



## **GRADE 12**

## **HISTORY**

## **UNIT MODULE 2**

## **THE CHANGING WORLD**

**Sub unit 12.2.1: The Changing World**

**Sub unit 12.2.2: International Relations & Rise of  
Super Powers**

**Sub unit 12.2.3: International Co-operations**

**Sub unit 12.2.4: Conflicts & War of Resources**

**Sub unit 12.2.5: Global Issues**



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**DIANA TEIT AKIS**

PRINCIPAL



Flexible Open and Distance Education  
Papua New Guinea

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## SECRETARY'S MESSAGE

Achieving a better future by individual students and their families, communities or the nation as a whole, depends on the kind of curriculum and the way it is delivered.

This course is a part of the new Flexible, Open and Distance Education curriculum. The learning outcomes are student-centred and allows for them to be demonstrated and assessed.

It maintains the rationale, goals, aims and principles of the national curriculum and identifies the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that students should achieve.

This is a provision by Flexible, Open and Distance Education as an alternative pathway of formal education.

The course promotes Papua New Guinea values and beliefs which are found in our Constitution, Government Policies and Reports. It is developed in line with the National Education Plan (2005 - 2014) and addresses an increase in the number of school leavers affected by the lack of access into secondary and higher educational institutions.

Flexible, Open and Distance Education curriculum is guided by the Department of Education's Mission which is fivefold:

- To facilitate and promote the integral development of every individual
- To develop and encourage an education system satisfies the requirements of Papua New Guinea and its people
- To establish, preserve and improve standards of education throughout Papua New Guinea
- To make the benefits of such education available as widely as possible to all of the people
- To make the education accessible to the poor and physically, mentally and socially handicapped as well as to those who are educationally disadvantaged.

The college is enhanced to provide alternative and comparable pathways for students and adults to complete their education through a one system, many pathways and same outcomes.

It is our vision that Papua New Guineans' harness all appropriate and affordable technologies to pursue this program.

I commend all those teachers, curriculum writers, university lecturers and many others who have contributed in developing this course.

**UKE KOMBRA, PhD**

Secretary for Education



## Module 12.2 Introduction

“The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred.”

This is a statement by US President Harry S. Truman in his Truman Doctrine in 1947. (Hooper, Hutton and Hindsley 1990:386)

We live in a world that is changing all the time. Both natural forces (i.e. natural disasters) and artificial forces (people) are responsible for causing the changes. The latter have a variety of reasons underlining their cause(s) of actions. These changes can be good and bad and, at times are inevitable. Unfortunately these changes can also have very profound effects on people to the extent of determining their courses of history. Sadly, and in general, the affected people were and are powerless to effectively counter the forces of change. They are like the debris floating aimlessly in the open seas and ending up wherever the winds, waves and currents take them to.

In this unit we will look at one of these very significant changes that emerged after the Second World War. However it is important to note that this was not the only change during the post-World War II (WWII) period, albeit a very major one. For the most part of the post WWII period up to the early 1990s, the world affairs were dominated and influenced by the hostilities, the interests, the greed, doctrines and the beliefs of both USSR and USA. What had caused the antagonism and the rift between these two countries? Why and how did they behave in the ways they shaped the course of the world history?

To answer these questions it is essential to explore the causes and the origins of this hostility. This change was caused by what is called the Cold War. In the following sections we shall look at the definition and origins of Cold War, how it was fought out and how and why it affected the world.

At the end of this unit you should be able to know and understand:

- The nature of Cold War
- What it means
- Who was involve – the leading super powers and what they fought for
- How it developed
- How it was fought out
- Where it was fought and why
- Why and how others got involve
- How and why the hostilities of the super powers were controlled



## STUDY GUIDE

Below are the steps to guide you in your course study.

- Step 1: Carefully read through each module. In most cases, reading through a lesson once is not enough. It helps to read something over several times until you understand it.
- Step 2: There is an instruction below each activity that tells you to check your answers. Turn to the marking guide found at the end of each module, and mark your own written answers against those listed under the **Answers to Activities**. Do each activity and mark your answers before moving on to the next part of the module.
- Step 3: After reading the summary of the unit module, start doing the Practice Exercise. Refer to the module notes. You must do only one practice exercise at a time.
- Step 4: Below each Practice Exercise, there is an instruction that says:

**CHECK YOUR WORK. ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF THE SUB UNIT.**

Turn to the marking guide at the end of the topic, and mark your own written answers against those listed under the Answers to Practice Exercises.

- Step 5: When you have completed a practice exercise and marked your answers, go back to the module and correct any mistakes you may have made, before moving on to the next module.
- Step 6: Study the entire module following Steps 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Here is a sample Study Timetable for you to use as a guide. Refer to it as a reminder of your study times.

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:00-10:00	<b>FODE STUDY TIME</b>				
10:00-11:00					
1:00-2:00					
2:00-4:00					
6:00-7:00					
7:00-9:00	Listen to or watch current affairs programmes. Write your diary, read a book.				

A timetable will help you to remember when you should be doing your FODE studies each day.



### Time Frame

This unit should be completed within 10 weeks.

If you set an average of 3 hours per day, you should be able to complete the unit comfortably by the end of the assigned week.

Try to do all the learning activities and compare your answers with the ones provided at the end of the unit. If you do not get a particular exercise right in the first attempt, you should not get discouraged but instead, go back and attempt it again. If you still do not get it right after several attempts then you should seek help from a friend or your tutor. Do not pass any question without solving it first.



## Sub unit 12.2.1: The Changing World

### Introduction

This sub unit is about the Changing World as seen in history. The Cold War will be most deliberated on in terms of political philosophies that defined this period and its effects in the changes that came about.

Democracy and Communism were two major political philosophies that played a role in the antagonism for two of the world's strongest superpowers USSR and the USA post World War II. USA strongly supported Capitalism which is practiced in a democracy whereas USSR was a firm believer for Socialism practicing the idea of Communism. Both superpowers trying as much as possible to contain their type of political belief and playing a major role in the events by certain countries during the Cold War.

**Sub topic 12.2.1.1: What is Cold War and its Origins (1945-1991)**

As part of the Grand Alliance, both USA and USSR were allies with other great powers like Great Britain and France fighting the Japanese and Germans during the WWII. After the war both countries became two super powers and also became great enemies. Their hostility was based on their two completely contrasting ideologies and fear that either of them would become too influential, dominant and thus becoming the world leader. USSR had socialism and communism as opposed to USA's free capitalist economy and democratic political system.

Instead of direct, head-on physical confrontation, that certainly would have become another Great War with more catastrophic effects on everyone, Cold War was fought indirectly by using others. Both USSR and USA issued threats one after another to each other, and chose the indirect strategy of using and supporting their respective allies or satellite states to fight their wars of ideologies and propaganda on their own territories. The allies or satellite states of both super powers included new countries and frontiers that were either over run by one of the either powers, and the other countering the intrusion of the intruder. This was a strategy that served the interests of the two powers well. Firstly, it took the fight away from their own soils hence causing minimum disruptions to their respective countries. Secondly, and equally important was that it avoided another World War. However for those who were directly involved in the Cold War endured heavy social and economic losses including loss of human lives. It was partly their faults. The internal power struggles in their own respective countries escalated into stages where they were 'utilized' by the Cold War advisories. Some of these countries were either forcefully overtaken, or their sovereignty deliberately and ruthlessly undermined by the two super powers.

The Cold War was indirectly fought out in other forms like arts, propaganda, sports, the space race, production of nuclear weapons and political influence over both the developed and the emerging nations. According to Lowe (2013:122) the rival powers attacked each other with propaganda and economic measures, and with a general policy of non-cooperation.

Immediately after the WWII the differences between USSR and USA and fear of each other began to emerge. The mistrust and the fear of each other's domination had always existed since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 when Russia became the first communist country under Lenin. In the following year there was a civil war in Russia and the capitalist countries led by USA, Britain, Japan and France assisted the anti-communists but lost. Since then Russia had always felt that there might be other interferences from the capitalist world. Hence Germany's invasion of Russia in 1941 leading to the Second World War did not surprise Lenin.

During the Second World War when both Germany and Japan became the common enemies and USA, USSR and Britain were inevitably forced into forming the Grand Alliance for their own self-preservation. In the process Russia was able to benefit through what was known as lend lease arrangement. To help Russia in the war, US under President Roosevelt lent Russia many war related material. However, things began to change when Roosevelt died in April 1945. The incoming new US President, Harry S. Truman who was the vice President to Roosevelt, was more suspicious and tough and critically reviewed the existing arrangements with Russia.





The policies of Russia, US and Britain added onto the existing tension. Firstly, Russia under Stalin was quite aggressive and successful in building up its resources and territory. Stalin was able to occupy as much land as possible from Germany, Finland, Poland and Romania to the dismay of US and Britain. On the other hand both US and Britain were both very secretive about their war plans and rejected Russia's request for occupation to some fallen enemy land like Japan. It was even suggested by some quarters that US atomic bombing of both Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, was an act of show of strength by Truman. This was a warning to Russia as argued by proponents, that this might be what would happen to Russia if need be. Russia was not even informed of the existence of neither the atomic bombs nor their droppings on Japan. It was only shortly after the event that Russia was informed. Her request to share the occupation of Japan was also rejected. Additionally Stalin believed that postponement of the launching of the invasion of France in June 1944 was a deliberate attempt to exhaust and weaken Russia.

Towards the end and immediately after the war a number of conferences were held by the Allied leaders to plan for the post war period. They were Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam Conferences.

### **The Tehran Conference**

The Tehran Conference was held in Tehran in November 1943. This Conference was necessitated by the fact that while war was still being fought, the tensions (cracks) within the Grand Alliance were starting to emerge. Both England and USSR were concerned and suspicious with America's 'open door' policy. President Roosevelt's 'open-door' policy was based on the principles of free trade and equal access to raw materials. To Stalin, the US 'open-door' policy was no doubt aimed at benefiting US more than anyone else.

Despite the differences the 'Big Three' were able to reach some consensus. These included:

- Soviet Union to maintain its 1918 border with Poland
- Poland's border to expand further West absorbing some German land
- No Central Europe Alliance to attack Soviet Union.

### **The Yalta Conference**

The Yalta Conference was held in February 1945 in Russia. This was three months before Germany surrendered in May, and five months before US dropped atomic bombs on Japan in August. The Conference was again attended by Big Three - Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill and the three leaders agreed for:

- The formation of United Nations replacing the failed League of Nations
- Zoning of Germany into three, and later four zones for the Allies including France. This included Berlin that was located in the middle of Russian zone. Similar plans were also going to apply to Austria
- Free elections to be held in the Eastern Europe states; and
- Russia to join the war against Japan on the condition that she would be given some parts of Japan i.e. the Sakhalin Islands and some parts of Manchuria.

In this conference Poland became a thorny issue for the three leaders. Stalin demanded to establish a communist government. She had to accept some exiled non-communists in London to



join the government. This came at a price and in which Germany demanded to hold onto some parts of eastern Poland that she had annexed in 1945. This however was rejected by both Roosevelt and Churchill.

### **The Potsdam Conference**

Four months later another Conference was held in Potsdam near Berlin in July 1945. This time the war with Germany had ended and there were two new leaders. Roosevelt had died in April and was replaced by Truman. After the national elections in Britain Clement Atlee became the new Prime Minister. The three leaders resolved that:

- Nazi party to be disbanded and the party leaders be tried for war crimes;
- Germany to be disarmed
- Germany to pay war reparations
- Russia to receive the bulk of war reparations in non-food goods; in return Russia to send food to the western zones.

However the Germany's long term future still remained largely uncertain. Poland once again remained a stumbling block. In defiance to the Yalta Conference Russia continued to occupy the eastern parts of Poland. This included Oder-Neisse line and expelled about 5 million Germans. A few days after the conference had ended, and on 10 August 1945, US dropped the first atomic bombs on Japan to end the war. Russia who had declared war on Japan two days earlier and invaded Manchuria and Sakhalin Islands was unaware of neither the US atomic bombs, nor her plan to drop them. Her request to occupy some parts of Japan when Japan surrounded was also rejected by US and Britain.

The actions of US and Britain may have alarmed Stalin. In the following months Stalin systematically established communist countries in the Eastern Europe states of Poland, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania and Hungary. Stalin and his supporters were ruthless. The opponents were either imprisoned or murdered. Later in February 1946 Stalin delivered a speech that seemed to have alarmed and scared the West. In the speech he stated that both communism and capitalism would not live in peace. He foresaw future wars and in the end the victorious communism would reign. This speech was played down by the Russian historians. They claimed that the speech was misinterpreted by the US (charge de affaires) Ambassador, Serge Kennan who relayed it to US in what was called the 'Long Telegram'.

A month later in March 1946, Churchill responded through the iron curtain speech in US. Churchill condemned Russia's aggressiveness in spreading her power and doctrine. This he said was reflected in an iron curtain fence descending across Europe. Iron curtain "... in fact, was ... a 2,000 kilometre stretch of barbed wire, sentry platforms and blocked roads, ... becoming the dominant features of political geography of Europe. The curtain almost completely separated Eastern from Western Europe." (Howarth 2006:196). At the same time Churchill called for a Western Alliance to counter the influence and the spread of Stalin and communism. The following states were inside of Stalin's iron curtain fence – Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia and half of Germany (East Germany). Refer to Figure 1



Figure 1: Central and Eastern Europe during the Cold War  
Source: D.Heater, Our World This Century (Oxford, 1992, p.129)

### The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan

Greece and Turkey were potential states to fall under communism. In Greece, Britain was supporting the royalists fighting the communists in the civil war. When it became too burdensome for Britain, she informed US. The domino theory came into play where 'one falls the rest will fall' as



they are close together in a row. Hence, it was feared that once Greece fell into the hands of communism Turkey was most likely to experience the same fate.

US, being the only super power capable of effectively resisting the expansion of Russia and communism announced the Truman Doctrine in March of 1947. Truman's Doctrine was aimed at supporting "... free peoples who were resisting **subjugation** by armed minorities or by outside pressures." (Lower 2013:129). It was now time for a new direction for US. She had to abandon the isolation policy adopted after WW1. U.S abandoned the Isolation policy and adopted a new policy of more involvement in the world leadership and in containing communism in the entire world. Hence Greece and Turkey became the first recipients in Western Europe of the US large funding and arms and were able to resist communism.

#### **The Truman Doctrine, 12 March 1947**

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

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will ...

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One of way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, and guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of minority forcefully imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support the free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations ...

Public Papers of the Presidents: Harry S. Truman, 1947, p. 163 as quoted by Hoepfer and others 1990:386

Two months later, and in June 1947, the US Secretary of State George Marshall produced his 'European Recovery Program' (ERP). In this Plan, US was able to offer economic and financial assistance to whomever in Europe that needed it. In theory, the US offer was also open to Russia

and her Eastern States. A total of US\$15billion worth of aid was pumped into Western Europe. The beneficiaries included Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Austria, Greece, Turkey, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and three Western zones of Germany and including the West Berlin made very significant economic recoveries. Equally important were the defeats of communism in Italy and France.



Figure 2: Cartoon depicting the Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan became significant on three fronts. Firstly, it was a humanitarian gesture on the side of US. Europe had endured the coldest winter in 1947 after 70 years and the offer could not have come at the right time. Secondly, on economic front the recovered Western Europe was essential as markets for US goods. Finally, and at the third front it was no doubt that the Marshall Plan was an effective political tool to counter the expansion of communism. To Stalin it was '**dollar imperialism**' (Lowe 2013: 130).

### **The Cominform**

In response to US's Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, Russia formed the Communist Information Bureau in September, 1947. Commonly known as Cominform, it was basically an association for all the Eastern Europe communist parties. All the communist parties including those of France and Italy joined. The principal aim was to adopt and adhere to the Russian communism. Simply being communist was not enough; it has to be Russian model of communism as that was – the Gospel of Communism.

Cominform at the political level was for all the communist states to follow the Russian style and model. Secondly, at the economic level, Cominform was for all the communist states to create a trading block. Any state like Yugoslavia in 1948 that did not adhere to the requirements of Cominform was expelled. Russia also offered economic assistance to the member countries through the Molotov Plan in 1947. In his own terms this could also be called Stalin's Dollar Imperialism.

The only Eastern Europe state that remained a democratic country was Czechoslovakia who was considered the bridge between the West and the East. In the 1946 national elections 114 out of



the 300 seats were won by the communists and held a third of the cabinet posts. The next election was due in 1948. Sensing defeat in the coming 1948 elections the communist seized power. All the non-communist leaders were imprisoned and Jan Masaryk, the foreign minister mysteriously died. The iron curtain was finally completed and the bridge between the West and the east was gone. Although Russia may have helped, its involvement was not proven. Hence US did not intervene.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.2.1.1

1. What was the Cold War and how was it different from the so called 'Hot Wars'?

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2. Name the countries that were the main rivalries of Cold War and explain their reasons.

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3. How was the Cold War fought?

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4. Why was the Cold War fought in such a way?

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5. Three conferences were held between November 1943 and July 1945. What were these conferences and why were they held?

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6. Name the countries in the Iron Curtain.

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7. What is the Truman Doctrine and what is importance of the Marshal Plan?

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8. USSR responded to US's Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan by coming up with Cominform. What were its political and economic objectives?

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**Check your answers at the end of sub unit 12.2.1**

**Sub topic 12.2.1.2: Political Philosophy of Capitalism verses Communism**

Communism and socialism is the belief that the both the wealth of the nation and the means of production should be communally or collectively owned and production of goods and services be centrally planned and supervised. Hence the freedom of individuals to enrich him/her and freedom to her /his free speech is prohibited. The state apparatus, like the army ensures that the policies are both executed and maintained. This is basically based on the beliefs of Karl Marx where both the wealth of a nation is collectively owned, and the interests of the working class are taken care of by the state. USSR was the first country to have practiced this doctrine and as seen in the Cold War, aggressively or jealously expanded and protected it.

**Capitalism and Democracy**

On the other hand, capitalism with the democratic political system is based on the freedom of individuals in ownership of means of production, and in his/her pursuit to enrich him or herself. Additionally, the production of goods and services are determined by the market forces where the state intervention is minimal. This model is based on Adam Smith's *laissez-faire* economy.

The principal belief is in the invisible hand enriching individuals in which the benefits will flow onto to the wider community through what is called the trickle down effects. The enrichment of the individuals indirectly benefits the community through different ways like – provisions of employments, payments of various taxes, consuming the finished products in goods and services. Individualism as opposed to the collectivism underlines the contrasting principles of the two ideologies. However unlike communism the army does not feature prominently in the execution and the maintenance of the policies. This is a feature of the Western World that USA took upon itself to expand and safeguard it in the face of the expansion of Communism after the Second World War.

Now do Activity.

**Activity 12.2.1.2**

1. Explain the difference between

(a) communism/socialism

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(b) capitalism/democracy

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2. What are the theories of Karl Marx and Adam Smith? Briefly explain.

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.1**

### Sub topic 12.2.1.3: Cuban Crisis, Korean War, Vietnam War

#### Cuban Crisis (1962)

In the early 1960s both communism and Cold War came very close to the shores of US for the very first time that it almost ignited a very major war. This happened when Cuba, only a few hundred miles from the coastline of US had become a socialist state under Fidel Castro and befriended Russia.

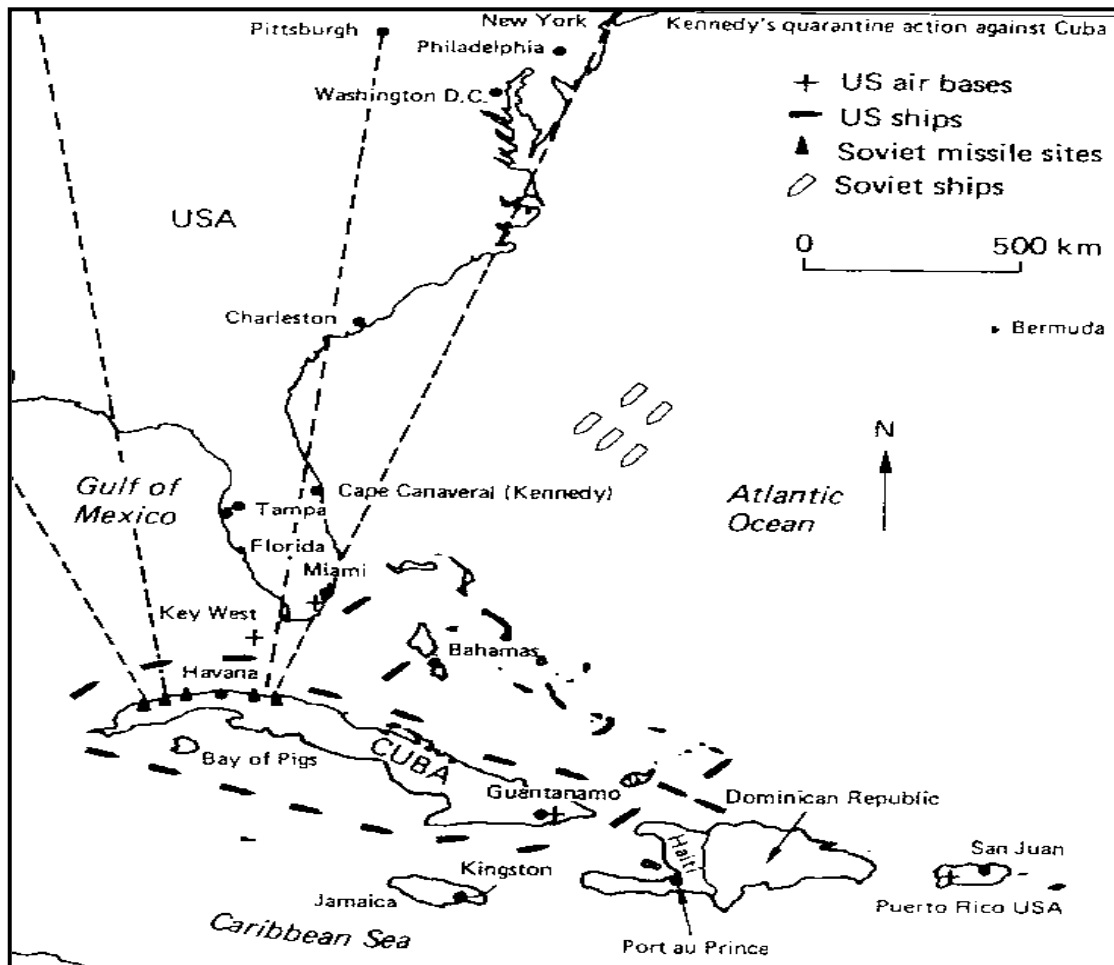


Figure 3: The Cuban missiles crisis in 1962

In 1959 Castro successfully seized power from a corrupt American dictator Batista and nationalized the American owned estates and factories. This angered US and immediately severed her relationship with Castro. USSR in meantime had improved her relationship with Cuba and also offered economic aid.

Sensing danger US organised a resistance group of Cubans who were closed to the ousted Batista to invade Cuba from Guatemala in Central America. America felt that it was proper for America to undermine the sovereignty of another country in the fight against communism. Unfortunately this



invasion was badly planned and executed. As a result it was easily put down by Castro in the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. Later in the year Castro was able to announce that Cuba was now a Marxist, socialist state and it continued by the US, Castro sought Russia's assistance.

Khrushchev (Russian Prime Minister-refer to 12.1.1.2) responded by setting up missile launchers in Cuba aimed at USA which was less than 100 miles away from Cuba. Other missiles with a range of 2,000 miles were also intended to be erected making it very risky for some eastern American cities of New York, Chicago and Boston. Americans became more nervous when her spy planes took photos of missile bases in October 1962.

This was a bold stand taken by the Russians in entering Cuba's crisis and this was possibly because of the following reasons:

- Russia seems to have lost the lead in Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles-ICBMS (refer to 12.2.1.5)
- US had placed Jupiters – nuclear weapons in Turkey in 1959;
- It was act of gesture of solidarity with Castro;
- Was a test to a young American President, Kennedy; and
- Khrushchev may have intended to utilize the Cuban crisis to force US to remove missiles from Europe or leave Berlin.

To the Americans, President Kennedy (refer to sub topic 12.2.2.1) had the option to launch a full scale invasion of Cuba and end the Cuban problem. Instead he chose a more cautious and sensible approach and that was to block the 25 ships bringing the missiles from Russia. Kennedy also demanded the withdrawal of missiles in Cuba and dismantling of missile sites in Cuba. To the Secretary General of United Nations the confrontation was becoming too dangerous, and had to intervene and asked the two powers to restrain from the near eruption of a major war.

It was the Russians who sensibly “backed-off” when Khrushchev ordered the Russian ships to turn back and a compromise was reached and promises made. Russia was to remove the missiles and dismantle the missile sites in Cuba. US on the other hand, promised not to invade Cuba and disarm Jupiters in Turkey. While common sense prevailed Castro was upset that Khrushchev had deserted him and the relations remained cool for some time.



Figure 4: Ships carrying missiles from Russia to Cuba



Crisis only lasted for a few days but it was a very tense period as the world came very close to an outbreak of a major war. It could have been more disastrous than the two previous wars collectively. Both sides had come to their senses and established direct telephone links – hotlines between Moscow and Washington for consultation. In the following year in 1963 a new treaty – Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed by US, USSR and Britain, allowing testing of nuclear bombs underground.

In the immediate aftermath of the Crisis in US, Kennedy was praised for standing up to Khrushchev and rejecting the invasion of Cuba and solving the crisis the way it ended. As usual USSR was blamed for the crisis for repeated lying that they had no intention of placing missiles on Cuba. On the other hand Kennedy was also blamed for missing the opportunity for not sorting out the Cuban problem once and for all. He was equally responsible for the crisis as he too had already placed missiles aimed at Russia in Europe.

### **Korean War (1950-53)**

Korea was under Japanese occupation since it had defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. During the Second World War Japan surrendered and USSR was part of the Allied forces and had declared war on Japan three weeks before the surrender. USSR quickly set up a Communist dictatorship under Kim Il Sung. Kim was the rightful leader as he had been trained in the USSR and hence was well versed in the communism. However in the new state of Korean People Republic with its capital at Pyongyang, Kim introduced his own version of Marxism-Leninism.

Similarly in the south after a month, the Americans quickly established control and proposed the artificial division line between the North and South Korea (or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. US also set up a form of corrupted and misgoverned democratic government under the President of Dr. Syngman Rhee after a UN supervised elections in 1948. Rhee operating in the capital city of Seoul was a strong nationalist, anti-communist and a ruthless authoritarian.

In the following year in 1949 both powers withdrew their troops but left behind their weapons and so called military advisers. Most of the Koreans bitterly resented the artificial divide drawn by the outsiders but the both regimes accepted and respected their rights to rule and govern in their respective areas of influence until June 1950. After a series of small raids across the border and into the South, North Korea army moved across the artificial 38<sup>th</sup> parallel divide and invaded South Korea.

USA immediately went on the offensive believing that this was part of Stalin's plan of spreading communism into Asia. At the home front the Democrats under President Truman were criticised for being ineffective in countering communism and this was an opportunity to stand up to the intrusion of communism. A decisive change of policy emerged in dealing with the Korean problem. Truman extended his Doctrine to Asia and this time as President, on top of its military and economic aid to South Korea, he sent troops stationed in Japan and elsewhere to South Korea and pressured UN into taking action against North Korea. USA was supported by 14 other UN members. The notable exception was Russia who had boycotted because of UN's refusal to accept Mao's China.



By early September 1950 South Korea was on the brink of being overrun by the North Korean troops. Almost every part of South Korea was taken except the south-east area around Pusan. The arrival of the American troops on 30<sup>th</sup> June was timely as “the North Korean offensive was halted before it could sweep all South Korea’s troops into the sea.” (Howarth 1987: 212). Further troops comprising of the UN reinforcements were stationed at Inchon near Seoul and 200 miles behind the enemy lines on 15<sup>th</sup> September. By the end of September the South Korean capital was reclaimed and Truman ordered the invasion of North Korea. By early October Americans had invaded North Korea and were advancing towards the Yalu River, the boarder with China. However they were forced back and humiliated by the Chinese forces that had crossed the Yalu River. By mid-January 1951 the Chinese forces numbering 300,000 troops forced back the UN forces and crossed the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel and recaptured Seoul.

President Truman had to act. He had a choice of using the nuclear weapons but decided against their use and instead opted for containment of communism thus effectively marking the end of the Korean War. He removed his Commander in Chief, Douglas MacArthur and increased his spending on defense from US\$13.5 billion to US\$50 billion, expanded US air force and increased the man power to 3.5 million. This was fifty per cent increase in the troops. Peace talks commenced in July 1950 and lasted two years ending in July 1953 with the two agreeing to maintain the artificial divide at the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel.

Among other results of the Korean War were:

- Disastrous – about four million Korean and civilian were killed and five million were left homeless. The divide became permanent.
- Truman claimed that he had contained Communism.
- UN’s act of aggression was perceived by the communists as a tool for capitalism.
- China emerged as a world power although was not recognised by UN.
- There was a new dimension in the Cold war. China with USSR was now a force in spreading communism and its relations with USA was strained.

### **Vietnam (1961-75)**

Indo-China region is made up of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and was colonized by France. There were basically two phases of conflict in this area since the end of the Second World War. The first was the war for independence (1946-54) from France which was won. The second phase was from 1961-75. It began with a civil war in South Vietnam but the USA’s intervention in the pretext of countering the spread of communism escalated the conflict in which it did not achieve the desired outcome. USA simply failed.

#### *The First Phase*

The war of independence was fought against both France and Japan. The latter had occupied the region during the war. A Communist, Ho Chi Ming who had learned the art of revolution in Russia led his League for Vietnamese Independence (Vietminh). Ho Chi Ming finally defeated the French after eight years of struggle in May 1945.



His victory was attributed to four factors:

- his mastering of guerrilla tactics
- he was massively supported by the people
- French had not fully recovered from the Second World War, and
- Mao Tse Tung's New Chinese Communist assistance in supplying arms and equipment.

France, on its part was also aided by USA with military and economic aid to prevent the spread of communism. However, after France's defeat USA was determined to take over from France to **thwart** communism.

After the Ho Chi Ming's victory an International Agreement was reached (The Geneva Agreement in 1954) that both Laos and Cambodia would remain independent. Vietnam however was temporary divided into two states at the 17th parallel. While Ho Chi Ming could rule in North Vietnam, South Vietnam was to have a separate government. An election was scheduled for July 1956 for the whole country to be united. Although disappointed Ho Chi Ming reluctantly accepted the arrangement. He was quite optimistic that he would win the elections but the elections were never held. It was widely believed that the populous North would win the elections. Consequently a civil war broke out between the North and South with US supporting the latter.

USA had no choice but had to get involved in the Vietnam War. This was a war it had to fight on its own without the UN support or endorsement. Lot of the former colonies of European countries who had now become members of UN could not be relied upon. They began to question United State's involvement in the so called independence wars. In the case of the Vietnam, US had feared that the Domino theory was a reality where if one (state) was lost to communism, others would follow. Hence in defiance of the Geneva Agreement US President Eisenhower (1953-6) assisted South Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem. Ngo was chosen in a national referendum in 1955 but refused to have the elections for the whole of Vietnam. It was feared that the Communists would be victorious.

Ngo had a very difficult time with the majority of the population in which three quarters were Buddhist peasants. Ngo, himself came from a wealthy Roman Catholic family. The former desired and demanded distribution of land among the poor that had happened in both China and North Vietnam. Land had to be taken from the rich landowners and this was something that Ngo was not very keen to implement. Additionally Ngo was also accused for being too close and influenced by the Americans.

In 1953 Ngo was finally murdered in an army coup but it was not after a civil war had broken out. Different opposition factions fought their own battles for or less the same cause. National Liberation Front also including former communist members of Vietminh began a guerilla campaign and attacked the government offices and buildings. They demanded a national democratic government to introduce reforms and a united Vietnam. Buddhist monks also fought their own battle by burning themselves to death in public.

US stepped up aid to struggling Ngo by sending in more troops and equipment. In disguise of helping to fight for South Vietnam's independence, USA was in fact fighting its own Cold War



propaganda to counter the spread of communism. USA was convinced that Ngo's opponents were supported by North Vietnam. Hence US Presidents Eisenhower (since 1954) and later John F. Kennedy (1961-3), Lyndon Johnson (1963-9) and Richard Nixon (1969-74) were adamant that communism must be beaten in Vietnam after the failed campaigns in Korea and Cuba. However they had varying strategies but the outcome was the same and it was a failure.

President Kennedy adopted the safe village policy where local peasants were moved into fortified villages while the US troops concentrated on attacking the guerilla fighters. There were about 16,000 US personnel with helicopters and other equipment but did not succeed because most Vietcong were peasants and operated inside the villages. Johnson was more offensive and directed troops to bomb North Vietnam beginning in 1965. In the next seven years it was estimated that more tonnage of bombs were dropped on North Vietnam cities than on Germany in the Second World War. Although the US troops were increased to a half a million North Vietnam was able to capture 80 per cent of towns and villages on the offensive. This was a huge blow to President Johnson and US. The public opinion in US was to withdraw from Vietnam. In 1961 President John F. Kennedy suspended bombing and opened peace talks in Paris.

When Nixon took over in 1969 the American troops in Vietnam numbered half a million and there were 50,000 South Koreans and 750,000 South Vietnamese pitted against 450,000 Vietcong and aided by possibly 70,000 North Vietnamese. However the circumstances in the battlefields compelled Nixon to continue bombing North Vietnam through Laos and Cambodia. With the public outcry of withdrawal President Nixon adopted a new strategy of Vietnamisation. This was basically Americans rearming and training the South Vietnamese to look after themselves and that would eventually see the withdrawal of the American personnel. By 1971 almost half of American troops were recalled. By the end of 1972 despite Nixon's bombing Vietcong were still able to control the entire half of the western half of the country.

Some terrible events had occurred during the war that did not help the cause of the Americans. These included:

- Bombing of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.
- Chemicals were used to destroy jungles and inflammable nipa palm to burn people alive and the side effects of chemicals resulted in deformed and handicapped babies.
- Many innocent (1-2 million) lives were lost and properties destroyed. In 1968 about 450-500 people including old and children of an hamlet called My Lai were rounded up and killed and buried in mass graves.

A cease fire was finally agreed in January 1973. American troops were withdrawn and both South and North Vietnam would respect the 17th parallel boundary. Unfortunately without the Americans and after the fall of South Vietnam's President Thieu's Government in Saigon, North Vietnam and Vietcong occupied Saigon in April 1975.

All these had occurred after President Nixon was convinced that Communism was not going to dominate the world and both China and USSR's relations were affected by the border clashes in Mongolia. Both Chairman Mao of China and President Nixon decided to mend relationships. President Nixon was able to visit Beijing in February 1972.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.1.3**

1. What had caused the Cuban crises?

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2. Who were the Presidents of USA and USSR in the crisis?

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3. How close was the Nuclear War?

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4. Who was or were the winners in the Cuban crises?

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5. Who was involved in the Korean War and why?

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6. What was the outcome of the Korean War?

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7. Who was now a new major enemy of USA in the Cold War?

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8. Name the leaders involved in their Vietnam War.

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9. Why did the US decide to fight a lone battle in Vietnam?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.1**



**Sub unit 12.2.1.4: The Berlin Blockade**

The West set up the German Federal Republic (West Germany) in August 1949 by merging her zones. Elections were held and Konrad Adenauer became the first Chancellor. Russia in return did the same to their zone and created the German Democratic Republic or East Germany in October 1949. Poor Germans continued to live in two contrasting Germany states with different living standards. This was to last for forty years when finally communism collapsed in East Germany. Fifty two years later in 1990-91 the Germans were greatly relieved and joyous to live as one people in One United Germany.

Although both the West and East had created two Germany states in their respective zones (see map), both sides refused to recognise each other's creations. In 1958 Khrushchev made it clear that he did not recognise the West Occupation of West Berlin but was powerless to push out the West. Two years later in 1960, an American U-2 spy plane was shot down by Russia when it flew well into the Russian territory. When US President Eisenhower refused to apologise, Russian President walked off a Paris summit that was just beginning.

There was another event that only infuriated Khrushchev but it also embarrassed him greatly. This was the fleeing of the East Berlins into West Berlin in big numbers. It was estimated that 200,000 were taking up refuge in a year with a total amounting to more than 3 million since 1945. With a new President of US in John F. Kennedy, Khrushchev renewed his request for the West's removal from Berlin. Kennedy's refusal prompted Khrushchev to build a 28-mile monstrosity across the entire city. Hence was the Berlin stand-off.

After the fall of Czechoslovakia and three months later, a major crisis erupted in the Cold War history. This was over the divided zones of Germany and Berlin. At the Yalta Conference Germany in 1945 was divided into four zones and Berlin into two (see sub topic 12.1.1.1). The Western zones including that of the West Berlin were economically well off. The US Marshall Plan was no doubt a major driving force. The Western zones also were merged into one big union and had their own currency. The West also wanted to merge the old four zones together and be given self-government but this was not accepted by Stalin.

The Russian zone including East Berlin was impoverished by Russia. As part of the satellite state her resources were drained out to Russia. Hence the zone was economically poor and people struggling. This greatly embarrassed Russia and to starve the West Berlin Stalin closed all links (by roads, canals, rivers, rails) between East and West. The aim was to starve the West Berlin.

However Stalin was out done by the West. Led by the US, West began to airlift resources into West Berlin under heavy military escort. Fighter planes were also placed at airfields in Britain by US. Consequently, Russia had no choice but to lift the blockage in May, 1949. To Stalin, this was a huge psychological blow and to the West, it was a great victory. However to the Cold War this only worsened the relationship and the Germany issue remained unsolved. The Berlin experience also showed that the West was not prepared collectively and effectively to deal with such incidents. There was a need for a far greater coherent union, and a better concerted coordinated effort to confront such incidents. Hence was the birth of North Atlantic Organisation (NATO).



### **North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)**

There was already an existing defense treaty among some of the Western Europe countries of Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. In March 1948 the Brussels Defense Treaty was signed among these members binding themselves to help each other binding them to fight together if one member was attacked, or in times of war. The joining of US, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Italy and Norway in 1949 transformed and expanded the existing Brussels Treaty to NATO. The basic aim was all the same; if one of the members was attacked, all was attacked and all defense activities would come under the command of NATO.

### **More Alarms**

Communism continued to alarm the Americans. Firstly, Russia developed atomic bombs and successfully exploded one. America responded by moving ahead in exploring ways to develop hydrogen bombs. Hydrogen bombs was many times powerful than the atomic bombs. Additionally, arms and nuclear expanses were tripled by US President Truman.

Secondly, on the other side of the world, communism began to successfully make inroads. In October 1949 China became the first Asian country to become a communist state. This was after Mao Zedang (Mao Tseung) defeated the US backed Chiang Kai-shek resistance. The defeated Chiang Kai-shek took refuge in Taiwan (Formosa). In 1950 both Russia and China signed a treaty of Alliance. Three months later in June, North Korea invaded non-communist South Korea (see sub topic 12.2.1.3).

### **Improvement in Relationships**

During 1953 the relationship between East and the West began to improve. Unfortunately the thaw was not consistent as there were still some areas of disagreement. Improvement in the relationships can be attributed to the following factors:

- The death of Stalin in 1953 saw new Russian leaders in Malenkov, Bulganin and Khrushchev taking a more sensible and softer approach to both their own satellite states and the West. Firstly, the satellite states were given more freedom to run their own economies and armies. Opponents to Russian rule were also released from prisons.
- Secondly, the Russian leaders were convinced that Russia had caught up with America in the development of hydrogen bombs. It was essential for a more sensible approach to avoid another major war. It would have been a war with more disastrous effects to everyone than the combined effects of the two previous wars.

This approach was clearly contrasting to Stalin's tough stand against the West. In his famous speech to Twentieth Party Congress in February 1956 Nikita Khrushchev openly criticized and condemned Stalin and his tough stand. He further explained that 'peaceful coexistence with the West was not only possible but essential.' (Lowe 2013). However, Khrushchev was still very adamant that communism would dominate the world. Instead of a victory in war Stalin believed that communism could reign supreme through her economic superiority and through her lavish economic aid to her satellite states.



### **McCarthy Discredited**

On the US front anti-Communist feelings were also becoming moderate. This happened when a leading anti-communist critic, Senator Joseph McCarthy was condemned by majority of his colleagues. McCarthy's anti-communist criticisms went too far when he started accusing the leading generals in becoming too sympathetic and soft. The new Republican President Eisenhower who had sided with Senate also publically announced that the Americans also wanted to befriend the Russians.

How did the **thaw** show itself?

1. The first thaw signs were:
  - The signing of the peace agreement at Panmunjom ending the Korean War in July 1953.
  - The ending of the Indo-China war in 1954.
2. The Russians also made important concessions.
  - Agreed to give up military bases in Finland
  - Lifted their veto on admission of 16 new member states to the UN
  - Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia made peace
  - Cominform was abandoned and suggesting more freedom to the satellite states
3. The signing of the Austrian State treaty in May 1955

### **The Signing of the Austrian State Treaty – May 1955**

This was considered the most important document in the Thaw. Austria like Germany was also divided into four zones. However the situation was much more different in Austria than Germany, as the former was not a defeated enemy but was a liberated state from the Nazis. Unlike Germany, Austria was allowed to have her own government but with limited powers. Unfortunately while the Western zones were able to recover economically the Russian zone was impoverished by Russia in draining out her resources. There was also a possibility of a merger between the West Germany and West Austria. Austria also pressured Russia to co-operate and this may have played a part in Russia to give in.

In May 1955 Austria became an independent State on the condition that:

- She would not unite with Germany
- Her armed forces would be limited
- She would remain neutral meaning that she would neither join NATO nor European Economic Community.

Unfortunately, Austria was unhappy that her Germany speaking area of the South Tyrol was still maintained by Italy.



### The Thaw was Partial

All was not as smooth as it was to be heard and believed with signing of various documents to maintain a steady relationship between the East and West. Khrushchev, although had made consensus was still very adamant in maintaining or re-establishing his communist dominance. He really had no strong intentions on losing his grip on the East Europe satellite states. For instance, he ruthlessly crushed an uprising against the communist government in Budapest (Hungary) in 1956. Other examples included:

- In 1956 a mutual defense in form of Warsaw Pact was signed between Russia and her satellite states after West Germany entered NATO;
- The Russian continuation to build up nuclear armaments;
- More tension in Berlin
- More pro-active as Khrushchev installed Soviet missiles at the 'door-steps' of USA in Cuba.

Now do Activity.



#### Activity 12.2.1.4

1. How and why was Berlin divided?

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2. Discuss the economic states of the two sides. Why were the East Berlin's risking their lives to escape into West Berlin?

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3. What do the initials NATO stand for and when and why was it formed?

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4. How would you define Thaw and why was it important?

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5. Why was the Signing of the Austrian State Treaty in May 1945 considered the most important document in the Thaw?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.1**

### Sub topic 12.2.1.5: What is Nuclear Arms Race?

Nuclear arms race basically refers to the competition in developing new nuclear arms between East and West, but led by USSR in the East and USA in the West. Arms race is basically against these two countries and was used, or their threats to be used featured promptly in fighting the Cold War. Although it had enormous effects on their respective economies the arms race began to accelerate towards the end of 1949 with the production of Russia's first atomic bomb. USA had already had atomic bombs, and had sadly and effectively dropped those on Hiroshima and Nagasaki with catastrophic effects to end the Second World War in August 1945 (see sub topic 12.2.1.1).

With a stronger economy than its opponent, USA moved and stayed ahead of USSR in the arms race. It produced more bombs and bombers. However Russia seemed to have leaped frogged USA in the arms race with the production of a new type of weapon called the international ballistic missile (ICBM). ICBM was a nuclear warhead carried by a rocket and could reach its target USA even it was fired from USSR. Americans responded with producing their version named Atlas and overtook Russia in producing more. USA continued to produce new nuclear missiles called Jupiters and Thors. Both these were shorter range missiles and could reach Russia from their launching sites in Europe and Turkey. Not to be outdone Russia surged further into producing earth satellites. In 1958 it successfully launched the world's first earth satellite called Sputnik 1. Within a few months USA also produced its own earth satellite.

As discussed in sub topic 12.2.1.3 the arms race or their threats to be used formed a very significant weapon in the Cuban crisis in 1962. The bargaining positions of both USA and USSR in the crisis were no doubt, either enhanced or limited by both the number and the quality of the nuclear arms both possessed. Ultimately it was also the fear of the use of nuclear weapons that contributed both to the escalation and ending of the crisis. Both Presidents Kennedy (USA) and Khrushchev (USSR) knew their strengths and limitation and most important of all, the catastrophic effects of the nuclear weapons on everyone. There simply was no winner and both leaders can be credited for maneuvering sensibly within their strengths and limitations.

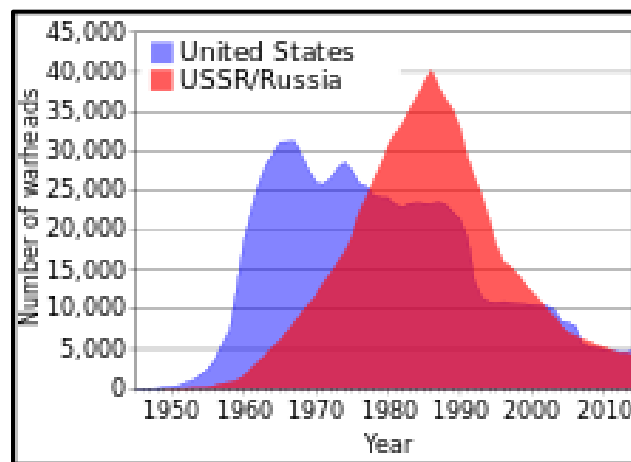


Figure 5: : USSR AND USA arms race



## Détente – Origin, Nature and Impact Agreements

Detente is a word used, or was used to describe the relaxing of East and West tensions on permanent basis between the period 1970s to 1990s that eventually led to the collapse of communism and Cold War. According to Lowe (2013:160) détente is “*a permanent relaxation of tensions between East and West.*”

It is interesting to note that after so many years in trying to out marshal each other with heavy losses on human lives and resources on both sides, both US and USSR decided to scale down their hostilities permanently. Although there were also some ‘temporary’ obstacles that greatly tested the détente the main players can be credited for reverting back to the significance of ensuring that détente was not broken. What had caused the ‘U’ turn for détente?

There were basically two reasons. One was on the result and the consequences of the Cold War itself, and the other was the individual motives of the key participants namely USSR, USA and China. On the war itself, one could argue that USSR and USA, China, USA and others had finally come to their senses and were realistic that no one was going to gain and win in expanding and preserving their own interests. And more importantly, there were the realistic and the catastrophic disasters the nuclear war would cause to everyone.

For the individual countries the Cold War was becoming too costly at the expense of their economic development and the well-being of their people. Russia with her satellite states were struggling and enduring economic hardships in keeping up with the US. Russia’s model of communism was being challenged by Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in early 1970s. Russia’s own relationship with China was waning while US relationship with China improved and Russia did not want to be left out. US on the other hand, were reviewing her policies as the leading power in countering the expansion of communism. This was made possible by her Vietnamese experiences. There was also a thought of re-visiting the isolationist policy. China also did not want to isolate herself to much in the light of America’s involvement in Vietnam and her straining relation with USSR. Western European countries were also nervous as they were the front line targets should there be an outbreak of a nuclear war.

So as early as 1970s détente was negotiated and established. Building on from the 1963 Agreements on ‘hotline’ and underground nuclear testing (see 12.2.1.3) both US and USSR made the first major breakthrough, through the signing of SALT 1 in 1971. Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) was aimed at reducing arms. Both countries were to decide on how many ABMs, ICBMs and SLBMs each should possess. Although SALT 1 did not reduce the amount of armaments it slowed down the arms race. Both Reagan and now Brezhnev met three more times before the SALT 2 and US commenced exporting wheat to Russia.

A further Agreement was reached in form of the Helsinki Agreement in July 1975. The Agreement ‘compelled’ USA, Canada, USSR and most European sates to accept the European boundaries drawn up after WW11. This also included the Germany divisions. However four years later in 1979 first tests and setbacks on the détente appeared. This was when Russia deployed 150 new Russian 55-20 missiles. NATO retaliated by deploying their own by placing more than 500 Pershing and



Cruise missiles in Europe by 1983 and US Senate resolved not to accept SALT 2. Then on the fateful Christmas Day Russia invaded Afghanistan (see sub topic 12.2.1.7). The two super powers resorted to building up nuclear arsenals. US developed a new weapon – Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or the Star Wars.

In 1985 the relations began to improve once again under the new Russian leader, Mikhail Gorbachev (85-91) and détente gathered momentum. In November both Reagan and Gorbachev met and collectively and sensibly stated that *'nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.'* (Lowe 2013:161).

Following year, in 1986, further incidents casted doubts in détente. There was a disastrous accident at the Chernobyl nuclear station near Ukraine and USSR was understandingly skeptical about the nuclear issue. However Regan in October in the same year, although was not prepared to abandon his Star Wars, proposed to Gorbachev a 15 year time table to rid the earth of nuclear weapons. In December 1987, Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) was signed in Washington by Reagan and Gorbachev.

INF Treaty called for the scrapping of all land based intermediate-range (300-3000 meters) nuclear weapons over a three year period. At that stage US had 436 of these nuclear missiles while USSR had 1,575. US had all American Cruise and Pershing missiles and were all placed in West Europe. Russia's missiles were stationed in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Additionally strict provisions were inserted for both sides to check on the scrapping of the missiles.

There was a major drawback. All intended missiles to be scraped made up only 4 per cent of all the total similar missiles. Other countries like Britain and France were not included and Britain in particular, publicly stated that not only she intended to keep her missiles she wanted to further develop them. Nevertheless INF Treaty was the first of its kind and very significant for the control of arm race.

In 1988 Russia began withdrawing her troops from Afghanistan as it was draining her resources (see 12.2.1.7). Other pressures coming from the Islamic guerilla fighters, Islamic states, UN also contributed significantly to Russia's withdrawal of her troops. There was also the condition that US should also cease supporting the local resistance groups. Also in the same year Reagan visited Moscow to discuss the timetable for INF Treaty.

### **China and USA**

Both countries were enemies since the Korean War. However the relations began to improve in the 1970s when US Tennis team was invited to visit China in 1971. In return US withdrew resistance on China's wish to join United Nations and President Nixon visited China in 1975. Taiwan was still a problem but in 1978, US under President Carter withdrew US recognition of Nationalist China. The climax of détente was when Carter gave formal recognition of China in 1979 and foreign offices for the both countries were set up in each other's country. However ten years later in 1989 the Tiananmen Square and the 1996 Chinese naval exercise carried out in the straits between China and Taiwan soured the relationship. They were not enough to break off the détente. In fact these were the last tests in the Asian region as the Eastern European communism was crumbling within itself.





### China and USSR

In 1950 both countries signed a treaty of mutual assistance and friendship. By 1956 the relationship began to wane. China accused Khrushchev of becoming softer towards US and capitalism. In a speech he emphasized the significance of 'peaceful co-existence.' Khrushchev new approach contradicted Lenin's (the father of Communism) revolutionary method of establishing and expanding communism. Russia in return, scaled down her economic aid to China.

There was also a territorial dispute in the north of Vladivostok in Sinkiang province. Russia had taken large area of this region in the 19th century and China was demanding it back. At the end of 1970s both Russian and China were competing with each other for the leadership of communism to US. Their relationship further deteriorated when in December 1978 Russia invaded Kampuchea (Cambodia). In retaliation, and in the following year in 1979, Vietnam a supporter of Russia was attacked by China. By 1984 China was still having grudges with Russia because Russia had troops in Afghanistan, still supporting Vietnam in Kampuchea and was building up troops along the Chinese frontiers of Mongolia and Manchuria.

In 1985 Gorbachev was able to restore normal relations. In July a year agreement on trade and co-operation was signed between the two countries. Four years later, in May 1989, two leaders were able make formal reconciliation. Gorbachev visited Beijing and withdrew troops from Vietnam.

Now do Activity.



#### Activity 12.2.1.5

1. What is nuclear arms race?

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2. Which of the super powers had a stronger economy?

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3. What is ICBM?

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4. When did Russia successfully launch the world's first satellite called Sputnik 1?

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5. What was the outcome of the nuclear arms race?

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6. Explain the meaning and the importance of Détente.

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7. What were the economic factors that 'forced' the rivals to negotiate and establish détente?

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8. When was the détente negotiated and established?

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9. What was the first major breakthrough?

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10. Name and discuss the contributions of particular leaders of both USSR and USA during this period of detente.

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.1**

**Sub topic 12.2.1.6: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and its impacts**

Afghanistan was invaded by the Soviet's troops of about 30, 000 on the night of 24<sup>th</sup> December 1979 and remained and fought a decade long fruitless war. It finally pulled out in mid- February 1989. The price of its invasion was a loss of about fifteen thousand military personnel and countless number of Afghans in the ten years of war. Additionally Soviets spent billions of dollars on arms, equipment and in supporting its troops. This was on top of loss of troops. Soviets were unable to effectively down the US aided mujahidin (insurgencies) and on the weight of the international pressure Gorbachev finally called time on Afghanistan.

The Soviets had been assisting the Afghanistan well before the invasion. Since 1950 USSR had given aids and built infrastructure like roads, irrigation and oil pipelines. By 1970s the political landscape changed where a communist party took over the monarchy. Although lacking popular support in the rural area the communist government instituted reforms. Unfortunately the reforms like the land distribution and women rights were new to the traditional Islamic culture. In the Islamic culture practices like polygamy, covering of women and blood for blood were the norm. As a result the communist government led by Banner leader Babrak Karmel came under attack from the devout Muslims and largely anticommunist population. The resentment was led collectively by mujahideen (those who engaged in jihad in Arabic).

The revolts' cause was also helped by the internal fighting and coups within the government. With little or no hope of withstanding both the mujahideen and the internal conflict by the communist government Soviet Union intervened to help the falling communist government. Once the capital Kabul was secured the Soviets installed the Babrak Karmel's communist government and forcefully continued to control the major cities, larger towns and major garrisons.

Soviets pursued the Mujahideen with their massive civilian support into the country side by repeatedly bombing the villages. The tactics had severe consequences on the locals. Deaths were countless; villages and rural lives were shattered and ruined and many were made homeless. It was estimated that about 2.8 million Afghans sought asylum in Pakistan and another 1.5 million fled to Iran.

However this did not deter the spirits of mujahideen. To them, Soviets invasion and the subsequent attacks was defilement to Islam and therefore proclaimed a "jihad" holy war. The mujahideen was able to receive worldwide assistance from the Islamic world in funds, arms, equipment and personnel. Additionally USA's own Cold War interests' assistance in arms, equipment, funding also played significantly in helping the local insurgencies in withstanding and holding off the Soviets. In fact, it was the introduction of USA's shoulder launched anti-aircraft missiles in 1987 that played a pivotal role in the final defeat of the Soviets. Almost every day Soviets aircrafts and helicopters were shot down by the mujahideen using the US missiles. This in turn became very costly to the Soviets. With the mounting international pressure including the United Nation Soviets finally withdrew in 1989.

Initially the reason for Soviet's invasion in 1979 was basically to support the faltering Afghan communist government or enforcing the Brezhnev Doctrine. On the broader level Soviet's intervention was no doubt an act of spreading and preserving communism at other parts of the



world. Unfortunately ten years of supporting the failing communist government and spreading, or consolidation the spread of communism was really worthless.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.2.1.6

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1. Why did the Soviets invade the Afghanistan in 1979?

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2. What was the result of Soviets ten years of war?

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3. How were the mujahideen assisted in the fight against the Soviets?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.1**



### Summary for Subunit 12.2.1

- In this subunit we have seen that the immediate post WW11 period (and as shall be discussed in the subsequent subunits) was dominated by Cold War. This was a war of ideologies of the two super powers (USSR and USA) and fought indirectly by using others. After being part of the Grand Alliance in WW11 both super powers became two enemies and feared each other's supremacy, influence and ideology may become too dominant in the world. USSR had communism and socialism while USA valued capitalism with democracy. Their fear and distrust of each other was evident during the war and hence several international conferences were held to establish a road map of dialogue. However this seemed to have had little effect as the fear and distrust of each other developed into great hostility.
- The Cold War hostility between the two powers resulted in the dividing of the European countries into two spheres of influence as reflected by the Iron Curtain fence across the European continent. East Europe countries became the satellite states of USSR while the Western European countries became supporters of USA. This also included the zoning of Germany and the Berlin city. Both super powers were able to use both their economic and military might through various strategies (Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, The Cominform and Motolov Plan) to spread and consolidate their influence among their supporting satellite states and nations.
- What made Cold War very dangerous were the development, deployment and threat to use of nuclear weapons by both superpowers. Developments of nuclear missiles to outdo each other were also very costly to USSR and USA. Additionally the two super powers were able to entangle the internal power conflicts of certain countries (Korea, Vietnam and Afghanistan) and the 'nationalisation programs' of certain countries (Cuba) to fight their war of ideology or 'greed' in the territories of these sovereign countries. The losses on the indigenou were very severe where thousands of lives were lost, many were displaced and economies destroyed. There were also human losses as well as the economic pains on the super powers for spreading their influence or countering the spread of one's influence.
- The artificial divides established by the two powers that divided one country into two like in Vietnam, Korea and Germany including Berlin were also very painful to the indigenou. Relatives were separated and made to support or fight in the opposing groups. In some satellite states of Russia like Berlin, citizens were forced to escape in thousands into the American side of the city due to economic hardships. The hardships were also worsened by the super powers strong grip on their controlled states like Russia on East Berlin. East Berlin was impoverished by Russia squeezing out its resources and at the same time fencing off the citizens to escape to the other side.
- The closest the two super powers came to a head-on confrontation was the Cuban crisis and the Berlin Block off. Fortunately commonsense prevailed and the two super powers blocked off, thus avoiding a possible nuclear war that could have more catastrophic effects on everyone. To avoid a nuclear war and with enormous economic costs on the two respective economies on fighting the Cold War the two super powers were able to



establish détente – a permanent peace for considerable periods of time. This was made possible by the signing of various treaties on arms control although Russian's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 breached the détente spirit. The détente spirit was ensured by certain individual leaders on both sides that eventually led to the decline of communism in late 1980s. With the collapse of communism and disintegration of Russia, USA emerged as the only super power. In the next section the new developments will be discussed.



## Answers to Activities 12.2.1

### Activity 12.2.1.1

1. Cold War is war of indirect confrontation between USSR and USA over ideologies and propaganda and fear of each other dominance in the world. Hot Wars refer to the direct head-on collisions like the First and the Second World wars.
2. USA and USSR. The main reason is to establish their dominance, influence and ideologies on the rest of the world.
3. Cold War is fought indirectly through threats, propaganda, sports, arms race using others and their territories.
4. Cold War is fought in such a way indirectly to avoid another World War that could have been more catastrophic. Secondly it took the fight away from USA and USSR.
5. The three conferences were held between November 1943 and July 1945, were the Tehran Conference (November 1943), The Yalta Conference (February 1945) and The Potsdam Conference (July 1945).  
The rationale behind these conferences were to continue to work out a road map for peace and stability after the Second World War by the Big three – USA, USSR and Britain.
6. The countries in the Iron Curtain side of the fence were Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania.
7. The Truman Doctrine was to help or free people who were resisting elements of forcefully overrun by stronger forces and the Marshall Plan was the economic aid to the European countries that also included the Russia and its satellite states. In reality it was USA's propaganda or tool to counter communism.
8. They were at the political level – all communist states had to follow the Russian style of communism and at the economic level – it was for all communist states to create a trading bloc and the satellite states also received economic aid from Russia.

### Activity 12.2.1.2

1. Communism/socialism is the belief that the wealth of the nation and means of production be communally owned and the production of goods and service are planned and supervised by the ruling elite.
2. Capitalism/democracy – is based on the freedom of individual in ownership of means of production, and in his/her pursuit to enrich him/herself. Additional market forces determine what to produce and their prices.
3. Briefly in Karl Marx model – wealth of the nation is collectively owned and the interest of the working class is taken care off by the state. Adam Smith has a laissez faire economy where the





belief is in the invisible hand of the individuals who will indirectly benefit the community as he/she enriches her/himself. Market forces and instead of the state determine the prices of goods and services. State's importance comes in where it creates an environment that is conducive for the individuals to do business.

### **Activity 12.2.1.3**

1. The Cuban crises started with Castro taking over and nationalizing the American owned businesses in Cuba.
2. President Krushev (USSR) and President J. Kennedy (USA)
3. It was very, very close.
4. No-one really won although President Kennedy halted Russian navy. The winner perhaps was averting a nuclear war – common sense.
5. Koreans, USA and China. Reasons vary from greediness to spreading their influence
6. Americans conceded failure, but problems still prevailed
7. China
8. USA – President Truman and Commander in Chief Douglas MacArthur,  
North Vietnam – Kim 11 Sung  
South Vietnam – Dr. Syngman Rhee
9. US decided to fight a lone battle in Vietnam because the new independent countries that were former colonies of European countries who were now UN members could not be relied upon.

### **Activity 12.2.1.4**

1. Berlin was divided into two - with East Berlin given to USSR and West Berlin to USA. Berlin had to be divided because it was part of the defeated and already shared Germany – the defeated foe in WW11.
2. The West Berlin economy was better than the struggling economy of the East. The latter was drained by USSR. Germans in East were risking their lives to get to the 'better' side.
3. NATO stands for North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and was formed from the existing Brussels Defense Treaty in 1949. It was a defense treaty as part of the Cold War struggle where the members vowed to help each other in times of need or if they were attacked by USSR.
4. Thaw is basically meaning maintaining a steady relationship between East and West in the Cold War era. It was important because it cools the hostilities of USA and USSR and ensuring peace was maintained and there were no confrontations that could possibly lead to another war.
5. Because Austria, a liberated state from Germany during the Second World was also divided into four zones and was allowed independence in 1955 on the condition to remain neutral. So no one claimed Austria.

**Activity 12.2.1.5**

1. Nuclear Arms race is the competition in developing new clear arms between East (Russia) and West (USA).
2. USA
3. ICBM is the Russian developed new clear missile called the international ballistic missile, the nuclear warhead carried by a rocket developed by Russia that could reach USA if fired from USSR.
4. 1958
5. There was no winner except that both leaders can be credited for sensibly staying clear of disaster by knowing their strengths and limitations.
6. Détente describes the relaxing of East and West tension on permanent basis during the 1970s to 1990s. Its importance is seen in the maintenance of peace at the global level.
7. It was becoming too costly on both sides economically and socially. Lot of resources were committed at the expense of other sectors of the economy and the loss of human lives.
8. As early as 1970s.
9. The signing of SALT 1 in 1971 – aimed at reducing arms by USA and USSR.
10. President Regan of USA and President Brezhnev and later Gorbachev of USSR. For accepting that no one was winning a fruitless war and ensuring that the instruments to establish détente were encouraged and affected.

**Activity 12.2.1.6**

1. Initially to help faltering Communist government and secondly, to spread and consolidate communism in the world.
2. Soviets lost the war and lost millions of lives and billions of dollars were spent. Afghans also lost countless lives of lives, many were made homeless, and village lives were destructed.
3. They were assisted by the Americans and the Islamic community worldwide.



## Sub unit 12.2.2: International Relations & Rise of Superpowers

### Introduction

The long periods of détente can also be attributed to the influence of certain leaders of both super powers, USSR and USA. Both their characters and their genuine commitment to world peace significantly contributed to the steady international relations for long periods of time. Additionally the Cold War had taken its toll on the masses in particular in Russia and its communist states in Europe. The ordinary people simply had enough of economic hardships and social restrictions under communism and wanted change. In late 1989 the masses 'revolted' and marched towards freedom, the once mighty communist military with its leadership were powerless to crash them. This eventually resulted in the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 thus signaling the end of communism in Europe. Communist decline also coincided with the dismantling of the powerful USSR into separate smaller states and leaving USA as the only super power in the world.

In this subunit you shall be able to know and understand:

- how certain influential leaders contributed to the maintenance of world peace and stability of long periods of time - detente
- the factors that significantly contributed to the collapse of communism in Europe
- why and how the strength of people's power was unstoppable in their pursuit for freedom
- how and why USSR disintegrated

### Sub topic 12.2.2.1: Influence of individuals; Kennedy, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Reagan, Gorbachev, George Bush Snr

#### Influential People

##### Khrushchev (1894-1971)



When Joseph Stalin died on 5th March 1953 a successor was not clearly identified. A number of potential candidates in the leadership circle, including Khrushchev shared various responsibilities. Khrushchev was born on 15th April 1894 to a peasant farmer and began life on a farm as a laborer. He later worked as a mechanic in a coal mine before attaining technical education. He then went onto joining the Communist Party and became the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and emerged as the more dominant leader among this group. Three years after Stalin's death in February 1953 and at the Twentieth Party Congress, Khrushchev made a stunning public speech condemning Stalin and his policies. This certainly was a risky start to his reign but the speech was to serve his political ambitions well where he declared his intentions for a new direction and approach.

Khrushchev believed that Stalin had diverted from Lenin and became too egoistic at the cost of the Party. Khrushchev blamed Stalin for lack of progress in USSR and strongly believed that Leninism was absolutely essential for progress. Stalin's last years of reign was marred by a number of serious domestic problems. This included the majority of the industrial and agricultural workers enduring a very difficult period where their living standard was extremely low. This was worsened by the key aspect of the economy – the agricultural sector. The agricultural sector was so inefficient and incapable and failed to meet the requirements of the nation.

Secondly, Khrushchev argued that Stalin had committed crimes in 1930 and did not accept his handling of the World War II. The victory by the Allies was very costly to Russia in which it lost 6.2m military personnel, 15 million were wounded, 4.4 million were captured or reported missing. There was a further loss of 17 million civilian lives. Additionally, he condemned Stalin's strategies as not necessarily essential to achieving socialism. Finally and perhaps, more interestingly and sensible, was his belief in co-existing with the West. He believed that this was both important and essential to avoiding a nuclear War; a war that would be more costly and disastrous to everyone than the Second World War. This certainly was a very significant change from the hardline socialism to a more liberal socialism.

It was not surprising that Khrushchev was blamed for causing unrest in the October Hungarian revolution in 1956. The senior colleagues in the Party – Molotov and Malenkov tried unsuccessfully to oust him. The Party Secretary, Khrushchev was very clever and like Stalin who before him had placed his friends and supporters in key positions of the Party and military. They ensured his retention and longevity while his senior colleagues were forcefully retired. However Khrushchev was neither influential nor powerful as Stalin but did manage to be responsible for the Russian



policy until 1964. It was the Central Committee of the Party who had the supreme authority and who later stripped him of his leadership.

Despite the limitations Khrushchev was able to make some significant improvements. To correct the wrongs of Stalin and improve the living standards of the mass he adopted what was called a general de-Stalinisation policy. This general policy underlined four main policy areas that included Industrial, Agricultural, Political, Social and Cultural changes and Foreign Affairs. It was quite plain that Khrushchev aimed to please the citizens both in the cities and in the rural areas by making life easier and more enjoyable.

The wrongs of Stalin also included over centralisation in bureaucracy and inefficiency and there were no incentives in the production process. Khrushchev reduced the over centralization by establishing Regional Councils who had some degree of independence in making decisions in production and organization. Unlike the Stalin reign the regional councils were also given the liberty to produce a surplus and make a profit. Additionally the wages of the workers were pegged against the outputs which provided an incentive to produce more.

His Agricultural policy was basically aimed at increasing food production that was essential but sadly was not achieved by Stalin. Khrushchev made huge areas of uncultivated land in Siberia and Kazakhstan available and were worked by thousands of young volunteers. This was in what was called the Virgin Lands Scheme project that was aimed at farming the land that was not previously used. Aids in machines like 100, 000 tractors were also provided to work the lands. More incentives were also made available and peasants were free to produce and keep surplus for sale. Additionally, taxes were lowered and the food from the collective farms was sold at higher prices to the Government.

The immediate results were very impressive for the nine years period from 1953 to 1962 both in the farm output and the grain production. This certainly pleased both rural dwellers and The Party. The former increased by 56 per cent and the latter recorded a substantial increase from 82 million tons to 147 million tons during the period. Unfortunately this success was not maintained and in the following year the grain output slammed to 110 million for a number of factors. Among the contributing factors were the critics and disagreements within The Party itself, both at the national and local levels. Critics were complaining that too much was spent on agriculture and consequently cut backs only resulted in poor returns. Perhaps the most significant factor was that the land had become exhausted and could hardly produce the desired requirements. In the end Russia resumed to rely on grain imports from USA and Australia.

In the urban areas Khrushchev's Industrial Policy turned attention to making the workers content and happy. His industrial policy centred on producing small consumer household goods. These included radios, TV sets, washing and sewing machines. Additionally Khrushchev embarked on a vast housing project in 1958 to accommodate the urban residents. The terms and conditions of the workers and pensioners were also improved. Minimum wages, pensioners and disability allowances were increased, working week was shortened, tax was lowered and tuition fees in both secondary and higher education were abolished.

The industrial policy in the urban centres also yielded significant improvement in the lives of Russians in the urban centres as more and more people began to have the desire house hold



goods. From 1955 to 1966 the number of people having the desired goods increased dramatically. This meant that in general, Khrushchev was making life more enjoyable for the urban dwellers albeit slowly and long way off from their US counterparts in the same period as shown in the following table. Number of household goods per thousand of the Russian population increased in all targeted goods. Every thousand people in Russia in 1966 owned 171 radios, 82 TV sets, 40 Refrigerators and 77 washing machines in 1966. This was a remarkable achievement from 1955 when only 66 radios, 4 TV sets, 4 refrigerators and a single washing machine was owned by a thousand persons of the population.

### Number of Goods per thousand of the population in Russia and US

Goods	Russia		US	
	1955	1966	1955	1966
Radios	66	171		1300
TV sets	4	82		376
Refrigerators	4	40		293
Washing Machines	1	77		259

Source: Table made from figures taken from Norman Lowe, *Mastering Modern History*, p. 398.

Khrushchev's liberal and relax approach was also reflected in the political, social and cultural changes of the Russian ordinary people. At the national level this period was marked by the thaw. Khrushchev also brought back the political power to the Party and there seemed to be more freedom and secured environment. Activities of the secret police were greatly reduced and more and more political enemies were released from the labour camps and rehabilitated back into the community life. Additionally the freedom of the writers was granted and writers were free to criticize The Party. However not everyone was free. The activities of the Orthodox Church was limited and monitored as it was feared to be coming influential.

The area of foreign affairs was marked by his Twentieth Party Congress Speech where among other things Khrushchev stressed the importance and the essentiality of peaceful coexistence with West. This speech provided a pivotal factor for some satellite Eastern Europe sates to loosen the Russian grip of control. China also viewed Khrushchev's approach as drifting away from the strict Marxist-Lenin socialism and communism. The speech also encouraged the unsuccessfully bloody uprisings in Poland and Hungary. Finally, the Party had enough of Khrushchev and was removed from leadership in October 1964. The end was no doubt his part in the handling of the Cuban crises of 1962.

Khrushchev was forced to resign by The Party at the age of 70 mysteriously citing poor health. Unfortunately he did not live long as he died the following year. However Khrushchev made a number of very significant achievements both internally and externally. At the domestic level Khrushchev can be credited for improving the lives of the mass both in the urban and rural areas. Secondly, Khrushchev established freedom to the ordinary people. Thirdly, his coexisting with West

policy ensured peace at the international level. However to the hard-liners Khrushchev was seen to be responsible for the uprisings in some satellite Eastern states against communism. Furthermore some quarters held him responsible for embarrassing Moscow in the stand-off with US President John F. Kennedy in the Cuban crises of 1960s. Equally he could also be blamed for laying the platform for the eventual collapse of communism in the early 1990s (see 12.2.1.3). His coexisting with the West policy also continued to widen the drift between the two biggest and strongest Communist countries, China and Russia.

### **Brezhnev (1906-1982)**



Leonid Llyich Brezhnev was born in 1906 and became the next Russia leader after Khrushchev from 1964. He died in November 1982. Unlike his predecessor Brezhnev was a hard line Communist and strongly believed in Communism and sternly supported its cause in the Cold War. He led his country in the 1960s when the nuclear arms race between USSR and USA had become extremely dangerous.

In his early days Brezhnev studied engineering and later joined the Communist Party. He was made an official of the Party in 1936. It was only in 1964 that Brezhnev assumed full control of Russia's leadership. The handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis had brought down the reign of Khrushchev as he was blamed for the embarrassment of Moscow.

However like Khrushchev, Brezhnev emerged as the next leader from the leadership circle consisting of Kosygin and Podgorny. The trio were the leading candidates with Kosygin taking care of the foreign relations while the Brezhnev and Podgorny dealt with the domestic matters. Brezhnev's reign marked reverting back to hardline Stalinism. Unlike Khrushchev, Brezhnev was more interested in keeping the *nomemklatura* – the ruling elite and bureaucracy happy and content at the expense of the mass population. He was the opposite of Khrushchev where he miserably ignored the reform policies; he did not accept criticisms nor was interested in any independent moves by satellite states.

Consequently the Russian economy stagnated under Brezhnev's economic policies because Brezhnev was more interested in production of military hardware. This sector of the economy was more successful than the rest and did achieve some desired results. The desired results included rivalling US in the nuclear arms race. Although US continued to keep ahead of Russia in developing more and more deadly weapons, Russia was able to catch up in number of inter-continental missiles, in anti-ballistic missiles (ABM) and did also develop a new weapon (see sub topic 12.2.1.5)

Other sectors of the economy continued to suffer and the growth rate was slow in the strongly centralized system. Brezhnev did not take any new initiatives and as a result Russian industries remained old fashioned and the outputs were either insufficient or were of poor quality. These industries included the important coal and oil, building and agriculture industries. This made Russia more dependent on imports from US, Australia and others.

At the political level Brezhnev ensured that the Russian Model of communism was be maintained. Any changes were not tolerated and often backed by the ruthless Russian troops. This was

reflected in the Soviet's intervention during the 1968 crisis in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia was the most advanced satellite Eastern state in industry and culture and at times objected to the over centralised Russian control of their economy. When the new Communist leader – Alexander Dubcek among other things, began to introduce free speech and freedom of press that Russia had no options but sent in troops.

Brezhnev later imposed the so called **Brezhnev Doctrine**. This basically meant that Soviet's intervention in the internal affairs of communist countries was totally justified if communism in their respective states was considered to be threatened. Although this affected some relationships with some satellite states like Romania who had wanted some form of freedom, Brezhnev was firm on his doctrine. Perhaps the most unfortunate application of the doctrine was the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 (see sub topic 12.2.1.7).

On the social policy and human rights Brezhnev did make some significant achievements. There was great improvement in the lives of most workers as unemployment became no longer an issue. People began to move into single family flats from their communal apartments and there was an effective social security program in existence.

However the personal freedom and free speech began to be banned by 1970. Anti-Stalin literature was banned and the secret police (KGB) confined the writers who continued to defy the authorities in psychiatric hospitals or at times referred to as the mental asylums. Although the 1975 Helsinki Treaty on human rights was signed with USA and others, it had no impact in USSR under Brezhnev, as he continued to suppress arrest and deport the anti-Stalin writers.

At the international level Brezhnev was quite manipulative and unpredictable as he always put the interest of his country and communism first. Firstly he continued Khrushchev's co-existence with the West policy. But this was because of its waning relationship with China that almost erupted into a confrontation in 1969. Russia was keen to maintain détente with the West until 1979. Its relationship with US plunged when Russia invaded Afghanistan. In the nuclear arm race Brezhnev ensured that Russia was not out done by USA by rapidly increasing its navy fleet and the new SS-20 missile. This was being achieved at the same time as he was advocating disarmament.

### **Mikhail S. Gorbachev**



Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was the eighth and last leader of the Soviet Union, having served as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1985 until 1991 when the party was dissolved. According to Lowe (2013:403) Mikhail Gorbachev “was the most gifted and dynamic leader Russia had seen for many years.” After the lean periods towards the end of Khrushchev's reign he was very determined to revitalise and transform the country, economy and the ruling elite – the Communist Party. Gorbachev had inherited a command economy that was controlled and owned by the state characterised by heavy industry geared towards producing the needs of defence at the expense of consumer and luxury goods for the ordinary people. In the 1988 Party Conference he was critical of the system that was too centralised and shutting the door for individual initiative. Gorbachev wanted to open up Communism and give more freedom to the people. He believed that within the existing Stalinist





communism his new policies of openness (glasnost) and restructuring (perestroika) geared towards modernisation, would achieve socialism that was humane and democratic. History can be good judge and may assess whether or not he had made achievements. However, one thing is for certain that Gorbachev was the leader of USSR when communism collapsed and USSR broke up signaling the end of Mikhail Gorbachev's reign.

His new policy of Glasnot meant openness and was basically aimed at disclosing both the inefficiency and corrupt practices of the Soviet government. Gorbachev had inherited a regime characterised by inefficiency and corruption that were effectively hidden from the public. Gorbachev wanted the public to be informed of the government's hidden problems and at the same time seeking their support for his new policies. Glasnot policy was effectively carried out and reflected in the areas of human rights and cultural affairs.

Like Khrushchev, Gorbachev brought back freedom to those whose rights to free speech and movement were taken away for being criticizing some aspects of the Soviet leadership. Sakharovs for example was exiled in Gorky (internal) and was free to return to Moscow. Burkharim was disgraced and executed in 1930s by Stalin but was now declared innocent. Others included Pravado, free press was allowed print on any issues. Dissidents were longer sent to mental institutions and previously not publicised events like the 19th Party Conference in 1989 and New Congress of People's Deputies in May 1989 were now televised to the public.

Additionally, new developments began to emerge in the media and cultural sectors. Firstly there were leadership changes from reactionary to more independent minded leaders taken over in the film making industry and Writers Club. Anti- Stalin films and novels were allowed to come back and encouraged in the country. News reporting was also given the freedom to openly publish news without favor and fear. Hence the April 1996 Chernobyl nuclear incident that happened in Ukraine killing hundreds of people and endangering the millions of Europeans lives as the cloud freely drifted in the sky was openly exposed.

### **Economic Affairs**

Gorbachev's overall economic policy was aimed at rapid economic development. This, he argued would be achieved through modernizing technology and provisions of competition and alternate jobs. The former was to provide competition to the ailing and efficient state production services and the latter was the replacement of manual jobs through the introduction of automation and competition in work places. Additionally the law on State Enterprises would ensure that the independent state bodies would take over the functions of the state centralized machinery in controlling production requirements and quotas. Production was also geared towards household consumer able goods to be repaired by small scale private family enterprises.

In the political arena there were dramatic changes. People were now elected and not appointed. Elections – People's choices overtook the Party appointees at the local Communist Party levels. Secret elections could be held for top party positions while the factory managers were also elected openly. Additionally, the functions of the Old Parliament (Supreme Soviet) was both down sized and decentralised and marked by elections of representatives by the people.



Unfortunately Gorbachev's reforms did not go down well with all party members. Some radicals and maybe impatient sections led by Boris Yelsten wanted quick changes but were not coming quick enough. On the other hand were the Conservatives who had the majority and controlled the Party. They were led by Yegon Ligachev who felt quite rightly that too much freedom was granted and the Party and Communism was losing ground. Gorbachev's reign was further affected when 1989 Congress of People's Deputies election was won by the Conservative. Yelsten, who himself was loser held a public protest with his supporters.

The situation rapidly deteriorated when the economic reforms did not achieve the desired results. There was neither economic growth nor improvement in the National Income from 1988-1991. The latter continued to fall by 15 percent in 1991. What further compounded Gorbachev's problems was the continued rise of inflation rate and government deficit. As the workers' wages were pegged to the factory outputs, the factories focused on producing expansive goods that in turn pushed up the prices. The government had no option but to print more money to pay the workers' wages. Another adverse effect was that people began to stand in long ques to buy basic goods as they were in short supply. This was quite similar to the times of the 1930s Great Depression. Another crunch time came when the miners felt the brunt of the economic reforms when they began to run out of simple necessities like soap. In July 1988 the miners numbering up to close to half a million went on a national-wide strike. Gorbachev gave into some of the 42 demands of the striking miners. The miners wanted nothing but improvement in their living standards.

At the International level he equally contributed significantly to easing of the tensions between the arch rival USA. In December 1987 he met with the then US President Ronald Reagan and signed a treaty. Both bound the two countries to destroy all existing stocks of intermediate-range nuclear-tipped missiles. A year or two later in 1988/9 Gorbachev withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan after 10 years of occupation. Then in the late 1980s and early 1990s he and his reform policies provided the pivotal platform for transforming the Eastern Europe political landscape and the ending both Communism and Cold War.

### **John F. Kennedy (1917-1963)**



John Fitzgerald Kennedy who was born in 1917 became the 35th President of the United States in January 1961. He was also the youngest at 44 years of age and the first Catholic. Sadly the young President lasted only for a very short period for two years as he was assassinated in November 1963. In the domestic scene he inherited an economy that was characterised by high inflation and unemployment rates. There were more than a 4.5 million people out of work. In his inaugural speech he was recorded as saying "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country".

Kennedy's new policy for the domestic economy was called the New Frontier. In the New Frontier Kennedy intended to use Federal funding to improve social security programs for the unemployed and, fund education and housing, medical expenses for the poor and aging. Strong Congress resistance thwarted Presidents dreams but was able to make some notable achievements in the economy. In the early 1960s inflation was controlled at 1 per cent and average GDP growth of 5.5%



from 1961 to 1963 was recorded in the period. There were also increases in the areas of industrial production and car sales.

At the international level Kennedy's foreign policy was all about confrontation with Soviet Union. This was in the early stages of the Cold War and the young Democrat President was able to stand up to the elder Soviet Statesman. Two most notable confrontations that stood out among others with Soviet under Khrushchev's leadership were the Belin standoff in 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis in the following year, 1962.

To the disappointment of President Kennedy Khrushchev pressed on with signing a treaty with East Berlin (see sub topic 12.2.1.4). Kennedy took this on as a challenge to USA and sent troops in a show of support for West Berlin. When further more than 20, 000 people fled from East Berlin into West Berlin in the year both Soviet and East Berlin were forced to build a barbed wire fence across the city to thwart further movement of people into West Berlin from East Berlin. This laid the foundation of the Berlin Wall in August 1961. Escapees into the West Berlin were often shot by the Soviet guards guiding the Wall.

The Cuban missiles crisis of 1962 again almost brought two powers into two collision and possibly another World War (see sub topic 12.2.1.3). When Russia began to bring in more nuclear missiles to help Castro and Cuba, Americans stationed a naval blockade stopping the entry of Soviet carriers. This was considered dangerous to continental America. The stand-off lasted for a fortnight and President Kennedy may have scored the political points. His Soviet counterpart was blamed by some quarters as embarrassing Moscow in handling of the crisis therefore significantly contributing to his demise in leadership. However both leaders can be credited for avoiding direct confrontation. There was really no winner.

Another bigger achievement for President Kennedy was signing a treaty with Khrushchev and Britain's Harold Macmillan in July the following year in 1963. The trio bound their respective countries in banning nuclear testing.

In the region of South East Asia Kennedy provided political, economic and military support to those countries that were either threatened or were in war with Communist elements. These countries included South Vietnam and Laos (see sub topic 12.2.4.4). Elsewhere in the Middle East, Kennedy viewed Israel as a country who symbolised democracy and freedom that needed help and must be protected. It was America's duty to do just that.

### **Ronald Reagan (1911-2004)**

Ronald Reagan was born in 1911 and became an actor before turning to politics. In 1980 he won the Presidential elections as a Democrat with George W. Bush as the vice President. He was then 69 years old and became the oldest US President. When he won the next elections four years later in 1984 he had then turned 73 which made him the oldest President ever. Regan's political life began as a Republican but turned to Democrat in the 1960s.



At the domestic level - Unlike Kennedy, Reagan in what was referred to as the 'reganomics' policy aimed to cut back on Federal funding on welfare services, maintain a balanced budget, lower taxes and reduce restrictions in business. This was basically removing the Government's intervention in the domestic economy and creating a free market. He believed and as outlined in his inaugural



speech in January 1981 'In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problems; government is the problem'. However like his predecessors military build-up was essential and therefore not only spent heavily but increased funding.

Although 'reganomics' was criticised for increasing the national debts and for benefiting the rich more than the intended poor, the American economy did show some improvements in 1983. His popularity further increased with his sweeping victory in the presidential elections in the following years.

At the international front the Cold War has now intensified and escalated and Regan was equal to the task. He improved and developed new missiles and placed them at the door steps of the enemy whom he dubbed "the evil empire'. His heavy spending in the military also included a plan to devise space- based weapons, build MIX intercontinental ballistic missiles and also placed Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe. In the other regions Reagan's Doctrine ensured helping any anti-Communist movements and governments in Africa, Asia, Middle East and South America. Wherever possible Reagan directly intervened to establish or re-establish capitalism and democracy as in the case of Grenada Island (Caribbean) in October 1983. One of his notable achievements was signing the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty with Gorbachev in October 1987.

However Reagan's reign was not immune to international problems. The following could be used to ruin his leadership:

- The bombing of Libya in April 1986 was seen as an overreaction by US after Libya based terrorists were held responsible for bomb attacks at Rome and Vienna airports.
- Apartheid South Africa – Reagan's limited sanctions was turned over by the Congress for much stronger stand.
- Meeting Gorbachev in October 1985 – it was felt that Reagan came out second best in this meeting
- Irangate Scandal – Contrary to Reagan tough stand on not negotiating with governments condoning terrorism and taking hostages, America was in fact secretly supplying arms to Iran for the return of hostages (see 12.2.4.8).
- Profits from Irangate were used to supply arms to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua although not sanctioned by the Congress. Congress had banned all military aid to Contras.

One sad tragedy that tarnished and hindered Reagan's drive to developing new space weapons were the disasters in his space program. Several of these occurred in 1986. Firstly was the space shuttle – Challenger that exploded on take-off killing all seven crew in January. Three months later in April there was yet another failure. A Titan rocket carrying secret military equipment endured the same fate at take-off. The third successive failure was the failure of the Delta rocket in May.

## George W. Bush (Snr)



George W. Bush was born in 1924 to a naval officer (George Bush) who served in World War 11. George W. Bush was probably the most experienced presidential candidate when he won the presidential elections in 1988. He had served his apprenticeship as the vice president to Ronald Reagan for the two terms from 1980-84 and 1984-1988. As a Republican presidential candidate George Herbert Walker Bush became the 41st President of the United States from 1989 to 1993. Four years later he lost to the Democrat Bill Clinton in 1992. When his eldest son also George W. Bush became the 43rd US President from 2001-2009) they became the second

Father and Son to US Presidents.

To overcome the Federal deficits left behind by Reagan at \$220 billion in 1990 that increased by three times from 1980 size Bush did a U turn to the displeasure of his Republicans. This kick started the beginnings of the decline of his popularity among the Republicans. He raised taxes contradicting his no new taxes campaign promises in 1988. However, Bush had no options as the Congress was controlled by the Democrats and Democrat's way out of the deficits were to increase taxes and spend more. In a mild recession that occurred in 1991 and lasting six months, many Americans who had thought that jobs were safe began to lose their jobs and the unemployment rate increased. By September the following year (1992) both the interest and inflation rates remained low but the employment was at 7.8 percent since 1984. Additionally there was about 14.2 percent of the population living in poverty in September 1992.

Among many others a notable achievement of Bush was the - Points of Life – project. This was project empowering the community to solve community problems where individual Americans helping the needy Americans generously. In 1990 a non-profit organisation namely Points of Light Foundation was created. Twelve years late in 2012 there were about 4 million volunteers serving the interests of the organisation.

At the international level and to continue enforcing and consolidating the ideals and values of the American society in the Cold War era Bush was just as committed as his predecessors. In 1989 Bush ordered the American invasion of Panama to remove their leader Manuel Noriega. Noriega was formerly an ally of US but later was accused of being a Castro informer. His problems escalated with American administration when he began bringing in drugs to US via Panama.

On the Cold War front Bush met with Gorbachev after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. It was there that Gorbachev was assuring Bush of his intentions of ending the Cold War. This perhaps was confirmed in the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) in July 1991 by two leaders. START was basically binding two countries to reduce their strategic nuclear weapons by 35 percent over a seven year period. Soviet Union was also to halve its land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. Another declaration was made at the dissolution of USSR in 1991 marking the end of the Cold War.

Elsewhere, with Soviet out of the way America under Bush administration continued to lead the world to impose justice – however it was defined by US. Among other missions was the Kuwait



Invasion by Iraq in 1991 (see sub topic 12.2.4.7) and the Somali Civil War in 1992 (see sub topic 12.2.4.2). When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990 and Saddam Hussein refused to withdraw his troops US led allied forces in 1991 into Kuwait forcing the Iraq forces to flee. Then in 1992 Bush was to reinforce the United Nations mission to help the affected in the Somali civil war.

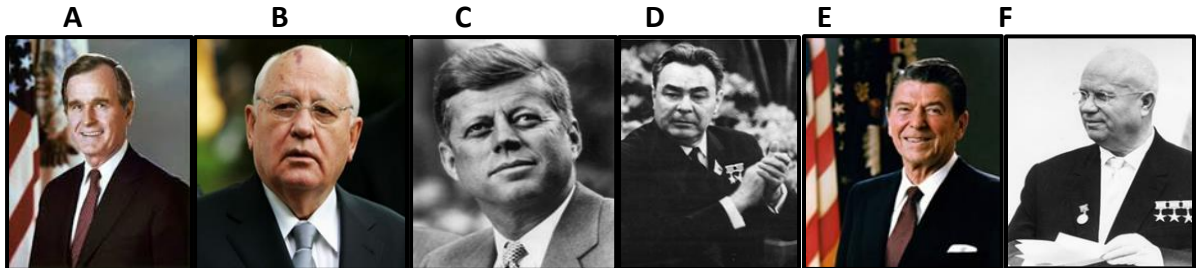
At the international economic front Bush successfully established the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Canada and Mexico. NAFTA created a free trade zone among the member countries to trade and invest. It also included the restrictions of patents, copyrights and trademarks. NAFTA was hailed as contributing factor in the economic growth of the American economy that also created 25 million new jobs. Unfortunately his achievements were not enough to see of the Democrat challenge of Bill Clinton in the 1992 presidential elections.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.2.1**

1. Who is who? Write the names of the leaders and their countries beside each letter.



**A** \_\_\_\_\_

**B** \_\_\_\_\_

**C** \_\_\_\_\_

**D** \_\_\_\_\_

**E** \_\_\_\_\_

**F** \_\_\_\_\_

2. Which Russian leaders were more open to the West?

\_\_\_\_\_



3. Name the three disasters in Reagan's space Programs.

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4. Who was the US President in the Berlin Stan-off in 1961 and Cuban Crisis in 1962?

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5. Which Russian leader ensured that the Russian Model of communism was maintained?

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6. What was Gorbachev's glasnost policy?

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7. Which two of the Presidents of USSR and USA were leading their countries at the times of the collapse of communism at the end of 1980s?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.2**



### **Sub topic 12.2.2.2: End of Cold War and Rise of Super Powers**

#### **The End of Cold War**

The end of the Cold War was signaled by the final demise of Communism in Europe beginning in 1988. Ordinary citizens simply had enough of suffering and living in a very restricted and confined sphere of influence as defined by the iron curtain fence (see Figure 1). From August 1988 to December 1991 Communism was swept away, or dissolved by popular demand without resistance in Eastern Europe and the iron curtain fence became history. Eastern Europeans used their power to bring down the iron curtain for good. There was a rising tide of opposition and mass demonstration and Gorbachev and his associates were powerless and ineffective to resort to arms or use arms to **quall** the opposition. In fact Gorbachev himself had warned his Eastern satellites communist states leaders that they would be acting on their own, without his to resist any upcoming resistance in their countries. (Engel 2009:7). Gorbachev's stand effectively ended the Brezhnev's Doctrine of 1968.

Popular uprising began in Poland with a series of large anti-government strike in 1988 organised by the 'Solidarity' trade union. Free elections were held that resulted in heavy defeats suffered by the communists signaling the end of communism in Poland. Other Russian satellite states (Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Albania) also experienced mass demonstrations, free elections and the defeat of communism. At the end of 1991 USSR split into two separate republics and Gorbachev resigned ending communist rule of 74 years in Russia. The Cold War had ended.

The fall of the Berlin Wall was no doubt the most symbolic end of Communism. While the mass played a significant part it is also fair to credit individual leaders like Gorbachev. He can equally be credited for the demise of communism in his back yard. The demise of communism in the Eastern Europe marked the end of the Cold War that was formalised in the Malta Summit of December 1989. In this Summit both Gorbachev and U.S President Bush officially declared the end of the Cold War.

However the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe could also be seen as a victory to USA and what it stood for. In many ways it was a victory for free capitalist market economy with its democratic political system. Additionally this also reinforced the existence of USA as the only major super power. Unfortunately USA was not able to be the sole world leader for long as other strong economies like China, Japan and even Russia began to catch up and rival both its economic and political might.

#### **Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and Nationalism in Russia**

Possibly the saddest episode of the fall of communism in the Eastern Europe was the disintegration of the Communist's strong hold and its capital in USSR. Sadly, the Communist political machinery and its leadership in USSR were equally powerless to continue to maintain solidarity in the once feared USSR. The feared and respected Communist leaders could no longer be held in high esteem by both the party leadership and its supporters. Gorbachev himself had survived a failed coup in August 1991. When he finally resigned as the leader of USSR on 25<sup>th</sup> December 1991, it also formally dissolved the old Soviet Union.





### Nationalism in Russia

Nationalism that had been successfully suppressed by Communism re-emerged in some former states of Soviet Union. While some were peacefully solved like the Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, the others resulted in bloody wars like the Azerbaijan and Armenia over disputed territories. There was also fighting reported in Georgia where a separatist movement wanted to break away from the rest of Georgia. Yugoslavia then broke into five separate states and was the worst of all and quite complex. As detailed in sub topic 12.2.4.1 the five separate states included Serbia (with Montenegro), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia. While Serbia fought Croatia for territorial gains, in Bosnia, Serbs, Croats and Muslims were fighting for separate states.

Elsewhere separate elections were held in different Soviet Republics in May 1990 who were given more powers. However Russia was the still the biggest of the Soviet Republics but joined with Belorussia and Ukraine in forming the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in December 1991.

Now do Activity.



#### Activity 12.2.2.2

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1. What factors contributed to the fall of communism?

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2. How important was Gorbachev in the collapse of communism?

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3. Why was the fall of the Berlin Wall considered the most symbolic end of communism?

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4. With the fall of communism who stood alone as the major super power?

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5. What was possibly the saddest episode of the fall of communism?

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6. Who was almost killed in an army coup?

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7. Name the states of the former USSR that were fighting for self-rule.

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.2**

**Summary for Subunit 12.2.2**



- Individual influential leaders of both USSR and USA significantly contributed to the long periods of world peace and stability. Signs of change emerged with the new Russian leadership in Khrushchev in 1953. Khrushchev achieved significant success in improving the standard of living of the Russian's through his domestic economic policies. However it was his peaceful coexisting with the West policy that had captured the imagination of peace loving supporters in the West. He may have been a 'weak' leader in the handling of the Cuban crisis with John, F. Kennedy in 1962 but Khrushchev can be credited for backing off and thus avoiding a possible nuclear war.
- The next Soviet Leader Brezhnev was stern supporter of communism and may have retarded peace progress when he took over from Khrushchev in 1964. At the cost of the stagnation of his economy Brezhnev ensured that Russian communism prevailed. Gorbachev was next Russian leader of influence and like Khrushchev he was open and had a liberal approach. His domestic economic policies did not achieve the desired results but his reform policies at the international level provided the pivotal instrument in finally ending communism and the Cold War.
- Of the USA leaders during this period, John F. Kennedy's foreign policy was all about confrontation with Russia. Summarily, both Reagan and Bush (snr) were equal to the task of spreading what USA stood for, and at the same time, containing the spread of communism. Their tough stand although at times, had lost some 'battles' of Cold War (Korean War and Vietnam War) was able to bring down communism and reestablished world peace. The collapse of communism in late 1980s coincided with the sad disintegration of the once solid USSR, leaving USA the lone super power of the world.



## Answers to Activities for 12.2.2

### Activity 12.2.2.1

1.



A. Bush – USA B. Gorbachev-USSR C. Kennedy-USA D. Brezhnev-USSR E. Reagan-USA F. Khrushchev-USSR

2. Gorbachev and Khrushchev

3. They are:

- (i) Space Shuttle Challenge in January 1986
- (ii) Titan Rocket in April 1986; and iii. Delta Rocket in May 1986.

4. President John F. Kennedy

5. Leonid L. Brezhnev

6. Gorbachev's glasnost policy was basically openness aimed at disclosing the inefficiency and the corrupt practices of the Soviet Government.

7. The two Presidents were Gorbachev of USSR and Bush of USA

### Activity 12.2.2.2

1. There were a number of factors like – people simply wanted change; changing attitudes of the USSR leaders like Gorbachev.

2. He was very important because he did not take hardline Stalinist policies. His moderate policies encouraged the former satellite USSR states to changes. Additionally he did not use force when former USSR states moved for reform and leading to eventual collapse of communism

3. Because in a lot of ways it was considered the symbol between the West and East. It was central to the problem of the Cold War and the Wall clearly reflected that.

4. USA

5. Disintegration of USSR, the stronghold of Communism

6. Gorbachev

7. Georgia, Yugoslavia into five separate states of Serbia (with Montenegro), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia.



### **Sub unit 12.2.3: International Co-operations**

#### **Introduction**

Although the demise of communism in East Europe ended the Cold War human suffering through natural and artificial causes continued. The sufferings ranged from hunger, poverty, dispossessed or injured in internal conflicts or by natural forces, or not having access to basic services like education, health care. This was a major problem for the world. While the developed world could help solve the pains of their people, the majority of the global populations resided in the developing world where in many cases were helpless and hopeless. Fortunately this serious vacuum of assistance in the developing world was taken care of by the humanitarian organisations with their vast resources and committed volunteering staff.

Provisions of humanitarian aid to the needy and the vulnerable by the organisations penetrated through the cultural, national, and religious barriers and always remained neutral in all cases. Their wide range of activities included providing food, medical care, materials, clothes, money, and advisory personnel to educate communities on importance of basic education, basic health care, expanding of their economic opportunities and on issues of governance.

At the political and economic fronts institutional approach to the world issues were adopted. This was through the formation of International organisations like UNO and WTO in 1945 to ensure world peace and stability were maintained at most times, and international trade operated without unnecessary limitations. Regional organisations were also formed to address the economic, social and political issues of their respective regions.

In this section, you shall be able to know, understand and value the importance and the rationale of some of these priceless humanitarian organisations operating world-wide in at times in very dangerous environments. Additionally you will also know and understand the rationale and work of the international organisations like United Nations Organisation (UNO) and World Trade Organisation (WTO).



### **Sub topic 12.2.3.1: The Formation structure, purpose and role of economic, political and humanitarian organisations in world issues**

The economic, political and humanitarian organisations do play a very vital role in world issues. Their contributions in all aspects of lives bring back, or recreate peace and normalcy back to the lives of the affected and vulnerable people of the world. In some instances they save millions of lives and improve quality of life for the poor including children. Most important of all the services provided are often free or are paid by generous people or organisations all over the world and carried out by millions of committed volunteers.

As discussed in detail in sub topic 12.2.3.2, United Nations and World Trade Organisations do contribute significantly in all aspects of world issues at the international level although the staffs are paid but the services are mostly free. At the regional levels organisations like European Unions are part from their primary objectives of attending to the needs of the member countries, do contribute to the funding of developing projects in the developing world.

Among these organisations are the humanitarian ones whose primary objective is providing humanitarian aid to the needy despite their religious affiliations, nationalities, causes of problems, locations, varying traditions, and cultures. Humanitarian aid covers a wide range of goods and services from providing food, shelter, clothes, cash, water, health care services, educational services, advisory services, and other relief services.

Among many of these humanitarian organisations are World Food Program (WFP), Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), Oxfam International, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and Action Against Hunger.

Briefly WFP is part of UNO and is the biggest humanitarian agency that fights world-wide hunger. Every year it reaches out to about 80 countries with about 90 million starving people. CARE also targets world-wide poverty using local communities. CARE activities include improving basic education, preventing spread of diseases, having access to clean water and sanitation. It also attempts to expand economic opportunities and protecting natural resources. Oxfam International works in about 90 countries through 17 different organisations also deals with poverty and injustice around the world. It is concern with a wide range of issues like active citizenship, agriculture, education, gender justice, health, peace and security and youth. Details of IFRC are included in sub topic 12.2.3.4. Another important humanitarian organisation that works towards ending world hunger and saving lives of the malnourished children is AAH. Its adopted strategies are in the provision of communities with having access to safe water and helping communities to find sustainable solutions to hunger.

#### **United Nations**

United Nations Organisation (UNO) was established after WW2 to replace the failed League of Nations in 1945. The latter was set up after World War 1 and “formally came into existence on 10 January 1920, the same day that the Treaty of Versailles came into operation “ (Lowe: 2013: 43). Its primary function was to maintain world peace, basically meaning that there would never be another world war. Unfortunately, for many reasons like not having an army of its own, US isolating herself from world affairs including not being a member of the League of Nations, the



League were considered a failure. There was the Second World War where the losses, pain, suffering, and destruction, were far greater than what was endured in WW1. Perhaps had LN being able to control people like Hitler (of Germany) and Mussolini (of Italy), and in particular the former, the Second World War may not have occurred.

So in San Francisco in 1945 UNO was formed. USSR, USA, China and Britain had laid the platform in a meeting held in Dumbarton (USA) the previous year. The rationale underlying UNO's formation was the same as that of the League of Nations and that was basically to maintain world peace and discourage confrontation or war. However with the failure of the League of Nations, UNO was perceived to do and achieve a lot more and to be effective as much as possible. Its expanded aims as summed by Lowe (2013:167) are threefold. They are:

- "To preserve peace and eliminate war;
- To remove the causes of conflicts by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress throughout the world, especially in under-developed countries;
- To safeguard the rights of all individual human beings and the rights of peoples and nations".

The functions of UNO are structured into seven organs. They are The General Assembly, The Security Council, The Secretariat, The International Court of Justice, The Trusteeship Council, The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the International Criminal Court (ICC).

***(i) The General Assembly***

The General Assembly that meets once a year consists of all the member countries represented by five members but only have one voting power. Special meetings can be held when the needs arise. The main function is basically to deal with world affairs and UN budgets and other related matters. It is important that speeches must be interpreted into English, French, Russian, Chinese and Arabic languages.

***(ii) The Security Council***

The Security Council consists of five permanent members and they are China, France, USA, USSR and Britain and six elected. The elected six members by the General Secretary hold the tenure for two years. The main function of the Security Council is to address world affairs as they rise and consider relevant economic sanctions or military action against the aggressor(s). Additionally, the Security Council approves application for UN membership

***(iii) The Secretariat***

This is the administrative arm of UNO headed by the Secretary- General and employs more than 50, 000 workers. The Secretary-General is not from one of the major powers is recommended by the Security Council for a 5 year term. She/he becomes the leading spokesperson and leads in the discussion or solving of the world affairs.



The past Secretary-Generals were:

- Trygve Lie - Norway (1946-52)
- Dag Hammarskjöld – Sweden (1952-61)
- U Thant – Burma (1961-71)
- Kurt Waldheim – Austria (1971-81)
- Javier Perez de Cuellar – Peru (1981-91)
- Boutros Boutros-Ghali – Egypt (1991-6)
- Kofi Annan – Ghana (1996-2006)
- Ban Ki-moon – South Korea (since 2006)

***(iv) The International Court of Justice***

This is the Court of the world and is based in the Hague, the Netherlands. The International Court of justice addresses world grievances including disputes between national boundaries between aggrieving countries and parties. Both the Assemble and the Security Council jointly appoint 15 judges, each coming from different countries. The judges serve for a five year term with five retiring at the end of every three years.

On paper the International Court of Justice seems to be a very powerful Court. Hence all member countries, including the more powerful and less powerful countries are bound by the International laws and treaties to adhere to its rulings. Unfortunately this is not the case and the Court or the United Nations is found 'toothless' when some countries reject the verdicts of the Court. For instance in 1984, the US was found guilty by the International Court of Justice in mining the Nicaragua ports and was ordered to pay compensation to the complainant (Nicaragua). However US refuse to pay compensation and the International Court of Justice was powerless to enforce its ruling.

***(v) The Trusteeship Council***

After the First World War, the losing countries of Germany and Poland were made to lose some overseas territories to the victorious Allies. The newly formed League of Nations gave the mandate to various Allied nations to look after these mandated territories on its behalf. Under League of Nations the Mandated Commission was entrusted with the obligation of ensuring that these territories were prepared for self-rule and eventual independence. One of these territories was German New Guinea where Australia looked after it as Mandated Territory of League of nations in 1921. This function was taken over by the Trusteeship Council on behalf of the United Nations.

Although it had made some significant achievements with some countries, the Trusteeship Council did struggle in some place. Namibia for example was a struggle for the Council. South Africa was stubborn to grant Namibia independence and did not even adhere to the riling of the International Court of Justice in 1971. It was both the pressure of the Black African nationalism and the international condemnation that finally forced South Africa to grant Namibia's independence in 1990.



**(vi) The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)**

This is a very significant function of the United Nations because it directly deals indiscriminately with the daily hardships of the people in the world. Every aspects of human life including health, education, economic, population problems, drug problems, human rights, status of women, children's status, are attended to in many different ways and through international organisations. Because of its enormous task the Council has four regional councils in the four main regions of Latin America, Europe, Africa and Asia and Far East. There are also Special Commissions and International Organisations to deal with certain aspects of life like World Health Organisations (WHO), International Labour Organisation (ILO).

**(vii) The International Criminal Court (ICC)**

The idea to set up such a court was mooted as early as 1937 by the old League of Nations. The Cold War further hindered its establishment when the suggestion was floated again in 1989. In 1994 (Rwanda) and 1995 (Bosnia) conflicts forced the Security Council to set up two war crime tribunals. The more famous of the two was the Bosnia war crime tribunal where a head of state tried. The former Yugoslav President, Slobodan Milosevic was extracted and handed over to the Security Council. The trial lingered for almost five years and Milosevic died of heart attack before a verdict was reached.

A permanent Court was alter set in 1998 but formally inaugurated in March 2003. The primary purpose was to try individuals accused of crimes against humanity. The establishment was made possible by the enactment of a Rome Statute endorsed by 120 member states of United Nations. The Court based in The Hague has 18 judges. Unfortunately every country is not supportive of the Court due to its own interests. US, is one of them who objected its inauguration and later withdrew its support. In June 2003 US was able to coerce 37 member states into another Agreement forbidding them to end over any US personnel accused of war crimes. Any state that failed to support US no this issue was threatened with withdrawal of economic and military aid. US had feared that it peace keeping troops may be coerced into committing war crimes in their duties and be wrongly accused of 'politicised' war crimes.

**European Union (EU)**

EU is an association of European countries established for economic, military and political co-operation. It now has 28 member countries with well over 500 million people. The operations of the European Union are channeled through several institutions and the inter-governmental-negotiated decisions by member states. The institutions include the

- European Commission
- Council of the European Union
- Court of Justice of the European Union
- European Central Bank
- European Court of Auditors
- The European Parliament – elected every five years by the citizens of the member countries.



After the Second World War there was a need among the European countries to move away from the patriotic nationalism to wider regional unity and identity. This approach was believed to minimise chances of another war. Secondly, a collective and regional co-operative approach to recover from the war was felt to be more effective. According to Norman (2009:661) it was

“... only by a co-operative effort and pooling of resources could help recover from the ravages of the war; and the countries were too small to be economically and militarily viable separately in a world dominated by the super- powers – the USA and the USSR.”

EU was formally known as European Economic Community (EEC) that was established in 1957 and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in formed 1951. However the genesis for the European Unity could even be traced back as far as to the formation of Benekux Customs Union in 1944, OEEC in 1948 and NATO in 1949.

The Benelux Customs Union was formed by the exiled governments of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. Benelux Customs Union was an economic union to create a friendly environment for the member countries to trade with too much obstacles. It took the association three years before it began operation in 1947. A year later in 1948 The Treaty of Brussels was signed. The Benelux Customs Union was now enlarged when the big two - Britain and France joined. The now five member countries pledged to “military, economic, social and cultural co-operation”. (Norman 2009: 692). Both NTO and EESC (1951) were born out of this association. The former, NATO ensured military co-operation while ECSC ensured economic co-operation.

France, in particular its Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman was instrumental in the establishment of ECSC in 1951. France had hoped that the new organization would improve strained relations between France and West German at a personal level. However its importance lied at the regional level where ECSC was an economic organisation aimed to improve industries for the member countries of Europe. The member countries included France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg.

ECSC became a free trade zone of the member countries on selected produce. All six member countries agreed to remove duties and all restrictions on trade on coal, iron and steel. For effective management and to attain success and expansion a Higher Authority had to be, and was created. In the first five years of existence the production rose by half and the early success made the members countries to extend and include all productions. A notable exclusion at this stage was Britain and may have regretted its non-membership. Britain had wrongly feared that that ECSC may fail and therefore did not desire to hand over her productions to the Higher Authority.

Six years later, in 1957, the Treaty of Rome set up the EEC. EEC basically became a free trade zone where all six member countries decided to - “gradually remove all custom duties and quotas so there would be free competition and a common market.” (Norman 2009:683). The founding members were France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. Britain was hesitant to join the Community. EEC was to maintain tariffs on non- member countries but at a reduced rate. EEC later expanded its functions to address other aspects of life.



It was now more than an economic organisation as it also aimed to:

- improve living and working conditions
- encourage the development of backward areas
- safeguard peace and liberty
- involve other European countries.

A Higher Authority was set up to work for a United States of Europe. There was instant success in the first five years. The economic zone region became the biggest exporter and buyer of raw materials and trailed only US in the steel production. Britain however still remained adamant not to join EU although was invited to join.

After a decade in 1967 EEC expanded and further redefined its functions and operations. A number of operational 'arms' were put in place for the effective operations of EEC. Firstly the European Commission – the administrative arm for EEC was established and based in Brussels. Both civil servants and expert economists were employed to man the daily operations. Next was the Council of Ministers – whose job was basically to exchange and coordinate economic policies of the member countries. The membership came from the government representatives of the six member countries.

Then there was the European Parliament that had 198 members chosen by the Parliaments of the member countries. Although the members deliberated on the issues of the community and could make recommendations they had no control over the Commission or the Council. Since 1979 the Parliament representatives are chosen by the citizens of the community are referred to as the Euro members. The European Court of Justice was also established to deal with any legal problems associated with the Treaty of Rome. The member countries also appealed to the court for any infringements of the Treaty of Rome. The organization of EURATOM that was the pooling of resources for the atomic energy was also part of the union. In the same year – 1967 EEC, ECSC and EURATOM merged to form the European Union.

Britain joined the EU in 1973 after it had earlier refused to join because of the following reasons:

- it did not want its economy be controlled by others
- its relationship with the Commonwealth might be ruined
- it did not want to share its US special relationship with others,
- its concern for its member countries of the rival group - European Free Trade Association (EFTA)

Beginning in October 1961 Britain commenced negotiations to join the EU. It took another twelve years before Britain's membership was finally accepted in 1973. The change of heart was based on both economic and political reasons. It was becoming clear that Britain's economy was lagging behind the member countries and seems to be stagnating from 1953 – 61. While the production in Germany and France rose by 90 and 75 per cent respectively, Britain only recorded a 30 per cent rise in the same period. Additionally trade among the EEC and their purchasing power exceeded



that of both Britain's rival group EFTA and its Commonwealth Empire. Joining EU and the competition among the member countries was perceived to stimulate and raise the level of British production.

However, at the political level which could possibly be the primary motive, was not to be isolated from the rest. Britain's entry would only strengthen the Western European collective solidarity and might against the USSR.

### **International Trade Organisation (ITO)**

After the Second World War the world adopted the institutional approach to address the post war economic recovery and its associated problems. There was a need for such an approach after what had happened during the interwar period. After a short economic recovery after the First World War, the world economy recovered and enjoyed some good period of sustained economic growth world-wide until the Great Depression in late 1920s and throughout much of the 1930s. The situation was not helped by the leading countries adopting inward policies aimed at protecting domestic industries by charging high tariff rates and US adopting the isolationist policy. So at Bretton Woods Conference in Hampshire, US in 1944 the following were established; the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the ITO.

ITO was then a multilateral international institution established to complement the work of both the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The former was formally known as the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IRDB). It was established originally to help finance the post war economic reconstruction of the warring nations. It later extended its assistance to help the economies of the developing countries. On the other hand, IMF aimed "to create the conditions under which the transfer of goods and services from one country to another could take place unfettered by restrictions or constraints over international payments." Kenwood (1983:249).

However, much more was needed to ensure that IMF met its objectives. There were areas in which IMF could not assume control over i.e. trade. So in as early as December 1943 the idea of an ITO was mooted. Unfortunately United States President, Truman was unable to get his Congress support to lower its tariffs so it was shelved until 1994. Similarly Britain was unable to end its imperial preference. In its place General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) was formed and signed by 23 nations in 1947. Two basic principles in which GATT was established were:

- Multilateral and non-discriminatory approach to International trade
- Condemnation of quantity trade restrictions

There were basically three objectives:

- Establish a multilateral system of payment based on worldwide convertibility of currency to achieve through elimination of restrictions,
- Ensure that a reasonable stability of exchange rate to be maintained
- Encourage member countries to pursue domestic policies towards achieving full employment.



GATT then became the only multilateral institution for trade addressing and handling problems of trade relations for the next forty seven years. In 1994 World Trade Organization was established and took over and expanded the functions of GATT.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.3.1**

1. What role do humanitarian organisations play in the world issues?

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2. Name five of these organisations.

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3. Why do you think that the provision of humanitarian aid by the humanitarian organisations is not limited by national, cultural, religious, gender boundaries?

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4. When and why was UNO formed?

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5. What failed organisation was UNO replacing?

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6. List the number of organs in the Structure of UNO.

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7. Who were the founding members of European Union?

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8. Which major Western European country decided not to join the EU at the first place because it was worried about some of her own industries?

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9. When were WTO and IMF established?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.3**

**Sub topic 12.2.3.2: Association of South East Asian Association (ASEAN), Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)****Association of South East Asian Association (ASEAN)**

ASEAN is an association of five developing countries in South East Asia formed in 1967 in Bangkok. It was to promote co-operative economic advancement among the member states including, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia and Singapore and later Brunei in 1984. Among its objectives is promotion of economic, social and cultural development of the region. This is to be achieved through cooperative programmes aimed at maintaining and protecting the political and economic stability of the region.

ASEAN also sought economic assistance from Japan. A list of industrial plants was agreed upon in 1976 by the members countries in which they could cooperate in the construction of the plants. These included petrochemicals, fertilisers, steel, soda ash, newsprint and rubber. Additionally, the group agreed to some Tariff concessions in number of basic commodities and to help each other in times of oil shortages.

**Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC)**

APEC is another of the many regional economic organisations consisting of 21 member economies with a population of about 2.8 billion people in the Pacific Rim. Its basic aim is to promote and encourage free trade among the member economies, with the primary (overall) goal of supporting sustainable economic growth and prosperity in the Pacific Asia Region. APECs membership is clearly defined as member economies and not independent states as it consists of independent economies. This allows membership of both Taiwan and Hong Kong to continue although they are part of the Peoples Republic of China. Both countries are represented by Ministerial level representatives and not by the head of states. APEC also offers observatory status to sister organizations in the region like ASEAN, Pacific Islands Forum and Pacific Economic Co-operation.

The need to form a more effective economic cooperation between the Pacific Asia region countries was first raised by the former Prime Minister of Australia, Bob Hawke in a speech on 31st January 1989 at the capital of South Korea, Seoul. Ten months later in November APEC was established in Canberra, Australia. The founding members were Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Unites States. In the next nine years APEC membership grew to 21 with the entry of China, Hong Kong, China and Chinese Taipei (1991), Mexico and Papua New Guinea (1993) Chile (1994) Peru, Russia and South Vietnam (1998).

The growing economic changes happening at both the global and regional levels led to the creation of APEC. At the international level regionalist approach was perceived to be the best viable option to achieve desired economic growth, prosperity and development. Therefore regional trade/economic blocs were emerging around the globe to free-up regional trade among member countries and states to enhance sustainable economic growth and development. To some the in cooperation of political unity and solidarity became part of their respective regional organisations.

APEC in this regard was seen as the vehicle to achieve the similar economic results in the Pacific Asia region.



Secondly, at the regional level, the growing interdependence of the economies of the region called for such as organisation to consolidate their relationships. Additionally, Pacific Asia region (but more particularly the SE Asia) was rapidly developing into a strong economic global base after the Second World War. The world economy has been dominated by the Europeans up to 1914. After WW1 US became the leading economy right up to WW2 and beyond. However the post WW2 also saw the shift of the world economic base to the Asian region and in particular the South East Asian region. Asia together with Asia-Pacific region – emerged as one of the growth poles of the world economy. (Lasserre and Schuttee 1999: xi). Individual economies like Japan (1950-90), South Korea (1961-1996), Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore (1980-90s) experienced some of the world's longest economic booms. Additionally China with a population of well over 1 billion people initiated market reforms since 1978 experienced rapid economic and social developments. There was a need to for an organisation like APEC to create an environment conducive to maintain, improve and utilise these new growing economic relationship for the benefit of all.

There was also the Japanese factor. Japan, after the Second World War and with significant US assistance, had grown into one of the most industrialized nations in the world. In fact it has become the most successful industrial country in the post-war era, and also the only most industrialized nation in the region and was a member of G8 countries. Some had feared that if nothing was done in the new transformations happening in the region Japan soon would become too dominant in the economic activities of the region. So to ensure everyone to effectively and equally participate in the one level playing field there was a need for a monitoring agency like APEC to be created. Finally both agriculture products and the raw materials of the region had to be



marketed beyond the European market. European nations had already formed their EU where preferences were given to buy the products of their member countries.

### **Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**

The oil production in the Middle East began around 1900 and was dominated by the Europeans through their large multinational companies. They provided the capital and skilled labor and seemed to have benefited more than the resources owners. The formation of OPEC coincided with the changing political landscape at the time. More and more former colonies were either becoming, or winning their independences from their respective former European powers. By 1960s Middle East countries also wanted more royalties and control of their most valuable resource and hence OPEC was born.



OPEC is an organisation of major oil - rich nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America but dominated by the Arab nations. They aimed to reduce the foreign influence in the oil industry at their home countries and at the same time, increase their own ownership, participation and influence. This is done through coordinating and unifying petroleum policies among the member countries aimed at ensuring fair and stable prices for the producers, efficient regular supply to consumers and a fair return to the investors in the industry. For the first five years of

existence OPEC operated in Geneva, Switzerland but later moved headquarters to Vienna, Austria on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1965.

The five founding members – Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela created OPEC at the Baghdad Conference held in Iraq from 10<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> September 1960. In the following years the membership grew with Qatar (1961), Indonesia (1962-2009), Libya (1962), United Arab Emirates (1967), Algeria (1969), Nigeria (1971), Ecuador (1973-1992), Angola 2007 and Gabon 1975-1994) joining the organisation at different times. Both Indonesia and Ecuador withdrew membership in 2004 and 1992 respectively.

OPEC rose to international prominence in the 1970s when their influence on pricing and supply of oil was felt right throughout the world. In the Yom Kippur War of 1973 the Arab oil-producing states used their new found '*oil weapon*' on US and other Western nations for supporting Israel. The Arab oil producing nations of Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, and Egypt reduced their oil supplies that resulted in very serious oil shortages in the Western World. In September 1973 oil production was cut by 5 per cent and that was going to continue for some time. Similarly on 16<sup>th</sup> October 1973 OPEC raised their oil price by 70 per cent to \$5.11 a barrel. Taking advantage of the oil shortages other OPEC member countries increased the prices of their oil substantially. For instance the Saudi Arabia oil that was selling at \$1.30 per barrel in 1970 was sold at \$9.76 a barrel in 1974.

Apart from the energy crises and inflation in the industrialised world, the newly independent nations began to run into very severe problems in serving their loans. This was the beginning of another major problem – International Debt for the Third World Countries.



Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.3.2**

1. What are APEC and OPEC?

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2. Explain their reasons for establishment.

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3. What do the initials ASEAN stand for?

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4. Underline the correct answer. Which of the organisations refer to its members as member economies and not states?

- (a) OPEC      (b) ASEAN      (c) APEC

5. When were OPEC, ASEAN and APEC formed?

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6. Why was Japan an important factor in the formations of APEC?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.3**

### Sub topic 12.2.3.3: Red Cross, World Vision, Red Crescent, Church organisations and others

#### Red Cross and Red Crescent

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is a very large reputable non-governmental (humanitarian) organisation operating all over the world with more than 13 million volunteers and staff. Based in Geneva, Switzerland it provides aid to that need assistance cutting across national, geographical, cultural and religious boundaries.



International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement

Croixrouge logos.jpg

The Red Cross and Red Crescent emblems, the symbols from which the movement derives its name.

A number of largely independent organisations founded on common principles and statutes make up the movement.

They complement its other in pursuit of their common goals and desires. Additionally they also operate under same symbols worldwide.

These independent organisations are

- The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
- The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent (IFRC)
- National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

The founding of ICRC on October 1863 derived from the sad experiences of a 31 year old Swiss business man named Jean-Henri Dunant. Dunant had witnessed the 1859 Battle of Solferino (part of the Austro-Sardinian War) fought between French-Italy alliance and Austria in northern Italy. In a single day on the battlefield laid about 40,000 injured human beings either dying or crying for assistance. Some were helpless. Unfortunately only a handful of French-Italy alliance medical team was available to care for them. With a strong Christian background in Calvinist, Dunant abandoned his plans of the visit and was totally focused on a more significant humanitarian mission. He was able to organise the nearby villagers in caring for the injured despite their origins of nationalities and provided aid including water and food for all the injured. He went further in persuading the victors to release the captured doctors to increase the medical staff on ground and at the same time paid for the makeshift hospitals.

Upon his return in Geneva he documented his experiences and views on how to care for the injured in a book titled – A Memory of Solferino. His views included calling for a national voluntary organisation to be formed to cater for the wounded in war. This he argued would be only be secured and protected by the development and enactment of international treaties guaranteeing protection for the volunteers in war zones. The book itself was read widely and eventuated in the formation of Committee of Five. The Five were Dunant, Gustave Moynier – Geneva Lawyer, Louis Appia, a physician and Theodore Maunoir. Maunoir was a colleague of the physician. It was Moynier who was the President of Geneva Society for public Welfare Society who had presented it



in his society meeting for discussion. An investigation team into Dunant's book was set up in form of the Committee of Five. The Committee then called for an International Conference.

<b>Founded</b>	<b>1885 (ICRC); 1919 (IFRC) (idea was in 1859)</b>
Founder	Henry Dunant, Gustave Moynier
Type	Non-governmental organization
Focus	Humanitarian
Location	Geneva, Switzerland
Area served	Worldwide
Method	Aid
Revenue	US\$3.6 billion (2010)
Volunteers	13.1 million
Website	<a href="http://www.icrc.org">www.icrc.org</a>

The International Conference was held between 26-19 October 1863 attended by 36 individuals and eighteen official delegates from national governments, six delegates from non-governmental organisations, seven non-official foreign delegates and five members of the International Committee. The delegates came from Austria, Baden, Bavaria, France, Electorate of Hesse, Italy, Netherlands, Prussia, Russian Empire, Saxony, Spain, Sweden-Norway and United Kingdom. The Conference adopted the following resolutions:

- The foundation of national relief societies for wounded soldiers
- Neutrality and protection for wounded soldiers
- The utilisation of volunteer forces for relief assistance on the battlefield
- The organisation of volunteer additional conferences to enact these concepts in legally binding international treaties
- The introduction of a common distinctive symbol for medical personnel in the field, namely white armband bearing a red cross.

In the following year in 1864 another conference was called for by the Swiss government. This time all European governments, US, Brazil and Mexico were invited. The first Geneva Convention was adopted by the Conference on August 22 1864 but - for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field. This provided the legal protection mechanisms for the neutrality and the protection of the wounded and helping volunteers. However for the recognition of a national relief society by the International Committee there were two requirements:

- The national society must be recognised by its own national government as relief society according to the convention
- The national government of the respective country must be a state to the Geneva Convention.



The First national societies were founded in Belgium, Denmark, France, Oldenburg, Prussia, Spain, and Wurttemberg. Other European countries and USA formed their own respective societies in the following years. In 1876 the name IRRC was adopted.

### **World Vision International**

**Humanitarian aid organization**  
**World Vision International is an Evangelical Christian humanitarian aid, development, and advocacy organisation. It was founded in 1950 by Robert Pierce as a service organisation to meet the emergency needs of missionaries. Wikipedia**  
**Founder: Robert Pierce**  
**Founded: 1950**  
**CEO: Kevin Jenkins**  
**Headquarters: Monrovia, California, United States**

World Vision International (WVI) was formed by a Robert Pierce in 1950. As a Christian service organization WVI aimed to service the emergency needs of the Evangelical Christian missionaries working in different parts of the world. Based in United States the organization has now expanded into the rest of the world providing various forms of humanitarian aid to the needy. Different forms of aid are provided under different divisions to effectively deliver and meet the desired forms of aid and objectives of the World Vision International. Their humanitarian aid covers every aspect of human life including health, education, children, economic development and promotion of good governance and justice. To improve effectiveness a database of the needy worldwide had to be created.

In 1967 a new Division – Mission Advanced research and Communication (MARC) was formed. The founder Ed Dayton was tasked with the responsibility of collected and publishing data on the unreached. This also culminated into the publishing of a Mission Handbook: North America Ministries Overseas. By 1970s WMI incorporated training of people on basic agricultural skills to work their land thus promoting self-reliance. Additionally other small but significant forms of aid were provided to improve their standard of living. Having access to clean water through installing water pumps became not useful to the rural communities households but it also helped basic health of the infants.

Twenty years on and in the 1990s, WVI shifted its focus on the needs of the neglected children of Africa and Europe. Series of factors contributed towards the negligence of tens of thousands of people in Africa and Europe. These factors included the internal conflicts, civil wars and AIDS. The most focused countries were Uganda, Romania and Somalia. With UN peacekeepers, WVI also participated in helping those affected by the wars. It also went further in publicly campaigning to ban land mines.

One very important component of its aid though at times attracts controversies is child sponsorship. WVI believes that educating and changing the children provides an effective platform for the future well-being of the community. The children are educated in their own communities



with the WWIs funding. Up to today it is considered to be the 11<sup>th</sup> largest charity organization in US with a well over US\$2.29b and operates in more than 90 countries.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.2.3.3

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1. When was Red Cross formed?

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2. Who started the Red Cross?

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3. What humanitarian organisation did Robert Pierce form in 1950?

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4. What is one most important component of World Vision International?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.3**

**Summary for subunit 12.2.3**

- The ending of Cold War with communism did not end the miseries and the pains of people. These human sufferings are caused by natural disasters and men and women themselves. Most of affected were and are in the developing world. Sadly the individual or the regional governments cannot afford to help.
- After the Second World War the world leaders adopted the intuitional approach to maintain peace at the global level. Hence was the formation the UNO replacing the failed League of Nations. UNO contributed greatly to maintaining peace in the world with mixed success. It intervened to stop conflicts or negotiated cease fires and established treaties to ensure the stop of conflicts. Additionally UNO through its various organisations addresses world injustice, poverty, gender and children issues.
- In the international economy WTO ensures that the international is not affected by restrictions. At the regional levels various regional political and economic organisations were formed to safeguard and promote the wellbeing of their economic and political stability.
- Among the significant contributors to relieving the pains, hunger, and poverty of the world are the humanitarian organisations. These priceless organizations provide free humanitarian aids to the needy in resources and information freely in all aspects of life. They ensured that the needs of the targeted people are met by remaining neutral at all times, and include everyone despite their varying backgrounds.



## Answers to Activities for 12.2.3

### Activity 12.2.3.1

1. These organisations play very important roles in encouraging peace through peaceful means, fighting for human rights
2. CARE, WFP, Oxfam International, IFRC and Action Against Hunger
3. Because it would defeat their objectives of helping the needy people of the whole wide world.
4. After the Second World War in 1945 to ensure that the world peace was maintained.
5. League of Nations that was established after the First World War.
6. The General Secretary, The Security Council, The Secretariat, The International Court of Justice, The Trusteeship Council, The Economic and Social Council, The International Criminal Court.
7. France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg
8. Britain
9. WTO in 1994 and IMF in 1944

### Activity 12.2.3.2

1. APEC – Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and OPEC is Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
2. APEC - to establish a more economic cooperation between Pacific Asia region countries or among the member economies. OPEC – To reduce foreign influence and ownership in the oil industry at Arab or home countries and at the same time increase their own influence and ownership.
3. Association of South East Asian Nations.
4. Underline the correct answer.  
(c) APEC
5. OPEC was formed in 1960, ASEAN in 1967 and APEC in 1989.
6. Japan, with the help of USA after the Second World War had become most successful industrialised nation in the region and was a member of G8 countries. It was feared that Japan may become too influential in the region.

### Activity 12.2.3.3

1. 1863
2. Henry Dunant and Gustave Moynier
3. World Vision International
4. Children Sponsorship





## Sub unit 12.2.4: Conflicts and Wars of Resources

### Introduction

Many of the needy and hurt that were attended to by the humanitarian organisations and the UNO were the results of conflicts and wars of resources. Some of these conflicts and wars of resources were either occurring during the Cold War period or after the Cold War had ended. Those that had happened during the Cold War were intensified in the involvement of the Cold advisories. However, if they had occurred at other times the involvement or the contributions to the causes of the conflicts by both USSR and USA were prevalent in many different ways, either directly or indirectly.

Conflicts and wars of resources as will be illustrated in various case studies were triggered by the greed and interests of the ruling regimes in their respective countries or regions. The ruling regimes either needed or wanted territorial expansions, re-claim territories, establish self-rule, occupy or grab of someone else's valuable resources or assert their influence and values. Unfortunately the adverse effects on the initiators or aggressors and on the ordinary citizens were very severe. Lives of thousands were lost, countless people were injured and dispossessed and the economies with their infrastructures ruined.

In this subunit you will be able to know and understand the reasons, effects and the strategies used in these conflicts and wars of resources. Additionally, you should be able to judge and value the role of UNO in attempting to end conflicts and establish long term peace.



### **Sub topic 12.2.4.1: Internal Conflicts or Civil Wars**

#### **1. Yugoslavia in 1990**

#### **2. The Irish Conflict**

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe did not totally end the world's problems. In fact the world was challenged by the new ones. These new problems were the re-emergence of the old problems of nationalism at the death of communism. Nationalism that was so successfully suppressed by communism in the old USSR or inside the Iron Curtain fence began to reappear and the most tragic of all was the Yugoslavia civil war.

Yugoslavia began to disintegrate into five small states with the demise of USSR. The states were Serbia (with Montenegro), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia. Serbia and Croatia fought over territorial gains while in Bosnia, Serbs, Croats and Muslims fought over setting up their own states and sovereignty. Yugoslavia problem was much more complicated because it was made up of different states and nationals after being formed after the World War 1.

The post WW1 Yugoslavia consisted of Serbia (the pre-war state) and the five new territories taken from the Habsburg Empire. They were Croatia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia and two new provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo. Tito, after the Second World War was able to rule the people of many nationalities successfully until his death in 1980.

The following problems began to affect the people.

- Economy – rising inflation mounting to 90 percent in 1986 and unemployment rate was 13 percent
- President Slobodar Milosevic was stirring nationalist problems against Kosovo for his own interest. He had won elections in 1990 and wanted to preserve united Federal state of Yugoslavia at the expense of dominant Serbia.
- Free elections were also held in other states and new non- communist governments were set up but resented Serbia's dominant attitudes. A leading critic was the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman who wanted nothing but a separate Croatia.
- Slovenia also wanted independent but resisted by Milosevic.
- The situation was worsened with the dealing of minority Serbians in other states. Croatia had 600, 000 Serbians making up 15 percent of the population and there were 1.3 million Serbians making up one third of the Bosnia-Herzegovina population.

In June 1991 both Slovenia and Croatia declared independence and civil war began. War, however was aborted in Slovenia where there were a minority Serbians with help of the EC. However the situation in Croatia where Serbian minority was large was different. Serbia invaded Croatia and by August had captured one third of the country. UN intervened with 13, 000 troops and by February 1992 a cease fire was established and by the international community recognise the independence of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In March 1992 Bosnia-Herzegovina with 44 percent Muslims, 33 per cent Serbs and 17 per cent Croats declared war on Serbia. The president was a Muslim Alija Izetbegovic. When the Bosnian Serbs rejected the Muslim President and the Constitution the fighting broke out among them. Croatia was able to utilize the situation by attacking and occupying areas where Bosnia Croats lived.

This was a civil war that resembled some aspects of atrocities employed by the Germans on the poor Jews. While all sides committed various acts of atrocity Serbian were the cruelest. Their acts of 'ethnic-cleansing' made them force and march Muslims into camps and even murdered them. All together 2 million of the Muslims were driven out of their homes. Serbian forces continued to attacked and killed thousands of Muslims forcing the Croats and the Muslims to fight together. NATO forces also intervened in fighting the Bosnian Serbs who did not stop their aggression even warned by NATO. The Serbian President Milosevic who was helping the Bosnia Serbs, by now was having enough of the war as the UN economic sanctions were having their toll on his country, and Bosnia Serbs war leaders were being discredited by the international community. Later, he submitted to the calls for peace.



Figure 6: The Bosnian Peace Settlement

In December 1995 a peace deal was struck by UN and EC and the involvement of Yeltsin of Russia and Clinton of USA. A Peace treaty negotiated in USA in November 1995, and signed in Paris in December 1995 resolved:

- Bosnia to remain a single country with own government;
- Bosnian state to have two sections – Bosnian Muslim/Croat federation and Bosnian Serb republic;
- Gorazde – the 'safe area' to remain with the Muslims;



- All indicated war criminals to be banned from public life;
- All two million Bosnian refugees be granted the right to return there was to be freedom of movement throughout the new state;
- 60, 000 NATO troops were to police the settlement;
- UN was to lift economic sanctions on Serbia

All though there was a general relief there was no real winners and the future still remain uncertain.

### **The Irish Conflict – Analyse the root causes of rejection of Anglo Irish Treaty**

Britain had entered Ireland in 1167 through Anglo-Norman intrusion and hoped that both the British and the Irish would live together. Although there were occasional tensions among the two, they relatively enjoyed a peaceful co-existence until 1500s when church began to enter politics. There was then only the Catholic Church. In early 1500s King Henry V111 severed ties with the Catholic (Europe) Church and aligned Britain, and his reign with the Protestant Church. This was the beginning of the hostility at much higher level of hatred and intensity.

In 1534 Catholics under Lord Offaly revolted unsuccessfully against the Protestant English King. The revolt was put down and the leaders were executed. Further major revolts were reported in 1649 and 1690. In the 1649 protest British PM Cromwell massacred about 2,800 protestors. In 1690 a Catholic King James was deposed by Pro King William 11 and ‘penal laws’ were introduced. These laws limited Catholics property ownership and their rights to education bear arms and drove out clergy. The penal laws only reformed a ‘patriots’ and the laws were relaxed.

The Catholics were never satisfied and further major rebellions were reported to have broken out in 1798 by the United Irish men. Although the revolt failed Act of Union was passed in 1801 thus creating a United Kingdom, abolishing the Irish Parliament, and uniting the Churches of England and Ireland. The wishes of the Irish Catholics still persisted and now were taken up by Daniel O’ Connell through the formation of Association for the emancipation of the Catholics. Ulster (Northern Ireland) now became a special case for the first time.

In the 1840s, natural disaster struck in the form of a dreadful potato famine. Two million of the Irish population was lost, most of them leaving Ireland. Towards the end of 1800 British Prime Minister, Gladstone proposed Bills for Irish self-government in 1886 and 1893 but failed. In the early twentieth century there was a renewed interest in the Irish past and language (Irish cultural renaissance) and new groups sprung up. Among them was Sin Fein (Ourselves alone) and the Irish Republic Brotherhood (IRB). However Irish Protestants (through Ulster Volunteer Front) were keen as ever to remain part of the British Empire. Both sides were able to build up private armies of as many as 100, 000 members on both sides.

When the First World War broke out in 1914 Britain was preoccupied with the war and the Irish issue was pushed aside but not completely forgotten. IRB was able to utilize Britain’s approach and staged the unsuccessful so called the Easter uprising. In the following year 1917, Eamon de Valera



as the President of Sinn Fein – one of the surviving leaders was elected and all groups were united under one leader.

In the Britain elections towards the end of WW1 all 73 Sinn Fein candidates were elected. However all refused to attend the Westminster Parliament and instead formed their own Irish Assembly, the Dail Eirann. This triggered violent confrontations with atrocities committed on both sides. With escalation of violence Britain was left with no option but to deal urgently with Irish problem. Consequently in June 1921 the Government of Ireland Act was passed.

The Act split Ireland into two, with 6 northern predominantly Protestant counties in Ulster forming North, and the 26 southern predominantly Catholic counties forming the South. The latter was the Irish Free Zone with dominion status within the British Commonwealth. It was not an independent state as yet. Instead it had its own Parliament and had to make an oath to remain loyal to Britain. The six most protestant counties refused to participate in the Promised Boundary Commission. It was not an independent state until 1937. A New Constitution abolished the Irish Free State and an independent sovereign state of EIRE (Gaelic for Ireland) was proclaimed.

### **Kosovo**

Milosevic continued his hardline policies in Albania resulting in Albania's continued loss of their provincial autonomy. This in turn made the Albanians dislike Serbia and bitterly resented Milosevic's attitudes. Non-violent protests were held in 1989 led by Ibrahim Rugova but were ineffective. In 1998 protests soon became more radical with the formation of Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Serbian government retaliated by launching a full-scale offensive against the Albanians. Once again NATO intervened by bombing selected areas that only hardened Milosevic's stance by resorting to ethnic cleansing. Thousands of Albanians were forced into neighboring Albania, Montenegro and Macedonia. When NATO continued its air strike Milosevic gave and accepted peace with the help of both Russia and Finland. The future of Kosovo still remained uncertain as at the end of 2003 UN peace keeping troops numbering 20,000 was still on duty.

### **Fall of Milosevic**

By 1988 Milosevic had been the President for the two consecutive terms. It was against The Serbian Constitution to run for the third term but that did not stop him. He lost in the 2000 elections and in 2001 was arrested and tried for war crimes. He chose to be represented by himself but died in March 2006 without a verdict reached.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.4.1**

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1. Explain the cause of Yugoslavia conflict in 1990.

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2. What was the root cause of the Irish conflict?

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3. Name two Churches that were involved in the conflict.

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**

**Sub topic 12.2.4.2: Somalia, Rwanda**

- 3. Somalia**
- 4. Rwanda**

**3. Somalia**

A united Republic of Somalia was formed and in 1960 became independent after her different territories were colonised separately by both Britain and France in the nineteenth century. Nine years later and in 1969 her president Abdi Rashid Ali Shermarke was murdered in an army coup. The Major General Siad Barre became the new president and renamed the country, Somalia Democratic Republic. In 1982 Somalia was invaded by Ethiopia with the help of USSR and Cuba. This was after Somali had failed to do the same to Ethiopia in 1977.

In 1991 Siad Barre who had now become a dictator was removed and soon a power struggle developed between the rival supporter of Generals aided and supported by the Islamist groups and Ali Mohammad. Somalians began to suffer from the civil war and were fleeing from their homes. There were famine, epidemics and droughts and people were being terrorized and robbed by the militias. The 20 Aid agencies in the country were finding it very difficult for the aid to reach the right people.

Consequently the United Nations at the request of African Organisation of Unity (AOU) intervened in 1992 with 28, 000 troops with US sending 8, 000. The objectives were twofold; firstly to disarm the warlords and ensure that the aid was received by the affected people. Unfortunately UN failed to disarm the warlords and when they began to experience casualties both the US and UN troops were withdrawn in 1994 and 1995 respectively. Aided was later killed in 1996 but Somali largely remained govern-less until 2000.

Some warring warlords made peace set up a government in 2000 but controlled only 10 per cent of the country. In 2004 a government in exile under President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed with 275 members were set up and operated from Kenya. An opposition group calling themselves Islamic Courts Council (SICC) began attacking the government forces that forced the Ethiopian government to intervene. By the end of 2006 most of the Islamist forces were forced by US to join in.

The Islamist regrouped, retaliated and recaptured most of their areas in 2007 and forcing President Yusuf to resign in 2008. New President elected was a moderate Muslim cleric Sheikh Sharif Ahmed who in 2010 acknowledged alliance with al-Qaeda. In the following year (2011) a famine in the south killed many Somalians and thousands moved to Kenya and Ethiopia. Another serious problem that besieged the struggling Somalia was the piracy in which hundreds of foreign vessels were attacked and the government was totally incapable to control piracy. President Sheikh Sharif Ahmed was defeated in 2012 and was replaced by another Muslim (but described more moderate) in Hassan Sheikh Mohamud.

#### 4. Rwanda

This was a very sad civil war and an evil act of genocide that could have been avoided or at least be effectively dealt with before it started. No-one including the UN and countries that should have taken the leads to prevent the civil war and genocide turned a blind eye to the problem. Everyone seemed to have been pre occupied with the emerging new democracy in South Africa. Sadly it was claimed that both Belgium and France knew of what was going to happen but kept quiet for the reasons best known to them. Similarly both UN and USA were alleged to have known of the events coming but sadly chose to do nothing.



Figure 7: Map of Rwanda in Africa

There were two main tribes who looked alike and spoke the same language but greatly differed in occupation and 'statuses. They were Tutsi and Hutu. The Hutu were the majority but the minority Tutsi, were the ruling elite. Tutsi meaning 'rich in cattle' raised cattle while the Hutu, meaning 'servant' were mostly the farmers growing bananas and other crops. The two tribes were never living peacefully and there were occasional feuds since independence from Belgium in 1962.

A tribal war between Hutus and Tutsi in 1959 before independence worsened in 1963. Fearing a Tutsi invasion from neighbouring Barundi, Hutus acted first and went on rampage massacring thousands of Rwanda Tutsis and got rid of the Tutsi government. The fighting continued between Rwanda army now dominated by Hutu and the Tutsi's rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). The RPF operated from the Uganda border. UN managed to make a temporary peace settlement between Rwanda-Hutu government and Tutsi FPR. In October 1993 a broadly based government was





established. This in co-operated the two factions, the UN had to leave behind 2, 500 troops to ensure peace prevailed.

Unfortunately, a year later in 1994, the saddest and cruelest act of genocide occurred. This was sparked off by shooting down an airplane returning both Hutu Presidents of Rwanda and Burunda from talks in Tanzania by the extremist Hutu. The aircraft was allegedly brought down by Hutus as it was landing at the capital of Rwanda, Kigali. The aggressive Hutus had opposed the Arusa peace plan and formed their own Milita (the Interahamwe). Taken advantage of chaotic environment where there seemed to be no 'control' the Hutus went on rampage. "The most horrifying tribal slaughter followed. Hutu murdered all Tutsi they could lay hands on, including women and children." (Lowe 2013:581). The estimated 800, 000 Tutsi victims also included clergy and the Hutu sympathisers of Tutsi.

The Tutsi's FPR retaliated by marching through the streets of Kigali and the streets of Kigali was said to be covered with blood. By September the Hutu government was driven out and replaced by Tutsi FPR government. At the end of 1996 normalcy was gradually re-established and refugees started coming back. Once again another power sharing arrangement was reached with Hutu's Pasteur Bizimungu and Tutsi's Paul Kagame becoming President and vice President respectively. Vice President Kagame was in fact the policy maker. In 2000 Kagame replaced the president when the President Bizimungu became too critical of his policies. Bizimungu continued on to form an opposition party but was outlawed by the government led by his former vice president.

Over-crowding in the prisons was a very major problem and could not be handled by the authorities. There were well over 100, 000 prisoners still waiting to be tried for their part in the 1994 genocide. In 2003 Kagame released about 40, 000 prisoners. Another peace settlement was again made. To ease down the tribal tensions and possibly to avoid another civil war a new Constitution was introduced in 2003. The Constitution basically ensured that no one tribe held the balance of power and allowed a president and a two chamber parliaments. In August of the same year the first national elections was held since 1994 and Kagame, amid the reports of irregularities won an overwhelming victory.

In February 2004, a reconciliation policy was introduced. People admitting guilt before 15th March could be forgiven and released. Unfortunately this policy excluded those accused for organising genocide. Kagame continued and made significant achievements under his reign. Economic and social conditions improved with more and more children going to school than ever before. This also included the economic activities in tea, coffee, tourism picking up and AIDS victims receiving anti-retroviral drugs. In 2009 Rwanda became part of the Commonwealth family thus serving formal ties with Belgium.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.4.2**

1. Which local leader took charge amidst the civil war?

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2. Who were involved in the conflicts of Somali and Rwanda?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. What were the causes of the conflict? Explain.

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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4. Where there any international organisations helping to solve the conflicts?

\_\_\_\_\_

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**

**Sub topic 12.2.4.3: Sudan, Ethiopia****5. Sudan****6. Ethiopia****5. Sudan**

Sudan's 'crisis' is another problem of hatred between two groups of people over right to govern and ownership of resources, ending in 'ethnic cleansing' of 300, 000 deaths and leaving 3-4 million homeless. In fact UN rated Sudan's problem as probably the worst of all post-independence African experiences. The two main rival groups here are the Muslim Arabs and the Africans – most of them are Christians. The former have dominated the government and denied self-rule for the latter since 1956. To consolidate their position a fundamental law was introduced in 1983 by the government only to the further detriment of their relationship. An army coup by the army officers in 1989 resulted in the over-throw of the government. The coup leader Omar al-Bashir became the president.

The Africans continued their struggle for more land resources and in February 2003 began attacking the government. Hiding behind the government, Arabs in retaliation used various Arab militias in its ethnic cleansing of the Southern African tribes in Sudan. By the summer of 2004 in the Darfur region 300, 000 lives were lost and 2-3million people were left homeless. The long droughts and poor infrastructure compounded the flight of the poor Africans. Government services like the schools, hospitals were ruined and now ceased operating. UN, with a number of overseas aid organisations were forced to drop aid in the affected areas.

In January 2005 African Union was able to bring the warring factions – Sudan's People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and Khar formed government in Nairobi, Kenya. A resolution was reached where Darfur would be an autonomous region for a six year period and referendum would eventuate to decide the future with Sudan. However fighting still continued and in March 2009 President Basler was issued a warrant of arrest by the International Court for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Basler managed to reign and won the first multi-party elections in April 2010. The results were not surprising as the opposition parties boycotted the elections. Meanwhile in Darfur region Salva Kiir the SPLM leader was re-elected as the president. In January 2011 the referendum on the future of Darfur region was held and the victory for succession was achieved with the overwhelming 98 per cent victory. In July 2011 Darfur region in the new name of South Sudan became the 54th State of Africa.



## 6. Ethiopia

Ethiopia was occupied by Italy in 1935 when Mussolini's forces forced Emperor Haile Selassie into exile. Italy also expanded the Ethiopia's boundaries by merging the neighboring colonies of Eritrea and Somali land. The 'new land' became Italian East Somaliland. However Italy's reign was short lived as Selassie was able to strike back and reclaimed the country with the help of the British.

In 1952 Eritrea (sea access) was taken by Selassie with the endorsement of both UN and USA. This incident unfortunately was to begin a conflict lasting many years as the Eritreans opposed the takeover of their land.

In the 1960s Haile Selassie's regime came under attack by many dissatisfied Eritreans and the people in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. Many of these affected were Somalis whose land was taken by Ethiopia. Although Selassie's reign continued the persisting drought, poverty and famine forced people to upstage the unrest in 1974. Some soldiers mutinied and formed coordinating committee of the Armed Forces and Police (Derg) under Major Mengistu got rid of the Emperor who was eventually murdered.

Mengistu was a Marxist and was ably supported by USSR. He nationalized most of the industries including land taken over by the state. However fighting the Eritrean rebels impoverished the economy although being assisted by USSR. In 1991 USSR deserted him and he fled to Zimbabwe. From this time and onwards was the death of socialism in Ethiopia.

Meles Zenami was the new leader of EPRDF and still maintained some aspects of socialism. To make way for Eritrea's independence in 1993, a voluntary federation for various nationals was introduced. People could now leave Ethiopia if they desired. Despite the prevailing economic hardships Zenamai continued to win elections. After winning the 2000 elections the economy also began to improve with the WB cancelling about 70 per cent of Ethiopia's debt. There was another election five years later with the same results amid fraud allegations in the elections. When people demonstrated against the results of the elections about 200 lives were lost.

There were further problems with the neighboring Somalis. In 2006 Islamist loyalties were waging a war against US supported Nationalist Government of Somali. Ethiopia became involved as US had a base in their territory and also had trained their army. Zenami retaliated by forcing the Islamist to retreat and occupy their areas of control in December 2006. Three years later Ethiopia pulled out leaving behind a small army of AU and Somali army opening the way for the Islamist to take control of South Somali. Meanwhile in Ethiopia, Zenami was to win yet another election in 2010 but died two year later at the age of 57.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.4.3**

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1. Name the leaders and the different factions involved in the two conflicts in Sudan and Ethiopia.

\_\_\_\_\_

2. What had caused the conflicts?

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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. What were the effects of these conflicts on the locals?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**

**Sub topic 12.2.4.4: Regional Conflicts**

1. Arab-Israel
2. Indo-China

**1. Arab – Israel**

The Middle East countries include the Arab states of Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Turkey, Yemen, United Arab Emirates, Oman and the only Jew state of Israel. This is probably the most troublesome region in the whole world and at the heart of this conflict is the existence of the Jews state, Israel among the Arabs. The state of Israel was ‘created’ by the UN after the Second World War.

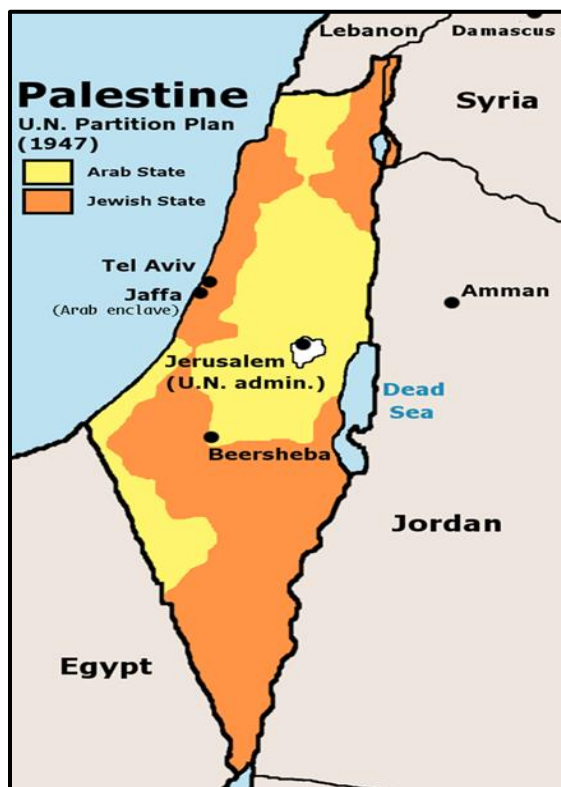


Figure 8: Palestinian



Figure 9: Yasar Arafat 1

To the Arabs, Jews do not belong in the land of Palestine. However Jews have always considered the region as the homeland.’ Two thousand years ago the Romans drove out millions of Jews and only a small number of them stayed behind. They were numerically too small to threaten the Arabs. However, over long period of time, Jews began returning and gradually their population swelled and began to threaten the Arabs. Arabs Jews living elsewhere, but mostly in the Europeans countries were being persecuted and decided to return to their homeland. In 1897 World Zionist Organisation was formed by the European Jews and encouraged the persecuted Jews in Russia, France and Germany to take refuge in their ‘national home’. During WW1 in 1917, Britain (who later took control of Palestine in 1922) also supported the movement of Jews back to Palestine and large numbers of them did return although the Arabs resisted. More and more Jews continued to

flock back to their 'national home' because of further persecution, this time by the Germans during WW2. By 1940 Jews had made up 50 per cent of the population in Palestine.

Beginning in 1936 Arabs turned to violent protests but were crushed by the British killing about 3,000 of them. British wanted the two different people to live 'side by side' and therefore proposed two separate states for the two factions. This was rejected by the Arabs who wanted nothing but the removal of the Jews. In 1939 another proposal was made by British where Arabs could have an independent state in 10 years' time, and the Jews immigration would be restricted 10,000 a years. This time, Jews did not accept the proposal.

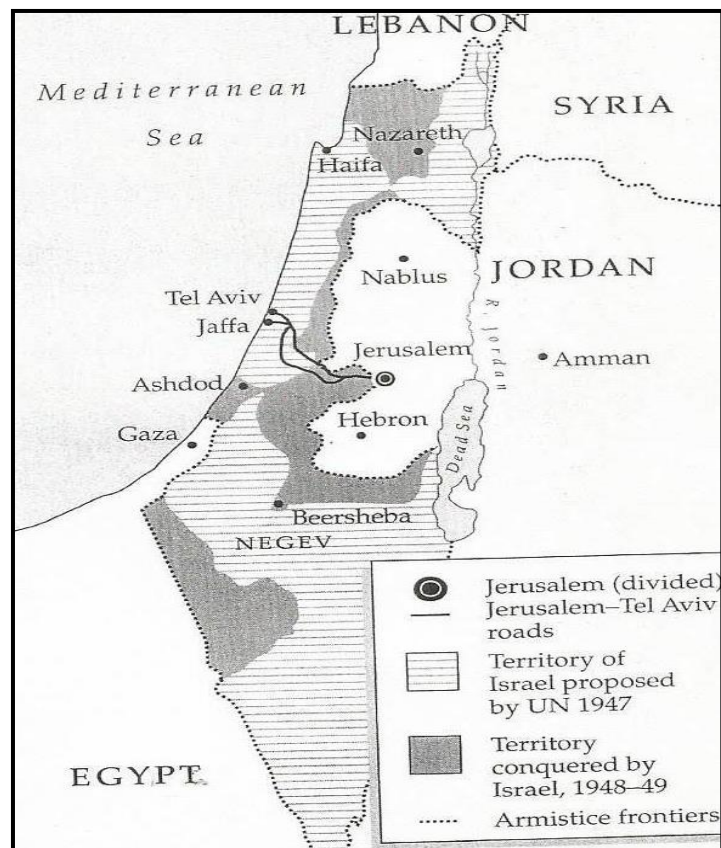


Figure 10: Israel after the 1948-49 war showing an enlarged Jewish state

The coming of WW2 and the Nazis compounded the conflict when hundreds of thousands of desperate Jews who had nowhere to go but to take refuge in their 'national home'. In 1945 US pressured Britain to accept 100,000 Jews but refused as it did not want to upset the Jews. This only ignited the Jews terrorist attacks both on the Arabs and Britain. Among other attacks was the 1991 blow up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. Ninety-one people perished and many more were injured. British in return, turned by the Exodus carrying many more Jew into Palestine.

After WW2 a 'weakened' Britain relinquished the control of Palestine to UN. In 1947 a UN resolution led to the division of Palestine into two halves paving the way for a separate independent state of Israel. This coerced the Arabs states of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon







His effort to drive out the Vietcong from his country only brought Cambodia into the thick of the Vietnamese war where both Americans and the South Vietnam forces entered the country. In the next three years the Americans heavily bombed Cambodia in vain as both the Vietcong and Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge were driven out. Although there was peace in 1973 the Americans continued to drop more bombs on Cambodia in its final bid to end Khmer Rouge's resistance. The Americans only succeeded in ruining the economy of the country and called off the bombing. In April 1975 Lon Nol's regime was taken over by the Khmer Rouge.

The country's name was changed to Democratic Kampuchea and Prince Sihanouk who had been associating with Khmer Rouge was allowed to return to the country. He was arrested and put under house arrest. Pol Pot was a stern communist and immediately introduced Marxist/Leninist principle.

City dwellers were ordered to live in the country side and made to wear peasant working clothes. The basic aim was to establish collectivism in the country side and increase the rice harvest. This unfortunately was not achievable overnight as a result a million people felt victims to execution, starvation and disease. Cities and towns with their services came to a halt and conditions became unbearable. Pol Pot also embarked on a campaign of genocide on all educated and potential opposition. This led to the wiping out of a generation in Cambodia – they were either killed or fled or exiled. The victims also included his dissident supporters.

When Pol Pot angered Vietnam by a number of border incidents Vietnam invaded Cambodia in January 1979 and installed a new puppet regime under the leadership of Hun Sen. Pol Pot was driven out and into the mountains. For the next ten years much of Cambodia was occupied by Vietnam. Unfortunately Vietnam's intrusion that could be seen as saving many lives of people was not accepted nor recognised by the international community. UN's draft resolution of a cease fire and withdrawal of foreign forces was not supported by USSR and Vietnam.

The new government that was established by Vietnam abandoned Pol Pot's extreme policies and the city lives gradually returned. Social services like the schools, aid post were opened, religions (Buddhist) were practiced and business operated. However this was not enough to convince the former communist and intelligentsia to remain in the country. Most chose to reside in Thailand. Meanwhile in 1982, the joint opposition (Khmer Rouge, Prince Sihanouk and non-communist – National Liberation Front) in Thailand combined to form a government in exile in Thailand. Prince Sihanouk was chosen as president and Son Sann from National Liberation Front became the prime minister. Although this was recognized by the UN the ordinary Cambodians were content with the existing regime.

Towards the end of 1980s and with the ending of Cold War situation changed. Keeping a large army in Cambodia was also having its toll on Vietnam. Finally a resolution was made in October 1991. A transnational government was installed and UN prepared elections in 1993. Amid continuous reluctance by the Khmer Rouge the national elections were held. Royalist party now led by Prince Ranariddh (Sihanouk's son) became the largest party and Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party came second. A coalition was formed with Ranariddh becoming the President and Sen the prime minister. This was not a happy political marriage as feud continued between the two parties.



With the 1998 elections coming up, Ranariddh was removed in a coup and was charged for attempting to overthrow the government. He was tried and found guilty in absentia. Ranariddh who was pardoned by his father (the king) participated in the 1998 elections. Sen's party won the elections but had to form a coalition again with royalists. Khmer Rouge on the other hand, died and many of their supporters accepted government's offer of amnesty. Pol Pot and his leaders were arrested in 1997 and were sentenced for life imprisonment. In 1998 Pol Pot died.

### **Laos**

French continued to control Laos after the Second World War after the Japanese were defeated. A limited degree of autonomy was granted to Laos as French continued to manage the country as its overseas province. In 1950 nationalism re-emerged under the group called Pathet Lao (Land of the Lao People) and work closely with the Vietminh in Vietnam for the similar cause. As seen in the case of Cambodia and Vietnam, French ceased control in 1954 and the 1954 Geneva Accords ensured the independence of the three Indo-China countries under the royal government. This unfortunately was not accepted by Pathet Lao who had links with the North Vietnamese communists. After a short period of peace Pathet Lao began fighting the royalists and it continued to entangle in the wider Vietnamese war (see sub topic 12.2.1.3)

Laos had three different groups that divided the country during this period. They were Pathet Lao, right wing anticommunist group and Prince Souvanna Phouma royalists. Pathet Lao had the backing of Vietnam and China while the anti-communist were supported by Thailand and USA. The royalist were neutral and had hoped to establish peace with the aim of each group controlling their respective areas of control.

Prince Souvanna's dream was realised when a coalition was formed in July 1962 to the discontent of USA. The decision left the Pathet Lao controlled areas that bordered on Vietnam be used by the Ho Chi Minh in the Vietnam War. American used its huge financial assistance to form a new government that consisted of the right-wing and few neutralists. Although Pathet Lao was excluded it was still able to extend its influence through use of force. Consequently between 1965 and 1973 USA continued to heavily bomb Laos as it did with Cambodia. In Laos 'village after village was leveled; countless (innocent) people were buried alive by high explosives, or burnt alive by napalm and white phosphorus, or riddled by anti-personnel bomb pellets.' (N. Lowe 2013:463). This did not achieve anything and although may have strengthened the resolve of the opposition. America withdrew from Vietnam and Communist took over Cambodia. Similar fate befell in Laos when communists reigned. In 1975 Pathet Lao took over the leadership and Lao People's Democratic Republic was proclaimed.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.4.4**

1. Who are the Arabs and the Israelites?

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2. When and how was the Israel state created?

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3. Why did the Arabs object to the creation of the Israel state?

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4. What countries make up the Indo China region?

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5. Name the leaders of the royal families in Cambodia and Laos.

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6. What three common historical experiences are shared by the three Indo China countries?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**



## Sub topic 12.2.4.5: Jammu-Kashmir, El Salvador

### 3. Jammu-Kashmir

#### 4. El Salvador

### 3. Jammu-Kashmir

Kashmir is a fairly large area lying between rival Pakistan and India who both began to claim it as part of themselves after 1947. India claimed the southern part while Pakistan did the same to the northern half resulting in a series of confrontations in 1948. UN was quite successful in negotiating a ceasefire between the two. For the next 16 years and with the UN policing the ceasefire tensions remained low and controlled. However in 1965 when Pakistan invaded the Indian Territory hostility between the two was renewed. UN once again, was able to ease tension for some considerable period before flaring up again in 1999. This time, it was India who 'returned the favor' by unsuccessfully invading the Pakistan side of Kashmir.

### 4. El Salvador

El Salvador is the second smallest country after Belize in Central America. It became one of the two most problematic Latin American countries (the other was Nicaragua – see sub topic 12.2.4.6) during US President Reagan's term. The country had gone through a number of coups in the 1940s and in 1960 but in the two decades from 1970 to 1980, it was embroiled in the revolutionary movements that swept through the Latin American continent. USA was totally convinced that the civil war of 1980-92 between the government forces and the leftist rebels was the doing of the communists led by USSR, and supported by Cuba, Vietnam, East Germany and other communist states. US Presidents, both Carter (at the end of his term) and Nixon (when he succeeded Carter) spent and sent enormous amount of money, aid, military equipment and armed personnel to El Salvador.

The **insurgents** were led by Unified Revolutionary Directorate that was later renamed the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). FMLN was basically made of the five left-wing guerrilla groups with the help of the international communist countries. The war took twelve years and both sides sadly were responsible for committing various acts of atrocities against Salvadorans. It was estimated that about 70,000 to 75,000 lives were lost and countless numbers of people were injured and dispossessed of their land, properties and homes. The victims included ordinary citizens, children, union leaders, activists, students, teachers and anyone who was considered an enemy, or potential enemy, or aid of the enemy by both sides. UN Peace accords began in 1990 and ended in 1992 with the signing of the Chapultepec Peace Agreement by the warring factions in Mexico City.

The tensions have been mounting for some time but the fraud 20 February 1977 elections seem to have laid some significant spark for the civil war. This was when the ruling National Conciliation Party (PCN) headed by General Carlos Humberto Romero beat the National Opposing Union (NOP). A protest demonstration was on 28 February in San Salvador and the Security forces gunned down about 200-1,500 demonstrators and bystanders. The foreign communists were blamed for the demonstration and a number of NP leaders were exiled. After President Romero was sworn in



power his new government declared a state-of-siege and suspended all civil liberties. In fear of further disturbances the El Salvador's military intelligence service named ANSESAL pressed on by murdering thousands of union leaders, activists, students and teachers. When the Catholic Church denounced the Romero Government, the Catholic Church became part of the enemy.

On 15 October 1979 President Romero was deposed in a coup by the civil-military Revolutionary Government Junta (JRG). This prompted US to step up its aid amounting to US \$5.7 million to the army alone. This was basically aimed preventing at 'what happened in Nicaragua' would not occur at El Salvador. In Nicaragua (see sub topic 12.2.4.6) the ruling Somoza regime was overthrown. To win back the he support of the people JRG announced some limited social and economic reforms and elections were set for February 1979. The reforms were stalled and three civilian members of the junta and 10 of the 11 cabinet ministers resigned. A further public demonstration was held on 22 January 1980 and again the Salvadoran National Guard killed about 50 people and injured another hundred or more. In February 1980 Archbishop Oscar Romero published an open letter to US President Carter to suspend US military aid to El Salvador army as it was only helping them to achieve their desired interests and not serving the interest of the country. A month later on 24 March 1980 Archbishop was gunned down and a further 42 mourners were shot at his funeral a week later.

A former army major Roberto D'Aubuisson was blamed for the assassination of Archbishop Romero and was arrested with his small group of supporters. But was released citing the right-wing terrorists' threats and the institutional pressures for the reasons of the release. By then the repression and violence escalated. The National Guard and the newly reorganized paramilitary Organization Democratica Nacionalista (ORDEN) went on rampage a week after the arrest of the Roberto D'Aubuisson killing about 600 civilians with aid of the Military of Honduras. The atrocities of the security forces included murders of American missionaries on 2 December 1980 and continued right up to the 1980s killing of civilians and anyone not considered an aid in their effort to winning the war.

Insurgencies with their assistance coming from the international communist supporters put up a formidable resistance. Numbering about 9,000 they continued to attack the authorities and with some reasonable success in destroying helicopters, aircrafts and killing armed personnel. They also target and caused serious damages to the infrastructure estimated as worth about US\$98 million. On humanitarian violation the insurgencies were no better.

Although some peace was established through the Central American Peace Accords in 1987 fighting continued in the following year. While further elections were held in 1984 and 1988, FMLN were angered by the military terrorizing and intimidating the voters in the latter elections. The conflict was for the first time brought into the wealthy suburbs of San Salvador. This was because FMLN's targeted political, military, civil officers and upper class citizens lived here. Again with the US assistance the government retaliated and ended up killing further 2,868 between May 1989 and May 1990.

After 10 years of war El Salvador was shattered. With population of more than five million people, it was estimated that more than a million people were displaced. 40 per cent of these people



needed new homes and another 25 per cent needed major repairs. This is on top of the number of deaths and injured.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.2.4.5

1. Where is Jammu-Kashmir?

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2. What was the problem there?

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3. Who led the insurgents in El Salvador?

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4. Name the two US Presidents that dealt with El Salvador conflict.

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5. Who did USA blame for the civil war in El Salvador?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**

**Sub topic 12.2.4.6: Nicaragua, Costa Rica**

5. Nicaragua,
6. Costa Rica

**5. Nicaragua**

Nicaragua is a large Latin American country that was colonized by Spain in the middle of sixteenth century. In 1821 it became an independent state and joined the United Provinces of Central America. In 1840 Nicaragua achieved its full independence. Sadly it has endured a very embattled history of political instability, ruthless military dictatorships, and foreign intrusions mainly by US. Internal political power struggle was fought between the Liberals based in Leon, and the Conservatives based in Grenda.

Liberals Jose Santos Zelaga, from 1933 to 2009 was able to make some significant improvements both in the economy and social sectors. Government services in education, transport and communication showed some marked improvements. Similarly in the economic sector coffee production and exports picked up. A new capital city was also built – Managua that eased the tension between the internal political rivalries. However Nicaragua was enjoying some good time at the back of a leader who was ruthless, rich, greedy and corrupt. Additionally Zelaga was an expansionist who wanted to rule not only Nicaragua but also a union of states as well. His expansionist dreams included the failed invasion of Guatemala in 1906 and the occupation of Honduras capital with help of the El Salvador army.

By 1933 Nicaraguans including his own Liberals had enough of the dictator Zelaga and was toppled by a Liberal General Juan Estrada. USA who was also becoming nervous of Zelagas attitudes backed the Estradas coup. However this only re-ignited the old Liberal-Conservative power struggle and US in 1912 sent in marines to restore order. When US left in 1925 peace was breached forcing US to return in a few months later. They stayed on until 1933. During this period a new regime, Somoza family rose to power and ruled until 1933.

Somoza family who had the US backing was no different from Zelaga. Like their predecessor, Zonga family amassed wealth at the cost of the majority of the population and exiled any opponents. US on the other hand, used the Nicaragua army to attack the Latin American governments of Guatemala (1854), Cuba (1961) and Dominican Republic (1965). American attacks were aimed at ensuring that their interests were maintained at this part of the world. By 1979 when that last of the Somoza family, Anastasio became too corrupted the Sandista National Liberation Front (SNLF) supported by the many ordinary people and some part of the Roman Catholic Church wrestled power from Somoza. SNLF was named after Augusto Sandinista who was immediately murdered by Somoza after the failed 1933 revolution against the ruling Somoza rulers.

Sandinista's reign immediately set about introducing new reforms. Five million acres of land seized by Somoza was re-distributed to about 100, 000 families. In literacy and health significant improvements were made. Although their efforts were praised and endorsed by OXFAM (an international aid organisation) in a mixed economy, US, on the other hand had a different



perspective. It now viewed Nicaragua as a breeding place for communism as it became friendly with Cuba. President Reagan intervened and brought the Sandista government down in the early 1980s. US stopped sending aid to Nicaragua and influenced other states to join a trade blockade and a credit squeeze against the country. US also went further and supported and sponsored a guerrilla movement in Nicaragua Democratic Force (FDN) or Contras damaging major infrastructure like roads and bridges.

The interventionist policy was resisted by the neighboring states of Latin America. In April 1986 meeting of the Latin America Parliament (formed in 1968) voted 16 out of 18 condemning the actions of US. US congress also voted in favor of stopping aid to Contras.

## 6. Costa Rica

Costa Rica's strategic position between Panama Canal and Nicaragua made it an important country to the Cold War adversaries especially the USA. It was first ravaged by a civil war in 1948 and later in the 1970s became the 'meat' in the sandwich when it was used by both Sandistas (see Nicaragua in the same section) and American's CIA in the Nicaraguan conflict.

The problem with the civil war stemmed from the rigged 1948 elections that were won by the ruling party headed by Teodoro Picado. The opposition in form of the insurgents was led by a non-candidate Figueres who was supported by many that supported democracy. Figueres was able to overcome the small Costa Rican army that was also poorly equipped. The standoff only lasted a few weeks and Figueres emerged as the new leader of the Military Junta. In his term he eliminated unilaterally military and later handed over the reign to Ulate.

Otilio Ulate was a newspaper publisher who contested the 1948 national elections as a candidate of the opposition but fled into exile during the unrest. In 1949 Figueres impressively stepped down as the Military Junta voluntarily and offered Ulate the presidency. This was an act of rarity where the majority of Latin American countries were headed by dictators backed by military. Figueres continued to win successive free elections and became the most successful politician in the region. Under Figueres' leadership in the agrarian based Costa Rican economy tourism became the lucrative industry in the 1990s replacing coffee and banana.

However this was not after Costa Rica had endured some very serious economic problems in 1980s under Rodrigo Carazo (Social Democratic). Carazo had inherited debts from the previous President Daniel Oduber was so dependent on coffee in paying the debts. Unfortunately when the international coffee prices and fuel prices rose Costa Rica serving the debts became burdensome. Carazo did not help the cause of the debt servicing because he was also borrowing heavily. The economy stabilized when in the 1982 elections new President Luis Alvarado Monge successfully negotiated with the creditor institutions.

Another major problem that besieged Costa Rica in the 1970s and that lasted for more than a decade was the spilling over of the revolution of the neighboring Nicaragua in the 1970s (see last section). Costa Rica was used by the Sandinistas as base camps and moving supplies to Nicaragua.





When Nicaragua fell to the Sandinistas the American Central Intelligent Agency began a resurgent Cold War battle against Sandinista (Contras) in the neutral Costa Rica.

Costa Rica was torn between the strong right- and left-wing sentiments. President Monge had a very difficult time balancing the opposition within his political establishment. There existed two Police forces, Public Security and Rural Guard and Monge appointed a right-winger (a pro American and anti-communist) as the head of the latter while the former was headed by a left-wing minister. The two ministers were later suspended when it Rural Guard minister was aiding the Contras. Monge even sought congress approval to make Costa Rica neutral in all conflicts. However this was a very difficult task because Costa Rica was dependent on US aid.

He was finally relieved when a new young Oscar Arias took over the reign. Aria took a regional approach to sort the Costa Rica problem as the civil wars were also affecting other Latin American countries like El Salvador, Nicaragua and others. This earned him a Noble Prize in 1987. Additionally to quell the public's continuous mistrust on the elites Arias jailed two former presidents, Rafael Angel Calderon and Minguel Angel Rodriguez for corrupt practices. The third former president, Jose Figueres escaped imprisonment as he was in Europe at the time of arresting and jailing the Calderon and Rodriguez.

Now do Activity.



#### Activity 12.2.4.6

1. Name the leaders of the conflict in Nicaragua.

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2. Who were the outsiders that got involved in the Nicaragua conflict?

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3. How was Costa Rica caught up in the Cold War?

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4. What prize and in what year was won by Oscar Arias for taking a regional approach to end the Costa Rica and other affected Latin American countries' problems?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**

**Sub topic 12.2.4.7: USA and the Gulf War and its effects on Papua New Guinea and the rest of the world**

The invasion of oil rich and small neighbouring country of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein's Iraqi armed forces in August 1990 caused the Gulf War that lasted over a year (1990-91). Hussein who had been fighting Iran in the Iran-Iraqi war (1980-88) may have exhausted its resources and may have needed more resources. Additionally Iraqis had always claimed that Kuwait was always part of Iraq although Kuwait was a British protectorate since 1899 and Iraq was not created until after the First World War. Thirdly Hussein had miscalculated that the outside world in particular USA and Europe would not oppose Iraqis' actions. USA had been helping Iraq in the war against Iran and in overthrowing the Shah. In the home front when Iraqis suppressed the Shias and Kurds, USA had not taken any action.

However Hussein was wrong when the world led by USA with its President George Bush and Britain with Iron Lady Margaret Thatcher at the helm united to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait. More than 600, 000 troops made up by more than thirty nations were stationed at Saudi Arabia. Furthermore United Nations placed trade sanctions and cut off its major revenue earner – oil and Iraq was ordered to move out of Kuwait by 15 January 1991. When Hussein did not adhere to the ultimatum the United Force moved in.

The Operation Desert Storm was launched against the Iraqis in two parts. The first part was the bombing of the capital Baghdad and countless number of citizens were killed and many were injured and disposed. On 24 February the second phase was launched aimed at the Iraqi army resulting in the Iraqi forces being driven out within four days. Hussein was defeated and Kuwait liberated at the cost of about 90, 000 deaths of Iraqi soldiers and about less than 400 Allied lives. Hussein was allowed to leave with much of its army intact. The fear of losing the Arab support stopped the Allies from further harming the departing Iraqi soldiers.

Back at home there were uprisings and opposition to Hussein by Kurds in the north, Shia Muslims in the south. Hussein however was both effective and brutal in crushing his own people and enemies. The initial response of the rest of the world on Hussein was negative. But when the Hussein continued his brutal crushing of his opposition UN once again led by USA intervened. 'No fly zones' were established to keep Hussein's aircrafts out but at the same time the strategy helped to maintain Hussein in power.

The motives of the West and the UN were questionable in the Gulf War. The economic motive of maintaining oil supply intact was certainly the overriding rational. It was not so much of maintaining the world peace as similar but smaller incidents have occurred in the past and nothing was done. A classical case was the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975 and the international community (UN) chose to remain quiet and ignorant.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.4.7**

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1. When did the Gulf war happen?

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Who was the leader of Iraq during the Gulf War?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. What was the outcome of UN's intervention?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**

**Sub topic 12.2.4.8: Global Conflicts**

- 1. Iraq**
- 2. Afghanistan**

**1. Iraq**

American interest had intensified in Iraq when an Iraqi monarchy and a republic were declared in 1958. The new leader was the General Abdul Kassem. His openness and freedom was feared by the USA as a conducive environment for the growth of communism in Iraq. Kassem helped in establishing OPEC in 1960 (see sub topic 12.2.3.3) and this further agitated USA. Since then USA used both Turkish invasion and Kurdish guerillas to destabilise Iraq and assassinate General Kassem who was finally ousted and assassinated in 1963. Beginning in 1979 America assisted new leader Saddam Hussein and his regime with finance and arms and military personnel up to point of fighting the new anti-American government of Iran in 1980.

Peace in both Middle East and the Arab World was breached once again with the invasion of Iran by Iraq in September 1980. There were four basic reasons that prompted President Hussein to invade Iran. There are:

- to stop the spread of Islam into Iraq as Iraq was largely made up majority of Sunni Muslims and Shia Muslims were the minority. Iran was led by a fundamentalist Shite Muslim Ayatollah Khomeini who had a strict moral code and believed that a country must follow the laws of God as enshrined in the Koran. Hussein was not a religious person but feared that Islam's spread to his country was peopled by Muslims;
- to re-claim the border province of Khuzestan that believed to be part of Iraqi
- the control of the all-important oil outlet for exports the Shatt-el-Arab, the waterway on the frontier of two states. Iraqi used to be the sole controller but was forced by Iran to share the control of the outlet.
- after fighting its own war Saddam Hussein wrongly thought that Iraq was weak and would not be in a strong position to counter his invasion.

Iraqi with Soviet tanks, helicopters gunships and missiles, and with some American and British arms struck. However Iran was equal to the task. With their religious inspirations and China and North Korea arms was able to effectively counter Iraqi's invasion. US were also secretly selling arms to Iran. Iran also turned to strangling Iranian oil exports (Iran's main revenue earner) but Iraq had advanced his troops into Iraq territory and Khomeini was adamant on destroying the 'godless' Saddam region. However both sides were not able to achieve their desired goals after eight years of fighting. They only endured serious economic and heavy human cost on both sides. Peace was finally negotiated by UN in 1988 and was finally resolved two years later in 1990. The eight years of War between Iraqi and Iran had a number of implications both at the regional and international levels.



They included:

- disturbing the stability and the unity of the Arab world. The conservative states like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait sided with Iraq while the Syria, Libya, Algeria, South Yemen and PLO were critical of Iraq;
- threatening the supply of oil to the West and others. West warships were seen in the region in the war period and in 1987 oil tankers were threatened by mines;
- alarming the non-religious Arab states. Iran's entry into Iraqi territory and coming close to the second biggest Iraqi city of Basra, created a serious feeling of anxiety among these group of nations;
- creating a new and terrible phase of war by bombing each other's capital cities resulting loss of thousands of citizens.

## 2. Afghanistan

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 and its impact have been discussed in sub topic 12.2.1.7. This was breach and the destruction of détente era between the two super powers USA and USSR that had developed in the 1970s.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.2.4.8

1. Who had invaded Iran and when?

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2. Why did was Iran invaded?

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3. What were the implications of the Gulf War?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**



## Sub topic 12.2.4.9: Global Conflicts

### 3. United Nations as peace keeping mission

#### 4. Disarmament

### 3. United Nations

United Nations as seen in sub topic 12.2.3.2 replaced the old League of Nations. It was established in 1945 after the Second World War primarily to preserve peace and eliminate war, to remove the causes of conflicts and encourage integral development in all aspects of life and to safe guard rights of individuals and nations. Peace keeping or maintaining peace at the international level is a basic primary function of the organisation. However UN has not always succeeded in its attempts but at the same time can be credited for making some significant breakthrough in some conflicts. Some success was achieved in the regions of Middle East (sub topics 12.2.4.7 and 12.2.4.8) and South East Asia (sub topics 12.2.1.3 and 12.2.4.4), Africa (sub topics 12.2.4.2 and 12.2.4.3) and Latin America (sub topic 12.2.4.6). At times, and because of US's immense influence both in the world and at the organisation, UN's attempts over shadowed by USA or UN is criticised, mostly by the Communist bloc of countries for enhancing or protecting the ideals of American and Western capitalism and democracy.

Following are some significant attempts UN made in establishing peace among the affected countries worldwide before the end of the Cold War. There was a mixed of achievements.

- West New Guinea in Indonesia  
It was also UN's obligation to ensure that the colonies if they desired self-rule or independence they shall be encouraged by their respective mother countries to do so. Hence with UN's pressure and assistance Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) became an independent nation from Dutch in 1946. However the issue (or the ownership) of West Irian remained unsolved. Both Dutch and Indonesia fought over the issue in 1961 but UN was able to quell the tensions in 1962. Fighting stopped and peace was reestablished as West Irian became part of Indonesia.
- Palestine  
In 1947, UN deliberated on the tension between Jews and Palestine and decided to divide Palestine. Hence the Jews state of Israel was created. Tension seem to have escalated with this controversial decision as fighting between the Jews and Arabs intensified (see sub topic 12.2.4.4) Although fighting continued UN was able to arrange cease fires and provided supervisory forces for the UN Relief and Works Agency to help the Arab refugees.
- Korean War  
As in sub topic 12.2.1.3 UN, with USA's influence and pressure was able to pass a resolution condemning the North Korea's invasion of South Korea. Russia was a notable absentee when the resolution was made. Additionally a collective force made up by 16 member countries were sent to counter the invasion forces. However USA's selected its own General Douglas MacArthur as the Commander in Chief of all the operations. Two important issues emerged



from this incident. The first was the decision to use a collective force made by the General Assembly and the Security Council be by-passed. Secondly, Russia heavily criticised the bias role of Secretary-General Trygve Lie who later retired early and was replaced by Dag Hammarskjold.

- Suez Crises

This was possible UN's best achievement. There were a couple of events occurring around the same time in 1956. Firstly, Egypt President Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal that from British and French shareholders and both powers had to send troops to protect their interests. Secondly, Israel invaded Egypt to bring down President Nasser. Although Britain and France protested, UN General Assembly was able to pass a resolution condemning the actions of trio British, French and Israel and called for their withdrawals. The trio withdrew forces but both British and French asked for some reasonable settlement over the canal. UN sent in 5000 troops from ten different member countries.

- The Hungarian Rising

This happened at the same time as the Suez Crises and unlike its success at Middle East UN was proven to be ineffective in this event. Hungarians revolted to have independence from Russia in 1956. However Russia sent in troops and crushed the Hungarians. UN condemned Russia's actions and called for their withdrawal and a committee was set up to investigate the problem. Russia refused on all fronts and UN was powerless to press the issue.

- Congo Civil War

Congo civil war (1960-4) after independence was both very complex and costly to UN who was almost brought to bankruptcy. Further division in UN also showed when USSR, France and Belgium refused to contribute to UN Congo Fund that was established to help the recovery process of the country. The trio did not accept UN's handling of the crisis. UN also sent in 20, 000 troops to restore some form of peace and normalcy but was not very effective. Additionally the UN General Secretary was also killed in Congo when the plane he was travelling in crashed.

- Cyprus

Cyprus was granted independence from Britain in 1960. Three years later in 1963 a civil broke out between the Greeks and the Turks. The Greeks made up 80 per cent of the population. In 1964 UN was able to quell the tensions with a permanent stationing of 3000 troops. The trouble flared up again in 1974 when the Greek Cypriots attempted to be part of Greece. In response the Turkish Cypriot with the help of the Turkish army claimed the North Island and expelled all resident Greeks. Although UN successfully achieved a cease-fire a permanent solution to the problem was still needed.

- Kashmir

As seen in sub topic 12.2.4.5 both Pakistan and India claimed a large province lying between them after 1947 with India claiming the southern part of Kashmir while the southern part was in Pakistan's influence. Fighting broke out but UN was able to negotiate a cease-fire and continued to police the ceasefire for the next 16 years. In 1965 a short war erupted when



Pakistan troops invaded the Indian zone. However UN was again able to calm the hostilities. There seems to be no permanent solution to the problem as from time to time hostilities do flare up like in 1999 but UN was able to re-establish peace.

- Czechoslovakia in 1968  
Czech's case resembles the Hungarian uprising of 1956. With Czechs showing signs of independence the Russian troops with other Warsaw Pact troops moved to establish the Russian rule. UN intervened but Russia once again refused to co-operate and UN could not advance its intentions.
- Lebanon in 1975-87  
The civil war in Lebanon was complicated by the intrusion of Israel in March 1978 in South Lebanon. South Lebanon was used by the Palestine guerillas in attacking northern Israel. In June 1978 Israel troops withdrew with UN forces of 7000 troops stationed in South Lebanon supervising the withdrawal of the Israel troops. However there were constant reports of assassinations, terrorism and seizing of hostages continuing.

In the early 1990s Israel was harassed by the new Muslim Shi'ite group called Hezbollah who Israel claimed to be supported by both Iran and Syria. Israelites responded and occupied much of South Lebanon in April 1996. UN once again intervened with a force of 8000 and Israel withdrew. In 2002 UN troops was reduced to some 3000 troops as there was a long period of stability or inactivity that breached peace. Four years later trouble flared up again when Hezbollah ambushed an Israel patrol killing eight soldiers and two were taken prisoners. Israel immediately responded and the trouble escalated with Hezbollah's counter attack with daily firing of 100 rockets per day. This was after Israel demanded the release of the two prisoners, blocked off Lebanon from the sea, bombed Beirut and destroyed Hezbollah's headquarters. In mid-August UN succeeded in arranging another cease-fire and increased its troops to 12, 000. While some peace was established by UN a permanent solution is still a long way away. There were still violent exchanges erupting again in 2011.

- Iran- Iraq War in 1980-8

As discussed in sub topic 12.2.4.6 UN was quite successful in negotiating and established peace after a long eight years of war.

#### **4. Disarmament**

Disarmament basically means disarming of arms by reducing, limiting or even abolishing of weapons of destruction. The world had had a number of international meetings well before the First World War. These resulted in resolutions that bound the participating countries to adhere to the importance and the requirements of disarmament.

After the Great War of 1914-18 it was generally felt that the war or wars were also caused by building up of arms. The Treaty of Versailles ensured that Germany was disarmed. There was also a clause inserted that called for other powers to disarm and the newly formed League of Nations was also committed to maintain world peace through reducing of arms by the member countries.





Sadly USA at this time adopted a policy of Isolationist and chose not to be part of the League of Nations. Some achievement was made when Britain, USA, Japan, France and Italy through the Washington Naval Treaty that bound the signatories to limit their navies.

Further attempts to disarm was made by the League of Nations in 1921 and 1926 were not successful as certain members like Britain in 1921 and France and USA in 1926 were not very supportive of the proposals. The 1921 proposal was aimed at, among others things abolishing of chemical warfare, strategic bombing and use of tanks. The reduction of army sizes was the main issue in the 1926 proposal. Another notable attempt was the Germany's rejected demand to review the Treaty of Versailles at the Geneva Conference from 1932-37. Adolf Hitler had no choice but to withdraw from the Conference when the talks broke down in 1933.

After the Second World War and during the Cold War the disarmament was all about build up and stockpiles of nuclear weapons by USA and USSR from 1945-2006. The call for disarmament became everyone's responsibility as to the ordinary citizens of the world; their world was becoming a very dangerous place to live in with unstoppable development of nuclear weapons one after another. People feared the nuclear race would become uncontrolled and if the trend continued unfettered it would be disastrous for everyone.

British people took the lead in a world wide protest against the nuclear arm race. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) began in 1958 but began to pick up momentum in the later years. Although not a world power in the nuclear arms race, rallies in Britain were held to persuade Britain to abandon nuclear weapons. It was hoped that once one country like Britain disarm others like US and USSR may follow suit. Unfortunately the leaders of Britain remained steadfast to the demands of the rallies for security problems. By 1980s there were worldwide protests in the Continental Europe, USA and Britain to little avail. The leading countries in the nuclear arm race did not disarm but came to the negotiating table for some form of controlling the buildup of the destructive weapons.

Worldwide nuclear disarmament groups emerged in the 1970s and took on a 'fight' of disarmament of nuclear weapons. They included Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Greenpeace and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. About a million people held a public demonstration on June 12 1982 in New York protesting against both the nuclear arms race and the end continuing of the Cold War.

At the institutional and global levels United Nations has a very significant role to play. In it's pursuant to ensure the maintenance of world peace, the disarmament and limitation of arms are very crucial instruments. It has been successful in establishing some significant Treaties like:

- The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1970
- The Biological Weapons Conventions in 1975
- The Chemical Weapons Convention in 1997
- The Comprehensive Nuclear-test Ban Treaty in 1996 (not yet enforced)
- The Mine-Ban Convention in 1997 that came into force in 1999.



There were also various regional treaties by the member countries and endorsed by United Nations. Other related resolutions that were passed by the United Nations were

- Resolution 57/83 - to prevent the terrorist from acquiring weapons of mass destruction
- Resolution 1540 – ban states supporting the terrorists acquiring weapons of mass destruction.

Additionally United Nations also established various UN bodies and Committees specifically to ensure disarmament of weapons of all kinds are affected. Among various bodies and committees are:

- Conference on Disarmament
- United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA)
- The UN Disarmament Commission
- Conference on Disarmament

United Nations also worked at the local level dealing directly with individual countries and has made some significant inroads. Regional meetings were also organized particularly in West Africa where it was quite useful. In 2003 United Nations through UNMIL was able to convince the 100,000 Liberians to turn in various weapons including guns, ammunition, rocket propelled grenades. This also made the warring militia to end their hostilities and after 15 years of conflict Liberians were able to hold another UN supervised election in 2005.

United Nations through its Special Commission on the disarmament of Iraq weapons of mass destruction did make some significant but limited achievements. Elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction was part of the condition of cease fire in the Gulf War with Iran from 1980-1988 (see sub topic 12.2.4.7). Additionally through its peace keeping troops United Nations had made further inroads in disarmament of weapons in other conflict-prone regions like in El Salvador, Sierra Leone and elsewhere.

The two super powers (USSR and USA) can also be credited for taking bold steps in disarming of arms by making several treaties among themselves as discussed in sub topic 12.2.1.6. These treaties included SALT 1 in 1971 and SALT 2, Helsinki Agreement in 1975, and the INF Treaty of 1987.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.4.9**

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1. How successful is the United Nations in peace keeping?

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2. Name the conflicts in where UN succeeded and failed in peace keeping or establishing peace.

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3. Which country had begun the civil protest against arms?

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**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.2.4**

**Summary for Subunit 12.2.4**

- Conflicts and wars of resources have presented another dimension of the problems of the world. While much of the post WW2 period was dominated by the Cold War and its related events some countries of the world were fighting among themselves over power and resources.
- Unfortunately elements and the involvement of the Cold War were inseparable. Power covered self-rule, attempted over-throws or replacing the existing regimes, and expanding territorial boundaries.
- Resources basically covered the control and ownership of either someone else's resources or the respective countries valuable resources by the interest groups. Almost all of these conflicts in the Middle East, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe continents were intensified by the involvement of USSR and USA.
- The countries were divided mostly by ethnicity and unfortunately the weaker ethnic groups endured most of the pain. These included loss of lives, injuries, psychological war scars, dispossessed from homes and land.
- Fortunately UNO significantly helped to reestablish long term peace in some cases like the Indo China conflict and the Gulf War. Unfortunately in some conflicts UNO was not successful as in cases of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Congo Civil War of 1960-64.



## Answers to Activities 12.2.4

### Activity 12.2.4.1

1. With fall of Communism each smaller state within wanted self-rule.
2. Rejection of the Anglo Irish Treaty.
3. Catholic and Protestant

### Activity 12.2.4.2

1. In Somali there were Ethiopians, Somalians  
In Rwanda there were two main tribes – Tutsi and Hutu
2. Basically power struggles in both conflicts
3. Yes, they were UN and African Organization of Unity (AOU)

### Activity 12.2.4.3

1. Sudan – Omar al- Bashir  
Ethiopia – Haile Selassie, Mengistu, Zenami
2. Power struggle
3. Locals suffered greatly from physical injuries to loss of lives, made homeless, increased hardship and poverty.

### Activity 12.2.4.4

1. They are both indigenous of the Middle East. Israelites are also known as Jews are Christians and with Arabs who are Muslims live in the regions for centuries. But majority of the Jews had moved out of the area and were coming back.
2. In 1948 by UN but Jews had always lived there for centuries and moved out.
3. They claimed that it was not their land and it was wrong to put them there. They don't belong there.
4. Vietnams, Cambodia and Laos.
5. Cambodia – Sihanuok and in Lao – Souvanna
6. All these countries shared the same colonial history, WW2 experiences and later were entangled in cruel internal conflicts over power. The latter was worsened by the involvement and intrusion of Cold War interests. Sadly, the consequences were very catastrophic on the people and their land.

**Activity 12.2.4.5**

1. At the border between India and Pakistan.
2. Both Pakistan and India claimed the land.
3. The United Revolutionary Directorate who later changed their name to Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNL)
4. Presidents Carter and Nixon
5. The International Communists countries.

**Activity 12.2.4.6**

1. Jose Snaos Zelaga and General Juan Estrada, Somoza family, Zonga family
2. There were several reasons to end war in the case of Latin American Parliament and for US it basically were its imperialist intentions.
3. Costa Rica was caught between America and Nicaragua
4. Noble Prize in 1987.

**Activity 12.2.4.7**

1. The Gulf war happened in 1980-98.
2. Saddam Hussein
3. UN did manage to resolve the conflict in 1990 after two years of negotiation.

**Activity 12.2.4.8**

1. Iraq in September 1980
2. To stop the spread of Islam, ii. To re-claim the province of Khuzestan, iii. To control all important sea front of Shatt-el-Arab, and iv. Iraq had thought that Iran was weak.
3. They were:
  - (i) disturbed the stability and the unity of the Arab world
  - (ii) Threatened the supply of oil to the West and others
  - (iii) Alarmed the non-religious Arab states
  - (iv) Created a new and terrible phase of war by bombing each other's capital cities at the cost of lives of thousands of people.



### **Activity 12.2.4.9**

1. Mixed, there some successes and failures
2. Success – Gulf War, West New Guinea, Korean War  
Failed - Hungarian Rising, Congo Civil War, Czechoslovakia
3. Britain



## Sub unit 12.2.5: Global Issues

### Introduction

The world problems do not seem to end. After the Cold War and continuing internal conflicts of different countries and states is terrorism, nuclear threats and transnational crimes. These are very difficult to stop and control as it involves large syndicates in transnational crimes and terrorism that is driven by religious motives, their activities and identities are very secretive. Fighting both terrorism and transnational crimes of various kinds are very difficult. One very important element of terrorism is the religion of Islam or Islamic Fundamentalism. Believing and adhering to the laws of God Allah means fighting anything and everything that is considered contradictory to the Islamic values. This included the values of Western/American like Christianity, individual and women freedom. American being the symbol of the West becomes the number one enemy of the Islamic terrorist.

The economic prosperity of the world does play an important part in the expansion of the various transnational crimes. After WW2 and up to now the world's major economic activities have shifted to the South East Asian region. This is reflected by experiencing some of the longest economic growths in the region after WW2. Included in this region are also two of the new economic giants in China and India in the BRIC group of economies. Many predict that BRIC countries will be leaders of the world economy in the future.

The continuous nuclear threats and nuclear proliferation is another serious threat to the world. Although disarmament programs (see 12.2.4.9) had kept the world in check on the nuclear weapons the interests of the new countries like North Korea, Iran, Pakistan and India creates another concern for the world.

In this subunit you should be able know and understand the meanings of the key concepts – terrorism, Islamic Fundamentalism, Christianity, nuclear proliferation, transnational crimes and the reasons that force these issues to be of global concerns.

### Sub topic 12.2.5.1: Terrorism, War on Terrorism; Islam Fundamentalism





The collapse of Communism in both Eastern Europe and USSR in 1991 virtually ended the Cold War and USSR's domination in the world. USA was now the lone superpower and could undisputedly claim victory for all that it stood for, and aggressively defended and expanded prevailed. Capitalism and democracy were winners and seemed that peace and international cooperation were going to be enjoyed for a very long period as there was no opposition like USSR. Americans themselves were rightfully claiming that USA was the most perfect and just model country. In 1997 a minister in the Clinton Administration was reported to be writing that "The Americans should not deny the fact that of all nations in the history of the world, it is the most just, the most tolerant and the best model for the future." Lowe (259.)

However not everyone supported and shared the views and the ideals of America and the 'free' world. To them the American vision of the free world was not accepted and in fact was hated. They aggressively resented the American model of society. In the eyes of many the continued US interventions policy from the Cold War and at times, it's reluctant to intervene or support UN on humanitarian grounds were hard to understand. There were instances like –

- In December 1989 at least 2000 civilians perished when US forces bombed Panama.
- In the 1990s US helped to put down the left-wing movements in the following Latin American independent sovereign states of Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru.
- US reluctance to get involved in Rwanda that could have saved thousands of lives in 1994.
- It is hypocrisy in supporting international law. In 1984 President Reagan was reported to be stressing the significance of law but failed to pay compensation when ordered by UN International Court of Justice for its illegal use of its forces in mining Nicaragua harbors. USA in return, increased its financial support for the opposition trying to bring down the democratically elected government.
- USA had not always supported UN by vetoing Security Council resolutions and rejecting General Assembly resolutions. Some examples included not supporting or endorsing - the 1985 new polices in improving and safeguarding human rights, 1987 in improving communication services in the Third World, 1996 view of the right to 'have access to safe and nutritious food' and UN's proposal to fight terrorism and instead opting alone to fight a lone battle against terrorism.
- President Bush moved away from some of the agreements made by the previous administrations before 11 September. These included the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Treaty, 1997 Kyoto Protocols on climate change, refused to enter into new diplomatic talks with North Korea, and decided not to do anything with the control of nuclear weapons.
- US economy was so powerful that its decisions made in Washington and New York affected the rest of the world.

Unfortunately, the opposition to 'Americanization' was no match to both the economic and the military might of USA. They could not simply face USA in a more conventional manner so opted for more 'safer' and older strategy of terrorism. Terrorism in fact had been practised in the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries but it was confined to (terrorists') own countries. Some notable examples are the activities of ETA in the struggle for a separate Basque from Spain, or IRA's struggle to unite both Northern Ireland and Irish Republic.

By 1970s terrorism was notably transformed in two ways. Firstly, the terrible acts of terrorism expanded beyond the local boundaries onto the global scene hence becoming a global issue. Killing of the 11 Israel athletes in the Munich Olympics in 1972 by the Arab terrorists began the long list of global terrorist targets. This was followed by a series of bomb explosions on aircrafts. Secondly, and by 1980s, it was emerging that USA (and its associates) was the global target. Some of the serious acts of terrorism on USA included:

- 1983 – American embassy in Beirut was attacked
- 1988 – an American aircraft crashed landed after a bomb explosion in Lockerbie, Scotland
- 1993 – In February a bomb exploded in the World Trade Center in New York
- 1998 – attacks on US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were reported
- 2000 – American Battleship – Cole was attacked in a port in Yemen
- 11/9 al-Qaeda (the base) crashed landed two aircrafts on the Twin Tower of World Trade Center in New York.

In retaliation USA declared war on terrorism by President George W. Bush. The immediate aims were to attack the suspected areas and regimes that were believed to be harbouring, assisting or associating with the leader of al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and his associates. These targets included the Taliban (students) regime of Afghanistan, Saddam Hussein of Iran and North Korea. The latter three were called by Bush as the 'axis of evil.'

USA retaliatory actions were quick and successful. Both Taliban and Hussein regimes were overthrown. In Afghanistan a new government led by Hamid Kharzai was established in October 2001. Saddam Hussein's fate was dealt with in April-May 2003 with the help of Britain and the NATO forces. However terrorism was not completely wiped out as the insurgents regrouped and continued their fight against USA.

Another Islamic state of the Republic of Iran entered the hostility with the West for a different reason but quite related. Iran was suspected of manufacturing nuclear weapons since 1979. This is when the American backed regime of Shah Reza Papleni was overthrown in a revolution. In other parts of Middle East and North Africa the 'Arab Spring' was taken place. This was basically the bringing down of the existing governments in Tunisia, Egypt, Lybia and Yemen. The new regimes started bringing in new reforms.



Figure 11: September 11, 2001 two American hijacked planes hit the World Trade Centre in New York.



### **Definition of Terrorism**

“Terrorism is a method of political action that uses violence (or deliberately produces fear) against civilians and against civilian infrastructure in order to influence behavior, to inflict punishment or to exact revenge. For the perpetrators, the point is to make the target group afraid of today, afraid of tomorrow and afraid of each other. Terrorism is an act, not an ideology. Its instruments are assassination, mass murder, hijacking, bombing, kidnapping and intimidation. Such acts can be committed by states as well as private groups.” Lowe 261.

### **Islam Fundamentalism**

Islam meaning surrender or submission to the will of God is one of the major religions of the world and its origins are found in the Arabian Peninsula in Middle East. Its birth place is Medina and was founded by Prophet Mohammad (c.570-632 A.D.). Mohammad grew up in a very difficult time, both at the personal level and at a collective level. Personal life of Mohammad was both tough and sad. Having lost his parents at a very early age he was looked after by his grandfather and later by his uncle. His family could not afford to send him to school so he spent his young life looking after sheep and cattle. Later he could help his uncle Abu Talib in his caravan trade. Mohammad’s own Arabs people were nomads who were also called the Bedouins. As nomads they kept on moving in search for pastures but could also raid settlements, cities and passing caravans. However their many images of various tribal gods provided some sense of respect among one another that seem to have held them together until the birth of Islam.

Mohammad was a very trustworthy person and well-liked by the Arabs. At around the age of 20-24 Mohammad began working for a wealthy widow named Khadijah trading with the Syrians. Both Mohammad and Khadijah had two sons and two daughters. The two sons died at early age and the younger of the two daughters, Fatima was the best known. In his busy schedule Mohammad would retire into private personal meditations for long periods. It was in one of these meditations that Mohammad now about forty years is believed to have received divine messages from angel Gabriel. Mohammad continued to experience Gods presence in the next twenty years and was now convinced that God Allah who was also worshipped by Christians and Jews had now chosen him as the last and greatest of all prophets beginning from Abraham and including Jesus. Mohammad believed that he was given the divine duty to perfect the religion.

To perfect the religion was the total submission to the will of God that was written down in the Koran, the Bible. Koran contained all the divine messages that Mohammad is believed to have received from God Allah during many of his encounters. Additionally five important requirements known as the Pillars had to be followed by all followers known as Muslims. They are

- Profession of faith
- Prayer (salat) five times a day facing the Mecca
- Give alms (zakat) to the poor, orphans, widows and to expand the religion
- Fast (siyam) – Muslims are to fast in the month of Ramadan
- Pilgrimage (hajj) – Muslims are to make at least a visit to Mecca



At the time of Prophet Mohammad's death in 632 a successor was not named. However Caliph Aby Bakr, who was a friend and among the first converts and had spent a lot of time with Mohammad was chosen to continue the new religion. Successions of new leaders at times were aggressive and ruthless in spreading Islam to other countries and regions. They were spurred on by the belief of jihad where Muslims were obliged to aggressively spread the faith and protect it from any attacks. These struggles were often regarded as holy wars. In the next one hundred years the new religion had come to Europe, Africa and Asia. The rise of Islam was also marked by power struggles among the leaders and their supporters that often resulted in murders and divided the followers into largely two sects – Sunnis and Shias. Sunnis accepted that Abu Bakr and his two successors were the rightful leaders who ought to be respected and obeyed. This was vehemently opposed by Shias who believed that the rightful leaders should come from the Prophet Mohammad's children and descendants. He was Ali, the son of the younger daughter of Mohammad, Fatima. To the Shias Koran was the sole and unquestioned authority. In contrast while Sunnis uphold the culture of Sunna they accepted Koran for direction. Additionally and unlike the Shias, Sunnis could also incorporate other trustworthy sources for direction only when clear direction could not be obtained from the Koran.

Over the years Islam grew to be more than a religion. To the Muslims, Islam based on the teachings of Prophet Mohammad and documented in Koran incorporated every aspect of human life. It was simply the best economic, social, legal and political system. The strict adherence to the fundamental word of God including the religious practices, beliefs and moral codes as written in Koran by Muslims are referred to as the Islamic Fundamentalism. In short Islamic Fundamentalism is total submission to God – Allah.

However there is also variation in Islamic Fundamentalism. Some Islamic Fundamentalism movements do incorporate other aspects of doctrines like Marxism, Judaism, Hinduism, Christianity and the secular West.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.2.5.1

1. What is terrorism?

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2. What is Islamic Fundamentalism?

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3. Why is the US one of the main, if not the main target of terrorism?

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4. Name some of the terrorist attacks on US.

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**Check your answers at the end of sub unit 12.2.5**

**Sub topic 12.2.5.2: Christianity; Nuclear threat and proliferation in North Korea, Iran, Pakistan, India**



## Christianity

Christianity is a religion based on the faith in Jesus Christ and God (Father) and the Holy Spirit. A Christian – a follower of the religion, Christianity and he/she is someone who accepts and declares that Jesus Christ as his/her Savior and the Lord. Savior means both meeting the spiritual and the material needs while the Lordship refers to the total surrender of personal life to the will and the love of Jesus Christ.

Christianity, like Islam emerged from Judaism where the Jews believed in God Yahweh as the creator of the universe and humans beings and they were His chosen people. God's special messages were relayed to the Jews through various prophets starting from Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and many others. The essence of the Jews faith is the Shema (Hebrew word to hear) where a devout Jew read the Shema every morning commencing with 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one, and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might. And these words I command you shall be upon your heart.' (Beaver, et. Al 1982: 273). The law of the Jews is written in the first five books of the Old Testament Bible (Pentateuch or Torah) believed to be written by Prophet Moses.

The birth of Jesus Christ in and around 2000 years ago fundamentally affected Judaism. Belief in the birth, death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ became the pillar of the new Christianity religion. Jesus Christ was believed to be the son of God Yahweh, (and not a prophet as believed by the Muslims) and the helper, the Holy Spirit and God the Father formed the Trinity – 'one in three or three in one'. It is the belief of every Christian. Additionally Christians believe that their savior and Lord Jesus Christ will one day return to reclaim his Father's Kingdom on earth. Only having faith in Jesus will be conditional to entry to God's kingdom or to hell.

Some fundamental differences in the faiths of Christianity and Islam are:

- Jesus Christ is a prophet according to Islam religion while the Christians believe that he is the son of God and only through Him that individuals will be saved.
- Christians have the Bible, Muslims have the Koran
- In Christianity emphasis on Love and Grace are important while it is revenge – tooth for a tooth and eye for an eye in Islam

## Hindu

Hindu is the religion of India and is the Persian word for Indian. According to Beaver (1982:171) "Hinduism (unlike Christianity and Islam) has no founder and nor prophet. It has no particular ecclesiastical or institutional structure, nor set creed. The emphasis is on a way of living than on a way of thought." Therefore the land of India (Mother India) with all its natural beauties and peoples' traditions, history and social system make up the Hindu religion. For instance rivers in India are seen as sources sustain physical lives as well as sources for spiritual lives.

A number of religious beliefs makes Hindu or rather Hinduism a complicated religion. The following illustrate the complicated nature of Hinduism (Beaver 1982:172)



- some may not believe in God others do believe;
- Respect for living creatures are important and should be respected and therefore do become vegetarians while others offer animal sacrifices at the temple and others feast on them;
- some Hindus worship mixture of gods in Shiva, Vishnu or its incarnation in Krishna or Rama. But there are also others who are godless
- Individual Hindu can honor one or more gods while others do not care less;
- Individual Hindu can also one or more gods that manifest him/her
- Individual Hindu can express the ultimate in personal or impersonal terms.

### **Nuclear threat and Proliferation**

Nuclear threat had always existed; fears were realised during the Second World War and was intensified during the Cold War. However disarmament exercises as discussed in sub topic 12.2.4.9 and USA and USSR's own Treaties on controlling nuclear weapons (see sub topic 12.2.11.6) brought some degree of relief, comfort and security to the world. Besides USA and USSR there were Great Britain, France and China who made up the five considered as the Nuclear Weapons States. All five had signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968. The signatories agreed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and the associated requirements like technology and cooperate in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The overall aim was to achieve complete disarmament.

However the emerging countries who were interested in nuclear arms for their reasons like North Korea, Iran, Pakistan and India recreated the world fear of nuclear weapons. These countries had gained knowledge, information and material for nuclear weapons through proliferation. Nuclear proliferation basically includes transmitting of knowledge, information, and nuclear material to another country. Although North Korea had acceded to NPT in 1985 and withdrew in 2003 are not part of the NPT. North Korea had been reported to have conducted nuclear tests in 2006, 2009 and 2013.

Serious attempts to counter the proliferation of nuclear weapons began well after World War II when US proposed the Baruch Plan to United Nations Atomic Energy Commission (UNAEC) in 1946. Baruch Proposal planned that the only arsenal that was in USA could be dismantled and destructed if the following two were accepted. The first was the establishment of an - international atomic nuclear development authority – and second was the creation of a system of automatic sanctions. The first was authority that was on and control all military nuclear arms and the second one, was to operate well above UN and punish states that could be able to acquire necessary requirements to make nuclear arms. Because of USSR's veto UNAEC was not able to sanction the proposal but remained very much USA's policy until 1953

In 1953 US President Eisenhower proposed Atoms of Peace to the UN General Secretary and led to the creation of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) four years later in 1959 IAEA organisation was to regulate and promote peaceful use of nuclear energy and inhibit its use for military purposes. As part of the program worldwide scientists are educated in conferences on aspects of nuclear weapons to achieve its aims. Unfortunately some have been reported to have been using this information to make nuclear weapons in their own countries. However an



international agreement to limit the spread of nuclear weapons was reached and negotiation continues in the 1960s. In 1968 the negotiations were concluded by eighteen nation's representatives and were endorsed by UN General Assembly in June 1968 and was affected in March 1970.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.5.2**

1. What is Christianity?

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2. What is the difference between Islam and Christianity?

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3. In which is Hindu dominant?

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**Check your answers at the end of sub unit 12.2.5**

**Sub topic 12.2.5.3: Transnational Crime**

**1. Drug Trafficking**





- 2. Arms sales/smuggling**
- 3. People smuggling/human trafficking**
- 4. Illegal animal/plant trade**

Transnational crime refers to illegal activities or any crimes that operates across the national boundaries involving a number of 'associate' countries. These illegal activities also undermine the fundamental values of the international community. The sources of the resources (except arms) normally are found in the poorer developing countries and end up in the more lucrative markets in the developed Western countries. The arms on the other hand, normally travel in the opposite direction. These illegal activities are both very lucrative and dangerous and include drug trafficking, arms sales, smuggling of people or human trafficking and illegal sales of animals and plants.

### **1. Drug Trafficking**

Chepsesiuk (1999:xix) using the United Nations Drug Control Program sources states that 'International drug trafficking is the world's most profitable illicit business after arms trafficking, accounting for an estimated 8 percent of the world trade and taking in earnings estimated to be as high as \$400 billion annually)

While the benefits are enormous to the dealers the disadvantages in drugs in particular are very disastrous. Drugs are responsible for ruining the lives of individuals and families and claiming the lives of millions across the globe. In some countries it has become the major, or the number one problem including possibly the most wealthiest and strongest economy of all, USA. In the early 1980s and starting from President Reagan and continued by George Bush and Bill Clinton, US spent billions of US dollars funding the War on Drugs declared by Reagan.

However the use of drugs is not a recent phenomenon. Drugs (opium and marijuana) had been known to be used as early as 500 B.C. by the Chinese (marijuana) for anesthetic, and the Indians of South America (coca leaf) for hunger. By the late nineteenth century it was freely used in the new world like the United States and others both for social and medical purposes. The consumers of various types of drugs cut across all sectors of the community including USA presidents (i.e. Ulysses S. Grant and William McKinley) and the Royal family members (i.e. Norway King and Queen) (Chepsesiuk (1999:xx). Wars were also fought for the control of drugs sales like the early 1800s Opium war between the Chinese and Britain and 1856 Second Opium War. In this war Britain found aid in France, Russia and America.

The ban on sale of Drugs (opium) began in 1905 in Philippines by USA. Philippines was then USA's acquisition since 1898. The following years in 1906 US Congress began the process of prohibiting the sale of any food or medicine that failed to state the inclusion of heroin or cocaine in their ingredients. At the international level USA with other twelve countries agreed in principle to strengthen the restricting sale of drugs in 1909 in Shanghai, China. Another International antiopium conference was held two years later in 1911 in The Hague, Netherlands and resulted in signing the International Opium Convention of 23 January 1912. This basically committed the 23 signatories to suppress any abuse of drugs like opium, morphine, cocaine and any related dugs either prepared or deriving from these substances.



Stronger mechanisms were needed to strengthen the internal control of abuse of drug. USA enacted the 1914 of the Harrison Narcotic Act. This was a controlling mechanism that called for the registration of anyone “selling, importing or dispensing drugs” with US government. Marijuana was not included until 1937 when it was legalised.

However the new laws both at the international level and in US to curb drug trafficking did not quite effectively stop the abuse of drugs and its related offences. If anything, it gave rise to new criminal syndicates both in Asia and West. In US well before the prohibition laws came into effect there existed well organised gangs involving ethnic gangs like the Jews, Japanese, Chinese, Italians and the Irish. Although at the new World Organizations were able counter the abuse of drugs at the international level. After the First World War (1914-1918) the newly formed League of Nations was able to continue to ‘control’ the abusive of drugs through a number of opium treaties that were continually rectified from time to time. Taking over from the League of Nations, the United Nations was able to continue the fight against drugs after World War II (1939-1944). However drug trafficking seem to thrive in the late 1940s. There were two contributing factors.

First was deporting of the drug gangster leader Luciano in US. Luciano who had taken control of heroin market in US was deported to his native home country, Italy. In Italy he was able to manufacture and smuggle huge amounts of a variety of drugs back to US using his experience, skills and network. Some quarters estimated that the amount of drugs smuggled into US. The second factor was the Chinese Revolution of 1948 where Mao Tse-Tung’s communists triumphed over the Chiang Kai-Shek’s Fifth Kuomintang Army (KMI). They later fled into Burma (present day Myanmar) with his army and heavily got involved in opium trade to buy arms and materials resulting in making the Golden Triangle one of the world’s biggest opium producers. The Golden Triangle included Myanmar, Laos and Thailand. USA was also accused of encouraging the activities of KMI in her pursuit of fighting the spread of Communism.

By 1960s in US more and more young people across all sectors of the community began to enjoy the use of variety of drugs and hence illegal drug trafficking began to expand and flourish. There was now a new source in Latin America. In Latin America there were now drug-trafficking organizations (cartels) producing the drugs (cocaine). Consequently a United Nations Convention in 1961 further strengthened the laws on restricting the sale of drugs. Among other things UN Convention attempted to cut off the supply base by paying off the growers of poppy crops but with little effect. USA also followed suit with President Kennedy coming up with tougher measures in 1962. The coming Presidents Johnson (1966) and Nixon (1970) continued to strengthen the fight against the abuse of power. However the drug trafficking continued to flourish as various Latin American countries like Cuba, Colombia, Andean region, Bolivia, and Peru became important suppliers. In the South East Asia joining the Golden Triangle area as suppliers of various forms of drugs were the Vietnamese and Hong Kong.

By the 1970s US war on drugs seem to be giving way when President Nixon made a dramatic public speech on 17th June 1971 saying that “America has now the largest number of heroin addicts of any nation in the world. If we cannot destroy the drug menace in America, then it will surely destroy us.” (Chepesiuk 1999:xxvii). Nixon was able to make significant achievements after successfully negotiating and offering American aid to some main suppliers including the Turkey,



Mexico, Southeast Asia's Golden Triangle, the famous French Connection dominated by Sicilian and Corsians. Unfortunately not all suppliers were taken care off as new centers like the Tirads, Colombians, African Americans and other syndicates in Southeast Asia began to fill the vacuum left by the others.

The next line of Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter continued the war against drugs with mixture of results in the 1970s. In the 1980s a new hardline military approach was adopted by President Reagan and increased funding from \$1.5 billion in 1981 to US\$2.75 billion in 1986. Drug dealers were imprisoned in US and law enforcing agencies were improved and stepped up. In other countries Reagan was able to pressure the 'weak' administrations like Columbia in 1984 to take crack down on drug traffickers. In others Reagan used the US army to thwart drug dealers or suppliers like Bolivia in 1986. Amid mix results and criticisms Reagan's war on drugs was continued by next US President George Bush.

Under Bush a new National Drug Control Strategy was endorsed in September 1989. William Bennett was the 'Commander' in the War on Drugs and could have direct access to the President. Apart from further improving and increasing the manpower of law enforcing agencies Bush was relentless on using military might on the regimes that supported drug trafficking. In 1989 US invaded Panama and captured its dictator General Manuel Antonio Noriega who was indicted by US courts as for involvement in international drug trafficking. A number of key suspects were extradited from Columbia in 1989 and in the early 1990s US elite forces struck against drug-trafficking enclaves in Peru and Columbia.

Further work was needed in the Andean region that included countries of Peru, Columbia and Bolivia. Bush attended summits encouraging and the attendants vowing to work together to attack international drug trafficking through economic, political and military means. However by 1990s Columbian drug trafficker began to use alternative routes through Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Mexico and Central America. Despite the expansive military approach on the suppliers by Bush on drugs, it was very difficult to contain drug coming into USA. By 1996 it was estimated that 70 percent of cocaine smuggled into US came through US-Mexico border. (Chepesiuk 1999:xxxi). In the 1990s new President Bill Clinton opted for a combination of tough laws and anti-drug treatments and prevention programs and was continued by later Presidents. Unfortunately this is a continuous war that seems to have no ending.

### **Human Trafficking**

Human trafficking is basically trading of people by people for a gain. It refers to any activities associated with selling, buying, recruiting, transporting, moving, harboring, medically treating and receiving of persons either with force and other forms of coercion, or through deception means for exploitation. Exploitation includes sexual exploitation, forced labor, slavery or for the removal of organs. Human trafficking is a very profitable business and therefore people involve do face a lot of risks including the loss of lives.

According to sources used by Wikipedia human trafficking was netting about US\$31.6 billion per annum in 2010 and in 2013 was worth US\$32 billion, and hence was one of the fastest-growing illegal activities of trans-national criminal organisations. ILO estimated (as used by Wikipedia)

about 2.5 million people from 127 countries were trafficked into another 137 countries around the world. Among the people, trafficked are children for child labor. ILO estimated that in 2000 246 million children were trafficked and in 2012 the number children involved in the human trafficking declined to 168 million. Between 2007 and 2010 it was estimated that 27 per cent of the total number of people trafficked around the world were children. Sub-Saharan African region seems to have been the main supplier of child labor while Asia and Pacific regions are seems to be the main recipients.

The victims vary from being disposed by civil unrests or wars, extreme poverty, lack of education, unemployment, social norms that may discriminate against women and girls, globalization and commercial interests. Globalization refers to internet technology that lures the young into sex trafficking. Commercial interests also include demand for human organs in the Western countries like USA and Europe.

The magnitude of the crime in the world calls for a collective action by everyone to counter the evil acts of human trafficking. United Nations through its various agencies like UNODC and UN.GIFT has been working closely with a number NGOs like Carita Migrant, ILO, affected governments and many others in leading the global fight against human trafficking. It is hoped that the human trafficking can be eradicated. Since 2007 UN.GIFT in collaboration with many other international organizations are heavily involved in increasing knowledge and awareness on the human trafficking and building and strengthening network. Consequently a number of important Reports and International treaties have been made on the subject.

The fight against human trafficking is also taken up by number regional organizations and Individual countries. The former included the Heads of States and Governments of the Council of Europe (2007) and the individual countries included India (2013) and US (2007). A historical land mark was achieved by the leaders of the various religions in 2014. The leaders of different religions and Christian churches included Buddhist, Anglican, Catholic, Orthodox Christian, Hindu, Jewish and Islam congregated for the first time and vowed to eliminate human trafficking and slavery by 2020.

### Arms Trafficking



Arms trafficking are smuggling or illegal sale of arms, weapons or ammunition. It involves every region for various reasons ranging from personal use to war requirements. The most common markets are the political turmoil regions or the conflict-prone regions as discussed right throughout this unit. Even in the West, like the United States illegal sale of weapons are referred to as 'iron-pipe'. Although it is very difficult to estimate some sources like the Wikipedia estimates that the global market value is about US\$60 billion a year. As it is a profitable market and people involved do take serious risks.

Now do Activity.



**Activity 12.2.5.3**

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1. How would you define transnational crime?

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2. Who is involved in these crimes?

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3. Give some examples of transnational crime.

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4. Why do people risk their lives in transnational crime?

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5. Who are some of the most affected people in human trafficking?

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6. Name some countries involved in drug and human trafficking.

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7. Where do drugs end up?

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**Check your answers at the end of sub unit 12.2.5**

**Sub topic 12.2.5.4: Economic and political influence of China and India in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

**5. Emerging economies**



## 6. BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China)

### 5. Emerging Economies

The world economy has been dominated by the Europeans up until the First World War (1914-1918). After the war American emerged as the leading economy. The economies of the West were ruined in the war. America had taken part in the war in August 1918 and after a few months later the wars ended. It had not spent a lot of resources in the war and its economy was intact. With its vast amount of natural resources it rose to the top of the world economic leadership. There was shift of economic base and leadership across the Atlantic to America. The economies of the major warring nations like Germany, France and Britain had also borrowed heavily from America to fund their war requirements. After the war they began to reconstruct their economies and were also faced with servicing the war debts. Germany was the most unfortunate of the three because it was made to pay war reparations for causing the war. Both France and Britain also relied on the Germany's war reparations to service their American debts.

US economic leadership with its military might continue to reign well after the Second World War (1939-1943). However after the WW II the world economic base was shifted to the Asian region in particular the South East Asia. This region experienced some of the world's longest economic booms. Among them were Japan (1950-1990) and Four Asian Tigers (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore). China as in the next section was opening up to the rest of the world and India abandoning the socialist policies.

Among the factors that contributed to the transformation and rapid economic growth of these countries were:

- USA's assistance in reconstruction some economies in particular that of Japan
- Changing of policies by India leaving behind the socialist policies and China adopting reforms since 1978
- Close cooperation between government, banks, corporations and cutting back on military spending as in the case of Japan
- Encouragement of big businesses in South Korea and Japan
- Encouragement of small medium sized businesses as in the case of Taiwan
- Adopting of liberal market policies resulting in a strong financial sector in Hong Kong
- Having manufacturing ability and the use of cheap labor across the region.

### 6. BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China)

BRIC group of economies are Brazil, Russia, India and China. These are the fastest growing and largest emerging economies that between them have half the population of the world. It is perceived that China may become the largest economy in the world probably between 2030 and 2050. By 2030 all of these countries would be in the world's top ten economies and by 2050 they will become the top four economies relegating the leading US economy to the fifth place.



Everyone was hurt by the 2008 melt down and BRICs were no exception. Value of China's exports fell significantly during the 2008 crisis. This made China to look inward and concentrate on its domestic economy after 2008. It began to spend huge sums of money on improving its infrastructure and on environmental projects its economy seems to have recovered. The policy was continued right through to 2010 and 2011 where total investment on these projects contributed 49 per cent of China's GDP. However their concentration on the domestic economy led to the continued decline in exports and slowing of the economy. As the other regions in particular the Eurozone was having still hurting it decided, partly because of its own nervousness about her own economy decided to help Eurozone thorough IMF. With India both contributed billions of dollars to the IMF emergency funds to help the EU's ongoing problems.

Similarly Brazil responded well after 2008 crises and like China adopted inward economic policies of focusing on domestic economy. It committed massive spending on a massive property building project. The results were relieving as its unemployment problem dropped as thousands of new jobs were created. The improving economy was boosted by discovery of more oil and gas reserves. On the back of these new discoveries Brazil was the ninth world's largest oil producer and later became the fifth largest. It is currently rated the sixth largest economy in the world. The wealth of the nation was sensibly transferred into the improvement of lives of the people. Poverty began to be effectively addressed and consequently it decreased. In general there was a significant increase in the standard of living where the income of the poorest 50 per cent of the population was estimated to have increased by 70 per cent.

In same period India's economy also expanded rapidly until 2012. This was when Europe and US were hit by the new financial crises. As a result India's exports fell by 3 percent from May 2011 and May 2012. The value of its rupee fell significantly against the US\$ and made her imports more expansive. India was also hurt by the poor state of her infrastructure, investors deserting and the claims of corruption and bribery further worsened its plight. By June 2011 India's current account deficit was \$49 billion and was estimated to be \$72 billion at the end of the next year. However it was still able to contribute to IMF emergency funds with China.

Riding behind its oil and gas exports that valued worth \$200b in 2008, Russia was able to record specular growth rates in the decade leading up 2008. Its GDP increased tenfold. However Russia also felt the brunt of the 2007 international economic problems. There was a great fall in the prices of Russia's oil from \$140 per barrel to mere \$40 in 2008. As the foreign capital soon dried up the Russian government had to provide \$200 billion to increase liquidity in the banking sector. Similarly Russian Central Bank used one third of its \$600 billion international currency to help banking sector. In the recovery period after 2008 Russian resumed to grow. This cumulated in suppressing Saudi Arabia as the second natural gas producer and the third largest exporter of steel and aluminum in 2011.

After the lessons of 2007 Russia diversified its economic policies into producing armaments, military aircraft, and nuclear plants. Some of these were sold to both China and India. By 2012 Russia became the richest country in terms of cash reserves and recorded significant



improvements in unemployment and inflation rates making it strongest of the five BRIC economies.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.2.5.4

1. Which region emerged as the global economic base after the Second World War because it has experienced some of the longest economic booms?

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2. Name some of the economies that emerged as the leading economies in the SEA region after the Second World War.

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3. What do the initials BRIC stand for?

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4. What are the forecasts for this group of countries in 2030 and in 2050?

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5. How did both Brazil and China respond to the 2008 crises?

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**Check your answers at the end of sub unit 12.2.5**

**Summary for subunit 12.2.5**





- The world was confronted by other problems in terrorism, Islam Fundamentalism, continuing nuclear threats, nuclear proliferation, and transnational crimes.
- America, as a symbol for the Western values had endured some of the worst attacks by the terrorists. A notable terrorist attack was the 9/11 crashing of two aeroplanes into the Twin Tower in New York in 2002. Unfortunately the world led by the best efforts of USA and UNO to counter terrorism and transitional crimes are not achieving the desired results. Anti-terrorism attacks led by US may have scored a decisive victory in the fight against terrorism when US troops killed the leaders of Al Qaeda (Osama Bin Liden) in 2015.
- These acts of terrorism and transnational crimes are very difficult to counter because of the complicated and the secretive nature of their networks that involves large syndicates operating in a number of countries.
- It is mainly the religious motive that spurs the terrorist to die as martyrs makes the job of eradicating terrorism almost impossible.
- Additionally, very lucrative returns in the transnational crimes that provide the incentive for the criminals to continue at risk. The continuation of nuclear threats lies in nuclear proliferation where the new countries desire to have access to nuclear weapons to assert their influence and superiority.

## Unit 12.2 Summary



This unit is about the Changing World after the Second World starting from 1945 up to the early 1990s was dominated by Cold War. Cold War was a war of propaganda and ideals that both USA and USSR stood for. USA valued capitalism and democracy while USSR valued communism and socialism. Unfortunately every part of the world starting from the Europe was caught up in this war. There were benefits and serious consequences of the actions of both super powers as they attempted to outdo each other.

Sadly the rest of the people that were entangled in the Cold War were powerless and had no choice but to adhere to the wishes of the super powers. There were enormous costs on human lives and sufferings to millions of people of the world that fought for, or defended the causes that they themselves did not understand nor deserve. Some of these problems were worsened by the internal power struggles of the affected people that were utilised by both super powers. The sufferings seem to have ended at the demise of communism in the late 1980s.

However, another major problem confronted the world was terrorism and Islamic Fundamentalism. The latter in particular began to view the West as opposition to the teachings of their God and 'attacked' the value of the West. The values of the West including the freedom of individuals and speech, democracy, capitalism, etc were considered evil by the terrorists. Thousands of lives were lost and properties destroyed to the terrorists. The world's problems were also complicated by the greed of some people that took extreme risks to enrich themselves in drug, human, plant, animal and gun trafficking. Regional conflicts also affected the stability and the peace of the world.

On the brighter side the world organisations, regional associations, humanitarian associations of various kinds were established to counter the many evils and the problems of the world. The world as we have seen will be changing because it never meant to be static.



## Answers to Activities for 12.2.5

### Activity 12.2.5.1

1. Act of violence by terrorists against civilians and states.
2. Strictly adhering to the teachings of Allah
3. USA is the symbol of Western ideals and therefore is the main enemy.
4. 1983 American Embassy in Beirut, 1988 Lockerbie bombing in Scotland, etc

### Activity 12.2.5.2

1. Christianity is religion founded by Jesus Christ from Judaism. Christian is a follower and accepts Jesus Christ as his/her Savior and the Lord. It is by faith and through Jesus that a Christian is related to God.
2. Jesus is not the son of God but a prophet to the Muslims and so He is not important but Mohammad is. Muslims have Koran but the Christians have the Bible.
3. India

### Activity 12.2.5.3

1. Any related crimes that operate well beyond the national boundaries. This often involves syndicates operating in networks across the continents
2. Well organised gangs or syndicates.
3. Human trafficking, Drug Trafficking, Illegal sale of arms and plants and animals.
4. They are very lucrative. Some have no choice because of poverty or dispossessed in internal conflicts or because of cultural factors.
5. Children and the poor
6. Latin America and Asian Countries, Italy
7. Everywhere but costs more in the Western European countries including US.

### Activity 12.2.5.4

1. South East Asia
2. Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, China, and India
3. Brazil, Russia, India and China



4. In 2030 BRIC will be among the world's ten economies and 2050 they will be the four leading economies of the world pushing US to fifth.
5. They adopted inward policies and focused on domestic industries. China spent massively on infrastructure and environmental projects while Brazil focused on property building projects.



## Glossary

<b>APEC</b>	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation is a regional economic cooperation in Pacific Rim established in 1989 to promote and encourage free trade among the member economies.
<b>ASEAN</b>	Association of South East Asian Association is a regional economic association formed in 1967 to promote cooperative economic advancement among the South East Asian member states.
<b>Brezhnev</b>	Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev was the next USSR Leader after Khrushchev and was a hardline communist.
<b>Brezhnev's Doctrine</b>	Soviet's intrusion into socialist/communist states was justified if communism in their respective states was considered to be threatened.
<b>Brussels Defense Treaty</b>	was defense treaty among Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg in 1948.
<b>BRIC</b>	Brazil, Russia, India and China
<b>Capitalism</b>	an economic system that encourages individual ownership of means of production and competition aimed at making a profit.
<b>Christianity</b>	a religion and the followers are called Christians. Christians believed in the death and the resurrection of their Lord and savior Jesus Christ. Christianity was founded by the Jesus from Judaism.
<b>Cold War</b>	a war of ideology and propaganda that was fought between the two super powers USA and USSR beginning after the Second World War II and ending with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Instead of direct confrontation the Cold War was indirectly fought through arts, propaganda, sports, the space race, development and threats of use of nuclear weapons and political influences and using others to directly confront each other.
<b>Cominform</b>	Stands for Communist Information Bureau. The Russian government announced Cominform in response to US's Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan aimed at adopting and adhering to Russian model of Communism. It also offered economic aid to the member countries.
<b>Communism</b>	is both and economic and political system in which the wealth of nations is collectively owned and is policed by the state apparatus like the army and individual freedom of speech is prohibited. The ruling elite is not freely elected by the people.



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<b>Democracy</b>	a political system where the individual freedom of speech, choose and write is not restricted. The government of day is elected by the people.
<b>De-Stalinisation</b>	a general policy adopted by Khrushchev of USSR that changed and moderated the hardline policies of Stalin aimed at making life easier and enjoyable for the Russians. In other words it was Khrushchev's liberal relax approach.
<b>Détente (USA)</b>	the period of permanent relaxation of hostilities between East (USSR) and the West
<b>Disarmament</b>	disarming of arms by reducing, limiting or even abolishing of weapons of destruction
<b>EU</b>	European Union is an association of European countries established for economic, military and political co-operation.
<b>Fundamental Islamic</b>	Is a total surrender and submission to God Allah
<b>GATT</b>	General Agreement on Trade and Tariff was established in 1947 and lasted for 47 years when in 1994 was replaced and its function expanded by WTO in 1994.
<b>George Bush (Snr)</b>	USA's 41 <sup>st</sup> President in 1989 to 1993
<b>Glasnost</b>	Gorbachev's policy of openness basically aimed at disclosing both the inefficiency and that corrupt practices of USSR's Communist Party.
<b>Gorbachev – Mikhail. S.</b>	The eight and the last leader of USSR from 1985-91. He adopted Glasnot policy of openness aimed at disclosing the inefficiency and the corrupt practices of the Soviet Union government.
<b>Hindu</b>	is a religion of India and unlike Islam or Christianity has no founder nor has a prophet. It also lacks an institutional structure and does not have a creed as well. Its emphasis is on a way of life than on a way of thought.
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund was founded in 1945
<b>IBRD</b>	International Bank for reconstruction and development was the for-runner for the WB. IBRD was established to help and fiancé the post war reconstruction of the economies of the warring nations.
<b>ITO</b>	International Trade Organisation was one of the multilateral international organisation formed in 1945to complete the worked of both WB and IMF. ITO due to the lack of USA's and Britain's initial supports did not eventuate but



	instead GATT was created.
<b>Islam</b>	Is a religion founded by Prophet Mohammad (c.570-632) in the Middle East and the followers are called Muslims. Islam means surrender or submission to the will of God
<b>John F. Kennedy</b>	United State's 35 <sup>th</sup> and the youngest President at 44 years when elected in January 1961 and was assassinated in November 1963.
<b>Khrushchev</b>	USSR President after the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953; Khrushchev moved USSR away from strenuous Stalin policies (de-Stalinization) to a more liberal and moderate policies. He advocated co-existing policy with the West to avoid a nuclear war
<b>LN</b>	LN stands for League of Nations. It was the first international organisation that was established after World War 1 in 1929 to ensure that the international peace was maintained.
<b>Marshall Aid</b>	Named after the US Secretary of State George Marshall, the Marshall Plan announced in June 1947 was the economic and the financial assistance offered to whoever that needed it including the Eastern Communist States.
<b>Muslim</b>	is a follower of the religion Islam
<b>NAFTA</b>	North American Free Trade Agreement was created in the early 1990s by US, Canada and Mexico to trade and invest with minimum obstacles and also included restrictions of patents, copyrights and trademarks.
<b>Nationalisation</b>	refers to the process of taking over the ownership and at times, the management of the business firms by the hoist countries.
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization is basically a defense treaty among the Western countries born out of Brussels Defense Treaty. In 1949 new members like USA, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Italy and Norway expanded the membership and hence the formation of NATO. The basic aim was if one was attacked (presumably by USSR) everyone were bound to assist.
<b>Nuclear Arms Race</b>	Nuclear arms race basically refers to the competition in developing new nuclear arms between East and West, but led by USSR in the East and USA in the West. Arms race is basically against these two countries and was used, or their threats to be used featured promptly in fighting the Cold War.
<b>OPEC</b>	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries is an organization of major oil-rich nations but dominated by the Arab nations. Established in 1960 OPEC aims to reduce the foreign influence in the oil industry at their respective



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	home countries and at the same increase their own. It now controls the flow and the price of oil.
<b>Truman Doctrine</b>	Announced in March 1947 by the US President the Truman, the Doctrine was US's policy aimed at freeing the people who were resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by the outside pressures. This marked the ending of US's isolation policy adopted after the First World War and beginning of US's assuming of the world leadership in containing the spread of communism.
<b>UNO</b>	United Nations Organisation established in 1945 to maintain world peace.
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USSR</b>	<i>former</i> Union Soviet Socialist Republic (of Russia)
<b>Vietnamisation</b>	A strategy adopted by US President in Vietnam aimed to rearm and train South Vietnamese to look after themselves after the US troops leave South Vietnam.
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organization was established in 1994 replacing GATT to ensure that world trade was conducted with minimum restrictions.
<b>Perestroika</b>	Gorbachev's policy of restructuring.
<b>Reaganomics</b>	US President Ronald Reagan's economic policy aimed at cutting back on Federal funding on welfare services, maintaining a balanced budget, lowering taxes and reducing restrictions in business.
<b>The Tehran Conference</b>	First of the three Conferences held by the Allies (Grand Alliance) from 1943 to 1945 to plan for the post World War Two period. This conference was held in November 1943 in Tehran and attended by England, USSR and USA. The 'Big Three' agreed – i. Soviet Union to maintain its 1918 boarder with Poland, ii. Poland's boarder to expand further West absorbing some German land, and iii. No Central Europe Alliance to attack Soviet Union.
<b>The Yalta Conference</b>	The second of the three Conferences held by the Allies (Grand Alliance) from 1943 to 1945 to plan for the post World War Two period. This conference was held in February in Yalta, Russia in February 1945. The Big three that attended the Conference were Satlin, Roosevelt and Churchill. The trio agreed that i. United Nations to be formed replacing the failed League of Nations; ii. Germany to be zoned into three and later four zones for the Allies including France. Berlin in the Russian zone was also included; iii. Free election were to be held in the Eastern Europe Sates; and iv. Russia to join the war against Japan on the condition that she would be given some parts of Japan.
<b>The Potsdam</b>	The third of the three Conferences held by the Allies (Grand Alliance) from

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- Conference** 1943 to 1945 to plan for the post World War Two period. The Potsdam Conference was held in Potsdam near Berlin. The trio agreed that: i; Nazi party to be disbanded and the party leaders be tried for war crimes; ii. Germany to be disarmed; iii. Germany to pay war reparations; and iv. Russia to receive the bulk of war reparations in non-food goods; in return Russia to send food to the western zones.
- Terrorism** is a method of political action that uses violence (or deliberately produces fear) against civilians and against civilian infrastructure in order to influence behaviour, to inflict punishment or to exact revenge.
- START** Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty was agreed by USA President George Bush and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989. The Treaty bound the two countries to reduce their respective nuclear weapons by 35 percent over a seven year period. USSR was also to half its land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles.
- WVI** World Vision International is a humanitarian organisation formed by Robert Pierce in 1950. As a Christian service organisation WVI aimed to service the emergency needs of the Evangelical Christian missionaries working in different parts of the world but has now expanded its activities into the rest of the world providing various forms of humanitarian aid to the needy.



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**SUBJECT AND GRADE TO STUDY**

GRADE LEVELS	SUBJECTS/COURSES
Grades 7 and 8	1. English
	2. Mathematics
	3. Personal Development
	4. Social Science
	5. Science
	6. Making a Living
Grades 9 and 10	1. English
	2. Mathematics
	3. Personal Development
	4. Science
	5. Social Science
	6. Business Studies
	7. Design and Technology- Computing
Grades 11 and 12	1. English – Applied English/Language & Literature
	2. Mathematics - Mathematics A / Mathematics B
	3. Science – Biology/Chemistry/Physics
	4. Social Science – History/Geography/Economics
	5. Personal Development
	6. Business Studies
	7. Information & Communication Technology

**REMEMBER:**

- For Grades 7 and 8, you are required to do all six (6) courses.
- For Grades 9 and 10, you must study English, Mathematics, Science, Personal Development, Social Science and Commerce. Design and Technology-Computing is optional.
- For Grades 11 and 12, you are required to complete seven (7) out of thirteen (13) courses to be certified.

**GRADES 11 & 12 COURSE PROGRAMMES**

No	Science	Humanities	Business
1	Applied English	Language & Literature	Language & Literature/Applied English
2	Mathematics A/B	Mathematics A/B	Mathematics A/B
3	Personal Development	Personal Development	Personal Development
4	Biology	Biology/Physics/Chemistry	Biology/Physics/Chemistry



5	Chemistry/ Physics	Geography	Economics/Geography/History
6	Geography/History/Economics	History / Economics	Business Studies
7	ICT	ICT	ICT

**Notes:** You must seek advice from your Provincial Coordinator regarding the recommended courses in each stream. Options should be discussed carefully before choosing the stream when enrolling into Grade 11. FODE will certify for the successful completion of seven subjects in Grade 12.

CERTIFICATE IN MATRICULATION STUDIES		
No	Compulsory Courses	Optional Courses
1	English 1	<b>Science Stream:</b> Biology, Chemistry, Physics
2	English 2	<b>Social Science Stream:</b> Geography, Intro to Economics and Asia and the Modern World
3	Mathematics 1	
4	Mathematics 2	
5	History of Science & Technology	

**REMEMBER:**

You must successfully complete 8 courses: 5 compulsory and 3 optional.