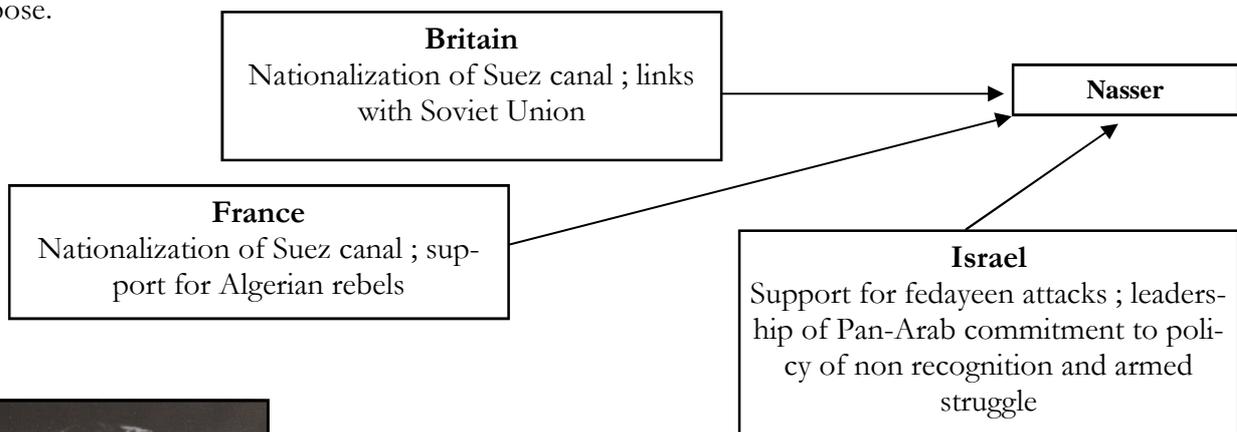
Having been defeated in the 1948-1949 War of Independence, frontline Arab states would not risk a resumption of conventional war. A low level of violence was directed at Israel, through guerrilla warfare consisting of hit and run raids by **fedayeen** (freedom fighters) operating out of Gaza and backed by Egypt. Between 1950 and 1955, nearly 1000 Israelis were killed in raids launched from Jordan, Syria and Lebanon as well as Egypt. Israel lived in a constant state of siege and had to remain on permanent military alert.

Short of manpower, Israel required all its citizens, female as well as male, to do national service. An attempt to boost the population was made by the **law of return** which gave to every Jew around the world irrespective of his country of origin, the right to settle in and enjoy citizenship of Israel. With such immigration policy, Israel's population raised to 900 000 in 1948 and 1.5 M in 1951.

In 1956 tensions in the ME erupted into a second Arab-Israeli war, but this time the fighting took place on Egyptian, not Palestinian, soil.

## II) The Suez war of 1956

This was essentially a war to topple Nasser, whom the British, French and Israelis all had reason to oppose.



Nasser was the most charismatic leader to emerge in the modern Arab world. His popularity extended beyond Egypt's borders. He became the leading spokesman for Arab nationalism, independence and pride. Basically he wanted to remove all foreign control from the region, thereby ending the last vestiges of imperialism and allowing the Arabs to govern themselves. Perceiving strength in unity, he articulated the idea of **Pan-Arabism** but wanted it to be under Egyptian leadership. A radical in his politics, he encouraged radicals in other Arab states to overthrow conservative regimes.

### **Arab League positions :**

- No recognition
- No negotiations
- Elimination of Israeli state
- Creation of Palestinian state
- Policy of « armed struggle »

### **Extract : Letter from President Nasser of Egypt to king Hussein of Jordan**

« we believe that the evil which was placed in the heart of the Arab world should be eradicated »

Nasser was no communist. He gladly accepted US economic aid to construct the Aswan Dam. But he had no intention of becoming the ally of either side in the Cold War. After taking finance from the West, in 1955 he took arms from the East, which supplied him with tanks, bombers and fighters. Furthermore he extended diplomatic recognition to communist China (since relations had improved in Bandung in 1955 as Nasser had asked China to plead for him to get weapons from the USSR). Both Eden, British Prime Minister, who saw this arms deal as a sign that Nasser was a Soviet ally, and Israeli leaders, who feared that Nasser would use the Soviet weapons to launch an invasion, were “unhappy” with this situation.

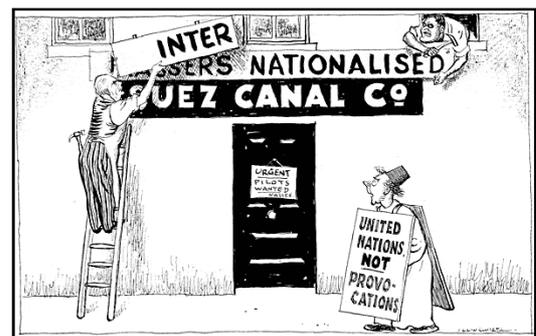
Due to this arms deal with the Soviet, the funds allowed by the West for the building of the Aswan Dam, were cut. In retaliation and in order to raise new capitals, Nasser decided to nationalize the Suez canal on July 26th 1956, seizing the English and French owned shares (44 % were owned by British business and banks). This was also a problem for both countries as the canal was a strategic mean by bringing the Persian Gulf oil to Europe cutting the journey to Southampton from 20 000 to 12 000 km. By 1955 2/3 of the canal’s traffic was accounted by petroleum ; furthermore out of the 15 000 ships which had been crossing the canal in 1955, 35 % were British

#### Letter from Eden to Eisenhower 1956

.... The seizure of the Suez canal is, we are convinced, the opening gambit in a planned campaign designed by Nasser to expel all Western influence and interests from Arab countries. He believes that if he can get away with this ... his prestige in Arabia will be so great that he will be able to mount revolutions of young officers in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria and Iraq ... These new governments will in effect be Egyptian satellites if not Russian ones. They will have to place their united oil resources under the control of a united Arabia led by Egypt and under Russian influence. When that moment comes Nasser can deny oil to West Europe and we here shall be at his mercy

In a secret meeting in Sevres in October 1956, Britain, France and Israel conspired to start a war against Egypt. Israel would attack in the Sinai, giving as justification the continuing fedayeen raids. Israeli tanks must push on to the eastern side of the canal as fast as possible. Britain and France, pretending to be uninvolved in the start of the war would pose as moderators anxious to keep the canal open to protect the flow of international trade. They would issue an ultimatum calling a ceasefire which Israel would accept but which Nasser would almost certainly reject because of Israel’s conquest of the Sinai. London and Paris could then accuse Nasser of unreasonableness and take military action of their own in the name of protecting the canal.

On October 29, 1956 Israel invaded the Gaza strip and the Sinai peninsula and made rapid progress towards the canal zone. As per the agreement, GB and France offered to separate the armies. Nasser refused. Bombing of Egypt began on October 31, to force the reopening of the canal. Nasser responded by sinking all the 40 ships present in the canal, closing it to further shipping until early 1957. On November 5th, France and GB disembarked and occupied the two ends of the canal zone.



This invasion which seemed to be a real military success was a political disaster :

- The USA were also facing the Hungarian crisis (situation difficult in terms of local and international public opinion)
- They also feared a wider war after the USSR threatened to intervene on the Egyptian side and launching attacks by “all types of modern weapons of destruction” on London or Paris
- Eisenhower set up pressure on England through the financial channel, threatening to sell the US reserves of the British pounds and thereby precipitate a collapse of the British currency
- Eden government was forced to resign and thus obliged the Mollet government in France to accept a ceasefire settled by the UN.
- Globally the crisis had as consequence the rise of Nasser’s in the Arab world as its most important leader

## II) The Six Day War

The new element after 1956 is the rising of Arab attacks, and especially Syrian militancy.

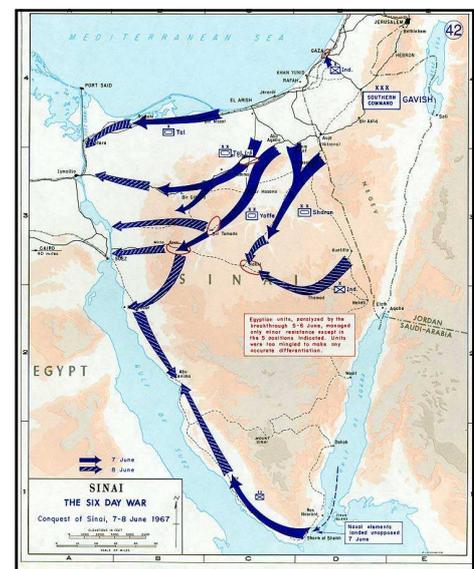
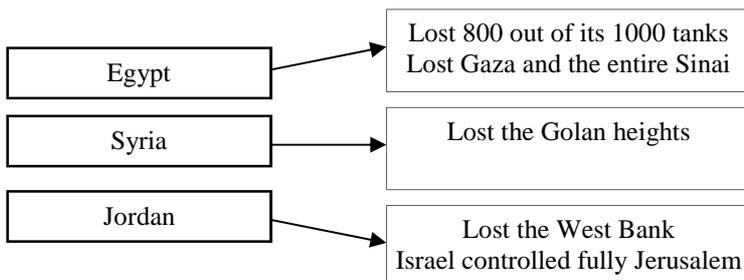
### Syrian activity against Israel

- **1963** : Arab League authorized Syria to divert headwaters of Jordan River, so that Israel would lose its main source of freshwater and be unable to complete its plan to irrigate the whole country. Syrians abandoned plan in 1964 when Israeli artillery destroyed Syrian earth-digging equipment.
- **1966** : Militant Ba'ath Party came to power in Syria ; determined to wage war against Israel more effectively. The party supported El Fatah, a PLO faction more daring than the guerrillas who had operated out of Gaza under Nasser's protection. El Fatah probed deep into Israel, blowing up buildings close to the Knesset, exploding bombs in busy streets. Syrian forces contributed by firing against Israeli farmers and fishermen in northern Galilee from the fortifications on the Golan heights. In fact UNO peacekeeping forces in Gaza and Sinai had led to a relocation of the guerrilla threat to Israel from south to north.
- **1966** : **Egypt Syria Defense Pact.** Parties calculated that Syria could continue its limited warfare against Israel without fear of attack because Israel would not run risk of war on two fronts.

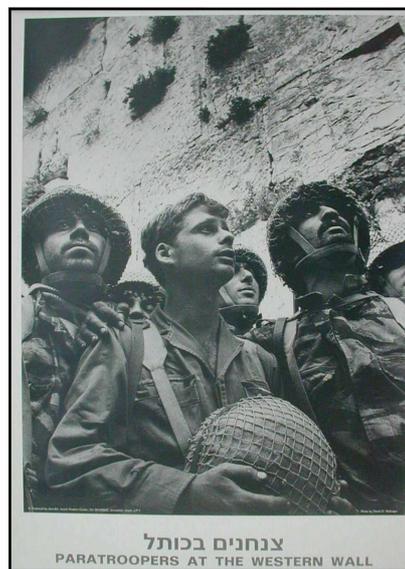
Pressure mounted in 1967 when Egypt demanded withdrawal of UNO troops from Egyptian soil and blockaded the strait of Tiran once more. Israel immediately lost its gains from the Suez War of 1956. The immediate and feeble compliance of the UNO ended Israeli confidence in the organization.

With UNO troops gone, Arab armies moved to Israel's borders. A combined force of 550 000 stood poised to invade Israel and carrying out the Arab League's of driving the Jews into the sea. Israeli defence policy was based on the assumption that Israel was too small a country to wait to be attacked. If large Arab armies got onto Israeli land, the country would quickly be overrun. Pre-emption was the key to Israeli security.

In June 1967, without warning, Israel attacked and destroyed the Egyptian air-force on the ground, an action that cleared the way for a tank invasion of the Sinai. Egypt was defeated so quickly that Israel was able to redirect its forces northwards and defeat the Syrians before they were fully mobilized. Israel defeated the frontline states with astonishing speed and completeness :



1967 was a disaster for the Arabs. Confident of wiping Israel of the map, they found instead that the amount of territory under Israeli control had expanded enormously. Nasser was so downcast that he contemplated resignation. Israel went to war to avoid annihilation ; she ended the war with huge, though unintended conquests.



Israel's conquests had a profound impact on the ME problem.

- 1) Israel now had something to bargain with. Before, she had nothing to offer the Arabs in return for recognition
- 2) The conquest of Arab lands meant also the conquest of Arab people. The number of Palestinians living under Israeli rule was quadrupled.
- 3) Until 1967, Israel enjoyed considerable world sympathy, at least in the West, as a small brave state wanting nothing more than to be left in peace but encircled by aggressive neighbours. Israel's smashing victory in the Six Day War and its subsequent unwillingness to return the occupied territories transformed it from David into Goliath. It had become the "superpower" of the region, a status enhanced when it developed nuclear weapons. Arab states were now able to talk with some conviction about "Zionist imperialism". International support for Israel, so strong in the aftermath of the holocaust, began to wane to the point that the Israelis became along with the South Africans, the pariahs of world affairs. Only the American veto in the UN Security Council saved Israel from hostile resolutions.
- 4) Arab anger at the conquests of 1967 produced a temporary Arab oil embargo that was enough to scare the French into ending the role as Israeli's arms supplier. America took the role, furnishing the Israelis with the most modern conventional military equipment and making them the single largest recipient of US economic aid (3 billion \$ per year by the 80's).
- 5) Palestinians leaders were alarmed by the total failure of the frontline Arab states to defeat Israel in 1967. Arafat and the PLO decided to adopt new tactics : international terrorism to publicize the Palestinian cause and force it into the international political agenda so that the world's leading powers would be forced to take action. Not until 1988 would Arafat renounce international terrorism.
- 6) Israeli territorial conquests in 1967 had an effect on its future policy. Until 1967 there was a national consensus on foreign policy : Security >>> preserving the frontiers of 1948, had been the unwavering objective of Israeli governments. But thereafter a rival annexationist policy known as **Eretz Israel** (or Greater Israel) started to emerge.

Whereas the Labour Party backed the idea of exchanging land for peace, the right wing Likud Party held that the occupied territories should not be bargained away in return for a peace settlement ; instead the West Bank and Gaza should become part of an extended Israel with a united Jerusalem its new capital in place of Tel Aviv (Likud and the small religious parties with which it has close links prefer to call the occupied territories Judea and Samaria, their old biblical names, rather than the West Bank and Gaza). Neither parties were willing to return the Golan Heights to Syria because of its strategic importance.

From 1948 to 1977 Labour was permanently in power. But when Likud took office for the first time in 1977 under Menachem Begin, the alternative policy of Greater Israel was officially adopted.

Labour	Return some of the occupied territories (even if it was never specified how much) in return for Arab recognition and a peace settlement with the frontline states
Likud	Retain at least the West Bank and Gaza (the Sinai was expendable and Begin will give it back to Egypt in 1978 during the Camp David agreement)

**What is security according to Likud**

Likud and the ultra-Orthodox religious parties wanted to keep the occupied territories as a matter of principle, arguing that Judea and Samaria had once been part of the old kingdom of David and that Israel was the legitimate heir to its possessions. However, they also supported retention on the grounds that it made Israel more defensible by replacing high vulnerable frontiers with new strategic depth.

The wisdom or unwisdom of Likud’s security argument depended upon one’s understanding of what real security meant. Holding on to the occupied lands certainly improved Israel’s security in wartime because it put more space between her and her enemies. But this was the kind of security that assumed the permanent hostility of Arab neighbours. Leading members of Labour took a different view of security and defined it as Israel at peace with her neighbours, a position that might be reached only if return of some of the occupied lands was exchanged for recognition and non aggression by the Arabs.

### Resolution 242

United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 (November 1967) was accepted as a framework for peace by Israel, Egypt and Jordan though it was rejected by Syria and the rest of the Arab world.

Why were the Arabs divided in their attitudes to 242 ?

<b>Frontline states</b>	<p>Arab states sharing a frontier with Israel bear the brunt of the ME conflict. They have fought and lost the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973. Solidarity in the Palestinian has cost them dearly in money spent, lives lost and territories conquered. Moreover, because the PLO based itself in the frontline states, those states become targets for Israeli reprisal raids. Palestinian refugees set themselves up in camps inside the frontline states where their numbers and politics sometimes had profoundly destabilising effects on the host countries (egs : Jordan, Lebanon)</p> <p>Moderate frontline states eventually began to look at the idea of a dialogue with Israel but in doing so ran the risk of condemnation by the other members of the Arab League, especially the radical ones. Thus Egypt was expelled from the League and the Arab states broke off diplomatic relations with her after the “betrayal” of Camp David</p>
<b>Peripheral states</b>	<p>Arab states geographically distant from Israel can afford to use uncompromising rhetoric and urge a continuation of armed struggle because they are not the ones who have to do the fighting and to handle the Palestinian problem. Egs : Qadaffi (Lybia) and Khomeini / other leaders from Iran</p>

**242 became a key document**  
 in futures peace initiatives until today :

- written in Camp David agreement
- Included in the Reagan plan of 82
- Endorsed by Arafat after 1988

**Main points of 242**

- Israel to withdraw from occupied territories
- Freedom of navigation in international waterways
- Demilitarized zones to help preserve security
- A settlement of the refugee problem
- Every state in the region entitled to “**secure, recognized and agreed boundaries**”

For further details, see in doc. section the full text

Resolution 242 was a deliberately ambiguous document. It had to be in order to get preliminary agreement by Arab and Jew. Yet the long-term consequence of 242’s ambiguity was that no serious steps were ever taken to implement it. Rather than cooperating to carry out the resolution, Israel and Egypt used up their energies in pressing different interpretations of what it meant.

- **Egypt** : The resolution meant that Israel must withdraw from the territories before any other parts of it could be implemented
- **Israel** : It required her withdrawal only after firm peace treaties had been signed with the relevant Arab states

- **Egypt** : No direct talks with Israel (because that would implies recognition) ; instead agreements must be worked out with an intermediary.
- **Israel** : If Egypt was serious about peace it should be willing to recognise Israel and therefore only direct negotiations would do

- **Egypt** : Israel must evacuate all the occupied territories
- **Israel** : The resolution called for neither immediate, unconditional nor total withdrawal ; rather, Israel required to retreat only to “secure, recognised and agreed boundaries”. She emphasised secure (interpreting it to mean retaining some of the lands conquered in 1967) and recognised (the Arab recognition of Israel right to exist that had been ignored since 1948)

- **Egypt** : A “settlement of the refugee problem” meant the creation of a Palestinian state in part of the old mandate.
- **Israel** : The Palestinian problem was primarily a refugee problem and not a problem of statehood. It should be solved by resettlement in Arab countries

**The “war of attrition” 1967-1970**

Failure to make any headway with 242 was indicated by the fact that while the 1967 armistice had brought an end to full-scale war, fighting at a lower level went on throughout the period 1967-1970. Nasser called it the “war of attrition” and it consisted of Egyptian shelling across the Suez canal against Israeli positions inside Sinai. He had calculated that Israel, with its manpower resources, could not sustain for long small but regular casualties and would eventually be forced to partially withdraw. To counter Nasser’s strategy, Israel began a series of retaliatory air raids that reach as far as the suburbs of Cairo.

Anxious to do something about the raids, Nasser, who had always tried to exploit superpower competition in the ME by taking assistance from East and West alike but without committing himself to either the Americans or Soviets took the plunge and aligned himself with the USSR who agreed to install SAMs along the canal in order to deter further Israeli air raids. The danger of a conflict between Israel and Russia (Soviet ‘technicians’ were installing the SAMs) which could drag in the United States and cause a dangerous superpower confrontation. To head off the danger, American Secretary of State William Rogers endeavoured to revive the flagging peace process.

## The Roger plan

Like 242, it was a vague formula. The Israelis had their doubts about it but could not afford to jeopardise the vital relationship with the United States by rejecting it.

The main ideas of the plan were :

- Firstly there was to be a cease-fire in the war of attrition
- This would be followed by negotiations
- The final goal would be Israeli withdrawal in return for recognition by Egypt.

Nasser did not like it much more than the Israeli did, but he was persuaded to agree by Brezhnev who did not want to see his Detente policy with the Americans threatened. The cease-fire came into operation in 1970 and lasted until the Yom Kippur war in 1973. This was as far as the Roger Plan ever go. Cease-fire failed to harden into a full settlement because of dramatic new events in 1970

### Death of Nasser

His successor, Sadat, was thought to be a political lightweight who would not survive for very long. Why make a settlement with him when it was doubtful that he could remain in power long enough to see it through ?

### Civil war in Jordan

PLO had its headquarters in Jordan. As a result of the Palestinian diaspora, a huge number of refugees had settled in Jordan which treated the Palestinians better than any of the other frontline states. Palestinians, 60 % of the population, actually outnumbered Jordanians. In some areas of the Kingdom, PLO fighters had created outonomous zones that effectively removed Jordanian authority. King Hussein feared that Arafat might despair of being able to defeat and try to create an independent Palestinian state in Jordan. To maintain the integrity of his kingdom, Hussein went to war with the PLO, expelling it from Jordan in September 1970. The PLO set up new headquarters in Lebanon, while the rest of the Arab world condemned what Hussein had done. With the PLO in a critical state and the Arab nations falling out among themselves, the military threat to Israel was reduced and the necessity to compromise appeared correspondingly weaker.

## IV) The Yom Kippur war 1973

Nasser had a hard act to follow and few thought that his shoes could be adequately filled by Anwar Sadat. Sadat was widely seen as a stopgap Egyptian president who would remain in office only until a leader of stature could be found. Egyptians revered Nasser as the “Great Lion”, but derided Sadat as the “Great Donkey”. Yet in time Sadat became a major statesman in his own right. In 1977 he would break the mould of Middle East politics by offering to make peace with Israel. It was a risky course of action, as Arab fury after the Camp David Agreements showed ; too risky, in fact, to contemplate in the earliest years of his presidency. The man who would later share the Nobel Peace Prize started out by aligning Egypt even more closely with the Soviet Union in order to obtain increased military supplies( receiving particularly fighters, SAM and anti-tanks guided missiles, as well as increased technical support improving though its military tactics), then used them to launch a war against Israel in October 1973.

It is sometimes said that Sadat **had to make war before he could make peace**. By this is meant that he needed a reasonably successful military campaign against Israel to atone for the humiliation of 1967 and give himself enough popularity so that he could pursue a more innovative policy at a later date with the backing of the Egyptian public. Sadat harboured no illusions about Egypt’s ability to defeat Israel. What he hoped to gain from a surprised attack was more subtle :

- 1– If the Israelis could be at least partially pushed back from the eastern side of the canal, Egypt would have a stronger hand in future negotiations.
- 2– The Suez canal had been closed since 1967. But if Israel could be removed from its positions along the canal, Egypt would be in a position to re-open it. Calculating the importance of the canal to international trade, Sadat hoped that he could offer the West renewed access to it if the West would put pressure on Israel to make territorial concessions.
- 3– If Egypt could keep a new war going for long enough (unlike its efforts in 1967) the super powers might intervene and force Israel to make the kind of concessions that the Egyptians could never hope to achieve by their own efforts.

To start with, Yom Kippur war was an Arab triumph. The Egyptian had managed to set up a surprised attack by maintaining a flow of false information going to the Israeli over their maintenance problem, and lack of personnel, as well as by expelling the Soviet military observers (which was considered by the US and Israeli as a main problem for the army). They also chose the Jewish holidays of Yom Kippur as during this holiday the whole country comes to a complete standstill (as most Jews do fast, abstain from the use of fire, electricity, engines, communications ; furthermore most of the soldiers leave the military facilities to go home). Finally even if Israel had a chance to launch a pre-emptive strike, Golda Meir, Israeli Prime Minister decided not to do so, in fear of losing its American support (from the previous 1967 crisis experience). By waiting to be attacked, the Israeli did in fact received a fast airlift from the USA.

The attack on October 6th 1973, across the canal was remarkable feat of military engineering and the Israelis, taken by surprise, were forced to retreat (their investment in the strongest regional air force, widely used in the 1967 war was blocked by the huge numbers of SAM batteries installed by the Egyptians and Syrians ; furthermore the Arab had anticipated an Israeli armoured counterattack and equipped one out of three soldiers with a personal anti-tank weapon). The Israelis did lose 500 tanks and 50 planes in the first part of the offensive.

However, once they had recovered from this initial setback, the Israeli won every major engagement in the war and found themselves in possession of yet more Arab lands. They had after three days, destroyed the Egyptian anti air defence and crossed the Suez Canal on the 13th of October, in order to cut the Third Egyptian Army from its rears. In the Golan Heights , they were within 20 miles of Damascus, the Syrian capital.

Neither superpowers wanted to see Egypt humiliated : the Soviets because it would severely damage their standing in the Third World if an ally was allowed to go down to ignominious defeat ; the Americans because they feared an oil embargo by the Arab states in retaliation for an Israeli victory won with US-supplied weapons (In 1967, The US was a net exporter of oil, but by 1973, it was importing more than 25 % of its oil needs.

In a rare moment of superpower cooperation in the Middle East, the US and the USSR got the UN Security Council to approve Resolution 338. Not as important as 242, the new Resolution called for :

- (1) A cease-fire in place
- (2) Implementation of 242 through ....
- (2) ... A conference between all the “interested parties” to the Middle East conflict

Although the Israelis accepted 338 after threats by Nixon and Kissinger to suspend US aid, the cease-fire broke down after just 48 hours when Israel resumed hostilities, encircling the Egyptian 3rd Army in Sinai and threatening to annihilate it.

At this point Brezhnev called on Nixon to join him in a military rescue mission by sending Soviet-American forces. Brezhnev warned that the USSR would intervene unilaterally if the American refused to cooperate.

Arab-Israeli dispute was though complicated by superpower competition in the Cold War. While the US would like to see an Arab-Israeli settlement, it also would like to keep Soviet influence out of the region. But Soviets had considerable influence with Syria and PLO whose approval would be necessary to make any peace settlement work. Nixon and Kissinger wanted peace in the Middle East to be brokered by the United States alone. Determined to keep the Soviets out of the Sinai, the Americans put their worldwide military forces including nuclear forces, on Defcon 3, a high state of alert. Simultaneously, they threatened Israel with loss of the special relationship unless the ceasefire was renewed. Success was achieved on both counts : the Soviets stayed out, the Israeli stopped the fighting. American leverage (i.e. Its influence with Israel) had saved the Egyptian 3rd Army. Sadat now began a dramatic reorientation of policy away from the Soviet Union and towards the United States.

SOVIET UNION	UNITED STATES
<p>offered military support for policy of armed struggle against Israel</p> <p>BUT</p> <p>the constant round of war had achieved nothing :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Palestinians had not been helped</li> <li>• Egypt lacked oil supplies and her economy could not bear the strain of war for much longer</li> <li>• Egypt kept losing more territory</li> </ul>	<p>Had leverage over Israel :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• chief arms supplier</li> <li>• Chief source of economic aid</li> </ul> <p>Sadat considered the possibility that the American diplomacy might achieve what Soviet arms could not : force concessions out of Israel</p> <p>US had the wealth to supply Egypt with large amounts of aids that could help Sadat in his aim of modernising the Egyptian economy</p>

Sadat's switch from reliance on one superpower to the other was so complete that he expelled the Soviets from all their bases in Egypt, broke off diplomatic relations with Moscow, and became so closely committed to the Americans that he even proposed Egyptian membership of NATO.

### Long terms effects of the war

- The fact that Israel managed to gain a foothold on African soil west of canal helped convince many in the Arab world that it could not be defeated militarily, thereby strengthening **peace movements**.
- The war had a stunning effect on the population in Israel. The shock and sudden defeats that occurred at the beginning of the war sent a **terrible psychological blow to the Israelis**, who had thought they had military supremacy in the region.
- In response to US. support of Israel, OAPEC nations, the Arab members of OPEC, led by Saudi Arabia, decided to reduce oil production by 5 % per month on October 17th, and threatened an embargo. Nixon appealing to Congress on October 18th for \$2.2 billion of arms shipment to Israel. On October 20th, Saudi Arabia declared an oil embargo against the United States, later joined by other oil exporters, and extended to other states such as the Netherlands, causing **the 1973 energy crisis**. In 1972 a barrel of crude oil had cost \$3 ; by the end of the following year, the price had risen to \$18. The effect was devastating. Most obviously, there was a worldwide oil shortage. British industry was put on a three-day week to save fuel, many Western nations even imposed speed limits on their roads to cut the consumption, long queues even formed outside the gas stations. On a long term, the global economy stagnated : unemployment soared as many countries went into recession. Inflation, caused by rapid price rises, hit at the same time. The resultant stagflation caused great damages in the Western economies.

### Camp David Agreements

As first attempt to find a peaceful post-war settlement was seen as the organization of a conference Geneva, co-hosted by the UN. But it was a fiasco. Henry Kissinger, Nixon Secretary of State, was

keen to defuse the situation in the Middle East as swiftly as possible. The region's tensions were expensive and dangerous. Kissinger did abandoned the "big plan" idea in favour of a step by step approach towards implementation of UN Resolution 242. To this end he spent many months flying backwards and forwards between the capitals of the Middle East, relaying offers and counter-offers, making suggestions of his own, and, when he felt it appropriate, using the big stick of US economic power to bring the parties round to his way of thinking. This was called the **shuttle diplomacy**.



Under Kissinger's auspices two far-reaching disengagement agreements were reached, Sinai I and Sinai II (1974-1975). The armies pulled back, peacekeepers went in and the Suez canal was opened for the first time since 1967.

But it was not until President Carter presidency that the peace talks would resumed. In November 1977, Sadat took the unprecedented step of visiting Israel, becoming the first Arab leader to do so (and implicitly recognizing Israel's right to exist). The act jump-started the peace process. US President Carter invited both Sadat and Begin (Israel new Likud Prime Minister) to a summit at Camp David to negotiate a final peace. The talks took from September 5 to September 17 1978. Ultimately, the talks succeeded and Israel and Egypt signed the Israel-Egypt Peace treaty in 1979. Israel withdrew its troops and settlers from the Sinai, in exchange for normal relations with Egypt and a lasting peace.

Many in the Arab community were outraged at Egypt's peace with Israel. Egypt was expelled from the Arab League. Anwar Sadat was even assassinated two years later, on October 6, 1979, while attending a parade marking the 8th anniversary of the start of the war, by Army members who were outraged at his negotiations with Israel.

# Middle East 1978 – 1991 : renewal and expansion of tension

Old conflicts and new rivalries are melting together to transform the Middle East in a dangerous zone for the world peace. Facing the rise of Muslim fundamentalism and the rise of independence will from the small regional actors, the superpowers have more and more difficulties to control the situation and to face together (on the base that they have the intention of acting in concert) crises which are developing in the sector. The symbol of this failure to control the region can be seen through the Iranian revolution

## I) The Islamic revolution

Started in January 1978, it is finished with the exile of the Shah, while an Islamic Republic is installed in Teheran.

Under the leadership of the Ayatollah Khomeini, who came back from his exile in France, this Islamic Republic, has built a even more violent dictatorship based on the role of the clergy and taken a completely different foreign policy.

For long “policeman of the Gulf” for the United States, Iran is cutting any contacts outside, reducing its petroleum exportations of more than 50 % and closing its doors to western influence, while not choosing the USSR.

The American Embassy hostages crisis is the symbol of the divorce between Iran and the country considered as the “Great Satan” for its role in supporting the Shah dictatorship. Furthermore it is threatening to export its fundamentalist revolution abroad. To sum up it is since 1979, a new destabilisation agent and Washington has to seek the help of weaker and not that sure allies in the regions, such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

## II) Lebanese civil war (1975–91)

### **The Revolution**

In 1978 opponents of the shah had several bloody encounters with his security troops. The most notorious of these clashes was on September 8, when soldiers fired on 20,000 demonstrators in Teheran. Several hundred people were killed and thousands more were wounded in what became known as Black Friday. Two months later, young people took to the streets of Teheran, burning shops, banks, liquor stores, and other symbols of Western “corruption.” On December 10 and 11, the two holiest days of the Shia calendar, a group of soldiers rebelled and attacked the officer’s mess of the shah’s Imperial Guard. With that, his regime collapsed, and the shah fled Iran in January 1979. He died two years later in Cairo, Egypt.

Khomeini returned to Iran on February 1, 1979, and began to establish control over the government. He forced the shah’s prime minister out of office and appointed a new prime minister, Mehdi Bazargan. Bazargan was known as a liberal who favoured democracy, so many observers believed the new government would represent a wide range of opinion. In a late March referendum Iranians voted on a new form of government, and in April, with overwhelming public approval, Khomeini declared the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

After Bazargan resigned, Khomeini held a December referendum in which more than 99 percent of voters supported a new constitution. Khomeini became *faqih*, or ultimate leader, and used his unlimited powers to eliminate opponents. First he attacked liberals and leftists, including President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, who fled Iran in February 1981; later, he repressed his clerical opponents.

### **American Embassy hostages crisis**

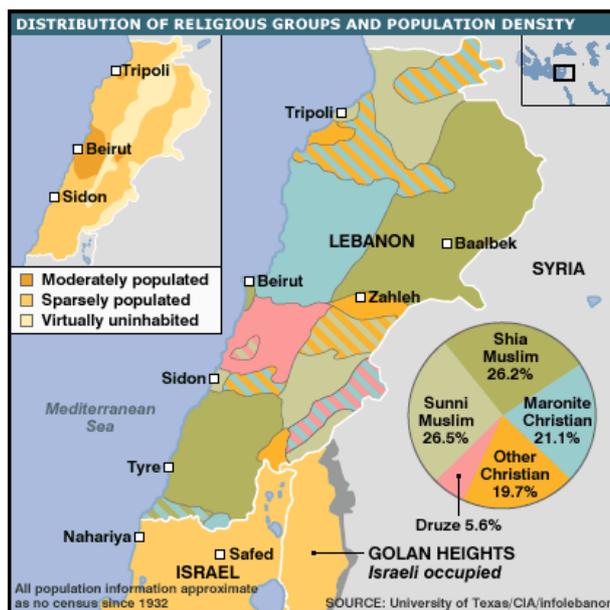
In November 1979, after the shah had been allowed entry to the United States for medical care, hundreds of Iranians overran the U.S. embassy in Teheran and took the staff hostage. Khomeini refused to release them until the United States apologized for its support of the shah and met other demands. Carter applied economic pressure, freezing Iranian assets in the US and placing an embargo on the country’s oil. Still the hostages were not released. The President then authorized a clandestine rescue attempt which was aborted before reaching Teheran (and with 8 US soldiers killed in the op. Following the death of the Shah, Carter’s defeat by Ronald Reagan and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, the hostages eventually came home in January 1981.

Civil conflict resulting from tensions among Lebanon's Christian and Muslim populations and exacerbated by the presence in Lebanon in the 1970s of fighters from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), especially after been kicked out of Jordan after “Black September” in 1970.

In 1975 Lebanon's Muslims and leftists supported the PLO and sought more political power; its Christians, seeking to maintain their political dominance, opposed the PLO. The factions fought fiercely through early 1976, and Lebanon became effectively partitioned, with the Christians in power in the north and the Muslims in the south.

Fearing an expanded war, both Israel and Syria intervened on the side of the Christians, who had begun to lose ground. Fighting continued at a lower level of intensity until 1982, when Israel invaded southern Lebanon to destroy Palestinian guerrilla bases; PLO forces were driven out of Beirut, and by 1985 Israel had withdrawn from most of Lebanon, which by then was split internally over whether to accept Syria's leadership.

In 1989 the Christian leader General Michel Aoun attempted to drive Syria from Lebanon but was defeated, and the Arab League mediated a peace deal; his removal from power in 1990 eliminated the largest obstacle to implementing a 1989 peace accord. In southern Lebanon, fighting between Israeli and Hezbollah forces continued even after Israel's final withdrawal from Lebanese territory in 2000.



Even more characterizing the end of the “condominium” applied to the region, the war which is opposing between 1988 Iraq of Saddam Hussein and Iran of Khomeini.

### III) Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988)

It officially began on Sept. 22, 1980, with an Iraqi land and air invasion of western Iran.

Iraqi president Saddam Hussein claimed as the reason for his attack on Iran a territorial dispute over the Shatt al Arab, a waterway that empties into the Persian Gulf and forms the boundary between Iran and Iraq. In 1975, a militarily weaker Iraq had by treaty signed over to Iran partial control of the waterway, but after the fall (1979) of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi, Iraq seized the opportunity to reclaim the Shatt al Arab. Iraq also hoped to seize the western Iranian region of Khuzestan, known for its oil fields.

The Iraqi offensive was initially successful, capturing the port city of Khorramshahr by the end of 1980. Iranian resistance proved strong, however, and Iraqi troops had withdrawn from the occupied portions of Iran by early 1982. Iran began a series of offensives, which proved successful enough to cause Iraq to resort to the use of chemical weapons, a tactic reviled by the international community. Khomeini's troops captured the oil-rich Majnoon Islands from Iraq in Feb., 1984, and southern Iraq's Fao peninsula in early 1986. Sporadic air and missile attacks on cities and military installations were common throughout the war, and in 1985 both sides began to strike their opponent's capital.

The United States and several Western European nations became involved in the war in 1987, in response to Iranian attacks on Kuwaiti oil tankers travelling in the Persian Gulf. These attacks sullied Iran's international reputation considerably, making it difficult for Khomeini to obtain arms.

Finally, in July, 1988, Iran was forced to accept a United Nations–mandated cease-fire. Estimates of

the number of dead range up to 1.5 million. In its war effort, Iran was supported by Syria and Libya, and received much of its weaponry from North Korea and China, as well as from covert arms transactions from the United States. Iraq enjoyed much wider support, both among Arab and Western nations: the Soviet Union was its largest supplier of arms. In 1990 Iraq, concerned with securing its forcible annexation of Kuwait agreed to accept the terms of the 1975 treaty with Iran and withdraw its troops from Iranian territory as well as exchange all prisoners of war.

Anyway this peace is brief as in 1990 is blasting a new conflict in which a coalition of 32 countries is facing Iraq under the UN supervision.

#### **IV) First Gulf war (1990-1991)**

##### **Causes**

- A the end of a war which had disrupted its economy, Iraq was crawling under debts
- Iraq was waiting from the restart of its oil exportations and the goodwill of its partners and bankers to re-establish its financial situation
- But the price of the oil barrel is dropping in 1990, and is seen by Saddam Hussein as a plot of the USA and their moderate allies in the Gulf in order to increase the production and lower the prices (Saddam Hussein declared that the invasion was a response to overproduction of oil in Kuwait, which had cost Iraq an estimated \$14 billion a year when oil prices fell). Furthermore Kuwait is refusing to leave the 10 to 15 billions of dollars lent to Iraq, while Saudi Arabia has cleared the Iraqi debt in April 1990.
- The result, stimulated by the frustrations of the civilian population which buying power has dropped, is greater tensions with the neighbour Kuwait, based on the Iraqi will to have a greater access to the Gulf with the cession of two islands by Kuwait (Warba and Boubiyan)
- Looking deeper, Saddam Hussein was maybe looking to lead the Arab world and lead a coalition against Israel. In any case he had reinforced his military power, installing scud bases and developing chemical weapons as well as its atomic program.

The crisis is bursting in August 1990 with the invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqi army and days later the fusion of the two states.

The UN Security Council called for Iraq to withdraw and subsequently embargoed most trade with Iraq. On Aug. 7, U.S. troops moved into Saudi Arabia to protect Saudi oil fields. On Nov. 29, the United Nations set Jan. 15, 1991, as the deadline for a peaceful withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

When Saddam Hussein refused to comply, Operation Desert Storm was launched on Jan. 18, 1991. The U.S.-led coalition began a massive air war to destroy Iraq's forces and military and civil infrastructure. Iraq called for terrorist attacks against the coalition and launched Scud missiles at Israel (in an unsuccessful attempt to widen the war and break up the coalition) and at Saudi Arabia. The main coalition forces invaded Kuwait and S Iraq on Feb. 24 and, over the next four days, encircled and defeated the Iraqis and liberated Kuwait..

Although the war was a decisive military victory for the coalition, Kuwait and Iraq suffered enormous property damage, and Saddam Hussein was not removed from power. In fact, Hussein was free to turn his attention to suppressing internal Shiite and Kurd revolts, which the U.S.-led coalition did not support, in part because of concerns over the possible breakup of Iraq if the revolts were successful..

# Focus

## The Palestinian « problem »

### I) The origins of the Palestinian problem

#### The creation of Israel

Process of history since the Balfour declaration leading to the arrival and installation of Jewish settlers after the end of the WWII

After the creation of the state of Israel on May 14, the land controlled by the Jewish state is representing 73 % of the old Palestine mandate. No Palestinian state is even created with the remaining 27 % as Egypt is occupying the Gaza Strip and Transjordan is annexing the West Bank

#### The Palestinian refugees after the first Israeli-Arab conflict

The war has driven 750 000 to 800 000 Palestinians on the road of exile, flying in front of the Israeli Army Forces

- Huge refugees camps are built in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip but also in the neighbouring Arab countries
- A UNO agency was even created which goal was to bring the help to the refugees : the UN-RWA
- The return of the Palestinian refugees is refused by Israel, while political asylum and citizenship are given in small numbers by the Arab countries (except Jordan).

After the 6 days war in 1967, Israel is occupying the Sinai, Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

- 300 000 new Palestinians are sent on the roads to Jordan. It is especially the case of the region of the Jordan valley which is losing almost all its Palestinian population.
- 100 000 Syrian are also living the Golan heights.

The population of refugees is now evaluated to 4 million in 2005, without counting the Arab Palestinians of the Diaspora which have gained a foreign nationality

Since the beginning, on one side the Palestinians are saying that Israel is not willing to move on the issue of the refugees while on the other side Israel is accusing the Arab states to keep a false hope of a possible right of return, and by that mean to refuse a real normalisation

### II) The Palestinian political choices

#### Creation of the PLO

The Arab League on Cairo Summit 1964 initiated the creation of an organization representing the Palestinian people. The Palestinian National Council convened in Jerusalem on May 29, 1964. Concluding this meeting the PLO was founded on June 2, 1964. See the statement of proclamation of the Organization in the document section (right of the Palestinian Arab people to its sacred home

homeland in Palestine and affirming the inevitability of the battle to liberate it)

With the influence of the Egyptian President Nasser, the PLO supported the nasseristic « pan Arabism », the ideology that the Arabs should live in one state

Main leader was Yasser Arafat from February 1969 to November 2004 (he was in exile in Jordan to April 1971 ; Lebanon from 1971 to 1982 and Tunis from December 1982 to May 1994)

The PLO's membership was made up by separate paramilitary and political organizations, often referred to as factions. No central decision making or mechanism that enables it to directly control these factions, but they are supposed to follow the PLO charter and Executive Committee decisions :

- ⇒ Fatah : largest faction (centrist, nationalist)
- ⇒ The PFLP : Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (radically militant and Communist)
- ⇒ The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (third largest, communist)
- ⇒ Other minor factions

### Means of actions

- Main choice was to organize paramilitary troops which would be acting from the neighbouring countries around Israel, raiding inside the territory of Israel in order to disrupt Israel economy and peace. They were armed by the Arab countries, and indirectly later by the USSR. Kind of guerrilla warfare.
- Increased use of terrorism in the seventies (their actions were qualified in such a way by Israel before) as it is seen as one of the only efficient mean after the defeat of 1967. The most famous actions :
  - ⇒ Actions held by the PFLP in the sixties and seventies with a number of attacks and plane hijackings, with for example the Dawson's Field hijackings in 1970, which precipitated the Black September in Jordan
  - ⇒ Munich massacre in 1972, during the Olympics, carried by the Black September group which was allegedly affiliated with the PLO.
  - ⇒ Hijackings of planes from Israel and the USA in the mid eighties ; hijacking of a cruise ship called Achille Lauro in 1985.
  - ⇒ Until the 1993 signing of the Declaration of Principles between Israel and PLO in Washington, the US government listed the PLO as a terrorist organization
- Political action through integration in international organizations in order to gain support and recognition from the International community :
  - ⇒ 1969 : Palestine, through PLO is admitted as a member of the Islamic Conference
  - ⇒ 1974 : PLO admitted as an observer to the UN ; extension in 1976 with the right to participate in the debate of the Security Council even if not granted the right to vote
  - ⇒ 1976 : admission as a member of the Arab League

### The difficult relations with the Arabic countries

The main example was the "Black September" event in Jordan.

On September 1, 1970, several attempts to kill the king failed. On September 6, in the series of Dawson's Field hijackings, three planes were hijacked by PFLP. The PFLP announced that the hijackings were designed "to teach the Americans a lesson because of their long-standing support of Israel". After all hostages were removed, the planes were demonstratively blown up in front of TV cameras. Directly confronting and angering the King, the rebels declared [Irbid](#) area a "liberated region".

On September 16, King Hussein declared martial law. The next day, Jordanian tanks attacked the headquarters of Palestinian organizations in Amman; the army also attacked camps in Irbid,

Salt, Sweileh and Zarqa.

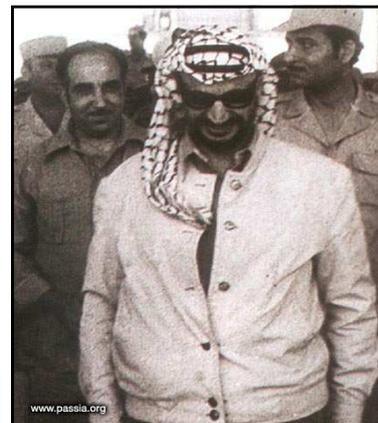
The attack resulted in heavy civilian Palestinian casualties. Armed conflict lasted until July 1971 with the expulsion of PLO and thousands of Palestinians to Lebanon

## **The evolution of their situation (especially following the evolution of PLO)**

### **From Palestine to Tunis**

The history of the Palestinian fighting organizations and activist groups is that they have been pushed away for a long period.

- Driven out of the Palestinian regions after the First Israeli-Arab war.
- Driven out of the West Bank and Gaza Strip after the 1967 “six days” war, even if some of the refugees camps settled after 1948 were kept in these regions
- Driven out of Jordan after the “Black September” event in September 1970. Palestinian groups are expelled from the country and under the Cairo Agreement are establishing themselves in Lebanon.
- Driven out of Lebanon after the beginning of the Lebanese Civil War : PLO first fought against Maronite militias, then against Israel, then, finally against the Syrian supported Amal militias. Between 1978 and 1982 the Israeli forces invaded the South of the country in order to wipe out the Palestinian bases. These attacks culminated in 1982 with the siege of Beirut and the departure of the PLO to Tunis.
- In 1982, the PLO is relocated to Tunis, even if some of its groups remained active in Lebanon, but not as the same extent as before 1982.



### **From Tunis to the Palestinian Authority**

Important changes have come to the Palestinian situation from the Intifada uprising in the occupied territories, even if this was not mainly driven by PLO

#### **The Intifada**

In December 1987, the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza started a mass uprising against the Israeli occupation :

- This uprising, or intifada (which means "shaking off" in Arabic), was not started or orchestrated by the PLO leadership in Tunis.
- Rather, it was a popular mobilization that drew on the organizations and institutions that had developed under occupation. The intifada involved hundreds of thousands of people, many with no previous resistance experience, including children, teenagers and women.
- For the first few years, it involved many forms of civil disobedience, including massive demonstrations, general strikes, refusal to pay taxes, boycotts of Israeli products, political graffiti and the establishment of underground schools (since regular schools were closed by the military as reprisals for the uprising). It also included stone throwing, Molotov cocktails and the erection of barricades to impede the movement of Israeli military forces.
- Under the leadership of Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin, Israel tried to smash the intifada with "force, power and blows." From 1987 to 1991 Israeli forces killed over 1,000 Palestinians. Political divisions and violence within the Palestinian community escalated, especially the growing rivalry between the various PLO factions and Islamist organizations (HAMAS and Islamic Jihad). Palestinian militants killed over 250 Palestinians suspected of collaboration and about 100 Israelis during this period.

**Although the intifada did not bring an end to the occupation**, it made clear that the status quo was untenable. The intifada shifted the centre of gravity of Palestinian political initiative from the PLO leadership in Tunis to the occupied territories.

- Palestinian activists in the occupied territories demanded that the PLO adopt a clear political program to guide the struggle for independence.
- In response, the Palestine National Council (a Palestinian government-in-exile), convened in Algeria in **November 1988, recognized the state of Israel**, proclaimed an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and **renounced terrorism**.
- The Israeli government did not respond to these gestures, claiming that nothing had changed and that the PLO was a terrorist organization with which it would never negotiate.
- The US did acknowledge that the PLO's policies had changed, but did little to encourage Israel to abandon its intransigent stand.

### **The Madrid Conference**

During the 1991 Gulf War, the PLO did not endorse Iraq's annexation of Kuwait, but it saw Saddam Hussein's challenge to the US and the Gulf oil-exporting states as a way to alter the regional status quo and focus attention on the question of Palestine. After the war, the PLO was diplomatically isolated. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia cut off financial support they had been providing, bringing the PLO to the brink of crisis.

After the Gulf War, the US sought to stabilize its position in the Middle East by promoting a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Despite their turn against the PLO, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia were anxious to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and remove the potential for regional instability it created. The administration of President Bush felt obliged to its Arab allies, and pressed a reluctant Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to open negotiations with the Palestinians and the Arab states at a multilateral conference in Madrid, Spain, in October 1991. Shamir's conditions, which the US accepted, were that the PLO be excluded from the talks and that the Palestinian desires for independence and statehood not be directly addressed.

In subsequent negotiating sessions held in Washington, DC, Palestinians were represented by a delegation from the occupied territories. Participants in this delegation were subject to Israeli approval. Although the PLO was formally excluded from these talks, its leaders regularly consulted with and advised the Palestinian delegation. Although Israeli and Palestinian delegations met many times, little progress was achieved.

A new Israeli Labor Party government led by Yitzhak Rabin assumed office in June 1992 and promised rapid conclusion of an Israel-Palestinian agreement. Instead, the Washington negotiations became stalemated after December 1992.

Lack of progress in the Washington talks and deterioration of the economic and human rights conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip accelerated the growth of a radical Islamist challenge to the PLO :

- Violent attacks against Israeli targets by HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement) and Islamic Jihad further exacerbated tensions.
- Ironically, before the intifada, Israeli authorities had enabled the development of Islamist organizations as a way to divide Palestinians in the occupied territories.

### **The Oslo Accords**

The weakness of the PLO after the Gulf War, the stalemate in the Washington talks, and fear of radical Islam brought the Rabin government to reverse the long-standing Israeli refusal to negotiate with the PLO. Consequently, Israel initiated secret negotiations in Oslo, Norway directly with PLO representatives who had been excluded from the Madrid and Washington talks. These negotiations produced the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles, which was signed in Washington in September 1993.

The Declaration of Principles was based on mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO :

- It established that Israel would withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Jericho, with additional withdrawals from further unspecified areas of the West Bank during a five-year interim period.
- During this period, the PLO formed a Palestinian Authority (PA) with "self-governing" (i.e. municipal) powers in the areas from which Israeli forces were redeployed. In January 1996, elections were held for a Palestinian Legislative Council and for the presidency of the PA, which was won handily by Yasir Arafat.
- The key issues such as the extent of the territories to be ceded by Israel, the nature of the Palestinian entity to be established, the future of the Israeli settlements and settlers, water rights, the resolution of the refugee problem and the status of Jerusalem were set aside to be discussed in final status talks.

The PLO accepted this deeply flawed agreement with Israel because it was weak and had little diplomatic support in the Arab world. Both Islamist radicals and local leaders in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip challenged Arafat's leadership. Yet only Arafat had the prestige and national legitimacy to conclude a negotiated agreement with Israel.

Conclusion : a look in the future : today : from the Second Intifada to the victory of Hamas at the PA elections

Useful internet sources :

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in\\_depth/middle\\_east/2001/israel\\_and\\_the\\_palestinians/default.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/middle_east/2001/israel_and_the_palestinians/default.stm)

- key documents
- key maps
- countries profiles
- people profiles

# Documents Middle East (1917-1991)

- 1) Balfour declaration 1917
- 2) UN partition plan 1947
- 3) Declaration of Israel's independence
- 4) Excerpts from the decree of Nasser on the Nationalization of the Suez Canal
- 5) Speech by Anthony Eden (31 October 1956)
- 6) UN Security Council resolution 242
- 7) Peace treaty between Israel and Egypt
- 8) The Palestinian National Charter

## The Balfour Declaration

*This letter to Lord Rothschild, by the British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour, was aimed at Jewish support for the Allies in the First World War. The letter, known as the "Balfour Declaration" became the basis movement to create a Jewish state in Palestine. The letter was published a week later in The Times (London) of London*

Foreign Office  
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours, Arthur James Balfour

# UN partition plan

## Summary of UN General Assembly Resolution 181

November 29, 1947

The territory of Palestine should be divided as follows:

- A Jewish State covering 56.47% of Mandatory Palestine (excluding Jerusalem) with a population of 498,000 Jews and 325,000 Arabs;
- An Arab State covering 43.53% of Mandatory Palestine (excluding Jerusalem), with 807,000 Arab inhabitants and 10,000 Jewish inhabitants;

An international trusteeship regime in Jerusalem, where the population was 100,000 Jews and 105,000 Arabs.

The partition plan also laid down:

- A guarantee of the rights of minorities and religious rights, including free access to and the preservation of Holy Places;

A constitution of an Economic Union between the two states: custom union, joint monetary system, joint administration of main services, equal access to water and energy resources.

The General Assembly also proposed:

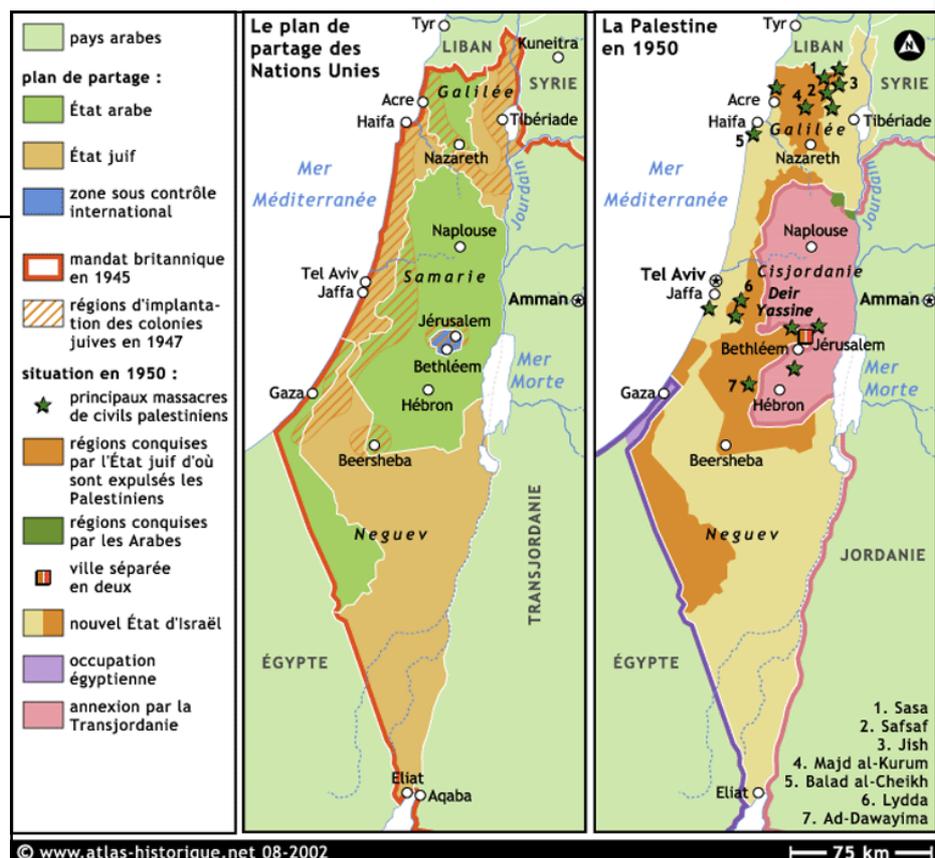
- A two-month interim period beginning 1 August 1948, date of expiry of the mandate when the British troops were to be evacuated, with a zone including a port to be evacuated in the territory of the Jewish State by 1 February;
- A five-country Commission (Bolivia, Denmark, Panama, Philippines, Czechoslovakia) in charge of the administration of the regions evacuated by Great Britain, of establishing the frontiers of the two states and of setting up in each of them a Provisional Council of Government;

The gradual take-over of the administration by the Provisional Council of Government in both States, and the organization of democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly within two months.

Source : BBC world

Full length text

<http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/62c13fb98d54fe240525672700581383/7f0af2bd897689b785256c330061d253!OpenDocument>



## Document 3

### **Declaration of Israel's Independence 1948 Issued at Tel Aviv on May 14, 1948 (5th of Iyar, 5708)**

The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.



Exiled from Palestine, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood. In recent decades they returned in masses. They reclaimed the wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages and established a vigorous and ever-growing community with its own economic and cultural life. They sought peace yet were ever prepared to defend themselves. They brought the blessing of progress to all inhabitants of the country.

In the year 1897 the First Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl's vision of the Jewish State, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national revival in their own country.

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and reaffirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their National Home.

The Nazi holocaust, which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe, proved anew the urgency of the re-establishment of the Jewish state, which would solve the problem of Jewish homelessness by opening the gates to all Jews and lifting the Jewish people to equality in the family of nations.

The survivors of the European catastrophe, as well as Jews from other lands, proclaiming their right to a life of dignity, freedom and labor, and undeterred by hazards, hardships and obstacles, have tried unceasingly to enter Palestine.

In the Second World War the Jewish people in Palestine made a full contribution in the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and the efforts of their workers gained them title to rank with the peoples who founded the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Resolution for the establishment of an independent Jewish State in Palestine, and called upon the inhabitants of the country to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put the plan into effect.

This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent State may not be revoked. It is, moreover, the self-evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation, as all other nations, in its own sovereign State.

**ACCORDINGLY, WE**, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement of the world, met together in solemn assembly today, the day of the termination of the British mandate for Palestine, by virtue of the natural and historic right of the Jewish and of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations,

**HEREBY PROCLAIM** the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, to be called **ISRAEL**.

**WE HEREBY DECLARE** that as from the termination of the Mandate at midnight, this night of the 14th and 15th May, 1948, and until the setting up of the duly elected bodies of the State in accordance with a Constitution, to be drawn up by a Constituent Assembly not later than the first day of October, 1948, the present National Council shall act as the provisional administration, shall constitute the Provisional Government of the State of Israel.

**THE STATE OF ISRAEL** will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew Prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

**THE STATE OF ISRAEL** will be ready to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementation of the Resolution of the Assembly of November 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the Economic Union over the whole of Palestine.

[...] In the midst of wanton aggression, we yet call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the State, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in its bodies and institutions - provisional or permanent.

We offer peace and unity to all the neighboring states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all.

Our call goes out to the Jewish people all over the world to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development and to stand by us in the great struggle for the fulfillment of the dream of generations - the redemption of Israel.

With trust in Almighty God, we set our hand to this Declaration, at this Session of the Provisional State Council, in the city of Tel Aviv, on this Sabbath eve, the fifth of Iyar, 5708, the fourteenth day of May, 1948.

## Excerpts from the decree of the President of the Republic of Egypt (Nasser) on the Nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, Cairo, July 26, 1956.

President of the Republic Order Concerning the issuance of Law No. 285 of 1956 on the Nationalization of the Universal Company of the Suez Maritime Canal.

In the Name of the Nation

The President of the Republic,

Considering the two firmans issued on November 30, 1854 and January 5, 1856 (respectively) concerning the preferential rights relating to the administration of the Suez Canal Transit Service and the establishment of an Egyptian joint-stock company to operate it;

[...] has issued the following law;

### Article I

The Universal Company of the Suez Maritime Canal (Egyptian joint-stock company) is hereby nationalized. All its assets, rights and obligations are transferred to the Nation and all the organizations and committees that now operate its management are hereby dissolved.

Stockholders and holders of founders shares shall be compensated for the ordinary or founders shares they own in accordance with the value of the shares shown in the closing quotations of the Paris Stock Exchange on the day preceding the effective date of the present law. The payment of said indemnity shall be effected after the Nation has taken delivery of all the assets and properties of the nationalized company. [...]

### Article III

The assets and rights of the nationalized company in the Republic of Egypt and abroad, are hereby frozen. Without specific permission obtained in advance from the organization provided for in Article II above, banks, organizations and private persons are hereby prohibited from disposing of those assets or making any payment requested them or due by them.

[...]

Given this 18th day of Zull Heggah, 1375 A.H. [July 26, 1956]

Gamal Abdel Nasser



## Speech by Anthony Eden (31 October 1956)

### Source

"Speech by Anthony Eden", in Parliamentary Debates. 1955-1956, n° 558; fifth series, pp.1446-1449.

[...] I will begin by saying this about the United Nations session. Yesterday morning, the United States representative tabled at U.N.O. a resolution which was, in effect, a condemnation of Israel as the aggressor in the events of the last few days. We felt that we could not associate ourselves with this and we said so through diplomatic channels both in London and in New York. Her Majesty's Government did not feel, and do not feel, that it is possible to pronounce in this way against one of the parties in the dispute for the action which they have taken, regardless of the cumulative effects that went before.

Throughout recent months, and, in particular, since the seizure of the Canal, the Egyptian Government have kept up a violent campaign against Israel, against this country and against the West. The Egyptian Government have made clear over and over again, with increased emphasis since the seizure of the Canal, their intention to destroy Israel, just as they have made it plain that they would drive the Western Powers out of the Middle East. [An HON. MEMBER: "What has happened?"] That is what has been happening and that is the background to understand what is happening. It is from these Egyptian policies that much of the present crisis has sprung, and to ignore them is to shun reality.

In these circumstances, is there any Member of this House who can consider Egypt as an innocent country whom it is right to exonerate at the Security Council by condemning Israel as an aggressor? Moreover, the Security Council resolution simply called upon the Israeli Government to withdraw within their frontiers. That seemed, and seems, to us in all the circumstances that have preceded these immediate events, to be a harsh demand if it is to stand alone. It certainly could not be said to meet in any way the guarantees for Israel's security which were asked for by several hon. Members in the course of yesterday's debate.[...]

As to the military situation on the ground, I must give the House what information is at our disposal. The Press this morning, the House will have seen, reports that [...] Israeli troops are continuing to advance towards the Canal.

[...] In the light of all these facts, can anyone say that we and the French Government should have waited — [HON. MEMBERS: "Yes."] — for a satisfactory resolution by the Security Council authorising definite action to stop the fighting? I must remind the House that we have recently been to the United Nations and we went with proposals for the future of the Canal, approved by 18 Powers representing more than 90 percent. of the traffic that uses the Canal.

Admittedly, we received strong support for our proposals, but they were vetoed by the Soviet Government. Can we be expected to await the development of similar procedures in the situation of much greater urgency that confronts us now in and about the Canal? The action we had to take was bound to be rapid. I regret it had to be so, but it was inescapable.

We have no desire whatever, nor have the French Government, that the military action that we shall have to take — [HON. MEMBERS: "Oh."] — should be more than temporary in its duration, but it is our intention that our action to protect the Canal and separate the combatants should result in a settlement which will prevent such a situation arising in the future. If we can do that we shall have performed a service not only to this country, but to the users of the Canal.

It is really not tolerable that the greatest sea highway in the world, one on which our Western life so largely depends, should be subject to the dangers of an explosive situation in the Middle East which, it must be admitted, has been largely created by the Egyptian Government along familiar lines. I would remind the House that we have witnessed, all of us, the growth of a specific Egyptian threat to the peace of the Middle East. Everybody knows that to be true.

[...] What would the future of the Middle East have been if, while denouncing Israel, we had done nothing to check these Egyptian actions? The only result would be warfare spreading through the whole area and a great increase in the strength and influence of a dictator's power. In these circumstances, to have taken no action would have been to betray not our interests alone but those of the free world and, above all, of the Middle East itself. To have taken ineffective action would have been a greater betrayal than to have taken no action at all.

We have taken the only action which we could clearly see would be effective in holding the belligerents apart and which would give us some chance to re-establish the peace of the area. In entering the Suez Canal area we are only protecting a vital international waterway. We are also holding — and this is a point I would ask the House to bear in mind — between the combatants the only possible line of division which is practicable for us, because even if it had been fair it would not have been possible to have attempted to establish ourselves upon the armistice line itself. It is an irregular line, with no facilities and no possibility of any limited forces doing anything effective to control it, and, of course, would have been no assistance at all in respect of shipping in the Canal.

Now I wish to say something about our relations with the United States in the matter. The decisions which we and the French Government took were, as I said yesterday, taken on our own account and on our own responsibility. The Government remain convinced that we could have done no other and discharge our national duty. Now, it is, of course, an obvious truth that safety of transit through the Canal, though clearly of concern to the United States, is for them not a matter of survival as it is to us and, indeed, to all Europe and many other lands. Indeed, Mr. Dulles himself made this clear on 28th August, when he said the United States' economy is not dependent upon the Canal. Of course that is true. [...]

If anyone says that on that account we should have held up action until agreement could be reached with the United States. There have been different approaches to some of these vital Middle Eastern questions. They know it. We know it. Of course, we deplore it, but I do not think that it can carry with it this corollary, that we must in all circumstances secure agreement from our American ally before we can act ourselves in what we know to be our own vital interests.

**UN Security Council resolution 242**  
**November 22, 1967**

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East;

Emphasising the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security;

Emphasising further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter;

Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

Affirms further the necessity,

- For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;
- For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
- For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarised zones;

Requests the Secretary General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

Requests the Secretary General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

## PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT (extracts)

March 26, 1979

*The Israel-Egypt peace treaty was signed in Washington on March 26, 1979 as the first of the Camp David Accords (1978). The main features of the treaty were the mutual recognition of each country by the other, the cessation of the state of war which had existed since 1948, and the withdrawal by Israel of its armed forces and civilians from the Sinai territory which Israel had occupied since the 1967 war. The agreement also provided for the free passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal and recognition of the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba as international waterways. The agreement notably made Egypt the first Arab country to officially recognize Israel. Jordan would follow in 1994 with the Israel-Jordan Treaty of Peace.*

The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Government of the State of Israel; Witnessed by: Jimmy Carter President of the United States of America

### PREAMBLE

Convinced of the urgent necessity of the establishment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;

Reaffirming their adherence to the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David," dated September 17, 1978;

Noting that the aforementioned Framework as appropriate is intended to constitute a basis for peace not only between Egypt and Israel but also between Israel and each of its other Arab neighbors which is prepared to negotiate peace with it on this basis;

Desiring to bring to an end the state of war between them and to establish a peace in which every state in the area can live in security;

Convinced that the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel is an important step in the search for comprehensive peace in the area and for the attainment of settlement of the Arab- Israeli conflict in all its aspects;

Inviting the other Arab parties to this dispute to join the peace process with Israel guided by and based on the principles of the aforementioned Framework;

Desiring as well to develop friendly relations and cooperation between themselves in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law governing international relations in times of peace;

Agree to the following provisions in the free exercise of their sovereignty, in order to implement the "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel";

**Article I** The state of war between the Parties will be terminated and peace will be established between them upon the exchange of instruments of ratification of this Treaty. Israel will withdraw all its armed forces and civilians from the Sinai behind the international boundary between Egypt and mandated Palestine, as provided in the annexed protocol (Annex I), and Egypt will resume the exercise of its full sovereignty over the Sinai. Upon completion of the interim withdrawal provided for in Annex I, the parties will establish normal and friendly relations, in accordance with Article III (3).

**Article II** The permanent boundary between Egypt and Israel in the recognized international boundary between Egypt and the former mandated territory of Palestine, as shown on the map at Annex II, without prejudice to the issue of the status of the Gaza Strip. The Parties recognize this boundary as inviolable. Each will respect the territorial integrity of the other, including their territorial waters and airspace.

**Article III** The Parties will apply between them the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law governing relations among states in times of peace. In particular: They recognize and will respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence; They recognize and will respect each other's right to live in peace within their secure and recognized boundaries; They will refrain from the threat or use of force, directly or indirectly, against each other and will settle all disputes between them by peaceful means. Each Party undertakes to ensure that acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, or violence do not originate from and are not committed from within its territory, or by any forces subject to its control or by any other forces stationed on its territory, against the population, citizens or property of the other Party. Each Party also undertakes to refrain from organizing, instigating, inciting, assisting or participating in acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, subversion or violence against the other Party, anywhere, and undertakes to ensure that perpetrators of such acts are brought to justice. The Parties agree that the normal relationship established between them will include full recognition, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations, termination of economic boycotts and discriminatory barriers to the free movement of people and goods, and will guarantee the mutual enjoyment by citizens of the due process of law. The process by which they undertake to achieve such a relationship parallel to the implementation of other provisions of this Treaty is set out in the annexed protocol (Annex III).

**Article IV** In order to provide maximum security for both Parties on the basis of reciprocity, agreed security arrangements will be established including limited force zones in Egyptian and Israeli territory, and United Nations forces and observers, described in detail as to nature and timing in Annex I, and other security arrangements the Parties may agree upon. The Parties agree to the stationing of United Nations personnel in areas described in Annex I. The Parties agree not to request withdrawal of the United Nations personnel and that these personnel will not be removed unless such removal is approved by the Security Council of the United Nations, with the affirmative vote of the five Permanent Members, unless the Parties otherwise agree. A Joint Commission will be established to facilitate the implementation of the Treaty, as provided for in Annex I. The security arrangements provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article may at the request of either party be reviewed and amended by mutual agreement of the Parties.

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/isregypt.htm>



Camp David agreement

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in\\_depth/middle\\_east/israel\\_and\\_the\\_palestinians/key\\_documents/1632849.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/middle_east/israel_and_the_palestinians/key_documents/1632849.stm)

## The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the Palestine National Council July 1-17, 1968

### Extracts from the text of the Charter:

#### Article 1:

Palestine is the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people; it is an indivisible part of the Arab homeland, and the Palestinian people are an integral part of the Arab nation.

#### Article 5:

The Palestinians are those Arab nationals who, until 1947, normally resided in Palestine regardless of whether they were evicted from it or have stayed there. Anyone born, after that date, of a Palestinian father - whether inside Palestine or outside it - is also a Palestinian.

#### Article 6:

The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

#### Article 9:

Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. This it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase. The Palestinian Arab people assert their absolute determination and firm resolution to continue their armed struggle and to work for an armed popular revolution for the liberation of their country and their return to it. They also assert their right to normal life in Palestine and to exercise their right to self-determination and sovereignty over it.

#### Article 10:

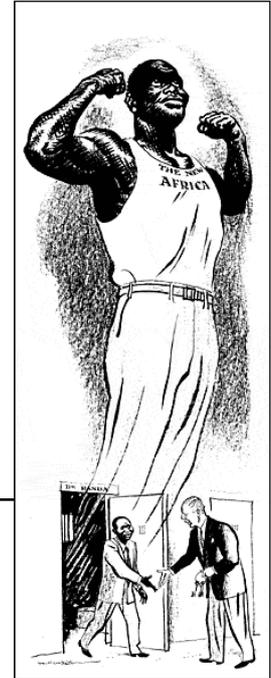
Commando action constitutes the nucleus of the Palestinian popular liberation war. This requires its escalation, comprehensiveness, and the mobilization of all the Palestinian popular and educational efforts and their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution. It also requires the achieving of unity for the national (watani) struggle among the different groupings of the Palestinian people, and between the Palestinian people and the Arab masses, so as to secure the continuation of the revolution, its escalation, and victory.

#### Article 19:

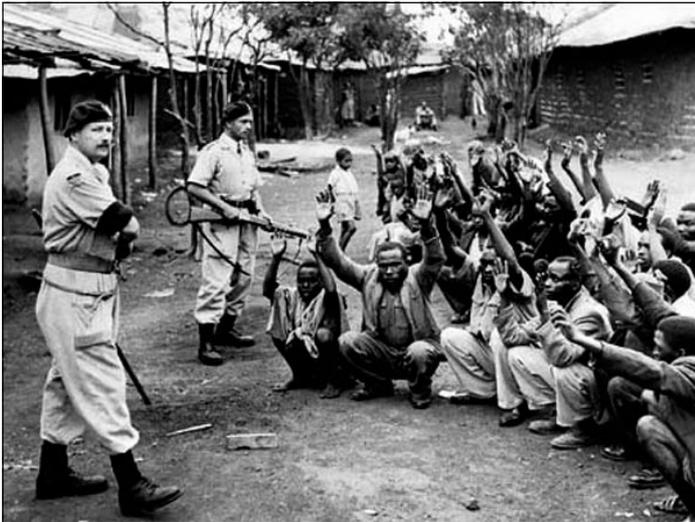
The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time, because they were contrary to the will of the Palestinian people and to their natural right in their homeland, and inconsistent with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations; particularly the right to self-determination.







# Decolonization 1945 - 1980



# Colonialism (1914)



## THE CHRONOLOGY OF AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE



From Chamberlain, Muriel E. *Longman Companion to European Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century* (Pearson 1998).  
 © Addison Wesley Longman Limited 1998.

## **Decolonisation main issues**

- ◆ **Why did Deco accelerate so rapidly after 1945 ?**
  - Impact of the WWII and the news circumstances which arose
    - Weakening of metropolises
    - Increased strength of nationalism
    - Increased place of the superpowers
  
- ◆ **Why were some European powers more prepared to decolonize than others ?**
  - British better prepared but in the zones with self government process in between the two wars
  - Elsewhere further investments took place by the British and they only left due to a combination of Nism, international pressures and economic considerations.
  - French and Dutch considered their empire as indispensable part of their post war economic recovery + for the French strong ideological commitment to empire
  - For Belgium, impossibility to make the military commitment necessary to keep Congo
  - The Portuguese the contrary but it only delayed the process
  
- ◆ **Why were some of the Deco more violent than others ?**
  - Role of the military in a dictatorship like in Portugal
  - Impact also in a fragile democracy like France
  - Impact of superpower rivalries (especially in Angola and Indochina)
  
- ◆ **What economic considerations were at stake over Deco ?**
  - Economic calculus to be taken into account as some of the colonies were more profitable than others
  - Mainly nationalists revolts and superpowers interventions forced the hands of the capitalists who would have acted differently otherwise
  
- ◆ **How did the Cold war affect decolonization ?**

# The causes of decolonisation

## I) Long term causes

### 1) The effects of the First World War

At first look the end of the WWI end the empires of the defeated powers and seems with the mandate system to strengthen those of the victors.

Blue print set up in February 1918 for the new international order once the war had ended : « the « 14 points » ; leading role of Woodrow Wilson who was really critical of European imperialism as the 5<sup>th</sup> point recommended :

A free open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principles that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

General statement which should have been applied to all colonies, at least in theory. In the practice, Wilson was mainly thinking about the defeated powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey) which he didn't want to be swallowed by the existing empires of the Allies.

Invention of the system of the Mandate in which the victors would become responsible for the defeated powers' former colonies without their actually being absorbed (**Germany**: Tanganyika, German SW Africa, New Guinea, W. Samoa, Togoland and the Camerons; **Turkey**: Palestine and Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon (these four were supposed to get fast the independence after the Mandate but they were in fact transformed into real colonies; only Iraq did achieve independence before WWII)). No people of the mandate were consulted as to their wishes.

The League of Nations was supposed to be set up on the base of the principle of taking into account the wishes of the population and their choice to self determination. As the Commission of the L of N were held by colonial powers the question was never really debated.

But the British and the French mandates ran into difficulties by the 30ies :

Insurrection in Iraq in the 20ies ; agreement of independence against the retention of military bases and access to oil supplies

Distrust of the Arabs in Palestine due to the Balfour declaration for the principle of a Jewish homeland

Revolt neglectly provoked in Lebanon by the French in 1925

Promises to self determination in Lebanon and Syria but not applied by 1939

### 2) Constrains upon imperial confidence

Developments in the inter-war period made the administration of empires more difficult

#### *Demographic changes*

High rise of the population and need for the colonial agriculture to provide more food.

Conflict with the established practice of taking over the local peasant economy and running it for the benefit of the colonizers and collaborators.

Example of Indochina where rice and rubber were exported while the landless poor were in the search

of work.

They often turned to the growing nationalist and communist movements

### *Changes in class structure : an emerging colonial middle class*

formation of an urban middle class in the colonies due to initial stages of industrialization and the necessity to have bureaucracies

these indigenous middle classes began to agitate politically

Examples of India where leaders such as Nehru and Gandhi were lawyers

### *Religion*

Religious revivalism with Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam also articulated the differences between the colonized and their colonizers.

Religion not only a reaction to poverty caused by depression but also a rejection of Western belief systems that were blamed for their suffering by colonized peoples. Closer example today with the revival of Islamic fundamentalism.

### 3) Nationalism

#### *the nature of nationalism*

Few similarities between the nineteenth century nationalism and the situation of Asia and Africa in the twentieth.

Nationalism has to be treated cautiously. It is not only a heroic Jack slaying the Giant of imperialism.

It did confront racist ideas such as that the Asians or Africans could not make best use of their own resources but sometimes nationalism was really no more than anti colonialism. It united people temporarily against a common enemy

Once the enemy was expelled, it dissolved into numerous smaller identities, ethnic, tribal or religious.

#### *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*

Japan as a model at the beginning of the twentieth century, with its ability to resist imperialism but also paradoxically with its imperialist achievements (defeat of Russia in 1905). The Chinese nationalists, the Kuomintang were also admired until the communists eclipsed them in the late 40ies.

Islamic nationalism fractured by the war as Muslims fought on both side but revival and strong among the Arabs, notably in Egypt which freed itself from the British rule (1922). Measure of unity restored at the World Islamic Conference (1931)

In Africa, Slower evolution probably due to the relative under development, even if the coastal areas were much more developed and connected to the rest of the world.

Influence also of the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy in 1935. Example with the biography of Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, at the time student in London.

Influence of socialism. Lenin himself recognized in 1920 its weakness in the less developed countries where the proletariat was small or non-existent. The peasantry were dispersed and politically unorganised. No class was likely to lead an anti-imperialist movement. Lenin observed that the bourgeoisie was organizing itself at a faster rate.

Ho Chi Minh was anyway successful in building a strong nationalist movement

But the Indonesian communists (PKI) solely relying upon the peasantry failed during the insurrection of 1926.

Globally socialism was essentially a European doctrine. Colonial societies had difficulties adapting it, when they imported it, to their different circumstances.

#### 4) The effects of economic depression

##### *falling prices*

The Inter-war depression strained colonial relations.

Fall of the agricultural prices; this made it more difficult for colonial economies to trade with industrial ones because they were receiving lower prices for their exports of primary goods.

The colonies even looked beyond the imperial relationship, when permitted, in order to survive, seeking for other sources of investment. Case of India.

##### *discontent and protest*

Another effect was a wave of strikes that swept across the colonial economies.

Example of the one of the Central African copper belt between 1934 and 1940

Also in the British Caribbean islands (Jamaica and Trinidad) due to the fall of the price of sugar.

It might have led to a mass political mobilisation, questioning the nature of the colonial relationship especially in the cash crop economies of West Africa and South East Asia. It was the reason of the first real challenge to colonial rule in Indochina and North Africa.

Non cooperation movement which managed to merge the nationalist movement and the masses in India.

Partial conclusion:

The world has really changed, with the war which has strengthened the economic position of many colonies within the empires, and broadened experience through worldwide participation, expanded horizons through contact with new ideas.

The second main aspect was that international capitalism went through its most serious crisis in modern history during the inter-war period. Colonial economies with their dependence upon primary production were the first and hardest hit. The crash in primary prices reduced living standards in colonial societies where there were no welfare system to fall back upon.

It seems real anyway that the nationalist movements drew breaches only in a few places in Asia and hardly at all in Africa. It was an irritation rather than a threat to empire.

No imperialist power imminently contemplated decolonisation before the WWII. The imperial system was damaged but not broken.

## **II) Short term causes**

### **1) The impact of WWII**

Loss of prestige from the colonial powers

Defeat of France, Belgium and the Netherlands

Difficulties of Great Britain in South East Asia

Role of Japan which are acting as the champions of the ant colonisation movement against the whites colonists, using the indigenous nationalist's movements. They even give the independence to the countries they occupied just prior to the disappearance of the Japanese empire.

The colonies are also participating to the war effort, in order to help their colonizers facing the fascist threat. They are waiting for some recognition in return

Increase in the emancipation will of the nationalists :

- ◆ Movements which had deeper roots :
  - National Vietnamese Party (1927)
  - Indonesian National Party (1927)
  - The Popular Algerian Party (1937)
  - Tunisian Neo Destour (1934)
- ◆ 1942, « Quit India » movement of the Congress party
- ◆ A few months after the American disembarking in Morocco, the sultan is asking FDR the end of the protectorate and the independence of his country (01/1943)
- ◆ In Algeria, Ferhat Abbas is asking for a specific constitution for Algeria
- ◆ In 1945, a pan African conference is held in Manchester, with the major nationalist leaders for the British Africa, claiming for « autonomy and independence of Black Africa »

In most of the cases anyway the colonial powers are willing to stop any emancipation ideas, in the whole thinking the disappearance of their empire would mean their decline. They are open to small liberal reforms but are not willing to lose their political domination. Example in Algeria, when the 8 of May, the response of France to the troubles provoked in the Constantine region is repression (10 000 deaths)

## 2) A new international context

After 1945, the world is dominated by two superpowers hostiles to colonial domination. For economic reasons as well as political ones, these two powers are hostiles to the existence of empires.

- The USSR is using the Marxist theory to help the nationalist movements and the right of the people to emancipation ; this is important as some of the nationalist movements have a communist basis
- Old British colony, the USA is in favour of a decolonisation movement in order to promote their democratic model as well as to open the empires market (free trade). They are giving the example, giving the independence to the Philippines in 1946 and even making pressures on their allies. They are lowering their attitude since 1949, fearing that the newly born countries would felt in the Soviet sphere.

The UNO is also very fast becoming the tribune of the anti colonisation movement :

Role especially of the Arabic League founded in 1945, and of the first decolonized countries of Asia (such as India, or Burma)

The solidarity of the already decolonized countries more and more numerous in the UNO toward the ones looking for emancipation will push the organization to adopt resolutions accusing the colonial powers.

Inside the colonized countries , the mentalities are also changing :

The public opinion of the European metropolises and the Christian churches have really changed their mind since the WWII

These ones, used to act with the « colonist good conscience » by historical tradition, ways of educating the « savages » to culture, or interests of evangelization, are going to switch their mind to a growing feeling for the need of emancipation. This will not happen anyway without tears ...Examples

# The British decolonisation

## I) British decolonization in Asia

### A) India

India and the war

The party of Congress laid out the contradictions of the British attitude :

“India ... cannot of her own free will participate in a war in defense of democracy as long as she is denied real freedom”

Campaign of civil disobedience

Britain offered dominion status but refusal of the Party of Congress (nothing short of independence)

Distrust of Churchill attitude in the Atlantic charter excluding India from the principles, on the idea that the charter was aimed at Europeans

New proposal led by Sir Stafford Cripps but seen by Gandhi as a “post-dated cheque”

Quit India movement but division of the Congress party

Its President Subhas Chandra Bose disagreed with Gandhi and led the Indian National Army in armed struggle, fought with the Japanese in Burma and set up a “free Indian Government” in Singapore.

Weakening of the Congress party also as its leaders were jailed and helped to the growth of its rival the Muslim League arguing for partition since 1940, which was opposed as absurd by the Congress, multi religious party even if dominated by the Hindu.

Further damages to the relations with the economic situation :

Inflation, food shortage and famine in 1943-1944

War ended with Indians united on the idea that British rule should end but divided over what should succeed it. The British was coming to the point that India had become ungovernable. Furthermore the war had changed the situation on the economic field :

War demand had increased Indian industrialization strengthening the position of businessmen represented in the Congress party.

India was transformed from a debtor to creditor of Britain

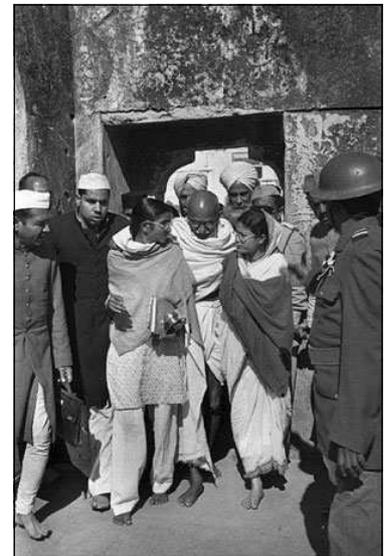
India D process

Labour gov. took the advice of the Viceroy to establish a unitary state under Congress leadership, but violence following the rejection of the Muslim league forced them to compromise.

02/1946 : new attempt by Cripps and new failure to find a federal settlement

Even Congress leaders knew that Jinnah would accept nothing less than a sovereign Pakistan with Punjab and Bengal

In August serious riots in Bengal where an interim government had been settled and which collapsed



02/1947 : Wavell replaced by Lord Mountbatten, who was instructed to bring about British withdrawal by June 1948

He took only six months to produce his plan and proposed a partition into two dominions, and each province was to choose which to join. The date for the change of status was to be 15/08

Pakistan was to be separated in two parts

Punjab and Bengal with important non Muslim majorities were supposed to be partitioned

Interests of minority groups such as the Sikhs were neglected

Problem of the princely states



1947 and 1948 and 13 million refugees.

Owned by rich landowners recognizing British authorities but not officially part of the empire

Representing 80 millions of people and 1/3 of the land mass

Through combination of pressure and promises guarantying their landownership they joined India

Problem of Hyderabad and Kashmir

Inter communal violence exploded after the partition and a mass migration took place of people fleeing for the safe side of the border. Killings continued for months after the independence. 1 million people killed between

Historians disagree over the wisdom of the rapidity of India's D:

Some argued that violence could have been anticipated and minimized if not everything had been done to leave as soon as possible

Opposition between the historians on the length and timing of the process

Difficult because the task of the historians is to look at what happened and not what might have happened

No doubt that the settlement did not start the violence

Mountbatten managed at least to get India enter the Commonwealth as a republic in 1948

## **B) Malaya**

In Malaya's ethnically divided society, the Chinese community was slightly larger than the Malay. The Indian community was only about one-third the size of the other two. The Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army led the resistance and was in a strong position in 1945. It was Chinese and communist-dominated. It disarmed because the British promised equal rights for the Chinese community.

Britain delayed Malayan decolonisation for several reasons. Malayan tin and rubber exports were valuable dollar earners that could help pay off Britain's war debts. Strategically, Singapore was the gateway to East Asia for both trade and defence. Politically, the Malayan archipelago was a complicated entity. It was composed of different types of territories: crown colonies like Singapore, that were administered directly from London; and Malay States, protectorates with Commissioners working in close collaboration with local Sultans.

From its foundation in 1946, the United Malays' National Organisation successfully prevented the British from introducing equal rights for Chinese and Indians. A federal constitution (1948) preserved the Sultan's powers. In protest, angry young Chinese males volunteered for the communist, guerrilla training camps in the jungle. Chinese farmers supplied these 'liberated areas'. But the Indian community rejected communism as 'Chinese.' Trade unionism recruited amongst the working class of Kuala Lumpur and the dockers of Singapore.

Malayan communists thought that Indian decolonisation showed Britain had lost its commitment to remain an imperial power. But this did not take account of Cold War politics. Britain resisted any decolonisation that would let in communism. In June 1948, the murder of three British planters by communists led to the declaration of an Emergency (martial law). But there were insufficient troops to police it effectively. A change of policy set up resettlement communities for rural squatters. These eventually held one quarter of the Chinese community. In 1952, an anti-insurgency campaign gave guerrillas amnesty if they would agree to be 're-educated'. The communist insurrection petered out.

The Chinese community divided over communism along class lines. Business people opposed it and formed the Malayan Chinese Association. The MCA persuaded the Malays in UMNO to open up the bureaucracy to Chinese. In 1953, the two parties formed an alliance with the Malayan Indian Congress. This coalition won the 1955 elections and formed the first government of the newly independent Malay Federation. The communist insurrection had taught the Malay ruling class the necessity for ethnic co-operation. The multi-ethnic coalition government represented the elites, with whom the British continued on good terms. Agreement was reached on the retention of key military bases. But harmony did not prevail within the Federation. The new, expanded state of Malaysia (1963) reasserted Malay dominance, with British complicity. By that time, however, the communist threat had diminished.

Malayan decolonisation is full of paradoxes. Initial British intentions to create more equality rebounded and caused a guerrilla war. Communist revolt was ethnic rather than class based and retarded decolonisation rather than accelerated it. The slowness of decolonisation is explained not only by ethnic politics, but also by Cold War considerations. After China in 1949 and Indo-China in 1954, Malaya could not be allowed to be the next Asian domino to fall to communism.

## II) Suez: the Turning-point of Decolonisation?

**KEY ISSUE** Why is Suez seen as the turning-point in British decolonisation?

### **Invasion**

On 29 October 1956, Israel invaded her neighbour Egypt. Britain and France had put her up to the attack and supported it by bombing Egyptian airfields and landing troops along the Suez Canal. The action met with almost universal condemnation from the inter-national community, including the United States. Britain and France had to withdraw and a United Nations force was put in to separate Egyptians and Israelis. How had British policy proved capable of such a disastrous misjudgement?

As Egypt had been independent since 1922, how did Suez affect decolonisation? Suez was a victory for Egyptian nationalism and a boost for Third World confidence. Britain had been caught behaving like an old imperialist power in a world that would no longer tolerate it. It proved the end of its serious influence in the Middle East, and confirmed its decline as an imperial power. Further withdrawals from East of Suez were to follow. The British government had to restore relations with the Commonwealth. India had threatened to leave over Suez. The affair had thrown the special relationship with the USA into doubt. Suez had caused a run on the pound that the Americans refused to help staunch. Britain was left to pay the price for its imperial escapade. It caused the resignation of the humiliated Prime Minister, Eden, the next year. His successor, Macmillan, steered the Conservatives towards accepting decolonisation.

## III) British Decolonisation in Africa

**KEY ISSUES** Why did British decolonisation in Africa begin later than in Asia and then proceed so rapidly? What were the differences between decolonisation in West, East, Central and Southern Africa? What effects did the Cold War have?

### **A) The Wind of Change**

In February 1960, Macmillan told a South African parliament he was eager to educate :

**The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of ... African national consciousness. In different places it may take different forms. But it is happening everywhere. The wind of change is blowing through this Continent."**

Yet in 1945 there had scarcely been a breeze. By the mid-1960s Macmillan's metaphor was too moderate to describe the hurricane of decolonisation that swept across British Africa. Nigeria followed Ghana to independence in 1960, Tanganyika and Sierra Leone in 1961, Uganda in 1962, Kenya in 1963, Zambia and Malawi in 1964, The Gambia in 1965, Botswana and Lesotho in 1966, Swaziland and Mauritius in 1968.

Darwin locates the eye of the storm in 'the economics of decline'. By the late 1950s the Sterling Area was no longer doing its job of protecting Britain from American competition. The value of the primary goods most of its members produced had fallen. Waites, however, amasses more convincing evidence that colonial economies grew after 1945. He argues that decolonisation was more 'a revolution of rising expectations'. Not in doubt is that British investment in colonial markets was less profitable than in Europe and elsewhere. The 1950s was a decade of enormous growth in the British economy on which the 'new imperialism' was a blemish.

When political arguments were added, the case for decolonisation became stronger. Iain Macleod was Colonial Secretary in Macmillan's government from 1959. He explained decolonisation in this way:

The situation in autumn, 1959 was grim ... It has been said that after I became Colonial Secretary there was a deliberate speeding up of the movement towards independence. I agree. There was. And in my view any other policy would have led to terrible bloodshed in Africa ... we could not possibly have held by force our territories in Africa ... The march of men towards freedom can be guided, but not halted."

So, for Macleod, astute political leadership able to guide irresistible historical forces is very important. John F. Kennedy, who became President of the United States in January 1961, agreed and also favoured decolonisation in Africa.

## **B) From the Gold Coast to Ghana**

Ghana's relatively peaceful transition to independence and initial political stability caused it to be held up as a model of decolonisation. This might not have been predicted in February 1948, when the capital city of Accra erupted into riots. One cause of these riots lay in the new imperialist' policy of extracting more economic growth from the colonies. Cocoa producers complained at the mass lopping of diseased cocoa trees. In the towns, middle-class youth led protests against continuing wartime controls, rising unemployment and inflation. Another cause lay in the 1946 Constitution that gave the rural chiefs more power on the Legislative Council than the urban classes.

In 1948 the Cold War had just begun. Unsettled by the communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the British arrested Kwame Nkrumah on suspicion of being an ideological ally of Moscow. Nkrumah, general secretary of the United Gold Coast Conven-

## **JULIUS NYERERE (1922-99) Pan-African and first President of Tanzania**

Tanzanian decolonisation can be approached through a remarkable personal history. Tanganyika was a German colony before becoming a British mandate in 1919. When it became a UN trustee territory in 1946, Britain accepted obligations to advance it towards self-rule. This proceeded smoothly largely because there were no white settlers' interests to take account of. Another reason was the creation of a united nationalist party, the Tanganyikan African National Union (ZANU), by an exceptional leader, Julius Nyerere.

Nyerere did not attend school until he was twelve. From then, he thrived under the teaching of Catholic priests whose religion he kept all his life in predominantly Muslim Tanganyika. He was the first Tanganyikan to win a scholarship to a British university. He went to Edinburgh in 1949, at a time when Britain had a Labour Government. His studies led him to consider how his socialism might be applied to Africa. Returning to Tanganyika as a schoolteacher, he reluctantly gave it up to found ZANU in 1954. He was always referred to by his people as *mwalimu*, the teacher. In 1958, he was one of the first Africans to be elected to the Legislature. He rose to chief minister in 1960, and became independent Tanganyika's first Prime Minister in 1961. The country united with Zanzibar as Tanzania in 1964.

Nyerere's importance to the history of decolonisation extends across Africa. He demonstrated this Pan-Africanism through deeds, not merely words. Nyerere played a key role in the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, and of white rule in both Rhodesia and South Africa. He took pride in being called the 'evil genius' behind guerrilla liberation movements by the white Rhodesian leader Ian Smith. Frelimo (Mozambique), the Patriotic Front (Rhodesia), and the ANC (South Africa), were all given bases in Tanzania. On the other hand, he became the first post-colonial African leader to violate the Organisation of African Unity's rules by invading another country, when his armies helped Ugandan exiles topple the Amin regime in 1978-9. His embarrassment was eased by Ugandans in Kampala chanting his name as the Tanzanian armies rolled in.

Within Tanzania, Nyerere tried to build African socialism. The state almost completely replaced private enterprise. His greatest failure lay in the communal agricultural system, known as *ujamaa* (familyhood), which was resisted by local village and district heads. The oil crisis of the early 1970s raised Tanzania's import bill so high that it had nothing left for basic investment. In one of African history's most ironic tragedies, he stepped down as President in 1985 leaving the country whose independence he had fathered more deeply indebted to foreign aid than any other in Africa.

tion, was a nationalist but not a communist. He was born in 1909 and had been educated in the United States and Britain. Prison radicalised him. On release he broke with the United Gold Coast Convention and founded the Convention People's Party (1949). The CPP appealed to discontented urban groups and smaller cocoa growers over the heads of the rural chiefs who collaborated with colonialism. But the chiefs themselves were discontented with the higher taxes of the 'new imperialism' that ate into their cocoa profits.

The Coussey Committee (1949) proposed self-government but under the control of the chiefs. The CPP spread into a mass party, galvanising anti-colonial opinion. Elections under the new, Coussey Constitution enabled the CPP to win a large majority in the national assembly in 1951. Nkrumah had to be released from prison. He campaigned on the slogan of 'Self-government NOW' forcing the British to shape an acceptable timetable towards independence. The Colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttelton, voiced Cold War concerns when he told the British Government that the Gold Coast Cabinet had agreed

**to ban the entry of all Communist literature into the Gold Coast ... to exclude any European with Communist sympathies from the public service and to exclude any African with Communist sympathies from a certain number of Departments like the Administration, the police and the Department of education ... to confiscate the passports of the few Gold Coast Communists who wish to travel behind the Iron Curtain."**

Nkrumah's good relationship with the Governor, Arden-Clarke, eased a smooth transition to independence in the face of growing opposition from disaffected cocoa growers in the North. The CPP's stronghold was in the South, but revived cocoa prices quietened the North. In 1954, the administration called fresh elections. The CPP won again but with a reduced majority, losing control of the North. The Northern opposition then united with the discontented cocoa growers of the Ashanti region to form the National Liberation Movement. The NLM wanted to keep power regional in a federal state, unlike the CPP which wanted a unitary one.

Arden-Clarke supported Nkrumah as the best bet for a peaceful transition to independence and the CPP won another electoral victory in 1957. It had overcome the opposition to emerge a national party ready to manage the transition to nationhood. The new Ghana of March 1957 was a unitary state, and federalists had to be satisfied with regional assemblies. British propaganda presented Ghana as a model of decolonisation, but the model soon had egg on its face as Ghana became a one-party state. Macmillan made his 'wind of change' speech first in Accra, before going on to Cape Town. By that time a Cold War wind was blowing on Britain as Ghana leaned towards the USSR.

Hit by a two-thirds fall in world cocoa prices in the 1960s Nkrumah's regime became increasingly dictatorial. He was overthrown by a military coup in 1966. The succeeding military leaders did nothing to lessen the corruption Nkrumah had allowed. Thus, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings led a further coup in 1979 committed to reduce it. He improved the economy through the 1980s, reducing inflation and obtaining investment from the West. In 1992 constitutional government was restored and Rawlings was elected President in 1996 for the first time.

## **C) Nigeria**

Nigerian decolonisation was more difficult than Ghanaian because of deeper ethnic and religious divisions. The north was Muslim and ruled over by feudal landowners of the Fulani tribe. The South was predominantly Christian, but tribally divided between the Yoruba in the west and the Igbos in the east. Regionalism undermined nationalism. The first party to call itself nationalist, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (1944), was in fact regional and Igbo dominated. Nigeria did not have a strong nationalist middle class like Ghana's despite the western seaboard being commercially developed. The 1951 elections saw two more regional parties emerge: the Action Group representing the Yoruba and the Northern People's Congress representing the Northern Muslims. The British felt the only hope of creating a nation state out of divided Nigeria was to concede full regional autonomy. This was promised in the revised constitution of 1954.

The first government after independence in 1960 was a fragile Muslim—Igbo coalition. The Yoruba went into opposition. Co-operation lasted only until the discovery of oil and gas deposits in the

early 1960s set off competition for the proceeds. Army coups between 1964 and 1966 endeavoured to hold together the central state. But the Igbos in the East suffered and broke away as Biafra in 1967. A terrible three-year civil war defeated this secession. The Army has remained the power behind Nigerian politics ever since. The state has survived, but in a fractured condition that military rule has only suppressed not cured. Through the 1990s, an elite of Nigerian generals in league with multinational companies monopolised precious oil resources. They ravaged the local environment of Ogoniland and executed opponents. Decolonisation has not delivered a stable, peaceful state in Nigeria, which has only recently returned to democracy.

## D) Uganda

As in Nigeria, tribal separatism in Uganda strongly impeded national unification. But there was no significant white settler class to appease, as there was in neighbouring Kenya. The most powerful tribe, the Buganda, feared being merged into a unitary state. The British tried to pacify them by granting regional autonomy. In 1962, the Buganda were cajoled into accepting an independent, unitary state under the Uganda People's Congress led by Milton Obote.

Uganda has had a turbulent, post-colonial history. Bugandan separatism survived independence and Obote used the army against it in 1966. Obote was, himself, overthrown by Idi Amin in 1971. His military dictatorship terrorised opposition and expelled the 70,000 strong Asian community. Amin's rule was only ended by the Tanzanian invasion of 1978. Uganda did not recover until the 1990s from the economic bankruptcy inflicted upon it by Amin's corrupt rule. After 1985, the Museveni government restored democracy, but Uganda remains a desperately poor country.

## E) Kenya

In Kenya a large white settler population dominated landholding. In the fertile 'White Highlands', Africans were restricted to overcrowded tribal reserves, where they were impoverished. At the end of the war the Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, suggested land reform for Africans. Whites, strengthened on the Legislative Council during the war, opposed financing this out of taxes. African nationalism, minimally organised before the war, found a voice in the Kenyan African Union (founded 1944), which accused the whites of 'land theft'. It was led by

Jomo Kenyatta of the dominant Kikuyu tribe. He was born in 1891. Educated in a Church of Scotland Mission and baptised a Christian, he became politically active in the 1920s while a government clerk in Nairobi. As secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association, he championed Kikuyu land rights. He later studied anthropology in London, which resulted in his book *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938). As president of KAU at the beginning of the Mau Mau rebellion, he was falsely accused of being its instigator and imprisoned until 1961.

In 1950, the administration gave way to demands from white farmers to ban the KAU. This encouraged Africans' discontents to fester as their political activity was driven into secrecy. These were the origins of the movement known as Mau Mau, whose aim was to restore Africans to their historic lands. But it also had support in the urban areas, where there had been a post-war decline in living standards. White fears were deepened by the oath taking that was traditional amongst the Kikuyu:

**In official eyes, and even more in the minds of the settlers, Mau Mau was not the articulation of grievance and fear but a barbaric throwback ... held together by the use of oaths of 'unspeakable debauchery', playing fear but a barbaric throwback ... held together by the use of oaths of "unspeakable debauchery" playing upon the lowest and most primeval instincts.**

The political violence in Kenya (1952-56) that led to London declaring an Emergency has been interpreted as a three-dimensional civil war.

Firstly, there was the black-white conflict.



Secondly, there was fighting between the Kikuyu and other tribes.

Thirdly, there was fight-ing within the Kikuyu themselves.

Because far more blacks were killed than whites, the second and third can be judged most important. Mau Mau attacked blacks it accused of collaborating, such as chieftains given land by the administration. Other tactics such as cattle maiming and arson aroused white prejudices about 'dark age' behaviour. But most historians now emphasise the modern nature of the revolt. Although it employed traditional forms of protest, it was based upon economic grievances. Hargreaves describes Mau Mau as 'a tribally-based peasant revolt originally formed on the fringe of a nationalist movement' .

Mau Mau was contained by a combination of repression and reform. Camps were set up to 'rehabilitate' activists. Troops and police suppressed unrest in key centres like Nairobi. On the other hand, the Swynnerton Plan (1954) helped Africans buy land. It aimed to create a class of smallholders with an interest in social stability. Africans and Asians were allowed to sit on the Legislative Council for the first time. Political parties were legalised again in 1955, and more Africans enfranchised in 1956. By 1957, Africans had equal representation with Europeans on the Legislative Council. Thus, the crushing of Mau Mau had actually led to long-delayed improvements for Africans.



By the time the Lancaster House Conference met in London in 1959, two new social forces accelerated decolonization. The first was the rise of Kenyan trade unionism. The second was the New Kenya Group. The NKG were white businessmen whose companies ran large farms. They wanted a negotiated settlement with African politicians to protect these. Independent white farmers began to desert the Highlands as land values plummeted. The British Government compensated returning whites with help from the World Bank. As Macmillan said, 'settlement has been aristocratic and upper middle class (much more than Rhodesia) and has strong links with the City and the Clubs. Black labourers left unemployed in the Highlands were resettled.

After Kenyatta was released from prison, KAU joined the government and participated in the second Lancaster House Conference of 1962. Once independence had been promised for December 1963, KAU accepted a federalist constitution. Kenyatta was elected the first Prime Minister of an independent Kenya and became President the following year. Thus, Kenya joined Tanzania and Uganda as independent states in East Africa. After the violence of Mau Mau, this had ultimately been achieved peacefully. Under Kenyatta and his successor Daniel Arap Moi, Kenya became a one-party state. In the opinion of Ogot and Zeleza '... decolonization marked a turbulent transition from a settler dominated economy to an independent nation under an indigenous ruling class ... getting more widely and firmly integrated into the world capitalist system.'"

## **F) Central and Southern Africa**

### ***i) The Central African Federation (1953-63)***

The CAF was created because Britain wanted to make a single, viable colony out of the protectorates of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia. The idea was to smooth out Nyasaland's economic backwardness through federation with the copper-rich Northern Rhodesia and the agriculturally prosperous, industrialising Southern Rhodesia. But the terri-

tories were racially different. Nyasaland was almost exclusively black. Northern Rhodesia had a small, white settler class, who ran the copper industry. Southern Rhodesia had a larger, white population; most were farmers, but there was also an urban middle and working class. Whites had had effective self-government since 1923. They sought independence to preserve racial segregation from blacks.

Dr. Hastings Banda, leader of the Nyasaland National Congress, voiced African criticism of the CAF. It was a device to preserve white control, not to create 'partnership'. In 1959, the Devlin Commission also condemned it as a police state for imprisoning hundreds of nationalists, including Banda, after disturbances. Northern Rhodesia was little better. The Monckton Commission (1960) hastened the CAF's demise by condemning racial rule, singling-out Southern Rhodesia for particular criticism.

Harold Macmillan returned from his 'wind of change' visit to Africa convinced that the Conservative Party had to embrace decolonisation. Nyasaland left the CAF as soon as blacks obtained a majority on the Legislative Council (July 1960). Independence, as Malawi, followed in July 1964. Northern Rhodesia followed a similar path. Multi-racial elections imposed from London in 1962 led the black dominated government to leave the Federation. The new Zambia became independent in October 1964.

## ii) Southern Rhodesia and the Origins of Zimbabwe

Decolonisation in Southern Rhodesia proved far more difficult. To the whites the British government's 'wind of change' policy shift was a betrayal by their own 'kith and kin'. They wanted decolonisation, but under white rule. Their siege mentality resulted in the ultra-conservative Rhodesian Front being elected in 1962. Ian Smith became Prime Minister in April 1964. He proved a master strategist in his dealings with Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister. Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence on 11 November 1965 followed a tactical error by the British Government.

**Before Smith's October visit to London, the Rhodesian leader had been moving towards independence uncertainly, with one area of lingering doubt - the possible use by the British Government of military force. According to Flower [his Secret Service chief] his self-assurance visibly improved after his return to Salisbury, apparently because he had been told in London that the British did not consider the use of force "practical politics"**

Wilson feared a mutiny if the British Army, many of whom sympathised with UDI, were asked to fight the well-trained and equipped Rhodesian army. Instead, the black nationalist organisations were left to do the fighting. Economic sanctions were not well supported. Rhodesia already had the most diversified economy in Africa. It was lubricated by South African oil through the Mozambican pipeline controlled by the Portuguese. This strengthened Smith's hand in the two rounds of failed negotiations aboard HMS *Tiger* (1966) and HMS *Fearless* (1968).



Edward Heath's Conservative Government (1970-4) established the Pearce Commission (1972) which reported that Africans rejected the phasing-in of majority rule over several decades. Both the Heath and Wilson governments tried compromises unacceptable to black Africans. In any case, the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) launched guerrilla warfare against the Smith government in 1964. Their leaders, Robert Mugabe and Josuah Nkomo, spent long periods as political prisoners of the Rhodesian regime.

The nationalists operated initially from Zambia. Portuguese decolonisation transformed their prospects. Firstly, ZANU obtained a second front in Mozambique from its Marxist ally FRELIMO. It lived off the land and won over the peasantry as Mao's Red Army had done in China. Secondly, FRELIMO cut off Rhodesia's oil pipeline. Cold War considerations also came into play. Neither the USA, nor South Africa or Zambia wanted ZANU to lead a Marxist Rhodesia into a band of such states spread across the centre of Africa. Smith had to negotiate with the black leaders for the first time in 1975. Stalemate caused ZANU-ZAPU to unite in the Patriotic Front (PF) in 1976 and step up the guerrilla war.

By 1979 the Rhodesian economy was wilting. Smith reached an 'internal settlement' with 'moderate' black leaders that produced Bishop Abel Muzorewa as Prime Minister in a white controlled political system that preserved their land ownership. The Commonwealth Conference condemned it as a puppet government because the PF refused to participate in the elections. It insisted on all-party elections monitored for fairness. All parties agreed to this at the Lancaster House Conference (September 1979). Lord Carrington, Foreign Secretary in the Thatcher Government, did not want to transfer power to the Marxist Mugabe. But this policy, nicknamed 'ABM' (Anyone But Mugabe), lay in ruins once ZANU won the February 1980 elections. But Mugabe could be constrained. If he changed the constitution within seven years of independence or confiscated property without full compensation, British and US aid would be stopped.

Zimbabwe (April 1980) was created painfully out of a long colonial war that damaged much of Southern and Central Africa. In Britain, racist attitudes within the British electorate, parties and the Army held back majority rule. But the PF and the black Commonwealth would accept nothing less. It was ironic that the Thatcher government, apartheid's best friend, presided over Rhodesian decolonisation. How do we explain this? It is a good example of changing international relations forcing a decolonisation. Portugal's withdrawal from Africa by 1975 reminded Europe that it lost colonial wars.

White Rhodesia could not survive surrounded by black governments, with waning support from South Africa, and none at all from the USA. Even Carrington was reconciled to creating the most moderate black government.

In 1987, ZANU and ZAPU merged into ZANU-PF to form a one-party state. Like many African states Zimbabwe argues this diminishes tribal rivalries. It also consolidated President Mugabe's power. His government began moderate land redistribution in 1992, once the constitutional provisions protecting white land ownership had expired. By 2000, corruption within the ZANU-PF elite, violent and illegal land occupations, and economic depression brought on by involvement in the Congo's civil war, led to a Movement for Democratic Change narrowly losing the election.

### **g) Assessment**

British decolonisation in Africa was strikingly rapid. Darwin notes, '... in the middle of 1959 most of the important questions about the shape of decolonisation in Africa remained open. Less than four years later almost everything had been resolved' Suez is seen as a turning-point because it caused the 'wind of change' but it only accelerated changes already underway since the 1940s.

African decolonisation was merged into the Cold War. The USA and the USSR influenced the outcomes of decolonisations. Because the Cold War deepened between 1950 and 1980, later decolonisations like Rhodesia were more embroiled in such conflicts than earlier ones such as Ghana.

Decolonisation was an uneven process. Within each colony, specifics determined the precise nature of the outcome. For



# French Decolonisation

This chapter begins by examining how the Second World War led to the French recolonising the empire they had lost during it. It goes on to explain how this resulted in colonial wars in Indo-China and Algeria, which are contrasted with the more peaceful decolonisation achieved in sub-Saharan Africa. Finally, it summarises these developments and considers their effects upon post-colonial France.

## I) The Effects of the Second World War

**KEY ISSUES** What effects did the war have upon the French Empire? For what reasons did the French try to re-establish colonialism after the war and with what consequences?

### KEY DATES

1940 Fall of France

1942 Collapse of Vichy in North Africa

1944 Brazzaville Conference

1945 Democratic Republic of Vietnam

1946 French Union

1954 Geneva Conference and Dien Bien Phu; outbreak of hostilities in Algeria

1960 Independence for most of sub-Saharan Africa

1962 Algerian independence

### A) Visions in Defeat

As the Germans entered Paris in the summer of 1940, the French nation stood defeated. With defeat ended the Third Republic which, since its inception in 1870, had added much to the French Empire. Several ministers had fled to Casablanca, in Morocco, after the German invasion, from where they declared a government in exile. General Charles de Gaulle was not one of them. He had gone to London, but took heart from the fact that the empire remained undefeated. Looking back in his *Memoirs*, in 1954, he wrote:

**In the vast spaces of Africa, France could in fact rebuild its armies and reacquire its sovereignty, white awaiting the alignment of new allies along with the old to change the military balance**

De Gaulle had a vision of France being regenerated through defence of the empire, like a phoenix rising from the ashes. By the end of 1940, that dream seemed to lie in tatters. His Free French Forces had failed to take back the French West African Federation, despite British naval support. The Vichy Regime (French government collaborating with the Nazis) retained control of the North and West African territories, as well as Indo-China. The Free French were isolated to Equatorial Africa and New Caledonia in the Pacific.

### B) French Africa's War

Vichy rule in Africa replaced local colonial administrations with direct rule. This enabled Prime Minister Laval to carry out his deal with Hitler, to support Germany from the colonies in return for restraining Italy's ambitions to expand out of Libya. The agreement enabled Germany to threaten allied shipping off the coast of West Africa and in the Mediterranean. Consequently, the Allies decided to clear the threat by invading North Africa in November 1942. The Vichy regimes in Morocco and Algeria put up less resistance than the Germans in Tunisia, who held out until February 1942. De Gaulle's Free French forces seized the opportunity of Vichy's collapse in North Africa to take Madagascar and Reunion in the Indian Ocean, then Somaliland on the mainland of East Africa. However, the Allies remained suspicious of de Gaulle's ambitions. They saw him as a loose cannon who would put the interests of France above allied war aims. Not until 1944 did they accept his National Committee of Liberation in Algiers as a French government in waiting.

How did the war affect the development of nationalism in North Africa? It must be remembered that Africans passed from being governed by the colonial administration in 1940, to Vichy 1940-2, the Allied administration 1942-44, and the National Committee of Liberation 1944-5. It is hardly surprising that the colonial peoples were forced to make compromises. The French were prone to punish on suspicion of disloyalty. So, the Bey of Tunisia was not restored during the last years of war, the leaders of the Moroccan Independence Party were imprisoned, and the moderate, nationalist movement in Algeria, united by Ferhat Abbas in 1943, dissolved in 1945. The effect was to store up nationalism for after the war.

In sub-Saharan Africa, Vichy controlled the West while Equatorial Africa preferred de Gaulle. War stimulated economic development as raw materials and agriculture came under greater demand. The urgent need for labour mobility meant that many French Africans became free labourers for the first time, as they migrated to the growing urban areas. An urban middle-class, nationalist leadership emerged, challenging the colonialist ideology that Africans must remain assimilated with France. Leopold Senghor of Senegal was a typical voice. A lawyer, he indicted colonialism for retarding black political development. Assimilation, he declared, meant in real terms forced labour for the African. Yet, typical of the moderate nationalism of sub-Saharan Africa, he stopped short of demanding independence. Instead, he recommended an imperial federation with France that would allow colonial peoples to freely elect their representatives.

### **C) Brazzaville**

From 1942, de Gaulle was able to embark upon the process of imperial reconstruction he regarded as vital to restoring France as a world power. He was anxious to head-off American attempts to prevent such recolonisation. To this end, he called a Conference of invited colonial administrators (not elected representatives) in Brazzaville in the French Congo, in 1944. Betts thinks that 'it now stands as a major event in historical interpretations of decolonisation' because it was called 'to adjust the French empire to a new world forged during the war.' But, it was only a pragmatic adjustment, designed to try to save as much of the old colonialism as possible. On the one hand, de Gaulle promised a new 'French Community' that would abolish the worst aspects of colonialism, such as the legal code that permitted forced labour. On the other, de Gaulle opposed any move towards self-government, although he did concede local assemblies. A senior official of the US State Department criticized French narrow mindedness:

**There was no compromise with the basic principle that French Africa belongs solely to France and is an exclusively French affair. There was no recognition that France owed any accountability to the international community in the conduct of her colonial affairs and that the international community had any interest in such affairs.**

### **D) Indo-China: war and revolution**

In Indo-China, the Japanese took advantage of French defeat in 1940. The colonial Vichy regime, under Admiral Decoux, signed a compromise agreement by which the Japanese were allowed into the northern areas. In return, the Japanese allowed Vichy to continue to govern until March 1945, when they launched a full-scale invasion to support their failing war campaign in the Far East. They installed the Emperor Bao Dai as a puppet ruler, but he was overthrown by the nationalist coalition of the Vietminh in August, as the Japanese lost their grip. Grimal notes the importance of the Vietminh's broad support:

**It should be pointed out that this 'August revolution' was not socialist in character; it was a national liberation movement in which patriots and democrats of all shades, Communists, nationalists ... Buddhists and Catholics participated in one united front.**

The 'August revolution' declared the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The French refused to recognise it, and from October 1945 the longest war of decolonisation of the twentieth century began. Vietnam was not united as a fully independent state until 1975. The colonial war against the French was a prelude to that against the world's strongest power, the United States. There is no better

example of the continuity between decolonisation and Cold War conflicts.

## **E) The French Union (1946)**

**KEY ISSUE** What was the purpose of the French Union?

The new constitution of the Fourth Republic (1946) renamed the Empire as the French Union. There were two levels of membership. Full members like France itself, Algeria, and West and Equatorial Africa had equal citizenship. But they had only limited representation in the French Parliament. Otherwise, white Frenchmen would have become a minority in the National Assembly, and “France would become the colony of its former colonies”, as a Mayor of Lyons put it. Associated states, such as Morocco, Tunis and Indo-China received internal autonomy, yet their economic and foreign policy continued to be controlled by France. As more recent additions to empire, they enjoyed only second-class status.

The French Union was based upon the principles of the Brazzaville Conference, which agreed greater autonomy for the colonial peoples and some representation in Paris. It was a concession to pressures from both the colonies themselves and the United States. Still, it amounted to considerably less than decolonisation. This was seen as unnecessary by colonial administrators like Robert Delavignette who looked to reintegration of empire by another name not dissolution.

... There are no longer any colonies in the old sense of the word. The colonial empire is no longer viewed in relation to the metropolis or as something different from the metropolis. The French Union is a world organization embracing both what was colonial or imperial overseas and what in Europe was metropolitan. The Brazzaville Conference and the proclamation of the French Union have established the principle — and raised the problem — of a French Union superior to the old concept of colonies, empire and metropolis ... The former concept of metropolis and the old concept of colony are things of the past. A new idea is emerging, that of an organization shared by all but superior to each of its constituent elements. Brazzaville did not supplant Paris; Brazzaville is not the equal of Paris, but both Brazzaville and Paris belong to a new organic unit ... In considering the idea of a French Union nothing could be more false or pernicious than to have at the back of one's mind any idea of domination over the peoples of our overseas territories, over those we call 'natives' as opposed to 'colonials'. Tomorrow we shall all be natives of the same French Union.

It is doubtful whether Africans believed this sort of propaganda any more than did the Indo-Chinese.

## **II) Indo-China**

**KEY ISSUES** Why did the French attempt to recolonise Indo-China? Why were they unsuccessful? How was the outcome influenced by the Cold War?

### **A) Recolonisation 1945-6**

The new Democratic Republic of Vietnam fell immediately under threat in September 1945. The United States, despite supporting the Vietminh's wartime struggle against the Japanese, decided not to oppose French recolonisation. This decision left the Republic exposed as forces of the British Empire invaded the south in September. They paved the way for a French force of some 30,000 who took possession of Cochin-China by early 1946. Ho Chi Minh, President of the DRV, felt compelled to negotiate because he was uncertain of support from his Chinese neighbours to the north. That is why he accepted the status of a free state for Vietnam within an Indo-Chinese Federation (also consisting of Cochin-China, Laos and Cambodia) in March 1946. The Vietminh hoped to progress towards independence, particularly as the French agreed to allow Cochin-China a referendum on whether to join with Vietnam. However, the French High Commissioner, Admiral d'Argenlieu, forestalled this by declaring Cochin-China a separate republic, without even obtaining authorisation from Paris. Ho Chi Minh met the French at Fontainebleu, but the talks collapsed. Ho's insis-

tence on eventual independence was one reason. Another was that the French Government contained sympathisers with the French settlers. They lobbied hard to protect their interests by keeping Vietnam within the French Union.

A broader explanation of the breakdown is that France's desire to reassert its imperial status converged with Cold War priorities. Communist domination of the Vietminh ensured Indo-China would become an early Cold War 'hot-spot'. This explains why the United States preferred French recolonisation to Vietnamese independence. The French wanted to restrict the Vietminh to Tonkin by building an anti-communist coalition around it. To this end, both the Cambodian and Laotian monarchies were restored. Cochin-China, economically important as the main grain-growing province, was to be used as an anti-communist power base. The Indo-Chinese Federation would keep the region politically divided and firmly under French control.

## **B) The Colonial War in Indo China, 1946-54**

In trying to isolate the Vietminh, the French reckoned without the degree of popular support it had built up during the war. By not pursuing a strict communist policy of land expropriation it had even retained the support of landlords. In the towns, it was well supported by the middle class, to whose nationalist sentiments it appealed. Colonialists like d'Argenlieu were completely out of touch in believing that they could show the Vietminh how weak they were.

The French attack upon Haiphong in November 1946 killed 6,000 Vietnamese but settled nothing. It merely drove the Vietminh into underground, guerrilla warfare that lasted until 1954. From their bases in the Northern Highlands, the Vietminh harassed the French beyond their heartlands, well into Cochin-China.

## **C) The 'Bao Dai Solution'**

Bao Dai had been the Emperor of Vietnam until expelled by the Vietminh in 1945. He spent the years 1945-49 in Hong Kong. The French wrongly assumed that he could be restored as a puppet and popular figurehead to combat the Vietminh's appeal. Bao Dai's history of collaboration with both the French and Japanese made this seem optimistic. Nevertheless, by the Along Bay agreement of 1947, both parties agreed to try. Bao Dai, however, was not prepared to be quite the puppet that the French wanted. They had to accept eventual independence for Vietnam, if Bao Dai was to act as their instrument against communism. In 1948, Viet-

### **HO CHI MINH (1890-1969)**

Ho was born in Annam in 1890, the son of a government official who had resigned in protest against French domination of his country. He studied politics in Paris where he went on to help found the French Communist Party. From there he trained in Moscow where he was encouraged to form a broad, nationalist alliance with the bourgeoisie to overthrow imperialism. By 1925 he was in China where he set up a revolutionary youth movement for Vietnamese exiles. In 1930 he led an unsuccessful military rising against the French. Fleeing to Hong Kong, he was imprisoned by the British until 1933. On release, he returned to the USSR and then to China by 1938. In his absence, the Vietnamese Communist Party established itself amongst the peasantry of the North. It was Japanese invasion in 1940 that provided the conditions for his return to Vietnam, where he founded the Vietminh. In 1945 he became the first President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the political brain behind the colonial war against the French that lasted until 1954.

As his health declined through the 1960s, he was less of an influence during the war against the South and its ally the USA. He gave up the leadership of the Party but remained important behind the scenes. Never a cult figure like Mao or Stalin, North Vietnamese knew him simply as 'Uncle Ho'. He never deviated from his conviction that Vietnam should be reunited. As the USA attacked the North in 1966 he said 'nothing is as dear to the heart of the Vietnamese as independence and liberation'. He did not live to see Vietnam unified. He died in 1969 with war against the South and its American ally still raging. But Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City in 1975 to honour his contribution of leading Vietnam's struggle for decolonisation and national self-determination through communist revolution.

nam under Bao Dai was accepted as a state within the French Union. The next year, the independence of Vietnam under his leadership was recognised by the French Government, but no vote of the people of the newly independent state was taken.

This proved no solution to the war against the Vietminh. However, it did provide the French with a pretence for remaining in Indo-China. Bao Dai's regime was presented as an independent state under attack from communism. Once China installed a communist regime (1949), the domino theory was advanced as a justification for staying. If Indo-China fell to communism too, then who would be next? A war that had begun in 1946 over French imperialism had, in three years, mushroomed into part of a regional struggle against communism in South East Asia. Pre-war conflicts over imperialism were being subsumed into the Cold War. The United States backed the French to the hilt because they assumed that the Vietminh and even the Chinese communists were puppets of the USSR. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 merely confirmed them in this incorrect view.

#### **D) 'Hell in a very small place': the road to Dien Bien Phu, 1950-54**

It is probable that no single, individual influenced the outcome of the wars in Indo-China more than General Vo Nguyen Giap. Giap had obtained a doctorate in law from Hanoi University before his membership of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party drove him into exile in China during the Second World War. Returning to Vietnam in 1945, a close confidante of his fellow exile Ho Chi Minh, he led the final attack upon Hanoi that defeated the Japanese.

In the fighting against the French between 1946 and 1949, Giap masterminded the guerrilla tactics that frustrated the French. Well armed by the Chinese from 1950, however, he switched to a modern war of movement. The French had not expected the Vietminh to confront them in mass battle formation, let alone defeat them, as they did at Caobang in October 1950. The French were forced to 'Vietnamise' their armed forces by raising an army from Bao Dai's supporters. The war also became 'Americanised' in that the USA supplied \$2,900 million of aid in 1950-54, and in the last year were bearing 80 per cent of the cost. By that time it was evident that, despite French hopes, the United States was not going to send troops. This was one reason why the French delayed making a major attack upon Vietminh strongholds in the north. Another was lack of support for the Bao Dai regime in the south.

In early 1954 a large army of 12,000 troops under the French General Henri Navarre got themselves surrounded in the long valley of Dien Bien Phu, in the north of Tonkin province. As Giap, began his attack in March, a conference on South East Asian affairs was already sitting at Geneva, clearing up the aftermath of the Korean War. His strategy was to place maximum pressure upon the conference by winning complete military victory over the French. For almost two months the Vietminh bombarded with heavy artillery a French army unable to be relieved because its airstrips had been cut off. President Eisenhower was prepared to respond to French appeals to send in B29 bombers from the Philippines bases, but Congress refused support. Consequently, 2,000 French died, and 10,000 were captured in what Bernard Fall has darkly called 'hell in a very small place!' Ho was brighter: 'The victory is a resounding one, but it is only the beginning.'" It was, in fact, the beginning of the end of the first stage of Vietnam's war for independence, and it was concluded at the Geneva Conference.

#### **E) The Geneva Conference (1954)**

The Geneva agreement decolonised Vietnam into two separate states either side of the 17<sup>0</sup>, parallel. Laos and Cambodia also became independent states. Therefore, it was not a permanent settlement, for the new government of North Vietnam regarded the South as still under imperialist domination. French masters had merely been exchanged for American ones. The United States never signed the settlement but agreed to abide by it. The promise of free elections for the whole of Vietnam by 1956 was not honoured because Secretary of State John Foster Dulles feared the Vietminh would win them. Instead, Bao Dai headed a compliant government in the South with Ngo Dinh Diem as Prime

Minister.

So why did the North Vietnamese accept it, at least for the short-term? Firstly, the promise of French withdrawal from the region was a strong incentive. Public opinion was against the war and they left by 1956. Secondly, they were hemmed in by Cold War pressures. Dulles took a hawkish line throughout and it was not inconceivable that the USA might implement his nuclear threats. Britain wished to avoid this at all costs. North Vietnam's allies, China and the USSR, both had their reasons for wanting a settlement. China had recently been dragged into the Korean War and was not anxious to be similarly committed by her Vietnamese neighbour. Soviet priority was to get the French out of South East Asia where circumstances encouraged her to be too close an ally of the USA.

### **Assessment**

Decolonisation in Indo-China, as in Burma and Indonesia, was opened up by the Japanese war-time invasion. The Vietminh became so empowered that recolonisation by the former colonial power proved impossible. In Indo-China, the historical continuity between decolonisation and the Cold War is seen at its strongest. Once it became clear that recolonisation could not prevail, the French ended up fighting a Cold War conflict. France's decline as a world power was fully exposed as she moved from imperialist to surrogate of the USA in a few years. Behind this was the equally strong link between nationalism and communism in the decolonising world. Where communism was strong within a nationalist movement, wars of decolonisation were more likely to turn into Cold War conflicts, and be prolonged. Although French decolonisation of Indo-China was complete by 1956, the Americans remained in conflict with the North Vietnamese until 1973. Not until 1975 was the spirit of Geneva, that there should be a united Vietnam, finally realised.

## **III) Sub-Saharan Africa**

**KEY ISSUE** Why was the decolonisation of Sub-Saharan Africa so peaceful compared with that of Indo-China?

### **A) The post-war background**

Sub-Saharan Africa's decolonisation contrasts sharply with that of Indo-China. It is a comparative history of war and peace. The roots of difference lie in the under-development of sub-Saharan Africa. The arid landscape was virtually worthless, and the few French who lived there presided over a minimal administration. Only Senegal had any representation in the French parliament though it did have the distinction of sending the first black African there: Blaise Diagne in 1912. The French paid little attention to education. A small elite was trained up for the civil service where they took the best jobs and remained loyal.

We have already seen how de Gaulle's Free French forces moved into sub-Saharan Africa to oppose Vichy from 1940. At the end of the war, the region was organised into two: French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, ruled from Dakar (Senegal) and Brazzaville (Congo) respectively. The Brazzaville Conference encouraged Africans to think only of greater autonomy, not independence, confirmed by the constitutional arrangements of the French Union. Africans had slightly expanded representation in Paris but it was limited by what Hargreaves calls an 'oligarchical franchise'. The French called it a dual college system. It was complicated, but essentially it meant that white French votes counted for much more than black African ones, and that a quota system operated in Paris that prevented too many black delegates being elected.

### **B) French reforms 1946-56**

Wartime changes had enabled some development of nationalist politics. In October 1946, the Democratic African Rally (RDA) was formed under the initiative of Felix Houphouët-Boigny, a former Ivory Coast doctor turned planter, and leader of its Democratic Party. Rivalry for regional political leadership caused Senghor in Senegal to stay out of the RDA and form his own party (IOM). In

Paris, these African parties attached themselves to French ones. The RDA's links with the French Communist Party caused colonial administrations in Africa to treat it with harsh suspicion, although he later proved a moderate President of the Ivory Coast (1965-90).

In the decade after 1946, a public investment programme, known as FIDES, aimed to develop the colonies in order to rescue the war-torn national economy. It brought about improvements in agriculture and transport. Social services, such as education and health care, were expanded, creating jobs in the bureaucracy for Africans. The first significant examples of private investment also took place. As urbanisation accelerated, impoverished rural migrants flocked into the towns. But the investment favoured the already more developed coastal regions at the expense of the interior. There, the French appealed to the enterprise of the privileged elites.

### **C) The loi-cadre (1957)**

The outline law (*loi-cadre*) of 1957 placed the African colonies on a new constitutional footing. Like FIDES it was recognition that colonialism could not survive unreformed. It broke up the two federations of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. Each colony was now to have a separate relationship with the centre (Paris). Critics like Senghor accused France of defending colonialism by divide and rule tactics. He thought its result would be 'the Balkanisation of Africa'. Yet, it was a recognition that the French Union of 1946 had not gone far enough in devolving power to the colonies. Territorial Assemblies were to be elected by universal suffrage and were to enjoy increased powers devolved from Paris. The dual college system, that had disadvantaged Africans, was abolished. Nevertheless, the *loi-cadre* was intended only to advance self-government, not independence.

The *loi-cadre* caused a crisis amongst the African parties. Advanced territories like the Ivory Coast were happy to go it alone as states-in waiting, but the poorer members, whose views were voiced by Senghor of Senegal, preferred to keep the former large federations, within which they felt protected. This raises the question of why the French were pushing reforms that most Africans did not seem ready for. The answer lies in pressures emanating from the escalating crisis in Algeria. The thinking in Paris was that one colonial war was quite enough; in sub-Saharan Africa early reform would forestall another crisis. Ironically, the *loi-cadre* generated demands for independence hardly present before. The other cause of these was the independence of neighbouring Ghana in 1957.

### **D) From French Community to Independence, 1958-60**

The Constitution of the new Fifth Republic (1958), brought about by the Algerian crisis, brought independence a step nearer for sub-Saharan Africa. President de Gaulle asked all the colonies to vote in a referendum on whether they wanted to retain their connection with France. They could join a French Community within which France would retain control of their foreign and defence policies. All except Guinea voted yes, reflecting the nervousness that still existed about independence. French aid to Guinea was promptly withdrawn. De Gaulle's revenge stripped it of everything, down to its French-supplied telephones! Yet, this failed to sabotage Guinea as a state for the Russians knew how to install telephone lines too. All de Gaulle's petulance achieved was the loss of Sekou Toure's new state to the communist bloc. More conservative states like Ivory Coast were anxious that, even if independence were thrust upon them, a strong economic link should be maintained. Without it, Houphouet-Boigny predicted, lay only poverty and anarchy. Membership of the French Community simply dissolved through 1960 as one by one its members left, reassured that France would not do what it had done to Guinea. The French Community had hardly existed as a constitutional form, except as a transitional bridge to independence.

So the pattern by which sub-Saharan Africa achieved its independence contrasted starkly with that of Indo-China and Algeria. The peaceful devolution of sovereignty was an important propagandist coup for a French government that was simultaneously embroiled in a vicious colonial war elsewhere. It enabled the violent decolonisation of Algeria to be presented as a special case. In sub-Saharan

Africa, decolonisation had arrived rapidly. In 1946 it had not been on the French agenda and sub-Saharan politics scarcely had an agenda. As late as 1958 all territories except Guinea elected to retain the colonial connection, an indication of the economic progress they had made under FIDES. In 1960, they had to be virtually pushed into independence by an exhausted colonial France. By that time the post-war investment programme in the African colonies had become a tremendous burden upon the French taxpayer. Private capital was comparatively uninterested in the colonies compared with Europe.

## IV) North Africa

**KEY ISSUES** Why did France pursue such different policies towards decolonisation in Algeria compared with Morocco and Tunisia? To what extent was colonial war in Algeria fought for similar reasons to that in Indo-China?

### A) Morocco and Tunisia

Both Morocco and Tunisia achieved independence within a month of each other in 1956. They were newer colonies, had a much smaller French settler population than Algeria, and had only associated status under the 1946 Constitution. All these factors made the decolonisation of Morocco and Tunisia easier than that of Algeria.

In Morocco, the Istiqlal Party had been founded in 1944 to press for independence. It was conservative in supporting the establishment of a constitutional monarchy under the Sultan Mohamed V. The Sultan's identification with the urban Istiqlal Party alienated him from the feudal Berber lords in the rural hinterland. Deepening urban unrest led to a major confrontation between strikers and police in Casablanca in December 1952. The French response to growing nationalism in 1953 was to replace the Sultan with the compliant Mulat Arafa and his Berber supporters. This failed, as the nationalists launched a terrorist campaign, provoking a counter-organisation from the settler class called 'French Presence' (1955). When it became clear that Moroccans in the Army were prepared to intervene on the side of the nationalists, the Sultan had to be brought back to reign over an independent country, in March 1956.

In Tunisia, the Neo-Destour Party had merged into a broader Tunisian Front in 1946. Under the leadership of Habib Bourguiba it grew into a mass party of half a million members. Bourguiba, later to be the President of Tunisia for 30 years, was imprisoned regularly over two decades by the French for agitating for independence. Bourguiba's nationalist movement persuaded the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, to grant self-government in 1951. This was suspended, however, on disruption by settlers collaborating with the Army, and was only restored in 1955 after the Indo-Chinese settlement. The French Government decided to leave Tunisia in order to concentrate upon the Algerian problem.

### B) Algeria

#### *i) 'The era of broken promises'. 1945-54*

Just as the Second World War ended, the peace in Algeria was broken by terrible violence. Here are two historians' accounts of the events in Sétif, in May 1945, that set Algeria on a path of colonial war. The first is from Raymond Betts:

There was an uprising and riot in Sétif, an essentially Muslim town west of Constantine and beyond the mainstream of French colonial activities. On 8 May, as the French gathered together in the town square to begin their celebrations of the European peace achieved on V-E Day, a group of Muslims, carrying revolutionary banners and moving angrily forward, struck out at the crowd. What precipitated this uprising and exactly how it began are still matters of debate. However, it is certain that the mob was spurred on by economic deprivation as well as the desire for colonial reform. During the next five days, as the helpless French were assailed, the violence to person and to property was horrible. Then French troops finally arrived and the bloody tide swept the other way. This bidirectional frenzy whipped up lasting anger and animosity — some consider the events at Sétif the awakening of an Algerian national spirit of independence — and left behind an appalling, if ill-determined

number of dead, between 1,000 and 6,000 persons.

The second account is from J.R. Hargreaves:

Frustrated in their claims for equality, and radicalised by wartime hard-ships, many Algerians began to talk of independence: this was among the slogans with which the people of Sétif, near Constantine, celebrated Victory Day on 8 May 1945. When the police tried to seize their banners fighting broke out, followed by violent attacks on settler families; over a hundred Europeans were murdered, and others robbed, wounded or raped. There followed the bloodiest repression seen in Africa since the colonial 'pacification'. Muslim victims were numbered in thousands; hopes of solving Algeria's problems through Franco-Muslim partnership were fatally damaged; and anti-Western feeling throughout the Arab world received a new stimulus.

It is clear that the Algerians of Sétif felt that the end of the war brought little to celebrate. A third account, by Henri Grimal, offers definite opinions about the causes of the violence:

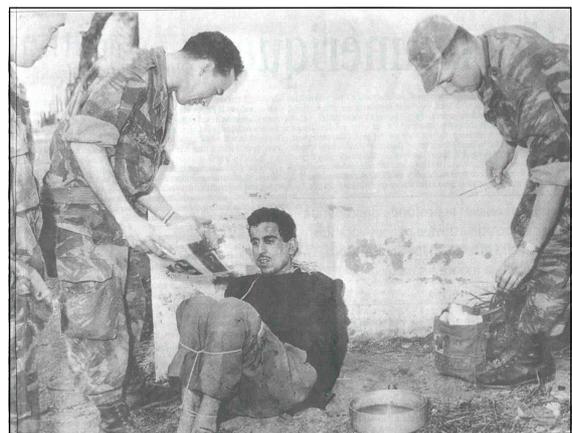
The numerically dominant Muslim community ... increasingly rapidly, had demonstrated against the oppression which it had suffered in the social, intellectual, economic and political fields in relation to the French minority who, whether French by birth or by adoption, traditionally enjoyed the perks.

Algeria had been a French colony since 1834. The *colons* (European colonists) in Algeria were mostly French, although there were a few Italians. They were known as *pieds noirs* (black feet) by Arabs because of their fondness for wearing cheap black shoes. By 1945 they numbered about one million (10 per cent), having settled in large numbers since the mid-nineteenth century. Originally small landowners who had dispossessed Arabs, many had migrated to the towns where they were in direct competition with Arabs for jobs. As a province of France, Algeria sent members to the National Assembly, but they were elected from separate colleges, which weighted representation against Arabs in Paris. After Sétif, a Statute of 1947 gave Algeria its first parliament, but it continued to discriminate against Arabs in a number of ways. Firstly, the Algerian Constituent Assembly gave equal weight to the two communities, despite the numerical supremacy of the Arabs. In any case, many *colons* thought that Arabs should not be allowed to vote at all, so they gerrymandered elections. Secondly, if a contentious issue came up threatening the interests of *colons*, the Governor-General had the right to insist upon a two-thirds majority being necessary. Thirdly, the promise to allow the use of Arabic as a language of instruction was not kept.

'The era of broken promises', as he called it, disillusioned even moderates like Ferhat Abbas. Originally a supporter of Algerian autonomy within the French Union, this small-town pharmacist eventually became the leader of the revolutionary National Liberation Front (FLN). The FLN was founded by a group of exiles, including Abbas and Ben Bella, in Cairo in 1954. It emerged out of a number of smaller organisations. From its seat of government in exile in Cairo, the FLN organised its campaign for independence. Although it declared itself to be a democratic socialist organisation in aspiration, it planned to wage a terrorist and guerrilla war against the French.

## **ii) The Battle for Algeria, 1954-58**

Although it began relatively quietly in 1954, the FLN's insurrection became so serious by 1958 that it brought down the Fourth French Republic. Supplied with arms via Morocco, the FLN launched their terrorist war proper with a full-scale attack upon the town of Philippeville in March 1955. Collaborating Arabs, as well as *colons* and French forces, were targeted in a ruthlessly determined attack. The French response was twofold. On the one hand, 400,000 extra troops were dispatched.



On the other, a more liberal Governor, Jacques Soustelle, was sent to attend to economic and social reform. This came too late to affect Algeria's chronic rural poverty, caused by a technically neglected agriculture unable to support a growing population. Migrants moved to the towns, where they joined a growing educated class who could not find jobs because the *colons* monopolised them.

The Army played a crucial role in the politics of Algerian decolonisation. It had been badly wounded by the defeat in Indo-China. Many senior officers took the view that they had been betrayed by the politicians and were determined not to let it happen again in Algeria. It formed a natural alliance with the *colons* in keeping Algeria French. Governments in Paris dithered, however, as the FLN's pressure mounted. Guy Mollet's Socialist administration said it would negotiate with the rebels, but only once the violence had ceased. Left-wing politicians, socialist or communist, were hardly more sympathetic to decolonisation than the Right. This was because they sought the votes of the working-class *pieds noirs*. Their protests forced Mollet to appoint a less liberal Governor, Robert Lacoste, in 1956 and to give him special powers to deal with the emergency. He was to need them. From September 1956, the FLN switched strategy and began an urban guerrilla campaign targeting the capital, Algiers. For over a year, *colons*, Arabs deemed to be collaborators, and members of the armed forces became the victims of terror. The French public became accustomed to pictures in their morning newspapers of bombed-out cafes in which women and children had died. But the Army would not yield, and there was much support in France for sending 8,000 extra paratroopers to wage *The Battle of Algiers*, as Gillo Pontecorvo's great film of 1966 called it. A counter-insurgency strategy fought terror with terror, as the French forces demonstrated to the FLN that they too could torture and kill indiscriminately. The FLN were quelled but not beaten by the end of 1957. By the end of the Algerian war one million had died and up to one third of the 9 million population displaced in the most violent of all decolonisations.



An important political shift had taken place as a result of the Battle of Algiers. The Army had asserted its autonomy over the Algerian colonial administration and Paris by taking its counter-insurgency tactics to unauthorised lengths. In February, the United Nations condemned French air violation of Tunisian territory for the purpose of strafing FLN village. In May 1958, the *colons* installed their own 'Committee of Public Safety' under General Massu, a *de facto* illegal government. The Army watched in approval. It was clear that Paris was no longer in control of Algeria. There was a real possibility that the Army might overthrow the Government in France by a *coup d'état*. The Pfmilin administration that was in power in May 1958 contained no supporter of keeping Algeria French. The civilian and military powers were in direct opposition. It was this crisis that persuaded the National Assembly to effectively vote the Fourth Republic out of existence. They invited Charles de Gaulle, who had held no political office since his resignation from the Presidency in January 1946, to become Prime Minister. Peter Neville nicely captures the farce that French politics had been reduced to.



The government in Paris was in a state of panic, while the rebel army generals appealed to de Gaulle to save



'French Algeria'. As the republican government had no idea how to solve the crisis, it was by no means unhappy to turn matters over to the General once more. So it was that -on 28 May 1958 de Gaulle got 'the call', which he had waited 12 years to receive.

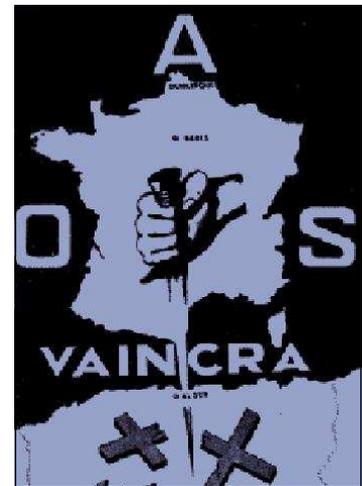
In January 1959, de Gaulle assumed office as the powerful President he had always wanted to be, after the French people had given him overwhelming approval for a new Constitution. The Fifth Republic had commenced. It was the first example in the twentieth century of decolonisation causing regime replacement in Europe. But de Gaulle was not the Army's stooge. He was seen as a compromise candidate who might bridge the gaps, and did not have overwhelming support in the Army or Parliament. As Ferro argues, Gaullism went on to capture the colonialist movement, not vice versa. Within four years Algeria was given independence.

### iii) 'The day of the pigs. the end of French Algeria, 1958-62

De Gaulle employed a combination of 'hot and cold' tactics to bring Algeria back under the control of the civilian government in Paris. Firstly, he allowed General Challe to devastate the FLN bases with helicopter support for combat teams on the ground. The *colons* and the Army anticipated complete military victory, but de Gaulle's aim was to force a weakened FLN to the negotiating table. At the same time, he announced reforms in housing, education and public works schemes to appease the Arabs, and their sympathisers in France. He also reassured the oil companies that he would protect their interests in the Algerian Sahara.

Through 1959, de Gaulle was moving towards those who saw France's future in the leadership of the EEC not as a colonial power. By September, he had come around to offering the FLN a clear choice, if they halted hostilities. Firstly, they could make the unlikely choice of continuing in union with France. Secondly, de Gaulle's preference was to have a looser association by which France would continue economic and social investment in return for control of defence and foreign policy. Thirdly, they could opt for independence.

This was a watershed offer by de Gaulle because it acknowledged that, in agreed conditions, Algerians had a right to decide their own destiny. It was too much for the extremists amongst the *colons* who rioted in



Algiers during the 'week of the barricades', January 1960, and shot at the police while the Army looked on. De Gaulle was forced to visit Algiers in

March to reassure those who feared a sell-out to the FLN. He had limited success but sat down with the FLN anyway, in constant fear that the street demonstrations might spill over into an army *coup*. Cleverly, de Gaulle obtained support for his policies from a referendum of the French people in January 1961. This provoked the long-expected Algiers *coup* in April, which was unsuccessful because de Gaulle talked it down with a direct radio broadcast to the troops. Robert Buron, one of his ministers, called it the 'victory of the transistors.' The military malcontents went underground. They formed the OAS (*Organisation Armee Secrete*), a counter-terrorist organisation that operated in both Algeria and France. No target was too big or too small for the OAS. A plan to bomb the Eiffel Tower failed, but they succeeded in maiming the four-year old child of the Minister of Culture, Andre Malraux. On the evening of 22 August 1962, just after Spin, as he was on his way from Paris to the airport at Villacoublay, de Gaulle's car was fired upon.



The irony of this assassination attempt is that it came some seven weeks after Algerian independence. It was purely revengeful. The Evian talks that began in May 1961 had finally concluded in March 1962, and the Algerians voted for independence on 1<sup>st</sup> July. The most important aspects of the Evian agreement were as follows. Firstly, the FLN were to cease-fire in order for elections to be held. Secondly, the *colons* were given three years to decide whether they wanted to remain French or become Algerian citizens. If they opted for French citizenship, they would not enjoy full civil rights in Algeria. In practice, almost all returned to France. 85,000 pro-French Muslims (*harkis*) also went to France. Thirdly, French companies were allowed leasing rights to continue to develop oil fields, but they had no ownership of them. Fourthly, France was allowed to maintain the important naval base at Mers-el-Kebir for a minimum of fifteen years (in practice, she withdrew as early as 1968).



#### ***iv) Assessment: the nature of Algerian decolonization***

Algeria was France's last major decolonisation. After the bloody conflict in Indo-China, it exhausted her capacity to retain an empire. As in Indo-China, the French militarily resisted nationalism because they prioritised the interests of a substantial settler population that was influential in French politics. That the Algerian war began the very year the Indo-Chinese one ended, shows that the French did not think there were any 'universal lessons of decolonisation' to be learned. They reacted according to the specific, internal dynamics of the situation.

The nature of nationalism made a difference to French stubbornness in decolonising Algeria. A central argument of Frantz Fanon's best-selling *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) was that colonialism could only be removed by violence. The FLN ruthlessly announced that the French could leave with a suitcase or in a coffin, and this provoked counter-ruthlessness. The nationalist movement also fought an internecine war, between the FLN and its rival the MNA, that killed thousands. Eventually, the costs of policing such disorder became unsustainable upon the metropole, and France sought a compromise. Ferro emphasises the leading role played by metropolitan intellectuals in swaying public opinion. McWilliams and Piotrowski argue that, 'Many French (not unlike many of their U.S. counterparts during the war in Vietnam) became more concerned about the effect the killing, the brutality, and the torture had on their own society than their impact on the Arab victims. Holland sees the role of 'Eurocentric technocrats', who wanted to abandon empire to concentrate upon Western markets, as crucial. If so, then it is to be remembered that France only left once the leasehold rights on the valuable Algerian oil deposits were secured.

Finally, what role did the superpowers play in Algerian decolonisation? In the USA, both Eisenhower and Kennedy were critical of the French Army in Algeria and grew reluctant to defend it against the Third World in the United Nations. Despite the leftist politics of the FLN, they were neither communists nor aligned with the USSR. There was an Algerian Communist Party but it was discredited amongst Arab nationalists because it followed the line of its French comrades. The French CP was strong and in perpetual hope of power. Because it participated in coalition governments, it became tarred with their policies. It had a vision of Algeria as a communist province of a communist France, modelled on the Muslim republics of the USSR. Islam acted as a strong, anti-communist barrier in Algeria, and the USA was less concerned that communism would prevail there than in Indo-China.

## **Conclusions**

**KEY ISSUES** How important are the following in understanding the character of French decolonisation?

tion: war, violence, nationalism, communism, economic interests? To what extent have post-colonial Algeria, Vietnam, sub-Saharan Africa, and France itself been affected by decolonisation?

### **a) The nature of French decolonisation**

The effects of the Second World War were more destabilising upon French colonialism than upon British. French defeat by both Germany and Japan left it in a weaker position to reclaim its empire after the war. In the case of Indo-China, this was never fully achieved, even in the short-term. In North and sub-Saharan Africa, the war had brought profound economic and social changes, such as urbanisation, that assisted the growth of nationalism.

In two out of the three main areas considered, French decolonisation was extremely violent. In Indo-China, this was because nationalism had taken power by the end of the war and proved impossible to dislodge. The fact that it was communist-led provoked a stronger counter-revolution from France supported by the United States. In addition, a strong settler class wished to hold on to valuable economic interests. In contrast to Algeria, the French left an *incomplete* decolonisation. In Algeria, nationalism also emerged from the war strengthened, but not so much as in Indo-China. The settler class defended its interests just as strongly, and obtained firm support from an Army propelled by its earlier defeat in Indo-China. Resistance to decolonization was again motivated by valuable economic interests.

Sub Saharian Africa was peaceful in comparison because it had less economic value, no settler class of any consequence and its nationalism was exceptionally moderate with no trace of communism. France had no strong reasons for remaining and actually had to initiate decolonization according to writers like Betts, who may underestimate the strength of nationalism.

A principal reason for willingness to withdraw from sub-Saharan was to concentrate upon Algeria. This emphasises the interconnections between decolonisations. The character of one could be affected by the pattern of another. Algeria was tougher because Indo-China came before; but sub-Saharan Africa was easier because Algeria had become so violent.

### **b) Post-colonial consequences**

Ben Bella's socialist regime in Algeria was quickly overthrown by Boumedienne in 1965. When a quarter of a century of his authoritarian socialism failed to significantly deliver the promise of decolonisation – higher living standards – Algeria became an early example of the Islamic fundamentalist revival. The Islamic Salvation Front won the 1991 elections, but military rule was imposed in 1992 and the results cancelled. Through the 1990s, Algeria was wracked by a terrorism that took a terrible revenge. Over a quarter of a million Algerians had died in the struggle against the French.

The war fought by the Vietnamese to rid themselves of the French merged into a renewed anti-colonial one against the Americans through the 1960s. It took until 1973 for the United States to leave and until 1975 for the civil war to end in a united Vietnam under communist rule. In the 1980s, Vietnam became involved in further wars for regional supremacy with Cambodia, Laos and China.

Sub-Saharan Africa has declined since decolonisation. Economically and ecologically the most deprived part of the continent, it inherited a legacy of poverty that led to political instability. At the root of poverty were climatic disadvantages and a technologically backward agriculture unable to support a growing population. This created a need to borrow, which led to a new, post-colonial, type of dependency. In a vain attempt to pay off debts farming was turned over to cash crops for export earnings. The condition of such states at the beginning of the twenty-first century provides the strongest argument behind the world movement to abolish Third World debt.

For France, the economic consequences of decolonisation have been the opposite. The turn towards Europe and free trade to replace the soaring costs of empire resulted in increased prosperity. Immigration has acted as it reminder that poverty persists in the former empire. Like its neighbour, Britain, France, has turned into a multicultural nation.

# Comparative Decolonisations: the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a comparative history of decolonisation of the sort that examination questions often require. It will identify general patterns but also single out the unique characteristics of the decolonisation of these three European powers.

## Patterns of Colonisation of Three European Powers

When decolonisation began after the Second World War Portugal and the Netherlands were both old colonial empires. The dictatorship encouraged the ten million Portuguese to see themselves as the guardians of a rich cultural inheritance, a Lusophone (Portuguese speaking) world of 150 million people spread across four continents, making it the fifth most commonly spoken language in the world. The Dutch, like the Portuguese, were old colonialists who had established a seafaring empire across the globe. By 1945 it had dwindled, but survived in a few places like the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). The Belgians, by contrast, were late arrivals to colonialism. The nation state had been formed only in 1839, when independence from the Dutch was won. The Belgians planted themselves in the heart of the 'Scramble for Africa': the Congo. Like the British and French, each of these empires dissolved in the three decades between 1945 and 1975.

### KEY DATES

**1945** Japanese defeat in Asia

**1949** Dutch agree independence for Indonesia

**1954** End of Indonesian union with Dutch

**1959** Leopoldville Riots

**1960** Independence of the Congo

**1961** Start of colonial wars in Portuguese Africa

**1974** Portuguese Revolution

**1975** Independence of Angola and Mozambique

### I) Dutch Decolonisation of Indonesia

**KEY ISSUES** How did the Second World War weaken Dutch colonialism? Why did they fail to recolonise Indonesia?

#### a) Dutch Colonialism in the East Indies

The origins of the Dutch Empire lay in its glorious, seventeenth-century 'Golden Age' of trade expansion. Bourgeois merchants organised voyages by the Dutch East Indies Company and others who sailed to the West Indies, Brazil, India, Ceylon, West and South Africa. Like the Portuguese before them the Dutch discovered the routes that made a small nation great. Unlike the Portuguese, the pursuit of profit consumed missionary zeal completely. By the end of the seventeenth century the Dutch had amassed an 'embarrassment of riches.' The merchants were religious men, Calvinists who worried that they had become too rich to be saved. But children in the Dutch East Indies knew little about this history at the turn of the twentieth century, for there were few schools.

Before the First World War, the Dutch state had given up its monopoly over rubber, palm oil, iron ore and petroleum deposits and allowed private companies to lease the land rights. Peasants had their land seized by these companies and were forced to labour cheaply and pay high taxes. Despite this, the traditional social structure of the Indonesian village changed little. The Dutch supported it by governing through protege chiefs, a form of indirect rule similar to that used by the British in parts of Africa. But real power lay with the colonial bureaucracy. The representative councils had limited authority, although the establishment of a National Assembly (*Volksraad*) in 1916 did provide a forum for nationalist discussions.

Inter-war depression deepened discontent with colonialism. Higher taxation forced the smallholder into debt, businessmen suffered from export duties. Fewer business opportunities caused the middle class to clamour for the few available posts within the bureaucracy. A measure of the discrimination exercised against Indonesians is that in 1938 they occupied only 6.4 per cent of higher-grade posts compared to 92.2 per cent held by Europeans. The pattern was reversed in lower grade posts, where 98.9 per cent were Indonesians against 0.6 per cent for Europeans.

Another means of discrimination was language. Indonesians were discouraged from learning Dutch, which excluded all but a few from top jobs. Indeed, Indonesians were discouraged from learning. Only about 5 per cent attended any type of school before the Second

### **b) The Consequences of War and Japanese Occupation**

The Second World War made an enormous impact upon colonialism in S.E. Asia. The reason for this was that during the war Japan occupied large parts of the sub-continent, driving out the colonial powers. Although Japan was militarily defeated in 1945, the impact of its wartime presence changed so much in the colonies that a restoration of the pre-war pattern of colonial rule proved impossible. This was the case when the French tried to turn the clock back in Indo-China. It also happened in the Dutch Empire.

Between February and March 1942 Dutch colonialism in Indonesia collapsed before the Japanese invasion. Japanese success was not due to any great superiority in numbers, but to her enemy's underestimation of her intentions and determination. The Japanese set about completely obliterating Dutch influence. The Dutch government, exiled in London because of the Nazi invasion, was powerless.

The Japanese lacked the manpower to annex its new empire, so they called it the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Fewer than 200,000 troops occupied Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya and Burma. They depended upon the co-operation of the occupied peoples, and this required concessions such as the freeing of nationalist leaders. For their part, how were the nationalists to regard the Japanese? To view them as liberators would have been naive. The first priority of the Japanese was to win the war. If they did so it was highly likely that Indonesia would merely see Dutch colonialism replaced by Japanese. So, Indonesian nationalists sought guarantees. Such difficulties caused Japanese-Indonesian relations to break down from late 1942. Some freed nationalists had immediately taken up resistance. The Japanese responded with repression. Resisters commonly found themselves deported as forced labour to Burma. At the same time, the Japanese continued to seek the cooperation of the moderate nationalist leaders such as Sukarno and Hatta. They agreed to take the central role in the Centre of People's Power (PUTERA), but turned it from a vehicle for increasing war production into a mass movement for taking power after the war. The Volunteer Army of the Defenders of the Homeland (PETA), a force of 120,000 raised to fight the Allies, proved equally nationalist after the war.

Occupation proved an ambiguous experience. The Japanese both repressed and conciliated; Indonesians both collaborated and resisted. Nationalists did not want occupation to become merely an exchange of colonialisms, so they took up Japanese offers of participation in the hope that it might lead to no colonialism at all. A further difference was that the Japanese were Asians not Europeans. The Japanese did allow nationalist leaders more political freedom even if for their own ends. The problem was that nationalism proved a powerful genie to let out of colonial bottles. Neither the Japanese nor the Dutch, when they returned after the Second World War, could recapture it.

### **c) Dutch Decolonisation**

The Japanese resisted independence until the Allies approached Indonesia in June 1945. At that point, they conceded the Jakarta Charter which promised to respect a constitution based upon the five principles of nationalism, internationalism, representative government, social justice, and belief in God.

Sukarno then went further and declared independence, which conflicted with the aim of the arriving British and Indian troops to restore the Dutch. The Dutch condemned the Nationalist leaders as collaborators with only minority support, and continued to claim sovereignty. However, international pressure forced the Dutch to negotiate.

Indonesia is geographically a collection of many islands, of which Java was the centre of nationalism. The Nationalists were republicans and refused to remain within a Commonwealth under the Dutch Crown. The Dutch strategy was to defeat nationalism by politically dividing the larger islands from the outlying ones. To achieve this they proposed federal government, thereby exploiting suspicions of Javanese authoritarianism. Once isolated, it was imagined that the Javanese could be brought to the conference table. The Javanese Nationalists were forced to negotiate because of the weakness of their own movement. It represented the Javanese middle classes, and it only became more popular with the mass of non Javanese peasants when the Dutch used military force against it.

The Dutch used federalism to prevent a unitary state. Consequently they made two separate agreements in 1946. The first was with the 'Malino states' beyond Java. The second, the Linggadjati Treaty, recognised a Republic of Indonesia, consisting of Java and Sumatra. Outlying Borneo and Eastern Indonesia were to be separate states still in union with the Dutch Crown. Founded on mistrust, it was never an arrangement likely to last.

In the Netherlands the Linggadjati Treaty divided the parties. The Catholic Party condemned it as a climbdown. As it fell apart, they and the Army leadership called for military reoccupation which they wrongly assumed would be welcomed by Indonesians. They dismissed Indonesian nationalism as a conspiracy by former collaborators of the Japanese who lacked popular support. Against this, was the argument of the Labour Party that a genuine nationalist revolution had taken place. A limited military presence, only, was required to support moderate against extreme leaders. More than this would not be supported by international opinion, nor was it affordable.

The interventionists prevailed and the first 'police action' of July 1947 was launched. It was designed to bring the Republic's economy to its knees by occupying the valuable rice and oil lands. Foreign trade was cut-off by a naval blockade, causing a refugee crisis. This first intervention failed because the Dutch were too weak to resist international condemnation of their actions at the UNO. By the Renville Agreement of January 1948 they granted the Republic recognition of its independence within a federation of Indonesian states.

Dutch troops were to remain on Republican territory during the twelve months to independence. They were used as nationalist guerrillas stepped-up their activity. Even the once-compliant Malino states now abandoned the Dutch. Dutch belligerence was beginning to alienate crucial allies such as the USA. Despite this the conservative coalition, elected in the summer of 1948, launched a second 'police action'. They were trying to bring about decolonisation on their own terms: a weak federation that the Republic would be unable to control. Yet that Republic had just won the belated respect of the USA by suppressing a communist-led insurgency. Americans reinvented Sukarno, the author of *Nationalism, Islam, and Marxism* (1926), as a Cold War ally.

The Dutch failed to quell people's resistance in the countryside. They wrongly assumed that most Indonesians did not support the Republican leadership. When this was exposed as fallacious, the Corps of Special Troops resorted to restoring control through terror. The bombing of Jakarta shocked international opinion. The consequences of the second action for the Dutch were highly damaging: stronger people's resistance; loss of remaining support from the Malino states; and the threat of withdrawal of all financial and military aid by the USA. The Dutch had overstretched themselves and had little option but to reach a final agreement at the Hague in August 1949. But a federal union under the Dutch Crown could not endure for long. By August 1950 Indonesia had become a unitary state under Javanese direction. Four years later, the union was renounced, ostensibly because the Dutch refused to leave West Irian, where they remained until 1963. Thus, post-colonial relations have been distant. Holland's future was in Europe, to the benefit of the Dutch economy.

#### **d) Assessment: the nature and consequences of Dutch decolonisation**

The character of Dutch decolonisation in Indonesia was determined by a combination of internal and external factors. Within Indonesia, the use of military force set up a pattern of counter-reaction and more force, that made decolonisation more difficult. The Dutch used force because they failed, or refused, to recognise that an anti-colonial revolution had taken place in the colony. They employed force without the capacity to sustain it over the long-term. Using force impeded the negotiated settlement favoured by the UNO. Behind the use of force lay the continued profitability of Indonesian agriculture. "The Dutch ... acted in the belief that independence would be a severe blow to the national economy."

External influences proved more crucial in determining the timing of decolonisation. President Truman's assessment of Cold War priorities in 1949 was that the Dutch were better employed against the communist threat in Europe than in S.E. Asia. Sukarno's Indonesia was not a danger. It could act as a nationalist bulwark against communism. Indonesian decolonisation is an early example of how Cold War interests could supersede those of decolonisers and decolonised.

For Indonesia the legacy of decolonisation has been several decades of authoritarian government within which the military has played an arbitral role. Original fears that it would become a Javanese, one-party state have been confirmed. In 1967, Sukarno was replaced by General Suharto, until 1998, who established a family dynasty controlling not only government but a large share of the economy. The elite continued to corner the benefits of economic growth as before. Furthermore, in one of history's ironic twists, Indonesia itself became a colonialist state during its brutal occupation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor between 1975 and 1999.

It has been argued that there is a continuity between the way the Dutch decolonised and the development of an authoritarian state in post-colonial Indonesia. The myth that the liberal Dutch managed one of the more humane decolonisations has been exposed by recent research revealing its brutality. More than 100,000 Indonesians and 6,000 Dutch were killed during the 'police actions' of 1946-9.

## **II) Belgian Decolonisation of the Congo**

### **a) Belgian colonialism to 1945**

King Leopold II of Belgium's admiration for commercial Dutch colonialism fed his ambitions for his own country. He once said, 'There are no small nations, there are only small minds!' Such inverted logic led to the creation of the Congo Free State by 1885, a colony eighty times the size of Belgium, rich in mineral resources, and unique as Leopold's personal fiefdom until 1908. Belgian capital showed little interest until the Crown demonstrated the colony's profitability.

This took some time. Through the 1880s and 1890s, Leopold permitted a brutal colonialism of terror. State officials raided villages for rubber and ivory. If they encountered resistance they kidnapped and ransomed the women and cut off the ears and hands of the men. Other colonial states urged Leopold to put his house in order. In 1908 he made a start by passing the colony over to the state, which invited Belgian capital in. The Crown had opened up the non-ferrous metals of the Katanga region and constructed waterways and railways. Belgian investors hoped colonialism might raise profits that had declined through the Great Depression (1873-96).

Historians have described Belgian administration of the Congo after 1908 as paternalist. Colonial administrators believed in the uncivilised inferiority of their charges. One Governor-General, P. Ryckman, illustrated this by announcing that blacks were two-thousand years behind whites. No African sat on the Governor-General's Council until 1947. Social order was maintained by using compliant chiefs to govern through the tribal networks. By the 1930s this was breaking down as the handful of dominant colonial companies, seeking to attract labour to the mines, began urbanisation. The new towns filled up with mixed tribal populations divorced from their rural roots.

Rapid urbanisation threatened social disorder if it was not carefully controlled. Paternalism in the new urban context was designed to produce a productive, compliant workforce, content with condi-

tions materially better than those found elsewhere in colonial Africa. Three agencies of paternalism made up a triangular power structure to achieve this. The first was the colonial administration. While it remained entirely Belgian in composition, it did deliver welfare policies such as the provision of medical care. Secondly, there were the companies backed by Belgian finance houses. They needed swift improvements in levels of skill and labour productivity. Retention of skilled labour, once trained, was vital and assisted by good company welfare schemes that provided sickness and industrial injury benefits, and retirement pensions. Thirdly, there were the Catholic Church missions. They provided the best primary education in Africa and enjoyed a near-monopoly over Congolese schooling until the 1950s. They reproduced a literate and numerate labour force blessed also with Catholic morality. Peemans has described the Church's behaviour as 'ideological indoctrination' and 'totalitarian'. He argues that the Church's teaching extended beyond the conversion of Africans to Catholicism. It opposed trade unionism as unnecessary because the companies provided welfare.

### **b) Volatile Decolonisation, 1945-60**

Unlike the Dutch, Belgian decolonisation did not appear imminent as the Second World War ended. The Congo had not suffered occupation, and in 1945 seemed to be one of the most stable examples of colonialism. That all this changed with tragic suddenness in 1959-60 illustrates the volatility and unpredictability of decolonisation. Explaining the specific causes of this is, therefore, of great importance. The contrast with Dutch experience is that, although decolonisation was also violent it occurred after decolonisation in the form of a civil war. Post-colonial civil war in the Congo resembles the experience of Portuguese Africa rather than that of the Dutch East Indies. But the post-colonial civil wars in the ex-Portuguese colonies were continuities from the colonial period. This was not the case in the Congo where there had been no war before decolonisation.

World War Two stimulated the Belgian Congo economically, through increasing demand for its raw materials. Unlike Belgium itself the Congo remained uninvaded throughout the war. The Congo's post-war stability depended upon the Belgians' careful management of its economic resources, particularly plentiful in Katanga. The Belgian and international financiers who had invested in the copper and diamond mines opposed any move towards decolonisation. Once the atomic age dawned in 1945, the United States observed that 80 per cent of the world's uranium was located in the Congo.

The social consequences of industrialisation — one-quarter of the population living in urban areas — caused what Peemans has termed the 'Belgianization'<sup>8</sup> of Congolese society. Congolese workers were beginning to behave like Belgian ones. In 1946 the administration could not resist giving trade union rights although it tried to contain militancy through consultative workers' councils. Through the 1950s living standards rose appreciably, particularly in the urban areas. The Congolese were riding 700,000 bicycles by the end of the decade compared with only 50,000 at its beginning.

'Belgianization' also raised middle-class hopes of upward social mobility. These might express themselves as nationalism if they were not directed towards a career structure. Two ladders leaned towards the window of opportunity. The first was the Catholic Church whose missions reproduced a devout African clergy. The other was the colonial administration. More exclusive than the Church, it operated a 'development policy' that amounted to offering an unofficial quota of black jobs. Many qualified Africans were screened-out through a system of 'personal inspection'. Nevertheless, the fact that any Africans were getting jobs in the administration caused Belgians to fear for theirs.

The rural aspect of 'development policy' set out to create a class of small, independent farmers. African advancement met with obstruction from white settlers who clung to the land, as they did in Kenya and Angola. Frustrated peasants migrated to the towns, adding to a growing surplus of unskilled labour. By the late 1950s 'development policy' had failed to solve the mounting social crisis. Its opponents, white civil servants and farmers, accused the metropole of acting against their interests.

The early Congolese political parties, led by either the urban middle class or rural chieftains, demanded accelerated reforms. King Badouin's sympathetic visit of 1955 gave them hope and the Socialist-Liberal government in Belgium prepared to respond positively. It proposed the extension of state

primary education. The Church bitterly resisted this encroachment on its monopoly but its position was undermined by the Vatican. In 1956, the Vatican realised that the price of continued influence in Africa was acceptance of its inevitable independence. In Belgium, the Government was being pressed to propose a specific timescale for decolonisation. French moves in this direction in West Africa were held up as an example.

The first local government elections were held in 1957 and resulted in a majority for the Abako party. Initially, Abako had been based upon the traditional ethnic politics of only the third biggest Congolese tribe, the Bakongo. They wanted reunification of their people who were scattered across three empires: Belgian, French and Portuguese. Under Joseph Kasavubu's leadership it modernised 11% programme to advocate equal access to education and the administration. This wider appeal enabled it to defeat the parties of the two, largest tribes, the Hutus and the Tutsis. Kasavubu called for a general election for 'internal autonomy'. A hasty Belgian blueprint for decolonisation in 1958 failed to defuse the growing crisis.

The catalyst of Belgian decolonisation was the Leopoldville riots of December 1959. They surprised many but are far from being inexplicable. One cause was reduced economic growth. Crawford Young points to the frustration of expectations that this caused.

**The welfare thrust of the terminal colonial state and its ample resource base brought — really for the first time in the colonial era — a tangible, broad-based, sustained rise in the level of African well-being, and the anticipation of more to come.**

But the first wave of industrialisation was over by 1955 : and Congolese mineral exports fell from 1957 causing rising urban unemployment. This was exacerbated by the flow of rural-urban migration.

Delayed political action in the face of mounting expectations was the other half of the story. The colonial administration was divided over Brussels' plan to secularise education. One part favoured it; the other sided with the Church's opposition and its call to the Catholic African population to resist it.

On 4 January 1959, an Abako meeting was banned and turned into attacks upon white property, schools and missions. The riots continued for two days during which police action killed over a hundred people. Abako was banned and its leaders arrested. A journalistic source offered an explanation of why the riots had lasted so long.

**1) The Belgian authorities had neither the technique nor suitable equipment for non-violent intervention. 2) The police forces and the military garrison of Leopoldville were numerically very weak ... and were composed entirely of Africans with the exception of the officers. Moreover the police ... were detested and their mere presence merely fanned the flames. The Belgian paratroopers ... were only in number when they took part on Monday in the control operations and at no time did they use their arms. 3) The administrative authorities delayed until the last moment the massive intervention of the black 'security force' ... for fear of provoking a massacre and with the hope that the riots would subside once the looting was over ... the police ... lost its self-control more easily than the army."**

It is clear that the Belgians were trying to control the African population with African forces (a tactic used even more extensively by the Portuguese, whose colonial wars began with similar urban rioting in Angola). Here, they were under-prepared. There was a great reluctance to commit better trained, Belgian paratroopers to riot control duties. Increasingly frustrated by the continuance of the riots, the black armed forces ended by over-reacting. From this document, the historian can certainly detect the kind of attitudes that caused the Belgians to leave swiftly.

The scale of the spontaneous violence in Leopoldville shocked the administration. Unlike the Dutch before them, or the Portuguese after, the Belgian response was to leave as quickly as possible. Some investors took fright and withdrew, but the big investors remained and prepared to defend their assets in the new Congo.

#### **d) Decolonisation as 'disembodied statelessness' 1960-64**

Fourteen Congolese parties in attendance at Brussels in January 1960 prised from the Belgians a six-month time-scale for independence. Nationalist impatience jeopardised the prospects of a stable transfer of power. Unlike in Indonesia, no anti-colonial organisation of any pedigree existed. The result was disintegration into internecine conflict, as the Belgians sought to pass power over as quickly as possible. It was crisis management in the fast lane.

Immature parties fought the pre-independence elections of May 1960. 'The politicization of ethnicity,' as it has been called, was exploited to maximise votes. It exposed the fault lines of Congolese society. The new unitary government was divided like the society it ruled. President Kasavubu had turned Abako into a party based in Leopoldville. Prime Minister Lumumba's Congolese National Alliance was a widespread coalition of peasants and urban workers. Thirdly, Tshombe's Conakat was based in mineral-rich, southern Katanga. The competition to occupy the posts of departing Belgians was frenetic. Other Belgians, like businessmen and missionaries, remained to complicate matters. Decolonisation in a hurry left the Congo in a condition of 'disembodied statelessness'.

Breakdown began with the new army flexing its muscles by insisting upon the dismissal of all remaining Belgian officers. The Belgians responded by evacuating all their nationals. Having appeased the army the government attended to the high salary demands of the political class. They were to be met through high taxation of prosperous Katanga. Tshombe's Conakat refused the bill and seceded from the new state. Ethnic differences amplified expression of this economic conflict. Katangans condemned Leopoldville as the home of a new colonialism. Civil war marked the second stage of the disembodiment of the new state. Katangan secession was supported by mining companies alarmed by the Leopoldville government's threats of nationalisation. However, P.H. Spaak (Belgium's Foreign Minister) convinced the companies that Belgium should play a conciliatory role and that Katangan secession was unacceptable to the international community.

The third stage of disembodiment was the division of the Leopoldville-based state into civil conflict. Lumumba was dismissed as Prime Minister by Kasavubu after a failed invasion of Katanga in 1962. He then established a rival base in Stanleyville. As the Americans backed Leopoldville, Lumumba invited Soviet support to restore the balance of power. Two factors undermined their intervention, however. Lumumba was captured by the Leopoldville government and cynically handed over to the Katangans for execution. Secondly, the United Nations, anxious about the Congo becoming a Cold War arena, intervened.

United Nations' intervention had some success. By January 1963, Katanga was reconciled by the offer of a federal system of government, under President Cyrille Adoula. In addition, the army was reorganised under General Mobutu. Tshombe himself became Prime Minister in 1964 when economic stagnation and bureaucratic corruption caused a further collapse of law and order.

#### **Post-colonial hang-overs**

Peace did not deliver political stability to the new Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire from 1971). In 1965 Mobutu took power through a coup. Over three decades his dictatorship ransacked the state to the point of collapse, hardly distinguishing between the state's and his own family's expenditure. However, the collapse of world copper prices in 1990 reduced a personal income that the World Bank estimated had been worth \$400 million per year through the 1980s. On Mobutu's fall in 1997, much Zairean opinion blamed the West.

Mobutu was forced from power by the Democratic Alliance forces of Laurent Kabila, a former associate of Lumumba's. Zaire has again become the Democratic Republic of Congo, but civil war drawing in several neighbouring states continued into 2000.

Peemans has argued that decolonisation, far from freeing Belgium from her former colony, left her with an 'imperial hang over.'" Beyond 1960 Belgian companies remained heavily invested in Zaire in neo-colonial relationships. These, and the continuance of governmental aid to the Mobutu dictatorship, were heavily criticised by the radical sectors of the Belgian public.

### III) The Last to Leave: Portuguese Decolonisation

**KEY ISSUE** Why was Portuguese decolonisation so late and so violent? How exceptional was it?

#### **a) The Myth of Exceptionalism: Portugal's Colonial Mission**

Until 1974 Portugal was a dictatorship, not a parliamentary democracy like Holland, Belgium, Britain or France. The nationalist Portuguese dictatorship was intensely proud of its colonialism. It believed it had an exceptional historic mission to civilise the peoples it had colonised in Africa and Asia from the fifteenth century onwards. The colonies were celebrated as 'the Discoveries', as if the sole purpose of their historical existence was for the Portuguese to find them. Just one year before the colonial wars began the dictator Salazar built at Belem in Lisbon a Monument to the Discoveries. It commemorates the five-hundredth anniversary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator in 1560. His figure points majestically westwards, down the magnificent vista that is the estuary of the River Tagus, to the Atlantic Ocean and the world beyond. Few pieces of modern

European sculpture capture a nation's ideology so evocatively and with such a sense of place. Other nations might colonise for gain; Portugal had a Christian mission to save souls. It was God's own work. But Salazar's timing was badly out. Just after the Monument was completed, India invaded the territory of Goa (1961). Portugal had first colonised it in 1510. Prime Minister Nehru of India simultaneously rejected the myth of Portugal's special mission and exposed its military weakness. Africa paid the price for the loss of Goa. Salazar blamed the army which responded by tenaciously defending its honour and the empire. This led to a decade and a half of colonial wars as a result of which the regime destroyed itself. The national liberation movements in the African colonies failed to win complete military victory. But they had always said that the regime would never decolonise, it must fall first. It fell, at the instigation of disaffected officers of the Armed Forces Movement on 25 April 1974.

The Portuguese Revolution that replaced dictatorship with democracy was an almost entirely peaceful affair. The blood had been spilled in Africa before. By 1976 the entire empire, except Macau, was gone. It passed from history like all the other European empires. There seems nothing exceptional about that. The great bridge over the Tagus was renamed, like many public places, to commemorate the Revolution : *Ponte 25 de Abril* (Bridge of 25 April).

#### **b) From Mission to Paradise Lost: the Reality of Portuguese Colonialism**

The Empire was given a new lease of life by the Berlin Conference of 1884, by which the colonial powers reached a measure of agreement about the division of their African territories. Despite what Portuguese governments said economic motives were usually more important than religious ones in colonial policy. Because Portuguese capitalism was under-developed the colonial economy was used to support the domestic one. But the colonial economy itself could not be successfully developed by poor Portugal alone.

This was why the Republic (1910-26) liberalised colonial policy by allowing foreign investment into the colonies. It was the monopolists in Portugal, previously protected in their colonial enterprises from foreign competition, who suffered a fall in trade and profits. They were behind the military coup which overthrew the Republic. But the junior officers proved disastrous economists. They were compelled to call in a civilian academic to balance the books. By the 1933 Constitution, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar announced a 'New State' (*Estado Novo*) in Portugal. Already, in 1930, his Colonial Act had imposed central state control over the colonies and their economies. Once again, the colonies were heavily protected, deemed to exist to benefit the metropole. Their trading profits were to be used to build up Lisbon's gold and foreign exchange reserves. The colonial budget was rigorously balanced and the money supply limited. The colonial monopolists and landowners, whose privileges had been eroded under the Republic, were delighted with the protection Salazarism gave them.

Gervase Clarence-Smith, in *The third Portuguese empire 1825-1975*, argues that the colonial policy of the *Estado Novo* in the 1930s became more racist because it was influenced by fascism. Salazarism did go through a fascist period, but the Colonial Act looked back to the practice of the monarchy before 1910. Portuguese colonialism had always been racist. Below the (white) Portuguese, the official classifi-

cation divided Africans into 'civilised' and 'natives'. The categories were not immutable; one could become 'civilised' by demonstrating the ability to speak Portuguese, financial self-sufficiency and 'appropriate conduct'. Only a small minority bothered.

The Colonial Act was reformed in 1951 because of anti-colonial pressure from the United Nations. Portugal redesignated all its colonies 'overseas provinces'. Their peoples were granted full Portuguese citizenship in 1961, but these cosmetic changes came too late to save colonialism.

Another example of colonial racism is the lack of education, which Salazar distrusted as potentially subversive. African illiteracy rates in the early 1960s were above 90 per cent. But it was forced labour that epitomised the harshness of Portuguese colonialism. Africans were obliged to work for the state for nothing to build ports, railways and roads. Basil Davidson observes in *The African Awakening* (1955), how it took men away from their villages and families, sometimes resulting in the women and children left behind having to substitute forced labour in their home regions. But forced labour was not introduced in the *Estado Novo*. It was another continuity from the monarchy (1899).

However, as Portuguese gun-fire was turned upon urban African protestors at the end of 1960, there was clearly trouble in paradise, and nationalists like Cabral were losing their sense of humour.

### **c) Colonial Wars and the Portuguese Revolution, 1961-75**

Portuguese decolonisation is perhaps the best example of the usefulness of a triangular model of decolonisation. Nationalism, the decline of the metropole and Cold War superpower politics fused together as causes. The colonial wars split Portuguese society, eventually causing a political revolution. The involvement of the superpowers in the wars has led some historians to argue that they were more than colonial wars. Like Vietnam, they should be seen as a part of the Cold War. The Portuguese encouraged such an interpretation by arguing that the wars were caused by a united communist conspiracy that was using African nationalism for its own ends. While this was an exaggeration typical of Portuguese propaganda, and the wars did have their own separate characters, it was not without evidence. The leading nationalist parties all claimed to be fighting a people's anti-colonial war to establish socialism.

Patrick Chabal's work points towards four differences between Portuguese decolonisation and those of the other European powers. Firstly, it was the last major European evacuation. It took some fifteen years of war during which intense superpower rivalry both complicated and prolonged decolonisation. Secondly, it was achieved through people's war. This produced a close and active relationship between party and people that made the post-colonial state likely to be participatory, even democratic. Thirdly, much nationalism was socialist, often Marxist. Leaders adopted the Chinese, Cubans and Vietnamese as models of liberation not least because aid sprang from those sources. However, the weaknesses of their own economies made them ultimately dependent upon the capitalist world market, and this made socialism impossible. Fourthly, decolonisation could only be achieved through metropolitan revolution. This was because Portugal was unique amongst the colonial powers in being a dictatorship that refused to decolonise. Unlike in the democracies, the dictatorial regime had to be replaced first.

Despite obvious similarities the wars in each colony should be seen as distinct. The war in Angola was characterised by conflict between the three principal nationalist groups. The MPLA was a modern party, strong in the urban areas around the capital Luanda, and led by Lisbon-educated Marxists like Agostinho Neto with strong links to the communist opposition. The FNLA was more traditional. Suspicious of socialism as a foreign doctrine it drew upon a rural constituency, the Bakongo tribe, who lived either side of the Congolese border. It was led by Holden Roberto, a Baptist who had lived most of his life in the Congo and was profoundly influenced by decolonisation there. After splitting from the FNLA, Jonas Savimbi formed UNITA in 1966, building what Chabal calls 'ethno-nationalism', a power base amongst his own ethnic group, the Ovimbundu. Later, UNITA broadened its appeal.

The Angolan rising began in early 1962 with separate attacks by the MPLA in Luanda and the FNLA in the north. In this early stage, the FNLA was the most effective party but splits in the late 1960s enabled the MPLA to supersede it as the dominant influence. However, the MPLA itself divided in the early 1970s enabling the Portuguese to regain ascendancy. A further complication was added by Chinese assistance to the FNLA, even though it was not Marxist, because their ideological rivals the USSR were assisting the MPLA.

The absence of nationalist unity, and the failure of any party to setup genuinely autonomous areas, enabled the Portuguese to fight a successful counter-insurgency campaign. Because fighting was kept away from the most populated areas economic growth continued. The number of white settler emigrants actually doubled through the 1960s. A rural reorganisation policy penned populations into strategic hamlets (*aldeamentos*). Guerrilla strongholds were bombed with napalm and herbicides. Military strategy was modelled partly on the British experience in Malaya — Portuguese officers had been trained in Britain — and partly on American tactics in Vietnam. Psychological warfare was employed to exploit nationalist divisions. But many Angolans fought for the Portuguese. Over forty per cent of their armed forces were Africans. For all these reasons there was no nationalist victory in Angola.

Spinola was always trying to catch up with history. By the time his *Portugal and the Future* was published (February 1974), arguing for a Lusophone commonwealth to replace empire, an Armed Forces Movement (MFA) of dissident officers was already planning the coup of 25 April. Service in Guinea had convinced leaders like Major Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho that complete decolonisation was the only solution.

After divided beginnings, the nationalist war in Mozambique ended by resembling Guinean unity. Great ethnic diversity impeded nationalism and the main party, FRELIMO, was only set up with considerable external assistance from Tanzania. Internal conflicts resulted in the assassination of its first leader, Eduardo Mondlane, and in the Portuguese being able to contain the conflict. From 1970, however, it regrouped under the united leadership of Samora Machel. From safe homes in Tanzania and Malawi the war was extended to new regions. The Portuguese army, 70 per cent African, could no longer guarantee the safety of its settlers. Terror and *aldeamentos* became its last resorts. By the time of the Revolution (25 April 1974) FRELIMO was confident of victory, not least because of aid from the USSR and Cuba, whose Marxism they shared.

Mozambique illustrates how complicated decolonisation in Africa could be by the 1960s. Mozambican decolonisation was delayed until 1975 by the special problems of Southern Africa. It was the only Portuguese colony with hostile white regimes as neighbours. From 1965, the illegal Rhodesia, which depended for its oil supplies upon a pipeline running through Mozambique, joined South Africa as a hostile power. Portuguese control of Mozambique was strategically important in maintaining white power in Southern Africa. The West sympathised with the Portuguese domino theory that if white power collapsed it would be replaced by black communism. A good example of the way the Portuguese exploited this position to defend their colonialism is the financing of the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric dam. The South Africans, as the principal beneficiaries, were the biggest investors. But European capital was also attracted and, thus, gained an interest in the survival of Portuguese colonialism.

#### **d) Consequences**

Guinea became independent in August 1974; Angola and Mozambique in 1975. Angola immediately fell into civil war between the rival nationalist parties. In 1992 internationally supervised elections confirmed the MPLA government in power. Savimbi's UNITA took until 1994 to accept them, but continues to resist integration into unified state. Mozambique has found a more stable peace since 1994. As apartheid collapsed in South Africa so too did sponsorship of RENAMO, the anti-FRELIMO force in Mozambique.

Examiners are fond of asking the old chestnut about whether decolonisation brought any more than independence for the new states. The devastation wrought by civil war in Angola and Mozambique makes it tempting to answer that it did not. But the bigger question is why did civil

war succeed colonial war and persist? The answer is not to be found in racist reductions about 'tribalism' or mystical language about Africa being a 'Dark Continent.', but in politics. Through the 1980s the international community failed post-colonial Lusophone Africa. Only once European communism collapsed between 1989 and 1991 did Africa's international position as pawn in the Cold War end. Only when Nelson Mandela completed his 'long walk to freedom' in 1994 did the African context change fundamentally. Today, Mozambique is at peace, but Angola's conflicts go on fuelled by the diamond trade that buys the arms. War has outlived ideology, for the fighting is no longer about socialist planning or free market economics. Mozambique's peace, by contrast, has attracted development aid and has brought rising living standards. The next generation of post-colonial historians must decide if this is due more to capitalism or the absence of war.

## Conclusions

The decolonisations of the smaller European powers clearly have causes common to those of Britain and France: the effects of war; the rise of nationalism; decline of the metropole; the changing world economy; and international relations dominated by Cold War. Yet, on close comparison their substantial differences make R.F. Holland's four-stage, 'self-righting' model, put forward in 1985, appear too mechanistic and complacent. For example, twenty-five years on from decolonisation Angola has still not 'righted-itself' into stable, inter-nationally accepted government, and the Congo is once again engulfed in a war drawing in neighbouring states. Instead we need a more flexible comparison of decolonisations which allows for differences between them. Four factors stand out when viewing the process from a European perspective.

Firstly, periodisation or timing. Dutch decolonisation came a decade earlier than Belgian. The crucial cause was the Second World War which had changed colonial relationships more profoundly in Asia than Africa. Portuguese Africa was even less changed by war than the Belgian Congo, due to Portuguese neutrality. This placed it firmly in the late category. Secondly, speed. The Belgians learned their own lesson from previous experiences like those of the Dutch: leave rapidly. The Portuguese thought they could stand against the tide of history. Thirdly, violence. All three decolonisations were violent but there were degrees of difference. The Dutch employed coercion as a tactic of decolonisation. The Belgians refused it, but an unpredictably rapid escalation of violence occurred after decolonisation. The Portuguese deployment of force greatly exceeded that of the Dutch, or even the French, causing unique people's wars of decolonisation.

# Documents

## Decolonisation

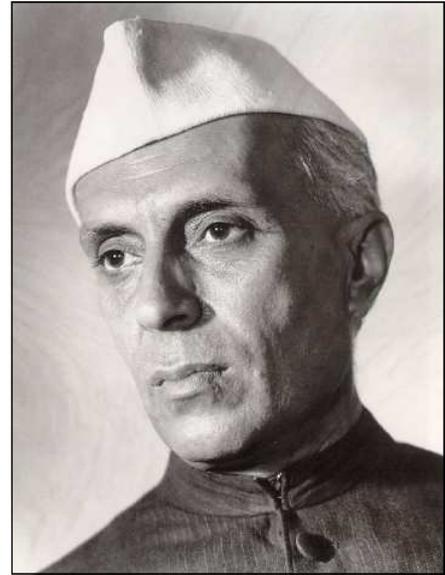
### (1942-1980)

- 1) Nehru; speech on the granting of independence to India 1947
- 2) Bandoeung Conference ; Letter from General Ely to Antoine Pinay 1955
- 3) Bandoeung conference final communiqué
- 4) MacMillan “Wind of change” speech 1960
- 5) Rhodesia Unilateral Declaration of Independence 1965
- 6) Summary diagram of British decolonisation
- 7) Summary diagram of French decolonisation
- 8) Summary diagram of comparative decolonisation (Dutch, Belgian, Portuguese)

## Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964): Speech On the Granting of Indian Independence, August 14, 1947

**Source:** Reprinted in Brian McArthur, *Penguin Book of Twentieth Century Speeches* (London: Penguin Viking, 1992), pp. 234-237. by Prof. Arkenberg.

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.



At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her success and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. The responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make an appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

(Suite page 173)

The appointed day has come-the day appointed by destiny-and India stands forth again, after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, free and independent. The past clings on to us still in some measure and we have to do much before we redeem the pledges we have so often taken. Yet the turning-point is past, and history begins anew for us, the history which we shall live and act and others will write about.

It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materializes. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed!

We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people.

On this day our first thoughts go to the architect of this freedom, the Father of our Nation [Gandhi], who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us. We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message, but not only we but succeeding generations will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humility. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest.

Our next thoughts must be of the unknown volunteers and soldiers of freedom who, without praise or reward, have served India even unto death.

We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen, and we shall be sharers in their good [or] ill fortune alike.

The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India; to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease; to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

We have hard work ahead. There is no resting for any one of us till we redeem our pledge in full, till we make all the people of India what destiny intended them to be. We are citizens of a great country on the verge of bold advance, and we have to live up to that high standard. All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India with equal rights, privileges and obligations. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action.

To the nations and peoples of the world we send greetings and pledge ourselves to cooperate with them in furthering peace, freedom and democracy.

And to India, our much-loved motherland, the ancient, the eternal and the ever-new, we pay our reverent homage and we bind ourselves afresh to her service.

JAI HIND.

## The Bandoeung Conference : toward the organization of Third world countries and the rejection of colonization

### Letter from General Ely to Antoine Pinay (Saigon, 28 April 1955)

*Source*

*Ministère des Affaires étrangères ; Commission de Publication des DDF (sous la dir.). Documents Diplomatiques Français. Tome I: 1955, 1er janvier-30 juin. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1987, pp.531-532.*

T. No 284

Saigon, 28 April 1955, 1.10 p.m.

(Received on 30 April at 6 p.m.)

[...] All the analysts maintain that the goal of Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai was to take advantage of the Conference to promote solidarity among Asian and African nations and to substitute their leadership for that of Western nations. Anti-colonialism was meant to be the rallying point for the 29 countries, whose political interests have, in the past, often been at odds.

That was why Chou En-lai decided to strike a conciliatory pose. However, after a few days of exhilaration, deep differences began to emerge when Sir John Kotelawala took an anti-Communist stance, supported by the Iraqi, Turkish, Pakistani and Filipino delegates and followed by the group of small nations. Moreover, Nehru, visibly edgy and confounded by Chou En-lai's prestige, lost his composure and was the target of sharp criticism from some delegations, even though relations between these two major powers have been rather cool. Still, they agreed to salvage the Conference, and the final communiqué was drafted in one go under their supervision, although the behind-the-scenes negotiations were led by India and China.

[...] The Arab countries were united on the issues of North Africa and Palestine but were divided on general policy matters. Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Egypt were openly sympathetic towards the group advocating neutrality, while their neighbours came out in favour of an alliance with the West.

France came under fire from all sides. Both Djamali, the Iraqi delegate, and the representative of Ethiopia expressed the most virulent criticism towards France while, to everyone's surprise, Nasser displayed a measure of moderation. The representatives of Turkey and Iran, while recognising the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of North Africa, openly expressed understanding for our country.

[...] In short, while the final communiqué looks substantial, it makes a poor attempt at papering over the cracks that have appeared in relations among Asian nations. Nevertheless, no one doubts that the Bandung Conference will have far-reaching consequences, the most important of which are Chou En-lai's enhanced prestige, very slight feelings of solidarity among the Asian countries, of revenge on the Western countries and, lastly, the general view that France is pursuing a colonialist policy in North Africa. The publication of the Agreement on Tunisia was met with disillusionment. Salah ben Youssef declared that it was no more than a fake autonomy completely devoid of all reality. However, the observations voiced on the meeting between President Edgar Faure and Habib Bourgiba were more sympathetic.

## Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung (April 1955) (extracts)

*On 24 April 1955, the delegations of 29 countries from Africa and Asia, meeting at the Bandung (Indonesia) International Conference, publish a Final Communiqué containing the principles adopted at the Conference.*

### Source

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia (sous la dir.). Asia-Africa speak from Bandung. Djakarta: 1955, pp.161-169.

-----

The Asian-African Conference considered problems of common interest and concern to countries of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their people could achieve fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation.

[...]

D. Problems of dependent peoples.

1. The Asian-African Conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation.

The Conference is agreed:

(a) in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;

(b) in affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;

(c) in declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and

(d) in calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

2. In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.

[...]

G. Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

The Asian-African Conference gave anxious thought to the question of world peace and co-operation. It viewed with deep concern the present state of international tension with its danger of an atomic world war. The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection, all States should co-operate, especially through the United Nations, in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control. In this way, international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would help answer the needs particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. Freedom and peace are interdependent. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by

all peoples, and freedom and independence must be granted, with the least possible delay, to those who are still dependent peoples. Indeed, all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.



Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation on the basis of the following principles:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.  
(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

The Asian and African Conference declares its conviction that friendly co-operation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, while co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all.

Bandung, 24 April, 1955.

## Harold Macmillan's "Wind of Change" Speech Made to the South Africa Parliament on 3 February 1960:

It is, as I have said, a special privilege for me to be here in 1960 when you are celebrating what I might call the golden wedding of the Union. At such a time it is natural and right that you should pause to take stock of your position, to look back at what you have achieved, to look forward to what lies ahead. In the fifty years of their nationhood the people of South Africa have built a strong economy founded upon a healthy agriculture and thriving and resilient industries.

No one could fail to be impressed with the immense material progress which has been achieved. That all this has been accomplished in so short a time is a striking testimony to the skill, energy and initiative of your people. We in Britain are proud of the contribution we have made to this remarkable achievement. Much of it has been financed by British capital. ...



... As I've travelled around the Union I have found everywhere, as I expected, a deep preoccupation with what is happening in the rest of the African continent. I understand and sympathise with your interests in these events and your anxiety about them.

Ever since the break up of the Roman empire one of the constant facts of political life in Europe has been the emergence of independent nations. They have come into existence over the centuries in different forms, different kinds of government, but all have been inspired by a deep, keen feeling of nationalism, which has grown as the nations have grown.

In the twentieth century, and especially since the end of the war, the processes which gave birth to the nation states of Europe have been repeated all over the world. We have seen the awakening of national consciousness in peoples who have for centuries lived in dependence upon some other power. Fifteen years ago this movement spread through Asia. Many countries there, of different races and civilisations, pressed their claim to an independent national life.

Today the same thing is happening in Africa, and the most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it takes different forms, but it is happening everywhere.

**The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it.**

Well you understand this better than anyone, you are sprung from Europe, the home of nationalism, here in Africa you have yourselves created a free nation. A new nation. Indeed in the history of our times yours will be recorded as the first of the African nationalists. This tide of national consciousness which is now rising in Africa, is a fact, for which both you and we, and the other nations of the western world are ultimately responsible.

For its causes are to be found in the achievements of western civilisation, in the pushing forwards of the frontiers of knowledge, the applying of science to the service of human needs, in the expanding of food production, in the speeding and multiplying of the means of communication, and perhaps above all and more than anything else in the spread of education.

As I have said, the growth of national consciousness in Africa is a political fact, and we must accept it as such. That means, I would judge, that we've got to come to terms with it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so we may imperil the precarious balance between the East and West on which the

peace of the world depends.

The world today is divided into three main groups. First there are what we call the Western Powers. You in South Africa and we in Britain belong to this group, together with our friends and allies in other parts of the Commonwealth. In the United States of America and in Europe we call it the Free World. Secondly there are the Communists – Russia and her satellites in Europe and China whose population will rise by the end of the next ten years to the staggering total of 800 million. Thirdly, there are those parts of the world whose people are at present uncommitted either to Communism or to our Western ideas. In this context we think first of Asia and then of Africa. As I see it the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West. Will they be drawn into the Communist camp? Or will the great experiments in self-government that are now being made in Asia and Africa, especially within the Commonwealth, prove so successful, and by their example so compelling, that the balance will come down in favour of freedom and order and justice? The struggle is joined, and it is a struggle for the minds of men. What is now on trial is much more than our military strength or our diplomatic and administrative skill. It is our way of life. The uncommitted nations want to see before they choose.

## Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Rhodesia) by Government of Rhodesia

Whereas in the course of human affairs history has shown that it may become necessary for a people to resolve the political affiliations which have connected them with another people and to assume amongst other nations the separate and equal status to which they are entitled:

And whereas in such event a respect for the opinions of mankind requires them to declare to other nations the causes which impel them to assume full responsibility for their own affairs:

Now therefore, we, the Government of Rhodesia, do hereby declare:

That it is an indisputable and accepted historic fact that since 1923 the Government of Rhodesia have exercised the powers of self-government and have been responsible for the progress, development and welfare of their people;

That the people of Rhodesia having demonstrated their loyalty to the Crown and to their kith and kin in the United Kingdom and elsewhere through two world wars, and having been prepared to shed their blood and give of their substance in what they believed to be the mutual interests of freedom-loving people, now see all that they have cherished about to be shattered on the rocks of expediency;

That the people of Rhodesia have witnessed a process which is destructive of those very precepts upon which civilization in a primitive country has been built, they have seen the principles of Western democracy, responsible government and moral standards crumble elsewhere, nevertheless they have remained steadfast;

That the people of Rhodesia fully support the requests of their government for sovereign independence but have witnessed the consistent refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom to accede to their entreaties;

That the government of the United Kingdom have thus demonstrated that they are not prepared to grant sovereign independence to Rhodesia on terms acceptable to the people of Rhodesia, thereby persisting in maintaining an unwarrantable jurisdiction over Rhodesia, obstructing laws and treaties with other states and the conduct of affairs with other nations and refusing assent to laws necessary for the public good, all this to the detriment of the future peace, prosperity and good government of Rhodesia;

That the Government of Rhodesia have for a long period patiently and in good faith negotiated with the Government of the United Kingdom for the removal of the remaining limitations placed upon them and for the grant of sovereign independence;

That in the belief that procrastination and delay strike at and injure the very life of the nation, the Government of Rhodesia consider it essential that Rhodesia should attain, without delay, sovereign independence, the justice of which is beyond question;

Now therefore, we the Government of Rhodesia, in humble submission to Almighty God who controls the destinies of nations, conscious that the people of Rhodesia have always shown unswerving loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty the Queen and earnestly praying that we and the people of Rhodesia will not be hindered in our determination to continue exercising our undoubted right to demonstrate the same loyalty and devotion, and seeking to promote the common good so that the dignity and freedom of all men may be assured, do, by this proclamation, adopt enact and give to the people of Rhodesia the constitution annexed hereto;

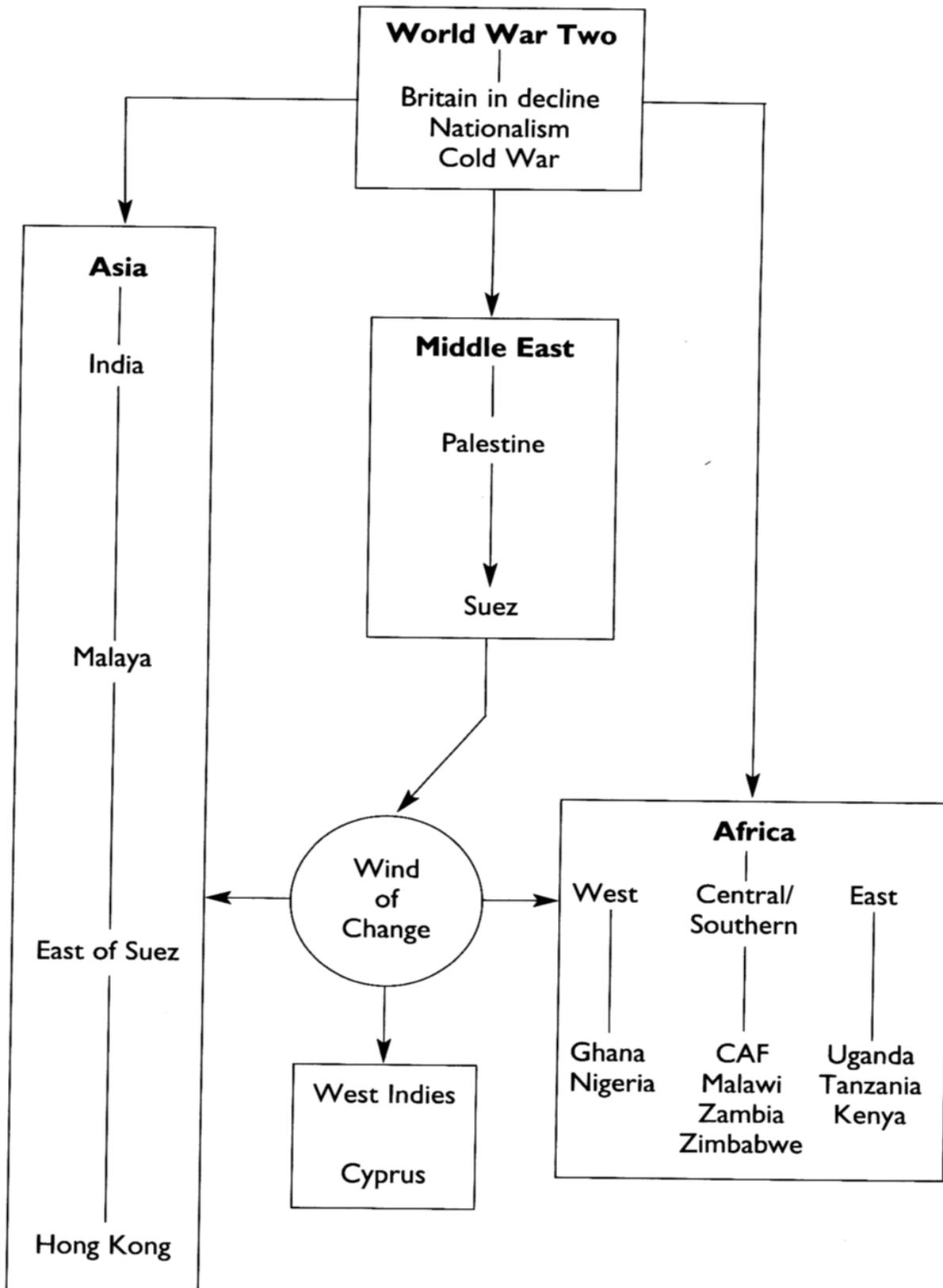
**God Save The Queen.**

Given under Our Hand at Salisbury this eleventh day of November in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty five.

(Signed by Prime Minister [Ian Smith](#), Deputy Prime Minister [Clifford Dupont](#), and the other Ministers of the Government of Rhodesia)

Document 6

### Summary Diagram British Decolonisation



Document 7

**Summary Diagram**  
French Decolonisation

	<b>Indo-China</b>	<b>North Africa</b>	<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	<b>Metropole (France)</b>
<b>Effects of Second World War</b>	Japanese occupation 1940	Axis invasion; defeat of by 1942	Conflict between Vichy and Free French	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• German occupation</li> <li>• colonial defeat</li> <li>• economic devastation</li> </ul>
<b>Effects of Nationalism</b>	Vietminh established Democratic Republic of Vietnam 1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Setif riots (1945) in Algeria</li> <li>• Nationalist parties eg, Neo Destour, Istiqlal, FLN</li> </ul>	Nationalism minimal until RDA (1946); moderate from then	Concessions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brazzaville 1944</li> <li>• French Union (1946)</li> <li>• <i>Loi cadre</i> 1957</li> <li>• French Community (1958)</li> </ul>
<b>Communism and Cold War</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ho Chi Minh Marxist educated and trained</li> <li>• Chinese Revolution (1949)</li> <li>• Korean War (1950–53)</li> </ul>	Less important than in Indo-China; Soviet support for FLN	Never a Cold War 'hotspot'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• US support for war in Indo- China</li> <li>• concern over Algeria</li> </ul>
<b>Colonial War and Independence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• French Recolonisation (1946)</li> <li>• War until Geneva Conference separated N. from S. Vietnam (1954)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Algerian war (1954–62)</li> <li>• Morocco and Tunisia obtained independence without war (1956)</li> </ul>	No wars, little violence before independence in 1960	Independence resisted in Indo-China and Algeria

Document 8

**Summary Diagram**  
Comparative Decolonisations

**Similarities**

Nationalism + War + Political effects in + Economic reorientation/ + International  
Metropole EEC Relations/  
Cold War

**DUTCH**

**BELGIAN**

**PORTUGUESE**

<b>Periodisation/ timing</b>	Early	Medium	Late
<b>Speed</b>	Medium	Rapid	Slow
<b>Violence</b>	Colonial war	Riots, post- colonial war	Prolonged colonial wars, post-colonial wars
<b>Effects on metropole</b>	Internal readjustment	Internal readjustment	Revolution

**Differences**