Chapter Overview:

- Two set of international political relationships have shaped the experience of Europe.
  - Cold War between the US and Soviet Union
  - Decolonization
- Europe stood divided between the US-dominated North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Soviet dominated Warsaw Pact

Section One: The Emergence of the Cold War

- Section Overview
  - Tension between the US and Soviet Union had been budding during World War II.
  - Harry Truman assumed power of the United States after the death of the more sympathetic Franklin Roosevelt.
    - Many Soviets believed Truman used the atomic bomb to keep the Soviet Union out of the Pacific.
  - Russia was opposed by the United States when it claimed permanent possession of Poland and Romania under puppet communist governments.
  - Soviet Union’s attempt to extend its control westward into central Europe and the Balkans and southward into the Middle East stirred anxiety throughout the world.
    - Britain had been the western power responsible for combating Russian aggression; as Britain’s power waned, the United States inherited this task.
    - The growth in France and Italy of large communist parties—taking orders from Moscow—led the Americans to believe Stalin was engaged in a worldwide plot to subvert capitalism.
  - In 1946, both Stalin and his foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov, publicly spoke of western democracies as enemies.
- Containment in American Foreign Policy
  - American policy of containment in 1947
    - Resist the extension of Soviet expansion and influence in the expectation that eventually the Soviet Union would collapse from pressure.
    - Containment led the United States to form overseas alliances, to make formal and informal commitments to regimes across the world, and to dedicate resources to massive military spending.
      - This marks a departure from relative isolationism for the United States.
  - The Truman Doctrine
    - Background—since 1944, civil war had been raging in Greece between the royalist government restored by Britain and insurgents supported by communist countries, chiefly Yugoslavia.
      - On March 12, 1947, President Truman asked congress to provide funds to support Greece and Turkey, which was then under Soviet pressure to yield control of the Dardanelles, and Congress complied.
    - Truman’s Doctrine
      - He advocated a policy of support for “free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures” anywhere in the world.
  - Marshall Plan
    - Named after George C. Marshall (1880-1959), the secretary of state who introduced it
    - This program provided broad economic support to European states on the sole condition that they work together for their mutual benefit.
      - Soviet Union was invited to participate as were their satellites.
        - Finland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary were interested in participating, but the Soviet Union forbade them from taking part.
    - Marshall Plan restored prosperity to Western Europe.
    - Christian Democratic movement that dominated politics in Italy, France, and West Germany worked to keep communism at bay.
• Soviet Domination of Eastern Europe
  ○ Roots of Soviet decision to occupy Eastern Europe
    ▪ Western European Powers had invaded Russia twice in the nineteenth century—under Napoleon in 1812 and during the Crimean War of 1854-1856.
    ▪ Tsarist Russia had governed most of Poland from the 1790s to 1915.
  ○ Russia’s interest in the Black Sea area also has historical roots
    ▪ Particularly interested in Turkey and the lands around the Black Sea
  ○ Due to the Soviet Union’s losses in World War II, it is not surprising that Soviet leaders sought to use their Eastern European satellites as a buffer against future invasions.
  ○ In 1947, Stalin called a meeting in Warsaw of all communist parties from around the globe.
    ▪ They organized the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), a revival of the old Comintern, dedicated to spreading revolutionary communism throughout the world.
    ▪ The establishment of the Cominform marked the end of popular front coalitions in Western Europe in which communist parties cooperated with other parties.
    ▪ Hard-liners who supported the Soviet line on every issue replaced communist leaders in the West who favored collaboration and reform.
  ○ The Soviet Union took direct control of Czechoslovakia in February 1948.
    ▪ The communists expelled the democratic members of the Czech coalition government and murdered Jan Masaryk (1886-1948), the foreign minister and son of the founder of Czechoslovakia, Thomas Masaryk.
    ▪ President Edvard Beneš (1884-1948) was forced to resign.
  ○ During the late 1940s, the Soviet Union required other Eastern European governments to impose Stalinist policies.
    ▪ Characteristics of Stalinist policies
      • One-party political systems
      • Close military cooperation with the Soviet Union
      • Collectivization of agriculture
      • Communist Party domination of education
      • Attacks on the churches
    ▪ In many of these states, longtime Communist leaders were purged and condemned in show trials like those that took place in Moscow during the 1930s.

• The Postwar Division of Germany
  ○ Section overview
    ▪ Soviet actions, especially those in Czechoslovakia, increased the determination of the United States to go ahead with its own arrangements in Germany.
  ○ Disagreements over Germany
    ▪ Generally speaking, after World War II the Allies agreed that Germany must be dismembered; however, as Soviet expansion took sway after the war, some believed that unification must be maintained to prevent Russian dominance.
    ▪ Economic policies in eastern and western Germany
      • The Russians swiftly dismantled German industry in the eastern zone
      • Fearing the rise of radicalism, the United States wanted to help Germany become self-sufficient which meant restoring, rather than destroying industry.
      • The Soviets claimed the right to industrial equipment in all zones, and the Americans resisted their demands.
  ○ Berlin Blockade
    ▪ Rising tensions over control of Berlin lead to the Soviet blockade of the city
      • When the Western powers agreed to go forward with a separate constitution for the western sectors of Germany in February 1948, the Soviets walked out of the joint Allied Control Commission.
      • Western powers issued a new currency in their zone which was circulating Berlin at better rates than their own currency.
      • All four powers governed Berlin, though it was well within the Soviet zone.
• The Soviets chose to seal the city off by closing all railroads and highways that led from Berlin to West Germany in order to drive the Western powers out of Berlin.
  ▪ Western allies responded to the blockade by airlifting supplies into the city for almost a year and in May 1949, the Russians were forced to lift the blockade.
  ▪ The increased tension over the Blockade led to the creation of two independent German states.
    ▪ West Germany formally became the German Federal Republic in September 1949.
    ▪ The eastern region became the German Democratic Republic.
  ▪ The two Germanys and the divided city of Berlin, isolated within east Germany, would remain central fixtures in the geopolitics of the Cold War until 1989.
• NATO and the Warsaw Pact
  o Treaty of Brussels (March 1948)
    ▪ Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, and Britain signed the Treaty of Brussels, providing for cooperation in economic and military affairs.
  o North Atlantic Treaty Organization (April 1949)
    ▪ The nations who signed the Treaty of Brussels were joined by Italy, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Iceland, Canada, and the United States to form NATO.
    ▪ Members of NATO agreed to mutual assistance if any of them was attacked.
    ▪ A few years later, Western Germany, Turkey, and Greece joined NATO.
  o NATO marks the first time in history that the United States was committed to defend allies outside the Western Hemisphere.
  o Council of Mutual Assistance (COMECON)
    ▪ In 1949, the Soviets formed the COMECON in order to formally integrate the economies of Eastern Europe with that of the Soviet Union.
  o Warsaw Pact of May 1955
    ▪ Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union formally established an alliance in response to NATO.
    ▪ Consequently, Europe was divided into two hostile blocs.
  o The Cold War, however, was not limited to Europe as flash points would erupt around the world especially in the Middle East and Asia.
    ▪ Establishment of communist Cuba in 1959 brought the conflict very close to America.
• The Creation of the State of Israel
  o Section Overview
    ▪ The Middle East following World War I
      ▪ Britain exercised chief political influence in the region under various mandates from the League of Nations.
    ▪ The Middle East after World War II
      ▪ Both the Zionist movement and Arab nationalists challenged British authority in the Middle East.
  o British Balfour Declaration
    ▪ Zionist movement
      ▪ Founded by Theodor Herzel
      ▪ Chaim Weizmann led the movement for many years
    ▪ Arthur Balfour and the Balfour Declaration
      ▪ Arthur Balfour was the British Foreign Secretary who declared that Britain favored establishing a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, which was under Ottoman rule.
    ▪ Zionism between World War I and World War II
      ▪ Thousands of Jews, mainly from Europe, immigrated to what became British-ruled Palestine.
      ▪ *Yishuv*, or Jewish community in Palestine, developed its own political parties, press, labor unions, and educational system.
      ▪ Arab inhabitants of Palestine considered the Jewish settlement an intrusion and violent clashes ensued.
The dreadful plight of the European Jewish community during World War II united the Jewish community throughout the world who won sympathy from the Western powers to whom it seemed morally right to do something for the Jewish refugees of Nazi concentration camps.

- **The UN Resolution**
  - In 1947, Britain turned to the United Nations to settle disputes between the Arab and Jewish inhabitants in Palestine.
  - The United Nations passed a resolution that divided Palestine into two states, on Jewish and one Arab.
  - The Arabs in Palestine resisted the resolution and many were displaced and became refugees.

- **Israel Declares Independence**
  - In May 1948, the British officially withdrew from Palestine and the Yishuv declared the independence of a new Jewish state called Israel on May 14, 1948.
  - US President Truman officially recognized Israel's statehood
  - David Ben-Gurion was Israel's first prime minister.
  - Immediately, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq invaded Israel.
    - Fighting lasted for about two years and Israel extended its borders much further than that which was defined by the UN resolution.
  - Both the Soviet Union and the US had major economic interest in the Middle East.
    - United States became a loyal ally to Israel
    - Soviet Union negotiated relationships with Arabs in the Middle East
  - The existence of the state of Israel would become one of the major points of contention between the United States and the governments of the various Arab states and later one of the chief complaints of radical political Islamists against the United States.

- **The Korean War**
  - Origins of the Korean War
    - As part of a UN police action, the United States intervened militarily in Korea, following the same principle of containment that directed its actions in Europe.
    - Japan, an Asian colonial power, had occupied and exploited the former independent kingdom of Korea, but at the close of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union expelled the Japanese and divided Korea into two parts along the thirty-eighth parallel.
    - Two independent states emerge
      - Democratic People’s Republic in the north, supported by the Soviet Union
      - Republic of Korea in the south, supported by the United States.
    - In late June 1950, after border clashes, North Korea invaded South Korea across the thirty-eighth parallel.
  - The United States intervened unilaterally at first but was there under the authority of the UN.
    - Great Britain, Turkey, Australia, and other countries sent token forces
    - For the United States, the point of the Korean conflict was to contain the spread and halt the aggression of communism.
  - When UN forces came near the border with China, the Chinese responded by sending troops to support North Korea.
    - At the time, the United States believed the movement of Chinese troops into Korea was yet another example of communist pressure against a noncommunist state, and that China was a puppet of Moscow.
      - However, it is now well known that Stalin and Mao Zedong disliked each other and there was tension between Moscow and China.
  - On June 16, 1953, the Eisenhower administration concluded an armistice ending the Korean War restoring the border near the thirty-eighth parallel.
    - Thousands of American troops are still stationed in South Korea.
  - The Korean War confirmed the American government’s faith in containment.

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**Section Two: The Khrushchev Era in the Soviet Union**

- **Section Overview**
- No other nation suffered greater losses or depravation than the Soviet Union during World War II.
- When the war ended, the Russian people hoped there would be a reduction in the scope of the police state and a redirection of the economy away from heavy industry and toward consumer products.
- Stalin died on March 6, 1953
  - For a period of time after the death of Stalin, the presidium (the renamed Politburo) pursued a policy of collective leadership.
  - Leadership gradually fell to Nikita Khrushchev (1989-1971), who had been named party secretary in 1953 and three years later he became premier.

**Khrushchev’s Domestic Policies**
- Khrushchev sought to reform the Soviet system but to maintain the dominance of the Communist Party.
  - Intellectuals were freer to express their ideas.
    - For example, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was allowed to publish *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* in 1963 which was a grim account of life in a Soviet labor camp under Stalin.
  - Khrushchev made modest efforts to meet the demand for more consumer products and to decentralize economic planning.
  - In agriculture, he removed restrictive regulations on private cultivation and sought to expand the area available for growing wheat.
- The Secret Speech of 1956
  - At the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, Khrushchev delivered a secret speech in which he denounced Stalin and his crimes against socialist justice during the purges of the 1930s.
  - Gradually, Khrushchev removed the strongest supporters of Stalinist policies from the presidium.
  - Khrushchev’s speech alerted Communist parties in Eastern Europe that they could govern with greater leeway than before.

**The Three Crises of 1956**
- The Suez Intervention
  - In July 1956, President Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970) of Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal which threatened British and French—who organized the construction and maintenance of the canal—shipping interest in the Persian Gulf.
  - In October 1956, War broke out between Israel and Egypt.
    - Lacking the support of the United States, the British and the French intervened militarily on the side of Egypt but were forced out of the conflict when the Soviet Union vehemently protested their involvement.
  - The Suez intervention proved that without the United States, the nations of Western Europe could no longer impose their will on the rest of the world.
- Polish Efforts Toward Independent Actions
  - When the prime minister of Poland died in 1956, the Polish Communist Party refused to replace him with Moscow’s nominee, despite considerable pressure from the Soviet nations.
  - Władysław Gomułka (1905-1982) emerged as the new Communist leader of Poland.
    - He was the choice of the Poles.
    - The Soviets accepted him as he promised to continue economic and military cooperation with Moscow and he continued Poland’s membership in the Warsaw Pact.
- The Hungarian Uprising
  - Demonstrations of sympathy for the Poles in Budapest led to street fighting.
  - The Hungarian communists installed a new ministry headed by former premier Imre Nagy (1896-1958) who sought greater autonomy from Moscow.
    - He supported an independent Communist state for Hungary.
    - He appealed to non-communist groups for support in Hungary.
    - He called for the removal of Soviet troops and the ultimate neutralization of Hungary.
  - In 1958, Soviet troops invaded Hungary, deposed Nagy, who was later executed, and imposed János Kádár as premier.
Section Three: Later Cold War Confrontations

• Section Overview
  o After 1956, the Soviet Union—having displayed technological superiority over the West with the launching of Sputnik—began to discuss peaceful coexistence with the United States.
    ▪ In 1958, the two nations began negotiating limits on nuclear weapons.
    ▪ Western leaders visited Moscow.
    ▪ Khrushchev toured the United States in 1959.
  o Summit meeting scheduled for May 1960 and President Eisenhower was scheduled to go to Moscow
    ▪ Just before the Paris Summit Conference, the Soviet Union shot down an American U-2 aircraft that was flying reconnaissance over Soviet territory.
    ▪ Eisenhower accepted full responsibility for the surveillance policy but refused to apologize publicly to Khrushchev.
    ▪ Consequently, Khrushchev refused to attend the summit conference and Eisenhower’s visit to Moscow was canceled.
  o By 1960, the communist world had been divided between the Soviet Union and China who were portraying the Russians as lacking revolutionary zeal; boycotting the conference showed the soviet willingness to take a hard-line stance against the capitalist world.

• The Berlin Wall
  o Throughout 1961, thousands of refugees from East Berlin crossed the border into West Berlin
    ▪ Impact of the refugee situation
      ▪ Embarrassed the east
      ▪ Hurt its economy
      ▪ Demonstrated the Soviet Union’s inability to control Eastern Europe
  o In August 1961, the East Germans, with Soviet support, erected a concrete wall along the border between East and West Berlin, separating the two parts of the city.
  o In 1961, the new US president, John F. Kennedy (1917-1963), and Premier Khrushchev met in Vienna with inconclusive results.

• The Cuban Missile Crisis
  o Background to the Cuban Missile Crisis
    ▪ Cuba lies less than 100 miles off the coast of Florida
    ▪ The United States had dominated the island since the Spanish-American War in 1898.
    ▪ In 1957, Fidel Castro (b. 1926) launched an insurgency in Cuba which toppled the dictatorship of Flugencio Batista (1901-1973) on New Year’s Day 1959.
    ▪ Castro formed a communist government and Cuba became an ally of the Soviet Union.
  o In 1962, the Soviet Union secretly began to place nuclear missiles in Cuba and, in response, the American government blockaded Cuba, which halted the shipment of new missiles.
  o After a tense week, when nuclear war seemed a real possibility, the Soviets backed down, and the crisis ended.
    ▪ Khrushchev’s decision to back down to the US made many Soviets question his commitment to their security and survival.
    ▪ This crisis convinced Soviet military leaders that they needed to strengthen their military so they would be stronger than the United States.
  o In 1963, the United States and Soviet Union concluded a nuclear test ban treaty.

Section Four: The Brezhnev Era

• Section Overview
  o By 1964, many in the Soviet Party were unhappy with the results of Khrushchev’s policies and, therefore, forced him to resign.
  o Khrushchev was replaced by Alexei Kosygin (1904-1980) as premier and Leonid Brezhnev (1906-1982) as party secretary.
  o Brezhnev emerged as the dominant figure in the Soviet government.

• 1968: The Invasion of Czechoslovakia
  - Prague Spring 1968
• Czechoslovakian leader Alexander Dubcek (1921-1992) began to experiment with a more liberal communism.
  • He expanded intellectual rights and freedom of discussion at a time when the Soviet Union was suppressing them.
  
  o In the summer of 1968, the Soviet government and its allies in the Warsaw Pact sent troops into Czechoslovakia and replaced Dubcek with communist leaders more to their liking.
  o Brezhnev Doctrine declared the right of the Soviet Union to interfere in the domestic politics of other communist nations
    • Whereas the Truman Doctrine of 1947 had supported democratic governments and offered help to resist further communist penetration in Europe, the Brezhnev Doctrine of 1968 sought to sustain communist governments of Eastern Europe and prevent any liberalization in the region.

• The United States and Détente
  
  o Under President Richard Nixon, the United States began a policy of détente with the Soviet union.
    • The two countries concluded agreements on trade and reducing strategic arms.
    • Despite these agreements, Soviet spending on defense, and particularly on its navy, grew, damaging the consumer sectors of the economy.
  
  o During Gerald Ford’s presidency (1974-1977) and the Helsinki Accords
    • Accords recognized the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe
    • They also recognized the human rights of the signers’ citizens which every government agreed to protect.
  
  o Despite the détente, the Soviet Union pursued an activist foreign policy throughout the world during the 1970s.
    • It financed Cuban military operations in Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia.
    • Soviet fund poured to the Sandinista forces in Nicaragua and to Vietnam.
    • Soviet government provided weapons and funds to Arab nations to use against Israel.
  
  o By the early 1980s, the Soviet Union possessed the largest armed force in the world and had achieved nuclear parity with the United States.

• The Invasion of Afghanistan
  
  o Although the Soviet Union already had a presence in Afghanistan, the Brezhnev government, for reasons that remain unclear, determined to send in troops to ensure its influence in central Asia and to install a puppet government in Afghanistan.

  o US response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
    • The US Senate refused to sign a second Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement
    • US embargoed grain shipments to the Soviet Union
    • US boycotted 1980 Olympic games in Moscow
    • US sent aid to Afghan rebels
  
  o Soviet forces were bogged down in Afghanistan and could not defeat their guerilla enemies.
    • Afghans killed nearly 2,000 Soviet troops per year
    • Morale and prestige of Soviet army plummeted

• Communism and Solidarity in Poland
  
  o Economic conditions in Poland
    • After the events of 1956, when the Polish Communist Party came to be dominated by the Soviet Union, chronic mismanagement and shortages of food and consumer goods plagued Poland for twenty-five years.

  o In 1978, the election of Karol Wojtyla, a cardinal and archbishops of Krakow, as Pope John Paul II proved important for Polish resistance to communist control and Soviet domination.

  o In 1980, the Polish government raised meat prices, leading to the Gdansk strikes.
    • A series of strikes ensued, led by Lech Walesa, and the strikers refused to negotiate with any of the government controlled unions.
    • The strike ended when the government agreed to allow the workers the right to organize an independent union called Solidarity.

  o Liberal communism in Poland
    • The state-controlled radio station broadcasted a Roman Catholic Mass for the first time in 30 years.
• A single party continued to run Poland, but for the first time, the party congress permitted real
  debate within its ranks.
  • In 1981, however, General Wojciech Jaruzelski became the head of the Polish Communist Party, and the army
    imposed martial law.
  • Leaders of Solidarity were arrested

• Relationship with the Reagan Administration
  • Early in his administration, Ronald Reagan relaxed the US grain embargo on the Soviet Union and placed less
    emphasis on human rights.
  • Reagan intensified the Cold War rhetoric when he famously described the Soviet Union as an “evil empire.”
  • Reagan’s Cold War strategy
    • Increase military spending
    • Slowed arms limitations negotiations
    • Deployed a new missile defense system in Europe
    • Proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative (dubbed “Star Wars” by the press). Involving a high-
      technology space-based defense against nuclear attack
  • The US Cold War policy forced the Soviet Union to spend more on its military and defense—at a time when it
    couldn’t afford to do so—and the subsequent financial crisis that ensued was one of the chief factors to the
    collapse of the Soviet Union.

Section Five: Decolonization—The European Retreat From Empire

• Section Overview
  • The transformation of much of Africa and Asia from colonial dominions into independent nations was the
    most remarkable global political event of the second half of the twentieth century.
  • Decolonization after 1945 was a direct result of World War II and the rise of indigenous nationalist
    movements.
    • After the dislocations of the war came the immediate postwar European economic collapse, which left
      European colonial powers less able to afford to maintain their military and administrative positions
      abroad.
    • The war aims of the Allies undermined colonialism

• Major Areas of Colonial Withdrawal
  • The Dutch were forced from the East Indies in 1949 and were replaced by the independent nation of
    Indonesia.
  • Belgium withdrew from the Congo in 1960.
  • Portuguese Mozambique and Angola were liberated in 1974 and 1975.
  • All-white rule ended in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1979.

• India
  • British dominance in India began in the eighteenth century.
    • India supplied the raw materials for the British cotton mills.
    • British policies pushed many Indians to migrate to British possessions in East Asia, Africa, and the
      Caribbean.
    • Ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences prevented a unified resistance to British rule in India.
  • Reform groups emerge to liberalize, or diminish British control over India.
    • Indian National Congress 1885
      • Founded by Hindu Indians
      • Their goal was to modernize Indian life
    • Muslim League 1887
      • For a time, it cooperated with the Indian National Conference, but eventually sought an
        independent Muslim nation.
  • Mohandas Gandhi, passive resistance, and the end of British rule in India
    • Gandhi bio
      • Studied law in Britain where he developed admiration for liberal Western ideas, like Henry
        David Thoreau’s concept of passive resistance.
Section Six: The Turmoil of French Decolonization

**Section Overview**

- Whereas the Labour Party in Britain guided their retreat from colonialism without conflict, the French, on the other hand, believed it needed to reassert itself as a great power.
- France’s policy toward colonialism led to two disastrous attempts to maintain its colonial empire, in Algeria and Vietnam.

**France and Algeria**

- Origins of French domination of Algeria
  - France had captured the pirate’s nest of Algiers in 1830 as Charles X hoped the invasion would increase support for his monarchy.
  - After 1848, thousands of French soldiers, citizens, and people from throughout the Mediterranean area settled in the colony.
  - The voting structure was rigged to give the European immigrants, known as *pieds noirs* (meaning “black feet”), who comprised 20% of the population, as much voice as the majority Arab Muslim population.
- In May 1945, during celebrations of the Allied victory in World War II, a violent clash broke out between Muslims and French settlers.
  - There were deaths on both sides
  - The French repressed the Muslims with considerable loss of life and these human rights violations robbed the French administration of its legitimacy.
- In 1947, Algerian nationalists founded the National Liberation Front and utilized guerilla tactics in the civil war that broke out with France.
  - War between the Algerian nationalists and France waged until 1962.
  - Both sides carried out atrocities.
• Political turmoil waged in France itself over the issue and many feared civil war would erupt in France.

  o General Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970), who had led the French forces in World War II and led France briefly in the months immediately following the war, was appointed president of France, which voters ratified, in December 1958.
    ▪ De Gaulle’s conditions on taking office included the passing of legislation that would give greater powers to the president.

  o Charles de Gaulle undertook a long strategic retreat from Algeria
    ▪ As a result, a group of military officers known as the OAS (Organisation Armée Secrète) planned a coup in Paris, but failed.
    ▪ There were bombings, murders, and attempts on de Gaulle’s life.

  o De Gaulle issued a referendum on granting Algeria independence and the voters overwhelmingly agreed to free the former French colony and Algeria became independent on July 3, 1962.
    ▪ Hundreds of thousands of pied noirs settlers fled Algeria for France as did many Muslims who supported the French who feared reprisals.
    ▪ Thousands of pro-French Muslims were slaughtered in Algeria.

• France and Vietnam
  o History of French occupation of Indochina
    ▪ In its nineteenth century push for Empire, France occupied Indochina which included Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam.
    ▪ By 1930, Ho Chi Minh (1892-1969) had turned a nationalist movement against French colonial rule into the Indochina Communist Party.
  o In September 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of Vietnam under the Viet Minh, a coalition of nationalists that the communist dominated and civil war broke out.
  o The creation of the Communist People’s Republic of China in 1949 alarmed the United States which led US policy makers to conclude that the French struggle in Vietnam was integral to the policy of containment.
  o After suffering a crucial loss, France lost the will to fight and decided to negotiate a peace accord with the Viet Minh which divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel of latitude.
    ▪ North of the parallel, centered in Hanoi, the Viet Minh were in charge.
    ▪ Below it, the French remained in charge.
    ▪ These borders were intended to be temporary as the elections of 1956 were to be held to reunify the country.

• Vietnam Drawn Into the Cold War
  o Unhappy with the arrangements in Vietnam, the United States formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), a collective security agreement that resembled the European NATO alliance.
    ▪ Members included the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan, and the Philippines.
  o In 1955, French troops began their withdraw from South Vietnam and a number of political groups wrestled for power; the United States intervened and supported Ngo Dinh Diem (1901-1963), a strong non-communist nationalists.
    ▪ Diem established a Republic of Vietnam in the territory of South Vietnam formerly controlled by France.
  o In 1960, the National Liberation Front was founded, with the goals of overthrowing Diem, unifying the country, reforming the economy, and ousting the Americans.
    ▪ The National Liberation Front was anti-colonial, nationalist, and communist.
    ▪ Its military arm was called the Viet Cong and it was aided by the government of North Vietnam.
  o Diem responded to these threats to his power with repression and tyranny.
    ▪ As a Roman Catholic, he faced criticisms from Buddhist and the army.

• Direct United States Involvement
  o Early US policy regarding Vietnam
    ▪ Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations continued to support Diem while demanding reforms in the government.
• American military presence grew in Vietnam from about 600 advisors in early 1961 to more than 16,000 troops in late 1963.
• On November 1, 1963, an army coup, in which the United States was deeply involved, overthrew and murdered Diem and the United States appointed Nguyen Van Thieu as the puppet leader of South Vietnam.
  • Nguyen Van Thieu ruled from 1966 to 1975.
• John F Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963 and his successor, Lyndon Johnson, vastly expanded commitment to Vietnam.
  • In August 1964, after an attack on an American ship in the Gulf of Tonkin, Johnson authorized the first bombing of North Vietnam.
  • The land war grew until more than 500,000 Americans were stationed in South Vietnam.
• In 1969, President Richard Nixon began a policy known as Vietnamization, which involved the gradual withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam while the South Vietnamese army took over the full military effort.
  • Peace negotiations had begun in Paris in the spring of 1968, but a ceasefire was not arranged until January 1973,
  • American troops left South Vietnam, and North Vietnam released its American prisoners of war.
• On April 30, 1975, Saigon (renamed Ho Chi Minh City) fell to the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese army and Vietnam was finally united.
• The experience in Vietnam damaged America’s reputation.
  • Many questioned the wisdom of American policy makers.
  • Many young Europeans and Americans came to regard the United States not as a protector of liberty, but an ambitious, aggressive, and cruel power trying to keep colonialism alive after the end of the colonial era.

Section Seven: The Collapse of European Communism

• Section Overview
  o The withdrawal of Soviet influence from Eastern Europe and the internal collapse of the Soviet Union are the most important historical events of the second half of the twentieth century.
  o The Soviet Union imploded and divided into separate successor states.
  o The events that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union remain murky as there was no foreign invasion, no military defeat, and no internal revolution.
  o Suspected reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union
    ▪ Under Brezhnev, the Soviet government became markedly more repressive at home, suggesting a return to Stalinist policies.
    ▪ In 1974, the government expelled Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.
    ▪ The Soviet government began to harass Jewish citizens.
    ▪ Soviet dissidents launched reform movements
      • Nobel Prize-winning physicist Andrei Sakharov (1921-1989)
      • During the same period the structures of the Communist Party became both rigidified and corrupt, which increasingly demoralized younger Soviet bureaucrats and party members.
• Gorbachev Attempts to Reform the Soviet Union
  o Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) comes to power in 1985 after two Brezhnev’s two immediate successors, Yuri Andropov (1914-1984) and Konstantin Chernenko (1911-1985) died within thirteen months of each other.
    ▪ Gorbachev reformed the Soviet Union
      • These reforms loosed forces that, within seven years, would force him to retire from office and would end both communist rule and the Soviet Union as it existed since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.
  o Economic Perestroika, or “restructuring”
    ▪ Gorbachev’s primary goal was to revive the Russian economy to raise the country’s standard of living.
    ▪ During this process, Gorbachev reduced the size and importance of the centralized economic
By 1990, in a clear abandonment of Marxist principles, Gorbachev began to advocate private ownership of property and liberalization of the economy toward free market mechanisms.

Despite these efforts, the Soviet economy remained stagnated and Gorbachev’s policies failed.

- **Glasnost**
  - *Glasnost*, or “openness” was Gorbachev’s policy on exposing Soviet history to criticism.
    - Workers were permitted to criticize party officials and economic policies.
    - Censorship was relaxed and free expression encouraged.
    - Dissidents were released from prison.
  - Gorbachev applies the process of *perestroika* to politics in the Soviet Union.
    - In 1988, a new constitution permitted openly contested elections.
    - The Congress of Peoples’ Deputies was elected in 1989.
  - After lively debate, the Supreme Soviet, another elected body dominated by communists, formally elected Gorbachev president in 1989.
    - Russia had a long history of subjugating different peoples from the days of the tsars to Stalin’s seizure of the Baltic States and people living in these regions started demanding autonomy.
    - Gorbachev proved inept in addressing these complaints and badly underestimated the unrest that internal national discontent could generate.

- **1989: Revolution in Eastern Europe**
  - **Solidarity Reemerges in Poland**
    - In early 1980s Poland’s government relaxed martial law, and it eventually released all Solidarity prisoners, although Jaruzelski remained president.
    - In 1988, new strikes caught the Polish government by surprise and the government was forced to recognize the legality of Solidarity as an established union.
    - **Elections of 1989**
      - The communists lost overwhelmingly to Solidarity candidates.
    - Jaruzelski, unable to find a communist who could forge a majority coalition in parliament, appointed the first noncommunist prime minister in Poland since 1945.

  - **Toward Hungarian Independence**
    - In early 1989, Hungary opened its borders with Austria, permitting free travel between the two countries and this breach in the Iron Curtain led to thousands of East Germans to move through Hungary and Austria to West Germany.
    - In May, 1989, Janos Kadar, who had been installed as the leader of the Hungarian communist state in 1956, was stripped of his position as president of the Hungarian Communist Party.
    - The Hungarian Communist Party changed its name to the Socialist Party, permitted other parties to engage openly in politics, and promised free elections by October.

  - **German Reunification**
    - In the autumn of 1989, popular demonstrations erupted in East German cities.
      - Gorbachev told the East German Communist Party that the Soviet Union would not use force to squash the demonstrations.
        - Consequently, the East German government resigned, and was succeeded by younger party members who remained in office for only a few weeks.
    - In November 1989, in one of the most emotional moments in European history since 1945, the government of East Germany ordered the opening of the Berlin Wall and Germany moved toward reunification.
      - Helmut Kohl (b. 1930), the chancellor of West Germany, became the leading force in moving toward full unification.

  - **The Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia**
    - Vaclav Havel (b. 1936), a playwright whom the communist government had imprisoned, led the opposition to the Czech Communist Party.
    - In December 1989, the communist government, together with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states, acknowledged that the invasion of 1968 had been a mistake.
    - Shortly after, Havel’s group, known as Civic Forum, forced Gustav Husak (b. 1913), who had been
• On December 28, 1989, Alexander Dubcek became chairman of the Parliament, and the next day, Havel was elected president.

o Violent Revolution in Romania
  • In mid-December 1989, the forces of President Nicolae Ceausescu (1918-1989), who had governed without opposition since 1965, fired on crowds that were protesting conditions in the country.
  • By December 22, Bucharest was in full revolt, Ceausescu and his wife attempted to flee, but were captured and shot on December 25.

o The Soviet Stance on Revolutionary Developments
  • Gorbachev refused to rescue the old-line communist governments and party leaders in Eastern Europe and formally denounced the Brezhnev Doctrine.
  • For the first time since World War II, Eastern Europeans were free to shape their own political destiny without the fear of Soviet military intervention.
  • Citizens took to the streets to express their desire for democracy.
  • World responded with horror to the violent repression of pro-democracy protestors in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square by the People’s Republic of China in May 1989 and the communist parties of Eastern Europe could not offend world opinion with similar attacks on democratic demonstrators.

• The Collapse of the Soviet Union
  o Section Overview
    • By 1989, it was clear that Gorbachev and the Soviet Union could no longer afford to support communism in Eastern Europe.
    • Gorbachev also concluded that the Communist Party in the Soviet Union must restructure itself and its relationship to the Soviet State and society.
  o Renunciation of Communist Political Monopoly
    • In early 1990, Gorbachev proposed to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party that the party abandon its monopoly on power.
    • After intense debate, the committee abandoned the Leninist position that only a single elite party could act as the vanguard of the revolution and forge a new Soviet society.
  o New Political Forces
    • Gorbachev confronted challenges from three major political forces.
      • Conservatives
        o In the Soviet context, conservatives were those who wanted to preserve the influence of the Communist government and Soviet army.
        o Due to the dreadful economic situation in Russia, Gorbachev appointed members of conservative factions to key positions in the government.
      • Those who wanted much more extensive and rapid change
        o Led by Boris Yeltsin, this group wanted to move quickly to a market economy and a more democratic government.
        o Yeltsin was elected president of the Russian Republic, the largest and most important of the Soviet Union’s constituent republics, and was able to challenge Gorbachev from this position.
      • Regional unrest in some of the republics of the Soviet Union
        o Greatest unrest came from the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which had been independent states until 1940 when the Soviet Union swallowed them.
          • In 1989 and 1990, parliaments of the Baltic republics attempted to decrease Soviet control and Gorbachev used military force to resist these moves.
          • Lithuania actually declared independence.
        o Unrest erupted in the Soviet Islamic Republics in Central Asia and the Caucasus.
          • Riots broke out in Azerbaijan and Tajikistan.
    • Gorbachev worked to renegotiate the constitutional arrangements between the republics and central government but failed to do so and this may be the single most important cause of the dissolution of the Soviet Union.
  o The August 1991 Coup
    • The end of the Soviet Union
The conservative forces that Gorbachev brought into the government placed him under house arrest while on vacation in the Crimea and attempted to seize control of the Soviet Union.

The day of the coup, Boris Yeltsin climbed on a tank in front of the Russian Parliament building to denounce the coup and ask the world for help to maintain the Soviet Union’s move toward democracy.

The coup collapsed in two days, Gorbachev returned to Moscow, and Yeltsin steadily became the dominant political figure in the nation.

The Communist Party, compromised by its participation in the coup, collapsed as a political force.

In December 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist, Gorbachev left office, and the Commonwealth of Independent States came into existence.

- The collapse of European communism in the Soviet Union and throughout eastern Europe has closed the era in which Marxism dominated European socialism that began in the 1870s with the German socialists’ adoption of Marxist thought.

- **The Yeltsin Decade and Putin**
  - Yeltsin faced extreme economic and political troubles.
    - **Political problems**
      - Resistance from the Russian Parliament
        - Most of the Russian parliament—which consisted of mostly communists, opposed Yeltsin personally.
        - In September 1993, Yeltsin suspended Parliament, who responded by deposing his.
        - Parliament leaders tried to incite popular uprisings against Yeltsin in Moscow.
        - The military backed Yeltsin, however, and he surrounded Parliament with troops and tanks.
        - After Parliament aroused riots in Moscow, Yeltsin ordered the tanks to attack the Parliament building, crushing the opposition.
        - Yeltsin’s power was consolidated and the Western powers supported him.
  - **Economic troubles**
    - Exchange of state-run industry to private business gave way to extreme corruption as opportunists ascertained wealth as they came to possess former state-run businesses.
      - This created a small group of wealthy individuals who the press dubbed “the oligarchs.”
      - Political assassinations occurred and extreme political unrest ensued.
    - In the face of these problems and in declining health, Yeltsin resigned from the presidency near the turn of the millennium.
  - Vladimir Putin (b. 1952) succeeded Yeltsin as president.
    - Putin renewed the war effort against rebels in the Islamic province of Chechnya.
      - Many Russians have lost their lives fighting here, but Putin’s commitment to this conflict has increased his support in Russia itself.
      - After the terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001, Putin supported the American assault on Afghanistan, largely because the Russian government was afraid that Islamic extremism would spread beyond Chechnya to other regions in and around Russia.
      - In September 2003, a group of Chechens captured an elementary school in Beslan, a community in the Russian republic of North Ossetia.
        - 1,200 students, teachers, and parents were held hostage for several days.
        - When government troops stormed the school, approximately 330 of the hostages were killed.
    - In the wake of this event, Putin moved to increase the central government’s control over the economy and political power of local governments dominated by some of the leading oligarchs.
      - Despite Putin’s concentration of power, Russia remains more democratic than it ever was under the Soviet Union.
Section Eight: The Collapse of Yugoslavia and Civil War

• Background on Yugoslavia
  o It was created after World War I
  o Borders included seven major national groups: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Bosnians, and Albanians.
    ▪ Historically, these groups have had many conflicts.
    ▪ Cultural differences
      • The Croats and Slovenes are Roman Catholic and use the Latin alphabet.
      • The Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians are Eastern Orthodox and use the Cyrillic alphabet.
  o Tito (1892-1980), the leader of Yugoslavia during the 1940s, acted independently of Stalin and encouraged a cult of personality around himself.
    ▪ He hoped this would quell ethnic disputes.
    ▪ He instituted complex political power sharing among these groups.
  o After Tito’s death, economic difficulties undermined the authority of the central government and Yugoslavia gradually dissolved into civil war.
    ▪ Events leading to the civil war
      • Nationalists movements
        o Slobodan Milosevic (b. 1941) led the Serbs
          ▪ Serbs believed they were not given sufficient influence in Yugoslavia and Serbs living in Yugoslavia—outside Serbia—faced systematic discrimination from Croats and Albanians.
        o Franjo Tudjman (b. 1922) led Croatia
          ▪ In the summer of 1990, in the wake of the changes in the Soviet bloc nations, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia.
            o The full European community recognized their independence.
      ▪ By June 1991, full-fledged war had erupted between Serbia and Croatia.
        ▪ Conflict ensued until 1992 when Croatian and Serbian forces determined to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina.
          o Bosnian Muslims became crushed between the two opposing forces.
          o Serbia pursued a policy of “ethnic cleansing” and killed or forcibly removed many Bosnian Muslims.
        ▪ The unremitting bombardment of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, brought the violence of the Yugoslav civil war to the attention of the world.
          o The United Nations attempted to impose sanctions but go little results.
          o After a shell exploded at a marketplace in Sarajevo, killing dozens of people, Nato forced the Serbs to withdraw their artillery from around Sarajevo.
            o Nato carried out strategic airstrikes.
      ▪ In 1995, the leaders of the warring forces negotiated a peace agreement in Dayton, Ohio.
        ▪ Bosnia was granted independence.
        ▪ NATO troops have enforced the terms of this agreement.
  o Toward the end of the 1990s, Serbian aggression against ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo again drew Nato into Yugoslav affairs.
    ▪ International media broadcasted images of ethnic Albanians were rounded up and deported from Kosovo, where they constituted the majority population.
      ▪ There were many atrocities, casualties, and deaths.
    ▪ In 1999, Nato again carried out an air campaign and sent troops into Kosovo to safeguard ethnic Albanians.
      ▪ The air campaign was the largest military action in Europe since the close of World War II.
  o In 200, a revolution overthrew Milosevic and the new Yugoslav government turned him over to the International War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague where his trial dragged on without a verdict.
    ▪ Milosevic died in prison, presumably from heart attack, in 2006.
Section Nine: The Rise of Radical Political Islamism

- **Section Overview**
  - Attacks of September 11, 2001 on the United States impacted US foreign policy in a number of ways.
    - First, it transformed American policy toward the Middle East.
    - The end of the Cold War has been succeeded by a new political world order in which both the United States and the nations of Europe, including the Russian Federation, are endangered by terrorist attacks from non-governmental organizations.
  - **Radical Islamism** is the term scholars use to describe an interpretation of Islam that came to have a significant impact on the Islamic world during the decades of decolonization.
    - Ideas informing radical Islamism extend back to the 1930s and resistance to British rule in Egypt.

- **Arab Nationalism**
  - Roots of Radical Islamism and Arab nationalism
    - Developed in countries like Egypt and Syria in the 1920s and 1930s.
    - Gamal Abdul Nasser was an Arab nationalist leader who emerged in Egypt during World War II
      - He did not appeal to advocates of Radical Islamism because he promoted a form of socialism.
  - Characteristics of Radical Islamism
    - Resistance to Western ideas
    - Create a society based on rigorous interpretation of Islam.
  - Nationalism forged by nondemocratic Middle Eastern governments, usually traditional monarchies or authoritarian regimes dominated by the military, brought different results to the various Arab nations.
    - Saudi Arabia—wealthy and powerful due to oil
    - Kuwait—wealthy but not powerful
    - Jordan, Syria, and Egypt, which lacked oil, remained burdened by large impoverished populations.
  - Many Arab governments have worked out arrangements with local Muslim authorities.
    - Saudi Arabia turned its education system over to the adherents of a rigorous, puritanical form of Islam called Wahhabism.
    - Egyptian government has tried to pit different Islamic groups against one another.
  - In general, Muslim religious leaders were hostile to the Soviet Union and its influence on the Islamic world.

- **The Iranian Revolution**
  - Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902-1989) managed to unite the middle and lower classes of Iran to overthrow a repressive, but modernizing government, that had long cooperated with the United States.
    - For the first time, a religiously dominated government, defining itself in Islamic and nationalistic terms, took control of a major nation.
    - The Iranian constitution gave the clergy the final say on all matters.
  - The Iranian Revolution challenged the largely secular Arab nationalist movements in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Algeria,
  - **Fundamentalism**, but is more correctly termed Islamic or Muslim reformism, was a cultural reaction of Middle Eastern peoples who lived under European colonialism, then Arab nationalist leaders.
    - Minority of Islamic reformist wish to see their states governed strictly by Islamic law, or the Shari’a
  - Iranian clerics have been publicly hostile to the United States, whom they regard as “the Great Satan,” and the West in general.
  - Conservative Arab governments feared the Iranian Revolution would challenge their legitimacy and moved to crack down on radical reformists.
    - President Anwar Sadat (b. 1918) of Egypt was assassinated by a member of Muslim Brotherhood on account of the Egyptian government’s crackdown on radical reformists.

- **Afghanistan and Radical Islamism**
  - Section Overview
    - Muslim religious authorities declared jihad, literally meaning “a struggle” against the atheist, Western, Soviet Union that attempted an invasion in 1979.
      - Afghan resistance became nationalistic, universalistic, and religious.
      - Thousands of Muslims from throughout the Islamic world arrived in Afghanistan to oust the Soviets and their Afghan puppets.
• The United States, and conservative Islamic states, supported the Afghan cause for different reasons.
  o Conservative Arab states saw the Afghan resistance as an opportunity to resist Soviet influence and to divert the energies of their own religious extremists.
  o The United States saw the Afghan war as another round in the Cold War.

  o **The Taliban and Al Qaeda**
    ▪ Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 created a power vacuum that lasted for more than a decade until the Taliban, rigorist Muslims, seized control.
    ▪ Taliban imposed a strict interpretation of Islamic law that involved the following:
      o Strict regimentation of women
      o Public executions
      o Floggings and mutilations.
    ▪ The Taliban allowed groups of Muslim terrorists, like Al Qaeda, which means “Base,” to establish training camps in their country.
      o The ideology of these terrorists groups came from across the Islamic world but had been inculcated in Pakistan.
        ▪ Pakistani government had long handed over control of education to Islamic authorities who established Islamic schools, or madrasas, that taught reformed Islam, rejection of liberal and nationalist secular values, intolerance toward non-Muslims, repudiation of Western culture, hostility to Israel, and hatred of the United States.

  o **Jihad Against the United States**
    ▪ After successful jihad against the Soviet Union, radical Muslims, many the products of the madrasas system of education, turned their attention to the United States, the other great Western power.
    ▪ The United States attracted the attention of radical Islam during the Persian Gulf War of 1991.
    ▪ During this conflict, some conservative Islamic governments, like Saudi Arabia, cooperated with and permitted the United States to build bases on their soil.
    ▪ Islamic extremists, like Osama bin Laden (b. 1957), saw the establishment of US bases in Saudi Arabia, the location of the holiest sites in Islam, as a new invasion by Western crusaders.
    ▪ The United States became a target because of its secular public morality, its international wealth and power, its military strength, its ongoing support for Israel, and its adherence to UN sanctions imposed on Iraq after the Gulf War.
      ▪ **Attacks on the United States**
        o 1990s—targets associated with the US
          ▪ World Trade Center in 1993
          ▪ US army barracks in Saudi Arabia in 1996
          ▪ US embassies in East Africa in 1998
          ▪ US Cole in the Yemeni port of Aden in 2000

  Section Nine: A Transformed West

• In 2001, following the attacks of September 11, President George W. Bush declared “a war on terrorism.”
  o US attacked and overthrew the Taliban government in Afghanistan
    ▪ Taliban strongholds and resistance remain strong to this day
  o Defeat of Taliban destroyed Al Qaeda bases but not its leadership that remains intact but dispersed and in hiding.
• Following the Afghan campaign, the Bush administration set forth a policy of preemptive strikes against potential enemies, which landed the US in a prolonged war in Iraq, based on incorrect reports of Iraq harboring weapons of mass destruction.
  o US captured and allowed the citizens of Iraq to try, convict, and execute Saddam Hussein.
  o The invasion of Iraq was undertaken in the wake of criticism from France, Germany, and Russia.
    ▪ French and German opposition to the war fractured NATO and European Union affairs.
• 190 people were killed
• Happened right before the Spanish election and the government that had supported the US invasion of Iraq was removed from power and replaced by a new government that immediately withdrew Spanish forces from Iraq.
• In 2005 thousands of Iraqis braved threats to vote in the first meaningful election held in Iraq since 1950.
• On July 7, 2005, terrorist bombings struck a London bus and subway system with considerable loss of life.
• Many Europeans see their values and their emerging political community as different from American values.