**UNIT 1**

**THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

**1.1 THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR**

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

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

After the detonation of the atomic bombs, the radioactive materials fell into earth thousands of miles away and killed the people slowly by pollution. There, they were absorbed into soil and so into plants thereby created long-lasting effects. The Japanese died more slowly and horribly from radiation and atomic explosion. Particularly the poison had far-reaching consequences. Animals which fed on plants and grass polluted by the bomb ingredients transmitted the poison through their meat and milk. Even people who remained alive were in pain from the atomic burns. Indeed, until recent years people who were not born in those days died or suffered from the poison residue exploded in August 1945.

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

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

In general, the losses in terms of lives, money, resources and productions were so great. It is assumed that by the war nearly 60 million people died; 35 million injured. Obviously, non-combatants died from starvation and disease or perished in battle, air raids, labor and concentration camps and deportations. Almost over 20 million Soviets, 7 million Chinese, 6 million Germans, 3 million Poles, 2 million Japanese, 1.5 million Yugoslavs, 7 million French, 4 million British, 3 million Italians, 3 Americans, etc., were killed in battles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Afterwards, Arthur insisted the Japanese to rule themselves in line with American ideas. He reconstructed Japan very largely in American image. The Japanese guided by Americans prepared a new democratic constitution in 1947 that guaranteed freedom of speech, newspapers, secret voting in elections, votes for all adults and many other democratic rights. In the constitution, trade unions were allowed but general strikes were outlawed. Again, the government took land from landlords and sold it at low prices to farmers; trade unions were established to work for the benefit of their members.

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

**1.2 THE NUREMBERG COURT**

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

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

Hitler in his plan of genocide, he planned to exterminate the Russians as well as to make all Europe *judenrein* or “free of Jews.”

At first, Hitler thought of sending the Jews to the island of Madagascar. Later, he decided extermination as the ‘Final Solutions’ of the Jewish problem. The ‘Final Solutions’ were first tried out on the Soviet prisoners of war.

Essentially, the Nazis built extermination camps in Germany and Poland and used the latest technology to achieve the most efficient means of killing millions of men, women and children simply because they were Jews. Jews were captured and sent to such camps. Arrived packed in railroads box cars, they were systematically gassed, then cremated, and their remains processed for soap and blankets. At Auschwitz, the Nazis daily killed an average of 12,000 people including some non-Jews. People were also perished in “slave labor camps” from over work, malnutrition, disease and abuse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A mass of documentary evidence and historical record was garnered by Allied investigating teams throughout Germany and sifted and studied for months. Between November 1945 and October 1946, the court arranged criminals into groups for trial. These categories of crime were laid down as crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The court then charged Nazi war criminals against conspiracy to wage aggressive

war; crimes against humanity, as an extermination of populations and the use of slave labor; the looting of defeated countries’ relics; and the murder of prisoners of war. In short, they were convicted of genocide and atrocities such as murdering Jews and other civilians. The survived Nazis were put on trial in person for “war crimes” in Nuremberg. Of these criminals, twenty-five were sentenced to death. Nazis like Goring, Ribbentrop, Kaltenbrunner, Keitel, Jodl, Rosenburg, Frick, Seyss-Inquart, Suckel, Bormann, Frank and Streicher were condemned to death by hanging. Others were executed. Twenty of them were sentenced to life imprisonment and others for various terms. For instance, Raeder, Funk and Hess were condemned to life imprisonment. Speer and Schirach were to be imprisoned to twenty years; Neurath to fifteen years; Doenitz to ten years; and Fritsche, Papen and Schacht were acquitted. Moreover, many local trials dealt with lesser Nazis but many others escaped.

**1.3. The formation of the United Nation Organization (UNO)**

The **United Nations** (**UN**) is an intergovernmental organization tasked to promote international co-operation and to create and maintain international order. A replacement for the ineffective League of Nations, the organization was established on 24 October 1945 after World War II with the aim of preventing another such conflict. At its founding, the UN had 51 member states; there are now 193. The headquarters of the UN is in Manhattan, New York City, and is subject to extraterritoriality.

Further main offices are situated in Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna. The organization is financed by assessed and voluntary contributions from its member states. Its objectives include maintaining international peace and security, promoting human rights, fostering social and economic development, protecting the environment, and providing humanitarian aid in cases of famine, natural disaster, and armed conflict. The UN is the largest, most familiar, most internationally represented and most powerful intergovernmental organization in the world.

In August 1942, President Roosevelt of USA and Prime Minister Churchill of British had a historical meeting at a sea off the coast of New Found land and drew up what is called the Atlantic Charter that emphasized on the “abandonment of the use of force” and a “permanent system for general security.” Again, it declared that the liberated peoples should be helped to establish “democratic” governments. They also expressed their commitment to creation of an international organization. Following this, there continued meetings at Casablanca, at Cairo and at Tehran.

In January 1942 twenty-six nations, who took part in the war against Germany met in Washington and agreed to accept the Atlantic Charter. The following year china, Great Briton, the Soviet Union and the United States, met in Moscow and pledged to setup an international organization that could replace the League of Nations.

Between August- November 1944, a conference of delegates from allied countries met at Dumbarton Oaks, (near Washington DC) to implement the Moscow declaration of 1943. In July 1945, at San- Francisco, representatives of 50 nations approved the charter of the future United Nations Organization (UNO). Then the UNO was formally setup on April 25, 1945.

The goals of the UN are:

1. Maintain international peace and security

2. Take effective collective measures for the preventive and removal of threat to the peace and suppress acts of aggression.

3. encourage international cooperation in solving economic. Social, culture or humanitarian problem.

4. Develop friendly relation among nation.

5. Promote respect for human right without distinction as to race, language or religion.

The structure of the United Nation

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

**The General Assembly** is the main deliberative assembly of the UN. Composed of all UN member states, the assembly meets in regular yearly sessions, but emergency sessions can also be called. The assembly is led by a president, elected from among the member states on a rotating regional basis, and 21 vice-presidents. The first session convened 10 January 1946 in the Methodist Central Hall in London and included representatives of 51 nations.

When the General Assembly votes on important questions, a two-thirds majority of those present and voting is required. Examples of important questions include recommendations on peace and security; election of members to organs; admission, suspension, and expulsion of members; and budgetary matters. All other questions are decided by a majority vote. Each member country has one vote. Apart from approval of budgetary matters, resolutions are not binding on the members. The Assembly may make recommendations on any matters within the scope of the UN, except matters of peace and security that are under consideration by the Security Council.

**The Security Council** is charged with maintaining peace and security among countries. While other organs of the UN can only make "recommendations" to member states, the Security Council has the power to make binding decisions that member states have agreed to carry out, under the terms of Charter Article 25. The decisions of the Council are known as United Nations Security Council resolutions.

The Security Council is made up of fifteen member states, consisting of five permanent members—China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States—and ten non-permanent members elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly

The five permanent members hold veto power over UN resolutions, allowing a permanent member to block adoption of a resolution, though not debate. The ten temporary seats are held for two-year terms, with five member states per year voted in by the General Assembly on a regional basis. The presidency of the Security Council rotates alphabetically each month.

**The UN Secretariat** is headed by the Secretary-General, assisted by the Deputy Secretary-General and a staff of international civil servants worldwide. It provides studies, information, and facilities needed by UN bodies for their meetings. It also carries out tasks as directed by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and other UN bodies.

The Secretary-General acts as the de facto spokesperson and leader of the UN. The position is defined in the UN Charter as the organization's "chief administrative officer". Article 99 of the charter states that the Secretary-General can bring to the Security Council's attention "any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security", a phrase that Secretaries-General since Trygve Lie have interpreted as giving the position broad scope for action on the world stage. The office has evolved into a dual role of an administrator of the UN organization and a diplomat and mediator addressing disputes between member states and finding consensus to global issues.

The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly, after being recommended by the Security Council, where the permanent members have veto power. There are no specific criteria for the post, but over the years it has become accepted that the post shall be held for one or two terms of five years.

**The International Court of Justice** (ICJ), located in The Hague, in the Netherlands, is the primary judicial organ of the UN. Established in 1945 by the UN Charter, the Court began work in 1946 as the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The ICJ is composed of 15 judges who serve 9-year terms and are appointed by the General Assembly; every sitting judge must be from a different nation.

It is based in the Peace Palace in The Hague, sharing the building with the Hague Academy of International Law, a private center for the study of international law. The ICJ's primary purpose is to adjudicate disputes among states. The court has heard cases related to war crimes, illegal state interference, ethnic cleansing, and other issues. The ICJ can also be called upon by other UN organs to provide advisory opinions.

**The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)** assists the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social co-operation and development. ECOSOC has 54 members, which are elected by the General Assembly for a three-year term. The president is elected for a one-year term and chosen amongst the small or middle powers represented on ECOSOC. The council has one annual meeting in July, held in either New York or Geneva. Viewed as separate from the specialized bodies it co-ordinates, ECOSOC's functions include information gathering, advising member nations, and making recommendations. Owing to its broad mandate of coordinating many agencies, ECOSOC has at times been criticized as unfocused or irrelevant.

ECOSOC's subsidiary bodies include the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, which advises UN agencies on issues relating to indigenous peoples; the United Nations Forum on Forests, which co-ordinates and promotes sustainable forest management; the United Nations Statistical Commission, which co-ordinates information-gathering efforts between agencies; and the Commission on Sustainable Development, which co-ordinates efforts between UN agencies and NGOs working towards sustainable development. ECOSOC may also grant consultative status to non-governmental organizations. Under it

* 1. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO):- Its headquarters are found in Rome. It is established in 1945. Its function is to monitor and increase world yields of food stuffs. Particularly, it emphasized on world food supplies and agricultural development in the more backward countries suffered by poverty.
  2. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):- It was founded in 1946. Its headquarters found in Paris. Its prime objective is to promote collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for … human rights and fundamental freedom. In particular, UNESCO campaigned against illiteracy aimed at promoting education across the world. Moreover, it coordinates educational research and promotes international scientific and cultural cooperation. As a result, it gave enormous help to educational institutions disorganized by the war and it has continued to stage conferences of educationalists, scientists and technologists.
  3. The World Health Organization (WHO) was set up in 1948 working from Geneva. It has provided tremendous sums to develop health services in various countries and to fight disease.
  4. The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) is founded in 1946. Its function was to look after the special problems of childcare in countries affected by war or other calamities. Mainly it is working for the welfare of children in the world’s poorer countries.
  5. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank are established in 1944 in the USA. President Roosevelt had called thirty countries to set up World Bank and IMF at Bretton, New Hampshire Both aimed to promote post-war reconstruction, trade and sound international finance thereby to assist countries with balance of payments problems. Especially the IMF has been concerned with short-term loans for those countries which needed to meet currency crisis and inflation while the World Bank has the source of long-term loans for development projects.
  6. The International Labor Organization (ILO) was the one part of the League of Nations which survived and taken over by the UNO. It is based in Geneva. Its purpose was intended to promote the wellbeing of working people so dealt with labor conditions.

Another important agency had been the United Nations Relief and Work Agency. It worked for the betterment of refugees’ conditions. The International Refugee Organization was directly responsible for refugee work until 1952. Afterwards, it was replaced by a High Commissioner for Refugees, which coordinates the efforts of all the agencies concerned with the needs of refugees. In line with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) it provided food, clothing agriculture and industry in Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Portugal till 1947. From late 1943 to 1948 it distributed essential supplies including seeds, farm equipment, and industrial machinery. And it organized medical supplies and coordinated international loans.

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

**UNIT 2**

**THE COLD WAR**

**2.1 EASTERN EUROPE “PUPPET REGIMES”**

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

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

Despite the agreement, Stalin determined to maintain tight control over Eastern Europe by disseminating Marxism and imposing Russian interests in these liberated countries. The USA on her part wished East European countries to establish governments on the basis of the people’s will through democratic elections. In the meantime, this conflicting interest between the two superpowers led to rivalry. The world soon divided into two camps, i.e., the “Free World” and the “Communist World.” More importantly, the difference between the two groups was their difference in ideology.

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

Already Communists/Socialists loyal to the USSR took power in Yugoslavia in November 1945, in Albania in March 1946, in Poland in January1947, in Rumania in April 1948, in Czechoslovakia in May 1948, in East Germany in October 1948, in Bulgaria in December 1948, and in Hungary in August 1949 modeled on that of the Soviet Union. These states were transformed into a bloc of Soviet-dominated. They claimed “People’s Democracies” to their governments as if they were represented by all the people and their interests. These countries embraced the socialist ideology. Under such circumstances, communism made dramatic advances not through popular revolution but through the Russian Red Army’s military presence and the support given to local communist leaders.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, the struggle to overthrow these regimes internally as well as externally continued. Peoples’ hatred of such regimes was exhibited in several occasions. A case in point was when N.Khrushchev, the successor of Stalin publicly criticized Stalin’s mistakes and his foreign policies in the Twentieth Communist Party Congress in 1956. In his speech that attacked Stalin, the news reached the satellites and soon anti- Russian feeling broke out in Eastern European countries. Then these people demanded more freedom from the Russian rule. In Poland there were strikes, riots and demonstrations against the Russian domination.

Russia was anxious of this news reaching to other European countries Khrushchev was not tolerant to the Soviet satellites in their struggle against the Russian domination so that the Russian tanks moved into first Budapest to crush the uprising. The Hungarians who were against the communist regime determined to gang up the Russian force. As a result, there was desperate fighting in the streets. However, there was no help to the Hungarians from abroad, partly because of the Suez Canal crisis. At last, the Russians crushed the rebellion; Nagy was arrested and then a Soviet-backed government was installed. Even, the Russians led their force towards Czechoslovakia and arrested Debeck. His country later returned to Russia’s brand of communism.

Among the socialist countries, the history of Yugoslavia was a different one. Until June 1948, Yugoslavia under the nationalist leader of Marshal Joseph Broz Tito (1892-1980) was considered as one of Russia’s closest satellites. Later on, Tito refused to accept Stalin’s line in the economic affairs even planned to build alliance with the Balkan states, which did not suit Russian interest. When he pursued an independent foreign policy and openly defied directions by Stalin, petty accusations and counter-accusations occurred. Tito was, thence, denounced as a traitor from the International Communist movement and a collaborator of America. Soon, Tito broke away from Soviet control and he said “Yugoslavia would stay neutral” in the Cold War. By doing so, he freed his country being a follower of the socialist path. Stalin in fact, tempted to invade the country because he rejected Tito’s independent, but he failed to invade Yugoslavia due to the following reasons. a) Tito obtained the Western powers backing with military and economic aid; b) unlike other Eastern European countries, Yugoslavia does not share a common border with Russia and was not occupied by the Red Army for years. For that matter, it was not liberated by the Red Army like other Eastern European states.

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

**2.2 THE TWO SUPER POWERS**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Russian technological advancement as expected shattered American technological confidence. The USA aware of the competition from the USSR set up a National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1947 to advise the president on security matters and to organize a world-wide information gathered and espionage network. Also, so as to enhance the scientific development in space, it established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration known as NASA to advance its space exploration. Then on January 31, 1958 Washington replied to Moscow by launching an American produced artificial satellite called Vanguard I into orbit. In 1962, an American called John Glenn was shot into space to show Moscow that America was not lagging behind in technological and scientific development. It soon diverted its attention to another scientific development. So, in 1969 an American called Neil Armstrong landed at moon in Apollo II.

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

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

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

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

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

Be it as it may, Turkey was imperiled by Russia. Stalin demanded a naval base in the Turkish Straits as well. Above all, Russia demanded the return of the provinces of Kars, Artvin, and Ardahan, which the Turks had gained from the Russians at the end of the First World War. During the Second World War, Britain and the USA provided material and financial aid to Turkey. Even after the war, it appealed for additional financial support from the Western powers for the process of modernization and national integrity. At the same time it was threatened by Russian interest aimed at imposing a totalitarian regime. Due to British inability to help Turkey, America responded quickly. More importantly, President Truman being aware of Stalin’s interference promised military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. American money and supplies soon poured into Greece to support the Royalists. Again, in order to prevent communists’ inroads, US warships were sent to Turkey in 1946 thereby to warn off the Soviets in the Mediterranean and Black Seas.

The Greek communists supported by Albania and Bulgaria (Russia) continued their struggle to oust the existed government in 1947.This power contention led to civil war in1946. Then, the government wanted help to restore internal order and security thereby to consolidate democratic administration. Initially, Britain supported the government. For she was not committed, difficulties appeared. Soon she handed over the problem to the USA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From 1947 to 1952, a flood of American food, machinery and raw materials poured across the Atlantic Ocean. Essentially, Britain, France, Italy and West Germany took the bulk of the money respectively. In few years Europeans’ industries were producing far more. However, among the European countries, Spain was excluded from the Marshall aid until 1953 due to General Franco’s dictatorial administration.

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

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

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

**2.3 MILITARY BLOCS**

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

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

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

The headquarters of NATO was supposed to be in Paris and the supreme headquarters of the Allied powers to be in Versailles.

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

Meanwhile, other military alliances were formed in Asia and Australia to contain the spread of communist power. Later on, a new military bloc aided by America called ANZUS pact was formed in the Pacific in 1951. It was comprised of Australia, New Zealand and the USA. In the meantime, the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) aimed at suppressing subversive activities of the communists thereby protecting Asia from communism was organized in September1954. This bloc was composed of the USA, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan. Moreover, the Iraqis and Jordanians advised by British formed a military alliance with Turkey. Later on, the Baghdad Pact was established comprised of Great Britain, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq in 1955. It was known as the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO) or the Baghdad Pact. The METO that linked with both NATO and SEATO was aimed at cooperating for member countries’ security and defense. However, when revolution erupted in Iraq in 1958, Iraq withdrew and the seat moved from Baghdad to Ankara and in 1959 the organization named as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Actually, the United States was not the formal member but had strong influence.

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

It was designed as a counter-weight to NATO. All pact members agreed to have Russian troops stationed on their soil except Bulgaria and Rumania. The headquarters of the Warsaw Pact was to be in Moscow. At the same time, member states placed their armed forces under the Red Army command On the other developments, countries which refused to take side in the conflict between the two big powers’ blocs formed a group called Non-Aligned Nations at Bandung in Indonesia in 1955.Primarily,J. Nehru and Gemal Abdel Nasser worked for the formation of the Arab-Asia bloc.

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

**UNIT 3**

**THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AFTER 1945**

**3.1 POST-WAR AMERICA**

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

There are two dominant political parties have differences. The Republicans more than the Democrats are anxious to safeguard state right against federal interference for the good of the American people. So, it works to maintain the previous traditions reluctant to changes. Whereas Democrats favor liberal practices and social reforms.

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

When Senator Joseph McCarthy voiced about a communist plot in the State Department to uproar America, Americans who had fears about communism began to share his ideas. Soon in 1950, the so-called McCarran Act was enacted to deal with internal security. McCarthy was empowered to ascertain communists and spies of USSR and worked until 1953. Immediately, he set up witch-hunt against communist agents which lasted four years. It was directed as of February 1950 to make damaging allegations about communists in important offices. Officials were thus branded communists without evidence. The Korean War in June 1950 added fuel to McCarthy’s flame. In the process innocent men and women were accused of being communists without any evidence for working secretly to the USSR. Communists within the workers were deprived of being member of trade unions fearing their agitation against capitalist exploitation and lower wages. Some radicals or leftists were strictly expelled from government jobs. Besides, government employees, i.e., officials, scientists, famous entertainers in thousands and nearly three million communists and suspected communists had been cleared. In any case, until 1955, communists were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Meanwhile, McCarthy’s career ended due to the death of Stalin, the end of the Korean War in 1953 and his unwisely attack on the army. His attack on the army was heard on the television. By then Americans have got the opportunity to consider him as unfair, rude and bully. Subsequently, he was discredited and died in 1957.

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

majority. Computers, electronics and other new technological products were produced in immense.

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

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

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

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

Still in the south, black and white

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

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

Not only the blacks but also Indians and Puerto Rican minorities struggled to assure the equality of civil rights granted for all Americans in the constitution. Meanwhile, the NAACP had become an active black movement. In 1950s and 1960s it became a powerful force in the hands of Dr Martin Luther King. King (1929-1968) was the prophet of million black Americans who gave them hope in their struggle for equality. He persuaded black people not to use force and violence in their struggle against racial discrimination. Martin Luther King was made the principal leader of the Civil Rights Movement. He was a moderate leader who advised his followers to apply peaceful methods to combat racial injustice through non-violent tactics such as boycotts and demonstration.

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

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

In spite of such efforts, the lives of black Americans continued much worse off than white Americans. Low pay, poor housing, bleak job prospects and limited job opportunities were common place to blacks. Moreover, in 1957 the blacks organized the Commission on Civil Rights (CCR) to watch over and try to enforce minority rights. They seemed successful because under pressure the 1961 Act was enacted to protect black voting rights and to curb the activities of racists.

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

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

By the early of 1960s, boycotts, law suits, protest marches, and “sit- ins” demonstration were all being used by civil right activities to fight injustice and equality thereby assure their human rights. Even they turned to large-scale riots in some American industrial centers and cities. In an effort to appease the movement, Kennedy introduced some civic rights bill to the negroes, which allowed blacks participation in parliamentary elections and to strengthen federal power to act against racism. The Act said that blacks and whites should be treated equally. For that matter, in 1962 blacks tried to join the all- white university of Mississippi. However, some white Americans in the Congress and citizens openly opposed the reform policy. For instance, the John Birch Society was a movement organized to work against any reform. Some Americans feared the granting of equal rights to negroes so put up great resistance to the new law. Immediately, a press financed by big business started a campaign against Kennedy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the 1968 presidential election, Nixon from the Republican Party won a narrow victory over the Democrat candidate H. Humphrey. In actual fact, he inherited Johnson’s problems of students and anti-war unrest. Thus, he promised to end the Vietnam War so planned skillfully to withdraw the USA from Vietnam and to make impressive progress towards improving international relations. Subsequently, Secretary of State H. Kissinger travelled the world trying to settle international disputes. It was Kissinger and Nixon who visited the Soviet Union to establish friendly relationship between the two superpowers. Even Nixon and Mao, the two archenemies talked of friendship in 1971. On the other hand, Nixon was not sympathetic to the poor compared to his predecessors thereby he was less credited.

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

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

The scandal was later discovered. It was proved that Nixon’s re-election committee members, the Campaign to Re-election the President {CREEP} and other White House staffs were involved in illegal activities to discredit the president’s opponent and to secure his election. Immediately, in 1973 vice-president Spiro Agnew resigned following the charges of bribery and corruption. As the investigation went on, Americans demanded Nixon’s trial impeachment for misusing his powers as president. Nevertheless, he denied the evidences but a number of congressmen refused to believe him. Rather they thought that Nixon was trying to sabotage the Watergate investigations. Then, in July 1974, the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee recommended that Nixon be charged with

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

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

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

Indeed, during Ford’s tenure there was unemployment and inflation in the USA. In spite of his promise to the people, his price, tax and energy reforms were resisted by congress. Price increase, high unemployment and temporary shortage of petrol affected the Americans that brought his unpopularity. Although he was simple, honest, and common-sense approach, the above- mentioned problems caused for his failure of the1976 presidential election. The unknown Democrat candidate Jimmy Carter easily defeated Ford.

Carter faced the existed problems. But he promised to clean up the government with no practical solution. In such a way that neither Ford nor Carter won much success or popularity as president. The good thing that Carter did was he managed that Israel and Egypt to sign a peace treaty in 1978/9. Later on, R. Reagan an ex-actor and former Californian governor replaced Carter in 1982. Regan determined to make the USA stronger than its rival, the USSR. Though he was wounded by a shot from a gunman, he proceeded with his plan of American greatness. For that matter, he was a staunch conservative that favored the idea of non-interference in commerce and social affairs. He spent many millions of dollars on developing powerful new missiles on research into ‘Star Wars’ weapons to knock out enemy missiles from space. American businessmen made bigger profits as well. In 1984, Americans re-elected him as president by one of the biggest majorities in American history.

**3.2 POST-WAR BRITAIN**

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

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

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

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

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

Under such circumstances, the Labor party nationalized railways, canals, London’s buses and tube trains, banks, major industries including coal, transportation, electricity and gas iron and steel, the Bank of England and Civil Aviation in1946. And in 1947 the British Transport Commission was formed to run the railways, canals and road haulage and the electricity and gas industries were brought under state control. Consequently, the iron and steel industry were nationalized in1951. In fact, almost eighty per cent of the industry remained in private hands. By doing so, a mixed economy emerged. Nationalization, indeed, in the capitalist society was controversial. Here, nationalizations were nothing to do socialism, simply to provide a standard service to all British citizens. The government even instituted extensive welfare programs, i.e., to expand insurance coverage for unemployment, old age and other contingencies and to construct public housing, and free medical care for all.

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Furthermore, the Labor Party schemed for the Beveridge Plan. Subsequently, the government forwarded to practice the Family Allowance Act, National Insurance Act, and the National Health Service. Essentially, the 1946 National Insurance Act provided insurance to meet the problem of unemployment, illness, maternity, widowhood and old age. Rich or poor, everyone paid the same contributions and drew the same benefits. Again, everyone was provided with free medical treatment of all kinds according to the1946 National Health Act.

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

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

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

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

Britain had special relationship with the USA and it had trade contact with the Commonwealth. So, it planned to evade absorption into any European grouping. It feared that she would shoulder most of the military burdens of such a grouping. Even Churchill aged 82 was replaced by A. Aden in 1955 that followed the same foreign policy like his predecessor did. Actually, during the Suez Canal Crisis in 1956, he faced intense opposition to his Egyptian policy from the Labor Party that forced him to resign in 1957. Subsequently, from 1957 to 1963 H. McMillan served as Premier. As such the conservative Party dominated post war British politics. Of course, little by little British political and economic conditions improved. In 1972, she was allowed to join the European Economic Community (EEC).

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

**UNIT 4**

**THE DISINTEGRATION OF COLONIALISM IN ASIA AND AFRICA**

**4.1 FACTORS THAT HASTENED DECOLONIZATION**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**4.2 INDIA WON INDEPENDENCE**

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

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

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

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

Anyhow, the nationalist movement between WWI and WWII grew in strength under the leadership of Nehru and Gandhi. At any rate, Gandhi preached the Hindu-Muslim unity even vehemently opposed the cast system which exalted the Hindus superior in all matters. Despite his effort, Muslims rejected the idea of all Indians rather aspired a distinct Muslim nation fearing the Hindu domination because they thought that Congress would favor Hindus. The Muslims, i.e., minority, under the leadership of Muhammad Jinnah (1876-44444 4 mncc1948) as one of the 1930s leaders used the name Pakistan, for Muslim India. So, the Muslim League agitated for a separate Muslim state, Pakistan which denoted Land of the Pour in Urdu language. In such a way that unlike Congress it wanted to the split of sub-continent India in- to two countries. Above all, they described that P stands for Punjab A, for Afghania, K, for Kashmir, S, for Sind, and Tan for Baluchistan.

It is clear that as of 1941 Japan annexed the Far East including part of India. Then Indian Congress Party refused to support the British war effort. But the Muslim League decided to please the British seeking future independence so cooperated with Britain. Britain on her part was aware of her advantage preferred to win the Hindu attention because she wanted to use India as a base for the war. To retain Indian support, against the Japanese anti-Western propaganda, the British pledged self-government once the war ended.

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

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

The then Indian viceroy A.Wavell organized the Simla Conference in 1945, hoping to reconcile the Hindus and the Muslims. In the meantime, Gandhi approached Jinnah to agree upon certain issues so as to avoid the separation of Muslims from the Hindus. In spite of his notion and effort, the Muslims who had bad relations with the Hindus charged the Congress ministers mistreating the Muslims so they were ready to fight rather than be absorbed into one large state. As of 1946, Muslims insisted on the idea that said “Pakistan or Perish.” Social unrest flared up Muslims and Hindus killed each other and incited pillages one another’s villages all over India. At Calcutta, Muslin demonstrators opposed Congress and the British rule that brought massacre in thousands. To end further bloodshed, the British represented by Mountbatten decided to partition the sub-continent. Likewise, the Labor government decided to accept its promise of self-rule to sub- continent India and then to concentrate on rebuilding Britain. Even faced with the threat of civil war, the Congress party reluctantly agreed for separation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Sikhs minority demanded self-rule to the extent of forming a separate state called Khalistan. Some Sikhs thought that Mrs Gandhi was to destroy their religion so planned to break away from India and establish their own country. To materialize their objective, they used force. The government on its part repressed the Sikhs from secession in the Punjab. In the meantime, violence had become commonplace in India. Following the June 1984 violence, Indra ordered the army to keep peace and order in the country. The measure further exasperated the situation. The extreme Sikhs decided to retaliate. On October 31st, 1984 two enraged soldiers among her bodyguards, shot and killed Indra Gandhi. The killers were Sikhs. Mrs. Gandhi was soon replaced by her son, Rajiv Gandhi. Consequently, there was anti-Sikhs violence that cost many lives in return Sikhs engaged in attacking both the Hindus and moderate Sikhs, particularly in Punjab.

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

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

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

**4.3 PAKISTAN EMERGED AS STATE**

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was created by 75 million Muslims. Because of the Muslim demographic concentration in the old empire, Pakistan was established in two disconnection parts, West and East Pakistan. East Pakistan was 1500 kilometers away to the east of India. Muhammad Jinnah was made the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. He died in late 1948 even his successor, Liaqat Alikhan was assassinated in 1951 This caused endless political trouble and uncertainty.

Consequently, the country succumbed to military dictatorship. From 1951 and 1958 it had eleven prime ministers. This showed that how there was disorder and political intrigue in the newly created state. The politicians were busier in making money for themselves by various dishonest means. In late 1958, the army kicked the civilian politicians and took power. The commander-in-chief General Ayub Khan soon became president. Soon, he dismissed civilian politicians from government offices Corruption and tax evasions were stopped. Price control was exercised and standards of efficiency were raised. On the other way, the army banned all political parties. In most cases, Ayub used force to settle matters. Again, the newspaper and radio continued to praise him.

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

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

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

In 1977, Ali Bhutto was accused of cheating in an election. Riots broke out in many parts of Pakistan that cost lives. Besides, flooding brought further social unrest. Soon the army overthrew him. He was replaced by General Muhammad Zaiul-Haq seized power in July 1978. In 1978, Zai escaped a political murder plotted by his opponent, i.e., Bhutto. The following year in April, Bhutto was hanged. Anyhow, his People’s Party dominated by his close associates, notably his sons and his Western educated daughter, Benazir Bhutto survived. With regard religion, Zai was the supporter of strict Islamic ideas thereby promoting Muslim orthodoxy. He promised for election, but remained in power as a dictator until 1980s. He banned political parties in 1979.Savage punishments were decreed for crime, adultery and drinking alcohol, etc., intended to preserve the reins of his power. So much so that, Pakistan remained poor ruled by autocrats who did not fulfill their promises and who had denied people’s freedom.

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

Actually, Zai depended on the army and his security forces to preserve his authority. So, Pakistan remained undemocratic. Finally, Zai lost his life by air crash in1988 and the country was liberated. No doubt, his death brought a new chapter to Pakistan. Pakistan stopped its military support to the Afghan Muslim fundamentals, American cordial relationship renewed, and democratic process was launched. In the 1988 general election, Benazir’s Pakistan People’s Party won the majority parliamentary seats. Having formed a coalition with other minor political parties, Benazir was appointed premier in November of the same year. This exile became the first woman Prime Minister with high promise of liberalization and modernization

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

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

Pakistan had also problem from its eastern part. Eastern Pakistan was far apart from Western Pakistan by several kilometers. The people even spoke a different language, Bengali. It was ruled by leaders who belonged from West Pakistan. The Bengali people were angry at the way they were treated by Pakistanis. In fact, Islam served as a bond between the two parts of Pakistan. Eventually, these dissenters organized their own association called the Awami League. In March 1971, political and social resentments reached climax. Students and other commoners rioted against Ayub’s administration in the East. The movement was led by Sheik M.Rahman aimed at establishing an independent state. In order to stifle the mounting chaotic condition, Rahman was arrested. The Pakistani government soon restored to use force so sent troops. It tried to arrest the movement leaders. By then, civil war broke out and people were killed in thousands. Millions of refugees fled into India.

Now that, the Indian government viewed as a good opportunity to intervene in the affairs of Pakistan. India soon declared war on the side of Bangladesh. Hence, the Indian government sent its troops into East Pakistan and defeated the Pakistani army, compelled the recognition of a new state of Bangladesh to mean Bengali nation. Shortly, the rebel leaders took over the government. East Pakistan became an independent country, Bangladesh in 1971.Rahman was made Premier to the newly created state.

Pakistan not only lost its territory in the east, but its political situation was unhealthy. In 1977, Ali Bhutto, the president of Pakistan was executed by a military coup. In 1978 democratic election was held-Benazir Bhutto, the Western educated daughter of Ali Bhutto returned from exile and won the election and became the first woman Prime Minister with high promise of liberalization and modernization.

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

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

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

**UNIT 5**

**THE MIDDLE EAST AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM**

**5.1 ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM**

Fundamentalism is defined as a movement with strict view of doctrine: be it religious or political based on a literal interpretation of and strict adherence to doctrine. Islamic Fundamentalism especially is thus emphasized on a return to former principles.

Islamic fundamentalism, or Islamic revival, or Islamism is a religious, social and political reform in the Muslim world. Islamist perceptions focused on creating a unified ethos against secular regimes and Western and Zionist influence in the Muslim world. It is manifested in the form of religious movement. Advocates of this idea are labelled “Islamic fundamentalists” or “Islamic extremists” or “terrorists” by those who oppose or fear them.

Islamism rejected secularism of the modern world rather encouraged the reading of ancient texts and practicing. As such, it is/ was a reaction to the internal decay in Qoranic practices. So, it sought the revival of traditional Muslim values. It urges adherence to the sacred texts regardless of changing times and circumstances. On the contrary, it opposed modernity for it is assumed that it endangers Islam. Under such circumstances, it opposes Zionism and Western values and culture, denies the right of self-determination; discourages the existence of democratic institutions and practices for it advocates Qoranic practices in one’s everyday life and administration, etc. On top of that, it objects the idea that said the Western values, which developed following the Renaissance and Industrial Revolution are worthy so should be universal values. However, some Muslim states accepted these views but the majority opposed it. Again secularists, Zionists, humanists, socialists, and feminists strongly object it.

The roots of Islamic fundamentalism originated from Egypt when Hasan al Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928. By then, he was worried by the morale laxity of Muslims as a result of the abolition of the office of Caliphate by Mustafa Kamal Ataturk of Turkey in 1924. Essentially, the Caliph provided a sense of Islamic unity maintained by commitment to Islamic values by Muslims governed by *Sharia*. So that, Hasan and his associates aimed to create a vibrant Muslim mission, i.e., a new society with economic development and social justice which is free from alien domination. He aspired to seize political power at the expense of secular political leadership.

In 1954, Gamal Abdul Nasser suppressed the Brotherhood movement in Egypt for his aspiration was to build Arab nationalism. Nevertheless, it was not totally wiped out. The first Islamic fundamentalists emerged in Lebanon and Pakistan. Eventually, branches of the Muslim Brotherhood sprang in Palestine, Lebanon, Algeria, Nigeria, Turkey, South Yemen, and Afghanistan. Some reasons put forwarded are the defeat of the Muslims by the Israeli troops during the Six Day War of 1967; the Arabs bankruptcy due to the reduction of oil prices, and the accelerated pace of modernization in the Muslim world. Mainly leaders were educated men in modern schools and their followers were young urban dwellers.

The Quajar dynasty that ruled Persia was overthrown in 1923. The premier called Reza Khan made himself king and named Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1925. Consequently, Persia was changed to Iran in 1935. In 1941, the Shah died and replaced by his son Muhammed Muhammed Shah. This new leader had been influenced by Western culture so introduced modernizing reforms. A case in point, he liberated females from cultural oppression. His efforts, in fact, were accepted by urban dwellers. However, his plan was opposed by traditionalists and the inhabitants of the rural areas. They rejected secularism and the disruption of older religious and cultural institutions as a Western subversion. Among the opponents of the Shah’s reforms was Ayatollah Khomeini who strongly opposed females’ liberation in 1963, which forced him to exile first to Iraq and later to France. From there, he criticized the Iran government.

Muhammed being supported by the American government used force to put down his opponents and proceeded in his process of modernization. Albeit Iran was endowed with oil resources which benefited the ruling family and his associates, the population remained unsatisfactory with the regime. Again, some activities like gambling, alcoholic drink, cinema that displayed sex and violence practised by the Iranians were labelled as evil, copied from the Western by hard- line Muslims.

Instead of reducing the tension, the Shah continued as an autocrat ruler. Meanwhile, workers and other poor elements of the society pressed by corrupt administration and economic crisis, demonstrated and demanded for free press, respecting of human rights and the abolition of the secret police (*savak*). Above all, in 1977/78 political violence around the universities increased. The Shah first tried to liberalize his measures but soon he changed his idea and ordered firm suppression of the violence. He even decreed martial law in September 1978 and imposed censorship in order to suppress the mounting crisis. In spite of the fact, religious – inspired Iranians protested but were killed in the thousands in Tehran. Subsequently, the furious people voiced for the return of Khomeini from exile to lead Iran and for the end of the Pahlavi dynasty. Unable to defend the Islamic revolutionaries, the American – backed Muhammad advised by his advisors left Iran on January 15, 1978 never to return.

Indeed, this Islamic revolution was an urban based revolution in contrast to all other post – World War II peasant insurrections. Ayatollah Khomeini who had been in Paris arrived Tehran on February 1, 1979 with great jubilation. He then, made himself the *defect*or ruler of Iran and declared the establishment of “Islamic Republic” on April 1, 1979. The state power was held by Islamic Revolutionary committee and their political instrument was Islamic Republican Party (IRP) led by Ayatollah Muhammad Beheshti. And the Revolutionary Committee was formed to do the day–to–day administration. Consequently, the authorities announced the restoration of traditional Islamic way of life. Women were ordered to wear the chador, the traditional long black dress covering them from head to toe. The neck tie was outlawed for men rather were encouraged to grow beards. They even forbade listening Western music, radio and watching television programs and enforced the prohibition of alcoholic drinks. *Sharia* replaced the secular law. Furthermore, the regime imposed tight state control over the economy and nationalized many industries.

Revolutionaries targeted against dissenters and foreigners. The old regimes functionaries were hunted down; even secular or moderate officials in the government and in the army were expelled from their posts, some were purged out of Iran. Then after, they were replaced by religious ones.

Afterwards, Iran determined to be a model for the Muslim world by becoming the center of Islamic militancy soon it served as a strong fundamentalist region and an example to others who wished to imitate it. Thence, it continued inspiring extreme groups. In the meantime, Islamic fundamentalists emerged in the Middle East, Central Asia, South East Asia, North Africa and Caucasian.

Due to Khomeini’s incessant calls for Muslims to rise against their corrupt and impious rulers, Iran was isolated including by Muslim countries except Libya which showed cooperation. Both the two superpowers followed anti – Iran policy. For the simple reason USSR was threatened by such religious movement because Sunni and Shiite Muslims inhabited in its territory again shared border with Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. The USA on its part, opposed the Iranian regime. Above all, what made matters worse the US- Iran relation was that when the exile Muhammed Shah left France for the USA in January 1979.

Revolutionary Guards and furious students invaded American embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979. These militants captured 53 US diplomatic workers as hostages. Thereafter, they voiced a slogan that said “Death to America!” Even they demanded the return of Muhammed and his wealth to Iran.

The then president, Jimmy Carter was upset so decided to impose economic sanctions on Iran and freezing all Iranian assets in American banks. Subsequently, in order to release captives, he orchestrated an airborne rescue mission in April 1980 who travelled in a helicopter to free the hostages. The crew was, in fact, a fiasco that brought casualties, disarray and embarrassment.

Later on, there was a change of ruler in Iran. Abolhassen Bani – Sadr the son of Khomeini was made president of Iran and followed liberal policy. After a series of negotiations between the US delegates and Iranian officials, American hostages were released on January 20, 1981. After 444 days of captivity, American hostages were freed during the tenure of Ronal Reagan. For America, it was a diplomatic success but for Beni Sadr it brought bad consequence. In the meantime, friction between the IRP and the premier Rajai broke out. The president was considered as pro – Western. Unable to stem the pressure of his opponents, he was removed from his power and fled into exile.

So much so that after 1981, Islamic administration was further tightened in Iran that strictly opposed Western liberalism. Needless to say, Ali Rajai took the office of presidency but soon assassinated. His successor Ali Khameni in late 1981, managed to settle the uproar. Essentially, anti–Western movement was not peculiar to Iran. Prior to Iran, colonel Muhammed al –Gadafy of Libya, who seized power in 1969, projected a holy war against the Europeans and a program to correct Qur’anic practices. In the latter years, fundamental Islamic groups mushroomed in Morocco, Turkey, Indonesia, South Yemen, etc.

Apparently, fundamentalism is not only restricted to the Muslims. There are extremists in other religions as counterpart to Muslim fundamentalism. To mention: Hindus Christians, Jews and Buddhists. Hindu fundamentalists in India unleashed violence against Muslims in India and threatened the secular government. Moreover, there are extremists among the Christians and Orthodox Jews. At any rate, fundamentalists are marked by intolerance, separatism and opposing the blending of cultures in this dynamic world. For all fundamentalists, by and large, adherents are young, and college educated individuals.

Eventually these fundamentalists targeted on America, which was blamed for its support to Israel and for its presence in the Arabian Peninsula following the Gulf War. Under this pretext, they projected terrorist attacks. To mention, in 1993 the World Trade Centre in New York and in 1996 a US complex in Dhahran in Saudi Arabia were bombed. Furthermore, there occurred bomb attacks on US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; in 2000 these resurgent’s also attacked the US destroyer, US Cole while fueling at the fuel station in Aden, Yemen. Above all, the September 11, 2001 bombing that destroyed the twin towers of the World Trade Centre by terrorists has far–reaching consequences. Thence, America is forced to proceed in her plan of “war against terror.”

**5.2 IRAN – IRAQ WAR (1980 – 1988)**

The causes of the war were diverse but the major was three. First both Iraq and Iran had an old border dispute over the Shatt el – Arab waterway which was a vital outlet to Iraq to the Persian Gulf. Secondly, Khomeini attacked Saddam Hussien for his persecuting of Shiits and abandoning Islamic principles. Thirdly, minorities like Kurds were not happy with the Islamic revolution because they were denied self–government by Khomeini when they appealed to other Kurds inhabiting in Iraq and Turkey and then to form a separate state. Due to the revolutionary chaos, Saddam assumed that Iran was disunited. Above all, Saddam viewed the revolutionary turmoil as a good opportunity so designed to invade Iran. Thence, the Iraq government being afraid of the Shiit militancy invaded Iran on September 22, 1980, thereby to establish political and military hegemony over the Persian Gulf.

The Iraqi helicopters bombed Iranian oil fields and then occupied the disputed territory. By then, Iraq received political and financial support from Arab countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which resented Islamic militancy and hoped to topple Ayattollah Khomeni’s government. In retaliation, Iran raided these countries across the Gulf. Following this disturbing condition, the Kurds began fighting against Iranian government to free themselves.

Practically speaking, the Iranians had better weaponry and determined volunteers who were eager for battle. These fighters fought heroically and pushed back Iraqi troops even moved deep into Iraq aimed at toppling Saddam and replace by a fundamentalist leader.

Both of them used poison gas that brought destruction during the confrontation to achieve military victory. Despite the fact the war dragged. Offensives and counter–offensives ensued across the border. Even from both sides oil industries were destroyed. Again, oil shipment in the Persian Gulf was insecure for both Iraq and Iran attacked neutral countries’ shipping aimed at preventing arms deliveries.

Like 1973, OPEC increased oil prices that brought oil crisis. The world suffered from the region’s instability and the disruption of oil in mid -1980s. To protect the oil tankers and other merchant vessels from attack in the Gulf, American, British and France stepped up naval squadrons to patrol the Gulf as of 1987. The UN Security Council sought to end the war so demanded for cease-fire by its meeting held on July 20, 1987. Resolution 598, thus, ordered the two belligerent countries for an immediate cease fire. When there was rapprochement for peace, the Iranians demanded that Iraq, the aggressor should pay war indemnity and Saddam be removed from power. This decision blocked the peace process.

Iraq continued attacking civilians. When Iraq planned to bomb Iranian villages of Halabjah on March 16, 1988, the bombs exploded on the villages of Iraqi Kurds and killed over 2,000 civilians. Iraq again dropped poison gas against the civilians to force Iran accept the cease – fire. Side by side, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 612 on May 9, 1988 that urged Iraq to stop the use of poison gas. In spite of the effort, Iraq proceeded in attacking civilians and Iranian oil sites at Larak Islands.

Meanwhile, Iran accepted a cease fire due to the following factors. The Kurds continued fighting against the Irani troops hoping to free themselves. Again, Syria since 1986 declined in supporting Iran. In the end, Iran’s economy shrank; its armed force exhausted and depleted.

Besides, anti – war protest broke out in Iran. Be it as it might, Khomeni was seriously sick and virtually become incapacitated. In the meantime, the Iranian aircraft was shot down by Iraq and 290 passengers and crew lost their lives. Hence, the Iranian Foreign Minister sent a letter to the UN Secretary General that Iran accepted Resolution 598. Saddam Hussien on his part showed his willingness to accept the cease fire. Consequently, when the UN peace– keeping force moved to the battle grounds, the cease- fire had become effective as of August 20, 1988.

Khomeini died in 1989 and his successor followed moderate and pragmatic policy. Officials urged economic reconstruction and reestablishment of the country’s ties with the outside world. President Rafsanjani was able to restrain the most radical excesses of the revolution. Above all, the election of President Muhammad Khatami in 1997 brought new chapter to Iran. He had Western experience that studied Western philosophy. For he was reform minded, he committed himself to political and economic reform, a civil society, the rule of law, and freedom of speech and the press and he planned to change his foreign policy by following lenient stand. The stringent dress and behavior codes were relaxed. Women dressed as they wished. Religious authorities, in fact, were made chiefs in the military, the police, the courts and the media. As expected, young people supported the regime. Externally, he made clear that Iran was against terrorism and did not want to involve in nuclear weapons production. In return, the United States toned down its rhetoric and took steps to improve relations.

**Chapter 6**

**6.1. Towards the end of the Cold War (1985–1989)**

The late 20th century was a time of major geopolitical upheaval in Eastern Europe. The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 put an end to the Cold War and its divisions, which dated back to the Second World War. The fall of the Communist bloc brought about the end of a bipolar world built around the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. Economic and military structures such as Comecon (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and the Warsaw Pact were dissolved in 1991. The events of the late 1980s marked the beginning of improved relations between two parts of the continent that had long been divided.

1. The Eastern bloc in the throes of change

The political events and economic changes in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s radically altered the geopolitical situation in Europe and transformed existing institutions and structures. Aspirations to freedom, democracy and the defense of human rights, which had long been stifled by the authoritarian regimes of the Soviet bloc, were expressed more and more openly, thanks in particular to the reforms introduced in the Soviet Union by Mikhail Gorbachev and his policy of gradually opening up to the West.

Communist governments, already weakened, quickly collapsed, encouraging the reawakening of national identities and minorities in the USSR’s satellite states and then in the Soviet Union itself. Demonstrations and strikes in support of political and economic reform became increasingly frequent. The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 further accelerated the removal of the Communist regimes. After Poland and Hungary, authoritarian governments gave way to elected multi-party coalitions in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Romania and Bulgaria. The democratic revolutions also put an end to the Warsaw Pact and the Comecon planned economy system. The Soviet Union imploded and was unable to prevent the wave of national independence in the Baltic states and in most of the republics making up the USSR. In 1991, a group of conservative Communists, fiercely opposed to the turn of events, mounted an unsuccessful coup to overthrow President Gorbachev. The former satellite states of the Soviet Union, keen to defend human rights and adopt the principles of the market economy, immediately turned to Western structures.

3.1. Gorbachev’s ‘perestroika’ and ‘glasnost’

On 11 March 1985, at the age of 54, Mikhail Gorbachev, was appointed General Secretary of the CPSU by the Central Committee. He aimed to carry out a root-and-branch reform of the Soviet system, the bureaucratic inactivity of which constituted an obstacle to economic reconstruction (‘perestroika’), and, at the same time, to liberalize the regime and introduce transparency (‘glasnost’), i.e. a certain freedom of expression and information.

In order to implement this ambitious policy successfully, Gorbachev had to limit the USSR’s international commitments and reduce its military expenditure so as to curb the country’s moral and economic decline. This resulted in a resumption of dialogue between the Americans and the Soviets concerning nuclear arms and the establishment of closer relations with the European Community. At the same time, Gorbachev terminated Soviet involvement in other parts of the world, withdrawing from Afghanistan, where the Russian army was bogged down, exerting pressure on the Vietnamese to withdraw from Cambodia and restoring Sino-Soviet relations, withdrawing Soviet support for the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia and for Cuban troops in Angola, ending economic aid to Cuba and withdrawing Soviet troops from the island, restoring diplomatic relations with Israel and condemning Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait. Gorbachev’s policy of disengagement would be even more marked in Europe, with regard to the former satellite states of the USSR.

Although popular with the West, Gorbachev was far less so in his own country, where his reforms resulted in the disruption of the centralized planning system without the implementation of any real market mechanisms. This resulted in reduced production, shortages and social discontent, which led to strikes. This discontent could be all the more strongly expressed within the system of ‘transparency;’ all previously withheld information concerning the activities of the state and its administrative bodies might henceforth be disclosed and publicly debated. The lifting of the taboos imposed by the Communist regime, of which intellectuals and liberated dissidents took full advantage, allowed critical judgment to be passed on the history of the Soviet Union and on its political, economic and social structure.

**6.2. The collapse of the Communist bloc**

Mikhail Gorbachev’s reformist policies in the Soviet Union fueled opposition movements to the Communist regimes in the Soviet bloc countries. Demonstrations became more frequent. Governments were forced to accept measures — recommended, moreover, by Gorbachev — towards liberalization. However, these measures were not deemed to be sufficient.

Hopes of freedom, long suppressed by the Communist regimes in the countries of the Soviet bloc and in the USSR itself, were inevitably fueled by Mikhail Gorbachev’s attempted reforms in the Soviet Union and his conciliatory policy towards the West. It proved impossible to maintain reformed Communist regimes. They were entirely swept away by the desire for political democracy and economic liberty. Within three years, the Communist regimes collapsed and individual nations gained freedom, initially in the USSR’s satellite countries and then within the Soviet Union itself. The structures of the Eastern bloc disintegrated with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and Comecon. The Soviet Union broke up into independent republics.

In Poland, economic reforms led to strikes in the spring and summer of 1988. The Solidarity movement (‘Solidarnosc) called for trade union pluralism. During the Round Table negotiations, which enabled the gradual creation of the Third Polish Republic, the Polish Communist leaders recognized the social movement in April 1989. Solidarnosc was therefore able to take part in the first semi-legal elections since the Second World War. The elections, held on 4 and 18 June, saw the collapse of the Communist Party, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki became the first non-Communist head of government in Eastern Europe. He was appointed on 19 August 1989 and endorsed by an overwhelming majority by the Polish Sjem on 8 September 1989 as a result of a coalition between Solidarity, the agricultural party and the Democratic party. In December 1989, Lech Walęsa, symbolic leader of Solidarnosc, replaced General Jaruzelski of the Polish United Workers’ Party as President. The victory of the trade union’s candidates in these elections triggered a wave of peaceful anti-Communist revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe.

In Hungary, demonstrations against the regime increased during 1987 and 1988. The Opposition became more organized, and reformers entered the government in June 1988. On 18 October 1989, the Stalinist Constitution was abandoned, and Hungary adopted political pluralism. Earlier that year, in May, the ‘Iron Curtain’ separating Hungary from Austria had been dismantled, enabling many East Germans to flee to the West.

In Czechoslovakia, a program of reforms inspired by those of the USSR was adopted in December 1987 but was not widely implemented. The regime became more oppressive and suppressed demonstrations in 1988.

The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 further accelerated the demise of the Communist governments. In Czechoslovakia, the Opposition leader, Václav Havel, was unanimously elected interim President of the Republic by the parliament of the Socialist Republic on 29 December 1989. In the same vein, the anti-establishment Civic Forum movement won the first free parliamentary elections on 8 June 1990 and reappointed Václav Havel as President of the Republic in July of that year. In Hungary, the parliamentary elections held on 2 April 1990 resulted in the formation of the Democratic Forum government. On 9 December 1990, Lech Wałęsa became President of the Republic of Poland. In Bulgaria, a coalition government was formed on 7 December 1990, and a new Constitution was adopted on 9 July 1991. In Romania, following violent demonstrations, the Communist dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu was executed on 25 December 1989 and a new Constitution establishing pluralism was adopted on 8 December 1991.

This transformation proceeded, for the most part, in a peaceful manner. Nevertheless, in Romania, the revolution against the dictator Ceauşescu resulted in heavy bloodshed, and the fragmentation of Yugoslavia led to a long and bitter civil war.

The collapse of Soviet Communism led to dislocation of the Soviet Union, sapped by an ideological, political and economic crisis. This in turn precipitated the break-up of the empire, both cause and effect of the end of Communism. The organizations specific to ‘Soviet federalism’ hastened the implosion of the Soviet Union despite being primarily intended to consolidate it. One after another the Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs) proclaimed their sovereignty in the summer of 1991. In December of the same year, some of these republics, which had become independent in the meantime, redefined their respective links by creating the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

B. The collapse of the GDR and the fall of the Berlin Wall

Whilst Gorbachev was liberalizing the Soviet regime and the movements opposed to Communism were gathering strength in Central and Eastern Europe, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) appeared to be an invincible fortress, solidly constructed by the Communist Party, which was supported by the army and the secret police, the leaders of which were set against any change and counted on the support of the Soviet troops stationed in the GDR.

Nevertheless, there was a growing wave of opposition, supported by the Protestant churches, which in the autumn of 1988 called for a ‘society with a human face’, and subsequently in 1989 for a liberalization of the regime. Large numbers of opponents gathered for ‘Monday prayers’, protesting against the police state and calling for democracy. Reform groups advocated ‘Socialism with a human face’, a third way between the Stalinist Socialism of the GDR and the liberal capitalism of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). This, they claimed, would ensure the survival of East Germany rather than its absorption into West Germany. However, the reformers soon found themselves overtaken by events. A series of vast demonstrations took place, calling for freedom of thought, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly. The people wanted more than simply a reform of the GDR and Socialism; they wanted a share of the prosperity enjoyed by West Germany, which had seen a massive influx of refugees from East Germany. They demonstrated in favor of a united Germany.

The East German Government, led by Erich Honecker, was counting on Soviet support to save the regime. But Gorbachev, wary of compromising his policy of rapprochement with the West, refused any sort of military intervention, and confirmed the fact to Helmut Kohl when he visited Bonn on 13 June 1989. Gorbachev tried to persuade the East German leaders to proceed with reforms, along the lines of perestroika. On 18 October, Honecker, who refused to yield, was stripped of his post and replaced as leader of the Communist Party by Egon Krenz, with Moscow’s approval. Hans Modrow, who was in favor of the reforms, became Head of Government. But it was too late. On 4 November, the new leaders were booed by a crowd of a million people gathered on Alexanderplatz in East Berlin. On 9 November, this led to the decision to authorize travel abroad. Immediately, thousands of people wanted to cross through the frontier posts in Berlin, which were forced to open up to the crowd. The demonstrators started to demolish the ‘Wall of Shame.’ Several million East Germans visited West Berlin, the ‘shop window of the West.’

The following day, 10 November, the leaders of the GDR promised that ‘free and secret elections would take place in May 1990. However, continuing demonstrations forced them to bring the elections forward to 18 March. The Socialist reformers were defeated and the Christian Democrat Lothar de Maizière became Head of Government of the GDR, which on 12 April declared itself in favor of a unified Germany within NATO and the European Community.

C. The creation of new alliances

The collapse of Communism within the Eastern bloc and the break-up of the Soviet Union put an end to the Cold War. The new regimes soon declared their intention to turn to the countries of Western Europe for the necessary economic aid and assistance to facilitate the transition. The aspiration for ownership and modernity embodied by the European Union was a driving force behind the transformation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEECs). But the European Union, tasked with this historic mission, also had to work to offer these states the prospect of access to its area of peace and prosperity, along with the means and method that would open up this area for them. The fall of the iron curtain also paved the way for the reunification of Germany and then of the whole of Europe. Europe’s infrastructures also had to be enlarged and transformed so that they would be better suited to the new political order in Eastern Europe. From the end of the 1990s, the two former Cold War enemies embarked on a process of disarmament. The negotiations led to the signing of agreements for the progressive reduction of the number of conventional and nuclear weapons on European soil. Relations between the United States and the Russian Federation also began to normalize and the two countries embarked on bilateral negotiations on strategic arms reduction.

Finally, on 1 July 1991 in Prague, the seven member countries of the Warsaw Pact (USSR, Bulgaria, Romania, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia) decided to dissolve the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact.

With the collapse of the Communist camp, which strengthened the conversion to Western values (political pluralism, market economy, the primacy of law), the role of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) could increase. At the request of Mikhail Gorbachev, a revival took place that was intended to consolidate democracy and accelerate disarmament. The Summit of the Heads of State or Government held in Paris on 19– 21 November 1990 adopted the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, recalling the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. The Charter welcomed the end of an ‘era of confrontation and division’ and proclaimed the desire to ‘build, consolidate and strengthen democracy as the only system of government’. It was decided at the Summit to make the CSCE into a permanent institution, without extending its powers and responsibilities. This would be achieved at the CSCE Council in Budapest in December 1994 with the creation of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

The Visegrad Group was created with the aim of moving away from Communism and implementing the reforms required for full membership of the Euro-Atlantic institutions. It was established on 15 February 1991 at a meeting attended by Jozsef Antall, Prime Minister of Hungary, Lech Walesa, President of Poland, and Václav Havel, President of Czechoslovakia, in the Hungarian town of Visegrad. Following the division of Czechoslovakia into two separate States on 1 January 1993, the Czech Republic and Slovakia became the third and fourth members of the group. The ‘Visegrad Triangle’ (Budapest, Prague and Warsaw) therefore became the ‘Visegrad 4’ or ‘V4’ (Budapest, Bratislava, Prague and Warsaw). These four countries developed close political and economic cooperation so that they would be better equipped to defend their common interests at European level. The concerted action of V4 rapidly contributed to the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, the dissolution of Comecon and the consolidation of the transition to democracy.

One of the aims of the Visegrad Group was to stimulate trade between the signatory States. To this end, on 21 December 1991 in Kraków, the Heads of State or Government signed the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), which came into force on 1 March 1993.