CHAPTER 30

THE CRISIS OF THE IMPERIAL ORDER, 1900–1929

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter students should:

1. Understand the origins, the conduct, and the social and political effects of the First World War in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the United States.

2. Be able to describe and analyze the causes and significance of the Russian Revolutions and Lenin's policies in the Soviet Union.

3. Be able to compare the histories of Japan and China from 1900 to 1929 and be able to offer explanations for the differences in the destinies of these two nations.

4. Be able to describe and assess the significance of the ways in which the First World War and the Mandate System affected Turkey and the Middle East.

5. Understand the ways in which the First World War, economic growth, technological change, and scientific advances led to social and cultural change in Western Europe and North America from 1918 to 1929.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Origins of the Crisis in Europe and the Middle East
   A. The Ottoman Empire and the Balkans
      1. By the late nineteenth century the once-powerful Ottoman Empire was in decline and losing the outlying provinces closest to Europe. The European powers meddled in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, sometimes in cooperation, at other times as rivals.
      2. In reaction, the Young Turks conspired to force a constitution on the Sultan, advocated centralized rule and Turkification of minorities, and carried out modernizing reforms. The Turks turned to Germany for assistance and hired a German general to modernize Turkey's armed forces.
   B. Nationalism, alliances, and military strategy
      1. The three main causes of World War I were nationalism, the system of alliances and military plans, and Germany's yearning to dominate Europe.
      2. Nationalism was deeply rooted in European culture, where it served to unite individual nations while undermining large multiethnic empires. Because of the spread of nationalism, most people viewed war as a crusade for liberty or as revenges for past
injustices: the well-to-do believed that war could heal the class divisions in their societies.

3. The major European countries were organized into two alliances: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) and the Triple Entente (Britain, France, and Russia). The military alliance system was accompanied by inflexible mobilization plans that depended on railroads to move troops according to precise schedules.

4. When Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914, diplomats, statesmen and monarchs quickly lost control of events. The alliance system in combination with the rigidly scheduled mobilization plans meant that war was automatic.

II. The “Great War” and the Russian Revolutions, 1914–1918.

A. Stalemate, 1914–1917

1. The nations of Europe entered the war in high spirits, confident of victory. German victory at first seemed assured, but as the German advance faltered in September, both sides spread out until they formed an unbroken line of trenches (the Western Front) from the North Sea to Switzerland.

2. The generals on each side tried for four years to take enemy positions by ordering their troops to charge across the open fields, only to have them cut down by machine-gun fire. For four years the war was inconclusive on both land and at sea.

B. The home front and the war economy

1. The material demands of trench warfare led governments to impose stringent controls over all aspects of their economies. Rationing and the recruitment of Africans, Indians, Chinese, and women into the European labor force transformed civilian life. German civilians paid an especially high price for the war as the British naval blockade cut off access to essential food imports.

2. British and French forces overran Germany’s African colonies (except for Tanganyika). In all of their African colonies Europeans requisitioned food, imposed heavy taxes, forced Africans to grow export crops and sell them at low prices, and recruited African men to serve as soldiers and as porters.

3. The United States grew rich during the war by selling goods to Britain and France. When the United States entered the war in 1917, businesses engaged in war production made tremendous profits.

C. The Ottoman Empire at war

1. The Turks signed a secret alliance with Germany in 1914. Turkey engaged in unsuccessful campaigns against Russia, deported the Armenians (causing the deaths of hundreds of thousands), and closed the Dardanelles Straits.

2. When they failed to open the Dardanelles Straits by force, the British tried to subvert the Ottoman Empire from within by promising emir Hussein ibn Ali of Mecca a kingdom of his own if he would lead a revolt against the Turks, which he did in 1916.

3. In the Balfour Declaration of 1917 the British suggested to the Zionist leader Chaim Weizman that they would “view with favor” the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. Britain also sent troops into southern Mesopotamia in order to secure the oil pipeline from Iran, taking Baghdad in early 1917.

D. Double revolution in Russia, 1917

1. By late 1916 the large but incompetent and poorly equipped Russian army had experienced numerous defeats and had run out of ammunition and other essential supplies. The civilian economy was in a state of collapse and the cities faced shortages of fuel and food in the winter of 1916–1917.
2. In March 1917 (February by the old Russian calendar) the Tsar was overthrown and replaced by a Provisional Government led by Alexander Kerensky. On November 6, 1917 (October 24 in the Russian calendar) Vladimir Lenin’s Bolsheviks staged an uprising in Petrograd and overthrew the Provisional Government.

E. The end of the war in Western Europe, 1917–1918

1. German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare brought the United States into the war in April 1917. On the Western Front, the two sides were evenly matched, but in 1918 the Germans were able to break through the front at several places and pushed within 40 miles of Paris.

2. The arrival of United States forces allowed the Allies to counterattack in August 1918. The German soldiers retreated, many sick with the flu: an armistice was signed on November 11.

III. Peace and Dislocation in Europe, 1919–1929

A. The impact of the war

1. The war left more dead and wounded and caused more physical destruction than any previous conflict. The war also created millions of refugees, many of whom fled to France and to the United States, where the influx of immigrants prompted the United States Congress to pass immigration laws that closed the doors to eastern and southern Europeans.

2. One byproduct of the war was the influenza epidemic of 1918–1919, which started among soldiers headed for the Western Front and spread around the world, killing some 30 million people. The war also caused serious damage to the environment and hastened the build-up of mines, factories, and railroads.

B. The peace treaties

1. Three men dominated the Paris Peace Conference: United States President Wilson, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, and French Premier Georges Clemenceau. Because the three men had conflicting goals, the Treaty of Versailles turned out to be a series of unsatisfying compromises that humiliated Germany but left it largely intact and potentially the most powerful nation in Europe.

2. The Austro-Hungarian Empire fell apart. New countries were created in the lands lost by Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary.

C. Russian civil war and the new economic policy

1. In Russia, Allied intervention and civil war extended the fighting for another three years beyond the end of World War I. By 1921 the Communists had defeated most of their enemies, and in 1922 the Soviet republic of Ukraine and Russia merged to create the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. Years of warfare, revolution, and mismanagement had ruined the Russian economy. Beginning in 1921 Lenin’s New Economic Policy helped to restore production by relaxing government controls and allowing a return of market economics. This policy was regarded as a temporary measure that would be superceded as the Soviet Union built a modern socialist industrial economy by extracting resources from the peasants in order to pay for industrialization.

3. When Lenin died in January 1924 his associates struggled for power: the two main contenders were Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Stalin filled the bureaucracy with his supporters, expelled Trotsky and forced him to flee the country.

D. An ephemeral peace

1. The 1920s were a decade of apparent progress behind which lurked irreconcilable tensions and dissatisfaction among people whose hopes had been raised by the rhetoric of war and dashed by its outcome. The decade after the end of the war can be divided into
two periods: five years of painful recovery and readjustment (1919–1923) followed by six years of growing peace and prosperity (1924–1929).

2. In 1923 French occupation of the Ruhr and severe inflation brought Germany to the brink of civil war. Currency reform and French withdrawal from the Ruhr marked the beginning of a period of peace and economic growth beginning in 1924.

IV. China and Japan: Contrasting Destinies

A. Social and economic change

1. In the first decades of the twentieth century China was plagued by rapid population growth, an increasingly unfavorable ration of population to arable land, avaricious landlords and tax collectors and frequent devastating floods of the Yellow River. Japan had few natural resources and very little arable land and, while not troubled by floods, Japan was subject to other natural calamities.

2. Above the peasantry Chinese society was divided among many groups: landowners, wealthy merchants, and foreigners, whose luxurious lives aroused the resentment of educated young urban Chinese. In Japan, industrialization and economic growth aggravated social tensions between westernized urbanites and traditionalists and between the immensely wealthy zaibatsu and the poor farmers who still comprised half the population.

3. Japanese prosperity depended on foreign trade and on imperialism in Asia. This made Japan much more vulnerable than China to swings in the world economy.

B. Revolution and war, 1900–1918

1. China’s defeat and humiliation at the hands of an international force in the Boxer affair of 1900 led many Chinese students to conclude that China needed a revolution to overthrow the Qing and modernize the country. When a regional army unit mutinied in 1911 Sun Yat-sen’s Revolutionary Alliance formed an assembly and elected Sun as president of China, but in order to avoid a civil war, the presidency was turned over to the powerful general Yuan Shikai, who rejected democracy and ruled as an autocrat.

2. The Japanese joined the Allied side in World War I and benefited from an economic boom as demand for their products rose. Japan used the war as an opportunity to conquer the German colonies in the northern Pacific and on the Chinese coast and to further extend Japanese influence in China by forcing the Chinese government to accede to many of the conditions presented in a document called the Twenty-One Demands.

C. Chinese warlords and the Guomindang, 1919–1929

1. At the Paris Peace Conference the great powers allowed Japan to retain control over seized German enclaves in China, sparking protests in Beijing (May 4, 1919) and in many other parts of China. China’s regional generals—the warlords—supported their armies through plunder and arbitrary taxation so that China grew poorer while only the treaty ports prospered.

2. Sun Yat-sen tried to make a comeback in Canton in the 1920s by reorganizing his Guomindang party along Leninist lines and by welcoming members of the newly created Chinese Communist Party. Sun’s successor Chiang Kai-shek crushed the regional warlords in 1927.

3. Chiang then split with and decimated the Communist Party and embarked on an ambitious plan of top-down industrial modernization. However, Chiang’s government was staffed by corrupt opportunists, not by competent administrators: China remained mired in poverty.

V. The New Middle East

A. The Mandate System

1. Instead of being given their independence, the former German colonies and Ottoman territories were given to the great powers as mandates. Class C Mandates were ruled as
colonies, while Class B Mandates were to be given their autonomy at some unspecified time in the future.

2. The Arab-speaking territories of the former Ottoman Empire were Class A Mandates, a category that was defined in such a way as to lead the Arabs to believe that they had been promised independence. In practice, Britain took control of Palestine, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan, while France took Syria and Lebanon as its mandates.

B. The rise of modern Turkey
1. At the end of the war the Ottoman Empire was at the point of collapse, with French, British, Italian and Greek forces occupying Constantinople and parts of Anatolia. The hero of the Gallipoli campaign Mustafa Kemal formed a nationalist government in 1919 and reconquered Anatolia and the area around Constantinople in 1922.

2. Kemal was an outspoken modernizer who declared Turkey to be a secular republic, introduced European laws, replaced the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet, and attempted to westernize the Turkish family, the roles of women, and even Turkish clothing and headgear. His reforms spread quickly in the urban areas, but they encountered strong resistance in the countryside, where Islamic traditions remained strong.

C. Arab lands and the question of Palestine
1. Among the Arab people, the thinly disguised colonialism of the mandate system set off protests and rebellions. At the same time, Middle Eastern society underwent significant changes: nomads disappeared, the population grew by 50 percent from 1914 to 1939, major cities doubled in size, and the urban merchant class adopted Western ideas, customs, and lifestyles.

2. The Maghrib (Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco) was dominated by the French army and by French settlers, who owned the best lands and monopolized government jobs and businesses. Arabs and Berbers remained poor and suffered from discrimination.

3. The British allowed Iraq to become independent under King Faisal (leader of the Arab revolt) but maintained a significant military and economic influence. France sent thousands of troops to crush nationalist uprisings in Lebanon and Syria. Britain declared Egypt to be independent in 1922 but retained control through its alliance with King Farouk.

4. In the Palestine Mandate, the British tried to limit the wave of Jewish immigration that began in 1920, but only succeeded in alienating both Jews and Arabs.

VI. Society, Culture and Technology in the Industrialized World
A. Class and gender
1. Class distinctions faded after the war as the role of the aristocracy (many of whom had died in battle) declined and displays of wealth came to be regarded as unpatriotic. The expanded role of government during and after the war led to an increase in the numbers of white collar workers: the working class did not expand because the introduction of new machinery and new ways of organizing work made it possible to increase production without expanding the labor force.

2. In the 1920s women enjoyed more personal freedoms than ever before, and women won the right to vote in some countries between 1915 and 1934. This did not have a significant effect on politics because women tended to vote like their male relatives.

B. Revolution in the sciences
1. The discovery of sub-atomic particles, quanta, Einstein's theory of relativity and the discovery that light is made up of either waves or particles undermined the certainties of Newtonian physics and offered the potential of unlocking new and dangerous sources of energy.
2. Innovations in the social sciences challenged Victorian morality, middle class values, and notions of Western superiority. The psychology of Sigmund Freud and the sociology of Emile Durkheim introduced notions of cultural relativism that combined with the experience of the war to call into question the West’s faith in reason and progress.

C. The new technologies of modernity
1. The European and American public was fascinated with new technologies like the airplane and lionized the early aviators: Amelia Earhart, Richard Byrd, and especially Charles Lindbergh. Electricity began to transform home life and commercial radio stations brought news, sports, soap operas, and advertising to homes throughout North America.

2. Film spread explosively in the 1920s. The early film industry of the silent film era was marked by diversity, with films being made in Japan, India, Turkey, Egypt, and Hollywood in the 1920s. The introduction of the talking picture in the United States in 1921, combined with the tremendous size of the American market, marked the beginning of the era of Hollywood’s domination of film and its role in the diffusion of American culture.

3. Health and hygiene were also part of the cult of modernity. Advances in medicine, sewage treatment systems, indoor plumbing, and the increased use of soap and home appliances contributed to declines in infant mortality and improvements in health and life expectancy.

D. Technology and the environment
1. The skyscraper and the automobile transformed the urban environment. Skyscrapers with load-bearing steel frames and passenger elevators were built in American cities. European cities restricted the height of buildings, but European architects led the way in designing simple, easily constructed inexpensive, functional buildings in what came to be known as the International Style.

2. Mass-produced automobiles replaced horses in the city streets and led to the construction of far-flung suburban areas like those of Los Angeles. On farms, gasoline-powered tractors began replacing horses in the 1920s while dams and canals were used to generate electricity and to irrigate dry land.

VII. Conclusion
A. In the late 1920s it seemed as though the victors of the Great War might reestablish the prewar prosperity and European dominance of the globe, but in fact, the war had caused a major realignment among the European nations while unleashing revolutionary nationalist movements in the Middle East and Asia.

B. Only two countries benefited from the war: the United States and Japan.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why did the crisis in the Balkans lead to a world war rather than to a limited European war?

2. How did the First World War change the role of the state in Europe and North America? How did they contribute to social change?

3. Were there weaknesses or flaws in the system of international relations and trade that was established in the aftermath of the First World War? If so, what were those weaknesses, and what was their significance?

Copyright © Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.
CHAPTER 31

THE COLLAPSE OF THE OLD ORDER, 1929–1949

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter students should:

1. Understand the Stalinist Revolution and be able to describe Stalin’s strategy for achieving rapid industrialization.

2. Be able to analyze the causes and consequences of the Depression and relate them to the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany.

3. Understand the causes and the consequences of the Second World War in Europe and in the Asia-Pacific theater.

4. Be able to describe and explain the significance of changes in the character of warfare in the Second World War.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Stalin Revolution
   A. Five-Year Plans
      1. Joseph Stalin, the son of a poor shoemaker, was a skillful administrator who rose within the Communist Party and used his power within the bureaucracy to eliminate Leon Trotsky and all other contenders for power. Stalin then set about the task of industrializing the Soviet Union in such a way as to increase the power of the Communist Party domestically and to increase the power of the Soviet Union in relation to other countries.
      2. Beginning in October 1928 Stalin devised a series of Five-Year Plans that were designed to achieve ambitious goals by instituting centralized state control over the economy. Under the Five-Year Plans the Soviet Union achieved rapid industrialization, accompanied by the kind of environmental change that was experienced by the United States and Canada during their period of industrialization several decades earlier.
   B. Collectivization of agriculture
      1. The Soviet Union squeezed the peasantry in order to pay for the massive investments required by the Five-Year Plans and in order to provide the necessary labor and food supplies required by the new industrial workers. The way the Soviet Union did this was to consolidate small farms into vast collectives that were expected to supply the government with a fixed amount of food and distribute what was left among their members.
2. Collectivization was an attempt to organize the peasants into an industrial way of life and to bring them firmly under the control of the government. Collectivization was accomplished by the violent suppression of the better-off peasants (the kulaks) and disrupted agricultural production so badly as to cause a famine that killed some 5 million people after the bad harvests of 1933 and 1934.

3. The Second Five-Year Plan (1933–1937) was originally intended to increase the output of consumer goods, but fear of the Nazi regime in Germany prompted Stalin to shift the emphasis to heavy industries and armaments. Consumer goods became scarce and food was rationed.

C. Terror and opportunities
   1. Stalin’s policies of industrialization and collectivization could only be carried out by threats and by force. In order to prevent any possible resistance or rebellion, Stalin used the NKVD (secret police) in order to create a climate of terror that extended from the intellectuals and the upper levels of the Party all the way down to ordinary Soviet citizens.

2. Many Soviet citizens supported Stalin’s regime in spite of the fear and hardships. Stalinism created new opportunities for women to join the workforce and for obedient, unquestioning people to rise within the ranks of the Communist Party, the military, the government, or their professions.

3. Stalin’s brutal methods helped the Soviet Union to industrialize faster than any country had ever done. In the late 1930s the contrast between the economic strength of the Soviet Union and the Depression troubles of the capitalist nations gave many the impression that Stalin’s planned economy was a success.

II. The Depression

A. Economic crisis
   1. In the United States the collapse of the New York stock market on October 24, 1929 caused a chain reaction in which consumers cut their purchases, companies laid off workers, and small farms failed.

2. On the international scale, the stock-market collapse led New York banks to recall their loans to Germany and Austria, thus ending their payment of reparations to France and Britain, who then could not repay their war loans to the United States. In 1930, the United States tried to protect its industries by passing the Smoot-Hawley tariff act: other countries followed suit, and world trade declined by 62 percent between 1929 and 1932.

B. Depression in the industrial nations
   1. France and Britain were able to escape the worst of the Depression by forcing their colonies to purchase their products. Japan and Germany suffered much more because they relied on exports to pay for imports of food and fuel.

2. The Depression had profound political repercussions. In the United States, Britain, and France, governments used programs like the American New Deal in an attempt to stimulate their economies. In Germany and Japan, radical politicians devoted their economies to military build-up, hoping to acquire empires large enough to support self-sufficient economies.

C. Depression in nonindustrial regions
   1. The Depression spread to Asia, Africa, and Latin American unevenly.

   2. India and China were not dependent on foreign trade and thus were little affected. Countries that depended on exports of raw materials or on tourism were devastated. In Latin America the Depression led to the establishment of military dictatorships that tried to solve economic problems by imposing authoritarian control over their economies.
3. Southern Africa boomed during the 1930s. The increasing value of gold and the relatively cheaper copper deposits of Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo led to a mining boom that benefited European and South African mine owners.

III. The Rise of Fascism

A. Mussolini’s Italy

1. In postwar Italy thousands of unemployed veterans and violent youths banded together in *fasci di combattimento* to demand action, intimidate politicians, and serve as strong-arm men for factory and property owners. Benito Mussolini, a former socialist, became leader of the Fascist Party and used the fasci di combattimento to force the government to appoint him to the post of prime minister.

2. In power, Mussolini installed Fascist Party members in all government jobs and crushed all sources of opposition. Mussolini and the Fascist movement excelled at propaganda and glorified war, but Mussolini’s foreign policy was cautious.

3. The Italian Fascist movement was imitated in most European countries, in Latin America, in China, and in Japan.

B. Hitler’s Germany

1. Germany had been hard-hit by its defeat in the First World War, the hyperinflation of 1923, and the Depression. Germans blamed socialists, Jews, and foreigners for their troubles.

2. Adolf Hitler was an Austrian-born veteran German army veteran who became leader of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (Nazis) and led them in an unsuccessful uprising in Munich in 1924. In 1925 Hitler published *Mein Kampf*, in which he laid forth his racial theories, his aspirations for the German nation, and his proposal to eliminate all Jews from Europe.

3. When the Depression hit Germany the Nazis gained support from the unemployed and from property owners. As leader of the largest party in Germany, Hitler assumed the post of chancellor in March 1933 and proceeded to assume dictatorial power, declaring himself *Führer* of the “Third Reich” in August 1934.

4. Hitler’s economic and social policies were spectacularly effective. Public works contracts, a military build-up, and a policy of encouraging women to leave the workplace in order to release jobs for men led to an economic boom, low unemployment, and rising standards of living.

C. The road to war, 1933–1939

1. In order to pursue his goal of territorial conquest, Hitler built up his armed forces and tested the reactions of other powers by withdrawing from the League of Nations, introducing conscription, and establishing an air force—all in violation of the Versailles treaty. Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, and Hitler sent ground troops into the Rhineland in 1936.

2. Hitler’s and Mussolini’s actions met with no serious objections from France, Britain, or the United States. Hitler was thus emboldened in 1938 to invade Austria and to demand the German-speaking portions of Czechoslovakia, to which the leaders of France, Britain, and Italy agreed in the Munich Conference of September 1938.

3. There were three causes for the weakness of the democracies—now called “appeasement.” The democracies had a deep-seated fear of war, they feared communism more than they feared Germany, and they believed that Hitler was an honorable man who could be trusted when he assured them at Munich that he had “no further territorial demands.”

4. After Munich is was too late to stop Hitler short of war. In March 1939 Hitler’s invasion of Czechoslovakia inspired France and Britain to ask for Soviet help, but Hitler and
Stalin were already negotiating the Nazi-Soviet Pact in which the two countries agreed to divide Poland between them.

IV. East Asia, 1931–1945

A. The Manchurian Incident of 1931
1. Ultranationalists, including young army officers, believed that Japan could end its dependence on foreign trade only if Japan had a colonial empire in China. In 1931 junior officers in the Japanese Army guarding the railway in Manchuria made an explosion on the railroad track their excuse for conquering the entire province, an action to which the Japanese government acquiesced after the fact.
2. Japan built heavy industries and railways in Manchuria and northeastern China and sped up their rearmament. At home, the government grew more authoritarian and mutinies and political assassinations committed by junior officers brought generals and admirals into government positions formerly controlled by civilians.

B. The Chinese Communists and the Long March
1. The main challenge to the government of Chiang Kai-shek came from the Communist Party, which had cooperated with the Guomindang until Chiang arrested and executed Communists, forcing those who survived to flee to the remote mountains of Jiangxi province in southeastern China.
2. Mao Zedong (1893–1976) was a farmer’s son and man of action who became a leader of the Communist Party in the 1920s. In Jiangxi, Mao departed from standard Marxist-Leninist ideology when he planned to redistribute land from the wealthy to the poor peasants in order to gain peasant (rather than industrial worker) support for a social revolution. Mao was also an advocate of women’s equality, but the Party reserved leadership positions for men, whose primary task was warfare.
3. The Guomindang army pursued the Communists into the mountains: Mao responded with guerilla warfare and with policies designed to win the support of the peasants. Nonetheless, in 1934 the Guomindang forces surrounded the Jiangxi base area and forced the Communists to flee on the Long March, which brought them, much weakened, to Shaanxi in 1935.

C. The Sino-Japanese war, 1837–1945
1. On July 7, 1937 Japanese troops attacked Chinese forces near Beijing, forcing the Japanese government to initiate a full-scale war of invasion against China. The United States and the League of Nations made no efforts to stop the Japanese invasion, and the poorly-led and poorly-armed Chinese troops were unable to prevent Japan from controlling the coastal provinces of China and the lower Yangzi and Yellow River Valleys within a year.
2. The Chinese people continued to resist Japanese forces, pulling Japan deeper into an inconclusive China war that was a drain on Japan’s economy and manpower and that made the Japanese military increasingly dependent on the United States for steel, machine tools, and nine-tenths of its oil. In the conduct of the war, the Japanese troops proved to be incredibly violent, committing severe atrocities when they took Nanjing in the winter of 1937–1938 and initiating a “kill all, burn all, loot all” campaign in 1940.
3. The Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek escaped to the mountains of Sichuan, where Chiang built up a large army to prepare for future confrontation with the Communists. In Shaanxi province, Mao built up his army, formed a government, and skillfully presented the Communist Party as the only group in China that was serious about fighting the Japanese.
2. The Communists built up their forces with Japanese equipment gained from the Soviets and American equipment gained from deserting Guomindang soldiers and won popular support, especially in Manchuria, by carrying out a radical land reform program. On October 1, 1949 Mao Zedong announced the founding of the People’s Republic of China as Chiang Kai-shek’s Guomindang forces were being driven off the mainland to Taiwan.

VI. The Character of Warfare

A. The war of science
   1. World War II was different from previous wars both in its enormous death toll and in the vast numbers of refugees that were generated during the war. The unprecedented scale of human suffering during the war was due to a change in moral values and to the appearance of new technologies of warfare.
   2. Science had a significant impact on the technology of warfare. This may be seen in the application of scientific discoveries to produce synthetic rubber and radar, in developments in cryptanalysis and antibiotics, in the development of aircraft and missiles, and in the United States government’s organization of physicists and engineers in order to produce atomic weapons.

B. Bombing raids
   1. The British and Americans excelled at bombing raids that were intended not to strike individual buildings, but to break the morale of the civilian population. Massive bombing raids on German cities caused substantial casualties, but armament production continued to increase until late 1944 and the German people remained obedient and hard-working.
   2. Japanese cities with their wooden buildings were also the targets of American bombing raids. Fire bombs devastated Japanese cities: the fire bombing of Tokyo in March 1945 killed 80,000 people and left a million homeless.

C. The Holocaust
   1. Nazi killings of civilians were part of a calculated policy of exterminating whole races of people.
   2. German Jews were deprived of their citizenship and legal rights and herded into ghettos, where many died of starvation and disease. In early 1942 the Nazis decided to apply modern industrial methods in order to slaughter the Jewish population of Europe in concentration camps like Auschwitz. This mass extermination, now called the Holocaust, claimed some 6 million Jewish lives.
   3. Besides the Jews, the Nazis also killed Polish Catholics, homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Gypsies, and the disabled, all in the interests of “racial purity.”

D. The home front in Europe and Asia
   1. During the Second World War the distinction between the “front” and the “home front” was blurred as rapid military movements and air power carried the war into people’s homes. Armies swept through the land confiscating anything of value, bombing raids destroyed entire cities, people were deported to die in concentration camps, and millions fled their homes in terror.
   2. The war demanded enormous and sustained efforts from all civilians: in the Soviet Union and in the United States, industrial workers were pressed to turn out tanks, ships, and other war materiel. In the Soviet Union and in the other belligerent countries mobilization of men for the military gave women significant roles in industrial and agricultural production.

E. The home front in the United States
   1. Unlike the other belligerents, the United States flourished during the war, its economy stimulated by war production. Consumer goods were in short supply, so the American savings rate increased, laying the basis for the postwar consumer boom.
2. The war weakened traditional ideas by bringing women, African-Americans, and Mexican-Americans into jobs once reserved for white men. Migrations of African-Americans north and west and of Mexican immigrants to the southwest resulted in overcrowding and discrimination in the industrial cities. Japanese-Americans were rounded up and herded into internment camps because of their race.

F. War and the environment
1. During the Depression, construction and industry had slowed down, reducing environmental stress. The war reversed this trend.
2. One source of environmental stress was the damage caused by war itself, but the main cause was not the fighting, but the economic development—mining, industry, and logging—that was stimulated by the war. Nonetheless, the environmental impact of the war seems quite modest in comparison with the damage inflicted by the long consumer boom that began in the post-war era.

VII. Conclusion
A. Between 1929 and 1949 the old global order—conservative, colonialist, and dominated by France and Britain—was shattered by the Depression, by the politics of violence, and by a war that was tremendously destructive because of the use of modern technology.
B. The collapse of Germany and Japan left the way open for the emergence of two superpowers: the United States and the USSR.
C. World War I had merely rearranged the colonial empires. The global impact of World War II was drastic and immediate because the war weakened the European colonial powers and because so much of the fighting took place in North Africa, Southeast Asia, and other colonial areas.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. What factors explain the apparent economic success of the Soviet Union under Stalin in the 1930s?
2. How and why did the social and political effects of the Depression vary in different parts of the world?
3. Why were Mussolini and Hitler able to gain power and engage in territorial expansion with impunity prior to 1939?
4. What were the main reasons for the Second World War? Why did these factors lead to a world war, rather than to a number of regional conflicts?
5. How was the conflict between the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party affected by external and internal developments in China? What factors explain the Communist Party’s victory in the civil war?
6. How and why were the conduct and the effects of the Second World War different from those of World War I?
CHAPTER 32

STRIVING FOR INDEPENDENCE: AFRICA, INDIA, AND LATIN AMERICA, 1900–1949

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter students should:

1. Be able to describe the effects of colonial rule on Africa between 1900 and 1949 and to analyze the relationship between the effects of colonial rule, the World Wars, and the Depression, and the beginnings of the independence movement in Africa.

2. Understand the development of the Indian Independence Movement from 1905 to 1947 and be able to explain the roles of Mohandas Gandhi and of Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

3. Understand the broad outlines of the Mexican Revolution and the economic policies of the Lazaro Cardenas.

4. Be able to discuss the economic and political evolution of Argentina and Brazil from 1900 to 1949 and to compare these two countries to Mexico.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Sub-Saharan Africa, 1900–1945
   A. Colonial Africa: economic and social changes
      1. Outside of Algeria, Kenya, and South Africa, few Europeans lived in Africa. However, the very small European presence dominated the African economy and developed Africa as an exporter of raw materials in such a way that brought benefit to Europeans but to very few Africans.
      2. Africans were forced to work in European-owned mines and plantations under harsh conditions for little or no pay. Colonialism provided little modern health care, and many colonial policies worsened public health, undermined the African family, and gave rise to large cities in which Africans experienced racial discrimination.
   B. Religious and political changes
      1. During the colonial period many Africans turned toward Christianity or Islam. Missionaries introduced Christianity (except in Ethiopia, where it was indigenous). Islam spread through the influence and example of African traders.
      2. The contrast between the liberal ideas imparted by Western education and the realities of racial discrimination under colonial rule contributed to the rise of nationalism. Early nationalist leaders and movements such as Blaise Diagne in Senegal, the African National Congress in South Africa, and Pan-Africanists like W.E.B. Dubois and Marcus...
Garvey from America had little influence until after World War II, when Africans who had served in the Allied war effort came back with new, radical ideas.

II. The Indian Independence Movement, 1905–1947
A. The land and the people
1. Despite periodic famines due to drought, India’s fertile land allowed the Indian population to increase from 250 million in 1900 to 389 million in 1941. Population growth brought environmental pressure, deforestation, and a declining amount of farm land per family.
2. Indian society was divided into many classes: peasants, wealthy property owners, and urban craftsmen, traders, and workers. The people of India spoke many different languages: English became the common medium of communication of the Western-educated middle class.
3. The majority of Indians practiced Hinduism. Muslims constituted one-quarter of the people of India and formed a majority in the northwest and in eastern Bengal.

B. British rule and Indian nationalism
1. Colonial India was ruled by a viceroy and administered by the Indian Civil Service. The few thousand members of the Civil Service manipulated the introduction of technology into India in order to protect the Indian people from the dangers of industrialization, to prevent the development of radical politics, and to maximize the benefits to Britain and to themselves.
2. At the turn of the century, the majority of Indians accepted British rule, but the racism and discrimination of the Europeans had inspired a group of Hindus to establish a political organization called the Indian National Congress in 1885. Muslims, fearful of Hindu dominance, founded the All-India Muslim League in 1906, thus giving India not one, but two independence movements.
3. The British resisted the idea that India could or should industrialize, but Pramatha Nath Bose of the Indian Geological Service and Jamsetji Tata, a Bombay textile magnate, established India’s first steel mill in Jamshedpur in 1911. Jamshedpur became a powerful symbol of Indian national pride.
4. In 1918 and 1919 several incidents contributed to an increase in tensions between the British and the Indian people. These incidents included a too-vague promise of self-government, the influenza epidemic of 1918–1919, and the incident in which a British general ordered his troops to fire into a crowd of 10,000 demonstrators.

C. Mahatma Gandhi and militant nonviolence
1. Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi (1869–1948) was an English-educated lawyer who practiced in South Africa before returning to India and joining the Indian National Congress during World War I. Gandhi’s political ideas included ahimsa (nonviolence) and satyagraha (the search for truth).
2. Gandhi dressed and lived simply: his affinity for the poor, the illiterate, and the outcasts made him able to transform the cause of Indian independence from an elite movement to a mass movement with a quasi-religious aura.
3. Gandhi’s brilliance as a political tactician and master of public relations gestures was demonstrated in acts such as his eighty mile “Walk to the Sea” to make salt (in violation of the government’s salt monopoly), in his several fasts “unto death,” and in his repeated arrests and prison sentences.

D. India moves toward independence
1. In the 1920s the British slowly and reluctantly began to give Indians control of areas such as education, the economy, and public works. High tariff barriers were erected behind which Indian entrepreneurs were able to undertake a degree of industrialization: this helped to create a class of wealthy Indian businessmen who looked to Gandhi’s
designated successor in the Indian National Congress—Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964)—for leadership.

2. The Second World War divided the Indian people: Indians contributed heavily to the war effort, but the Indian National Congress opposed the war, and a minority of Indians joined the Japanese side.

E. Partition and independence
1. In 1940 the Muslim League’s leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948) demanded that Muslims be given a country of their own, to be named Pakistan. When World War II ended, Britain’s new Labour Party government prepared for independence, but mutual animosity between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League led to the partition of India into two states: India and Pakistan.

2. Partition and independence were accompanied by violence between Muslims and Hindus and by massive flows of refugees as Hindus left predominantly Muslim areas and Muslims left predominantly Hindu areas.

III. The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1940
A. Mexico in 1910
1. Mexico’s geographical location made it subject to numerous foreign invasions and interventions. Upon independence in 1821 Mexican society was deeply divided: a few wealthy families of Spanish origin owned 85 percent of the land, while the majority of Indians and mestizos were poor peasants.

2. Concentration of land ownership increased after independence as wealthy families and American companies used bribery and force to acquire millions of acres of good agricultural land in southern Mexico, forcing peasants into wage labor, debt, and relocation. In northern Mexico, American purchase of land, the harsh living conditions, and the unequal distribution of wealth also caused popular resentment.

3. In 1910 General Porfirio Diaz (1830–1915) had ruled for thirty-four years. Diaz’ policies had made Mexico City a modernized showplace and brought wealth to a small number of businessmen, but his rule was also characterized by discrimination against the nonwhite majority of Mexicans and a decline in the average Mexican’s standard of living.

B. Revolution and civil war, 1911–1920
1. The Mexican Revolution was not the work of one party with a well-defined ideology: it developed haphazardly, led by a series of ambitious but limited men, each representing a different segment of Mexican society.

2. Francisco I Madero (1873–1913) overthrew Diaz in 1911, only to be overthrown in turn by General Victoriana Huerta in 1913. The Constitutionists Venustiano Carranza and Alvaro Obregon emerged as leaders of the disaffected middle class and industrial workers and they organized armies that overthrew Huerta in 1914.

3. Emiliano Zapata (1879–1919) led a peasant revolt in Morelos, south of Mexico City, while Francisco (Pancho) Villa organized an army in northern Mexico. Neither man was able to rise above his regional and peasant origins to lead a national revolution: Zapata was defeated and killed by the Constitutionists in 1919, Villa was assassinated in 1923.

4. The Constitutionists took over Mexico after years of fighting, an estimated 2 million casualties, and tremendous damage. In the process, the Constitutionists adopted many of their rivals’ agrarian reforms and proposed a number of social programs designed to appeal to workers and the middle class.

C. The Revolution institutionalized, 1920–1940
1. The Mexican Revolution lost momentum in the 1920s, but it had given representatives of rural communities, unionized workers, and public employees a voice in government.

2. After President Obregon’s assassination in 1928 his successor Plutarco Elias Calles founded the National Revolutionary Party, which was renamed the Mexican
Revolutionary Party (PRM) by President Lazaro Cardenas in 1934. Cardenas removed generals from government, redistributed land, replaced church-run schools with government schools, and expropriated the foreign-owned oil companies that had dominated Mexico’s petroleum industry.

3. When Cardenas’ term ended in 1940 Mexico was still a land of poor farmers with a small industrial base. Nonetheless, the Mexican Revolution had established a stable political system, tamed the military and the Catholic Church, and laid the foundations for the later industrialization of Mexico.

IV. Argentina and Brazil, 1900–1949

A. The transformation of Argentina

1. At the end of the nineteenth century the introduction of railroads and refrigerator ships transformed Argentina from an exporter of hides and wool to an exporter of meat. The introduction of Lincoln sheep and Hereford cattle for meat production led Argentine farmers to fence, plow, and cultivate the pampas, transforming pampas into farmland which, like the North American midwest, became one of the world’s great producers of meat and wheat.

2. Argentina’s government represented the interests of the oligarquia, a small group of wealthy landowners. This elite had little interest in anything other than farming: they were content to let foreign companies, mainly British, build the railroads, processing plants, and public utilities, while Argentina exported agricultural goods and imported almost all its manufactured goods.

B. Brazil and Argentina to 1929

1. Brazil’s elite of coffee and cacao planters and rubber exporters resembled the Argentine elite: they used their wealth to support a lavish lifestyle, allowed the British to build railroads, harbors, and other infrastructure, and imported all manufactured goods. Both Argentina and Brazil had small but outspoken middle classes that demanded a share in government and looked to Europe as a model.

2. The disruption of European industry and world trade in World War I weakened the landowning classes in Argentina and Brazil so that the urban middle class and the wealthy landowners shared power at the expense of the landless peasants and urban workers.

3. During the 1920s peace and high prices for agricultural exports allowed both Argentina and Brazil to industrialize, but the introduction of new technologies left them again dependent on the advanced industrial countries. Aviation and radio communications were introduced to Argentina and Brazil during the 1920s, but European and United States’ companies dominated both sectors.

C. The Depression and the Vargas regime in Brazil

1. The Depression hit Latin America very hard and marks a significant turning point for the region. As the value of their exports plummeted and their economies collapsed, Argentina and Brazil, like many European countries, turned to authoritarian regimes that promised to solve their economic problems.

2. In Brazil Getulio Vargas (1883–1953) staged a coup and practiced a policy called import substitution industrialization. Increased import duties and promotion of national firms and state-owned enterprises brought industrialization and all of the usual environmental consequences: mines, urbanization, slums, the conversion of scrubland to pasture, and deforestation.

3. Vargas instituted reforms that were beneficial to urban workers, but because he did nothing to help the landless peasants the benefits of the economic recovery were unequally distributed. In 1938 Vargas staged a second coup, abolished the constitution, made Brazil a fascist state, and thus infected not only Brazil but also all of South America.
America with the temptations of political violence. He himself was overthrown in a military coup in 1954.

D. Argentina after 1930
1. Economically, the Depression hurt Argentina almost as badly as it did Brazil, but the political consequences were delayed for years. In 1930 General José Uriburu overthrew the popularly elected president and initiated thirteen years of rule by generals and the oligarquia.
2. In 1943 Colonel Juan Perón (1895–1974) led another coup and established a government that modeled itself on Germany’s Nazi regime. As World War II turned against the Nazis, Perón and his wife Eva Duarte Perón appealed to urban workers to create a new base of support that allowed Perón to win the presidency in 1946 and to establish a populist dictatorship.
3. Perón’s government sponsored rapid industrialization and spent lavishly on social welfare projects, depleting capital that Argentina had earned during the war. Perón was unable to create a stable government, and soon after his wife died in 1952 he was overthrown in a military coup.

E. Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil: a comparison
1. Until 1910 Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil shared a common history and similar cultures. In the first half of the twentieth century their economies followed parallel trajectories, but their political histories diverged radically.
2. Mexico underwent a traumatic and profound social revolution. Argentina and Brazil remained under the leadership of conservative regimes that were devoted to the interests of the wealthy landowners and which were periodically overturned by military coups and populist demagogues.

V. Conclusion
A. Sub-Saharan Africa, India, and Latin America lay outside the theaters of war that engulfed most of the Northern Hemisphere, but they were deeply affected by global events and by the demands of the industrial powers.
B. The effects of global events varied from region to region.
C. Nationalism and the yearning for social justice were the two most powerful forces for change in the early twentieth century. These ideas originated in the industrial countries but resonated in the independent countries of Latin America as well as in colonial regions such as India and sub-Saharan Africa.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. How and why did the economies and societies of sub-Saharan Africa change during the period 1900 to 1945? Are these changes best explained in terms of internal or external causes?
2. What factors led to the emergence of a popular independence movement in India, and why did this movement lead to the establishment of two states, India and Pakistan, rather than to a single India?
3. Describe and explain the historical causes of the social structures of Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil.
4. How and why did the political evolution of Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil differ from each other?
CHAPTER 33
THE COLD WAR AND DECOLONIZATION, 1945–1975

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES
After studying this chapter students should:

1. Understand the causes of the Cold War and its political and environmental consequences for Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the two superpowers.

2. Understand the process of decolonization and be able to illustrate the variations in that process by reference to concrete examples.

3. Understand the challenges of nation-building and be able to compare the problems and the nation-building strategies of particular developing countries.

4. Be able to describe and analyze the reasons for the various ways in which the Third World states, China, Japan, and the Middle East were both affected by and took advantage of the Cold War.

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. The Cold War
   A. The United Nations
      1. After World War II Western leaders perceived the Soviet Union as the center of a world revolutionary movement, while Soviet leaders felt themselves surrounded by the western countries and their North Atlantic Treaty Organization (founded 1949). The United Nations provided a venue for face-to-face debate between the two sides in the Cold War.
      2. The United Nations was established in 1945 with a General Assembly, Security Council, a full-time bureaucracy headed by the Secretary-General, and various specialized agencies. All signatories of the United Nations Charter renounced war and territorial conquest, but in practice, the United Nations was seldom able to forestall or quell international conflicts.
      3. The decolonization of Africa and Asia greatly swelled the size of the General Assembly, which became an arena for expressing opinions and whose resolutions carried great weight in the early years of the United Nations. The influx of new members made the General Assembly more concerned with poverty, racial discrimination, and the struggle against imperialism than with the Cold War, and so the Western powers increasingly ignored the General Assembly.
   B. Capitalism and Communism
      1. Between 1944 and 1946 the western capitalist countries created a new international monetary system in which supply and demand determined prices and that included a
system of exchange rates, an International Monetary Fund, and a World Bank. The Soviet Union, suspicious of Western intentions, established a closed monetary system in which the state allocated goods and set prices for itself and for the communist states of eastern Europe.

2. The United States economy recovered and prospered during and after World War II. The economy of Western Europe, heavily damaged during World War II, recovered in the post-war period with the help of the American Marshall Plan.

3. Western European governments generally increased their role in economic management during this period. In 1948 Europeans launched a process of economic cooperation and integration with the creation of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation, which expanded its membership as it developed into the European Economic Community or Common Market (1957) and then into the European Community (1970).

4. The Soviet Union and eastern European states relied on the government to determine the production, distribution, and price of goods. In the communist states the recovery from World War II was rapid at first, but in the long run the Soviet and eastern European economies were unable to match those of the west in the production of consumer goods, housing, and food.

C. West versus east in Europe and Korea

1. The rapid establishment of communist regimes in eastern Europe led the United States to perceive the Soviet Union as a worldwide enemy. American perceptions led to the Truman Doctrine (1947) and to the establishment of NATO (1949), to which the Soviet Union responded by organizing the Warsaw Pact (1955).

2. A third great war did not break out in Europe, but the Soviet Union and the West did test each other’s resolve in incidents such as the Soviet blockade of West Berlin (1948–1949), the construction of the Berlin Wall (1961), and the West’s encouragement of the rift between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Soviet power was used to ensure the obedience of eastern European nations such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

3. In Korea Soviet and American occupation of zones north and south of the thirty-eighth parallel led to the establishment, in 1948, of a communist North Korea and a noncommunist South Korea. North Korea’s invasion of South Korea in 1950 marked the beginning of the Korean War, in which the United States came to the aid of South Korea while China sent troops to assist the north. A truce in 1953 fixed the border again at the thirty-eighth parallel, but no peace treaty was concluded.

D. U.S. defeat in Vietnam

1. After winning independence from France, communist North Vietnam supported a communist guerilla movement—the Viet Cong—against the noncommunist government of South Vietnam. John F. Kennedy decided to send American military advisers to assist South Vietnam, and President Lyndon Johnson gained Congressional support for unlimited expansion of U.S. military deployment.

2. Unable to stop the Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese allies, the United States ended its involvement in Vietnam in 1973, and Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops took over South Vietnam in 1975.

3. The Vietnam War brought significant casualties to both sides and gave rise to serious economic problems and to an anti-war movement in the United States. Members of the American military and their civilian supporters argued that government restrictions on American military operations had deprived the Americans of their chance for victory: such restrictions were designed to prevent China from entering the war and possibly starting a nuclear confrontation.

E. The race for nuclear supremacy

1. The existence of weapons of mass destruction affected all aspects of the Cold War confrontation, causing paranoia in the United States and spreading fear of nuclear
destruction throughout the world. Fear of nuclear war seemed about to be realized when the Soviet Union deployed nuclear missiles in Cuba in response to American deployment of such missiles in Turkey, but Kruschev backed down and withdrew the missiles from Cuba.

2. The number, means of delivery, and destructive force of nuclear weapons increased enormously, but at the same time, the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries made some progress on arms limitations. After 1972 the superpowers began the slow, arduous process of negotiating weapons limits.

3. Rather than attempting to keep up with the expensive Soviet-American arms race, the European nations sought to relax tensions between east and west through such organizations as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which led to the signing of the Helsinki Accords.

4. Space exploration was another offshoot of the nuclear arms race, as the ability to launch satellites and to send manned rockets into space was understood to signify equivalent achievements in the military sphere.

II. Decolonization and Nation Building

A. New nations in south and Southeast Asia

1. After partition in 1947, the independent states of India and Pakistan were strikingly dissimilar.

2. Pakistan defined itself in terms of religion, fell under the control of military leaders, and saw its Bengali-speaking eastern section secede to become the independent nation of Bangladesh in 1971. India, a secular republic with a 90 percent Hindu population inherited a larger share of industrial and educational resources and was able to maintain unity despite its linguistic heterogeneity.

3. In Southeast Asia, the defeats that the Japanese inflicted on the British, French, and Dutch forces in World War II set an example of an Asian people standing up to European colonizers. In the post-war period nationalist movements led to the independence of Indonesia (1949), Burma and the Malay Federation (1948), and the Philippines (1946.)

4. Throughout Southeast Asia communist movements plagued the departing colonial powers and the newly formed governments. The most important postwar communist movement in the region was that of Ho Chi Minh, whose nationalist coalition, the Viet Minh, defeated France in 1954, established a communist state in North Vietnam, and then went on to fight the noncommunist government in South Vietnam.

B. The struggle for independence in Africa

1. The postwar French government was determined to hold on to Algeria, which had a substantial French settler population, vineyards, and oil and gas fields. An Algerian revolt that broke out in 1954 was pursued with great brutality by both sides, but ended French withdrawal and Algerian independence in 1962.

2. None of the several wars for independence in sub-Saharan Africa matched the Algerian struggle in scale. But even without war, the new states suffered from a variety of problems including arbitrarily drawn borders, overdependence on export crops, lack of national road and railroad networks, and overpopulation.

3. Some of the politicians who led the nationalist movements devoted their lives to ridding their homelands of foreign occupation. Two examples are Kwame Nkrumah, the independence leader and later president of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta, who negotiated the independence and became first president of the Republic of Kenya.

4. The African leaders in the sub-Saharan French colonies were reluctant to call for independence because they realized that some of the colonies had bleak economic prospects and because they were aware of the importance of the billions of dollars of

5. Decolonization in Africa often involved struggles as people of European descent fought against indigenous Africans in an attempt to retain their personal privileges, control of resources, and political power. Race conflict was particularly severe in the southern part of Africa, including the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, the British colony of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and in South and Southwest Africa.

C. The quest for economic freedom in Latin America

1. In Latin America, independence from European rule was achieved earlier, but American and European economic domination increased.

2. In Mexico, the revolutionary rhetoric of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party was accompanied by a large and persistent disparity between the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural. In Guatemala, President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman’s attempt to expropriate the property of large landowners including the United Fruit Company prompted the United States Central Intelligence Agency to assist in a military coup that removed Arbenz from power and condemned Guatemala to decades of political instability and violence.

3. In the 1950s the Cuban leader Fulgencio Batista presided over a corrupt, repressive regime, while the United States and a small class of wealthy Cubans dominated the economy. In 1959 Fidel Castro led a popular revolution that forced Batista to leave the country, redistributed land, lowered urban rents, raised wages, and seized the property of U.S. and Cuban corporations.

4. There is little evidence that Castro undertook his revolution to install a communist government, but faced with a U.S. blockade, he turned to the Soviet Union for economic aid, thereby committing his nation to economic stagnation and dependence on the Soviet Union. In April 1961 some fifteen hundred Cuban exiles whom the CIA had trained landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba in an effort to overthrow Castro, but the attempt failed, partly because the United States did not supply all the air support that the plan had called for.

D. Challenges of nation building

1. Decolonization occurred on a vast scale and led to the establishment of dozens of new nations between 1945 and 1965. Each of these new nations had to establish some form of government, and most of them had to do so while facing severe economic challenges.

2. The new nations also had to address serious educational concerns including questions such as which language to teach, how to inculcate a sense of national unity in places where it had not previously existed, and how to provide satisfying jobs for graduates. The new nations were rarely able to surmount these hurdles, and many nations, even those as successful as South Korea, opted for authoritarian rule.

III. Beyond a Bipolar World

A. The Third World

1. In 1955 Indonesia’s President Sukarno hosted a meeting of twenty-nine African and Asian countries at Bandung, Indonesia. This meeting marked the beginning of an effort by the many new, poor, mostly non-European nations emerging from colonialism to gain more weight in the world by banding together in what became known as the nonaligned movement or Third World.

2. Leaders of the so-called Third World countries preferred the label “nonaligned”, but as the movement had the sympathy of the Soviet Union and included communist countries such as China and Yugoslavia, the West did not take the term nonaligned seriously.

3. For the movement’s leaders, nonalignment was primarily a way of extracting money and support from one or both of the superpowers. One example is the ability of the Egyptian
leaders Nasir and Sadat to play the two superpowers against each other in order to get assistance in hydroelectric projects, arms, and loans from both sides.

B. Japan and China
1. Both Japan and China were able to take advantage of the superpower’s preoccupation with the Cold War.
2. The American occupation (1945–1952) gave Japan a constitution that allowed the country only a limited self-defense force and banned the deployment of Japanese troops abroad. The Japanese stayed out of the Cold War and concentrated on building up their industries and engaging in world commerce, gradually developing new markets in Southeast Asia. The Japanese government aided Japanese business in developing three industries that were crucial to Japan’s emergence as an economic superpower after 1975: electricity, steel, and shipbuilding.
3. China was deeply involved in Cold War politics, being allied to and receiving aid from the Soviet Union in the 1950s. The PRC and the Soviet Union began to diverge in 1956, and Mao introduced his own radical policies with the disastrous Great Leap Forward in 1958 and with the Cultural Revolution, which was begun in 1966. The rift between the PRC and the Soviet Union opened so wide that President Richard Nixon was able to establish a cooperative relationship between the United States and China in the early 1970s.

C. The Middle East
1. As the Arab states slowly gained independence in the postwar years, the struggle with Israel came to overshadow all Arab politics.
2. After World War II intense pressure to resettle European Jewish refugees forced Britain to turn the Palestine question over to the United Nations General Assembly, which voted in November 1947 to partition Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. Israel declared its independence in May 1948 and defeated the Palestinian and other Arab forces that attempted to crush the newborn state.
3. In a six-day war in 1967 Israel took Arab lands including East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula. The Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Yasser Arafat, waged guerilla war against Israel and engaged in acts of terrorism.
4. The growing demand for oil in the postwar era prompted the oil-producing Arab states to form the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960. OPEC embargoed the United States and the Netherlands for their support of Israel during the Arab-Israeli war of 1972 and quadrupled oil prices in 1974.

D. The emergence of environmental concerns
1. The Cold War and the tremendous postwar economic recovery focused public and government attention on technological innovation and enormous industrial projects: only a few people, such as Rachel Carson, warned that technologies and industrial growth were rapidly degrading the environment.
2. The student protests of the late 1960s in the United States, France, Japan, and Mexico indicated a rising current of youth activism that focused attention on environmental problems.

IV. Conclusion
A. The Cold War and decolonization seemed to arise as logical extensions of World War II.
B. For the leaders of new states facing the challenges of nation-building, the Cold War was not simply a matter of competing economic philosophies: it was inextricably intertwined with the question of how to take advantage of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.
CHAPTER 34


INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter students should:

1. Understand the dynamics of Latin American, Middle Eastern, and Asian political and economic development from about 1975 through the 1990s.

2. Be able to describe and discuss the reasons for and significance of the collapse of the bipolar system.

3. Be able to compare and discuss the significance of demographic trends in the developed and the developing worlds in the latter half of the twentieth century.

4. Be able to discuss and to analyze the relationships between technological development, global trade, global and regional inequality, and environmental degradation in the latter half of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

   A. Revolutions, depressions, and democratic reform in Latin America
      1. The success of the Cuban Revolution both energized the revolutionary left throughout Latin America and led the United States to organize its political and military allies in Latin America in a struggle to defeat communism.
      2. In Brazil a coup in 1964 brought in a military government whose combination of dictatorship, the use of death squads to eliminate opposition, and the use of tax and tariff policies to encourage industrialization through import substitution came to be known as the “Brazilian Solution.” Elements of the “Brazilian Solution” were applied in Chile by the government of Augusto Pinochet, whose CIA-assisted coup overthrew the socialist Allende government in 1973 and in Argentina by a military regime that seized power in 1974.
      3. Despite reverses in Brazil, Chile, and Argentina, revolutionary movements persisted elsewhere. In Nicaragua the Cuban-backed Sandinista movement overthrew the government of Anastasio Somoza and ruled until it was defeated in free elections in 1990. In El Salvador the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) fought a guerilla war against the military regime until declining popular support in the 1990s led
the rebels to negotiate an end to the armed conflict and transform themselves into a political party.
4. The military dictatorships established in Brazil, Chile, and Argentina all came to an end between 1983 and 1990. All three regimes were undermined by reports of kidnapping, torture, and corruption: the Argentine regime also suffered from its invasion of the Falkland Islands and consequent military defeat by Britain.
5. By the end of the 1980s oil-importing nations like Brazil were in economic trouble because they had borrowed heavily to pay the high oil prices engineered by OPEC. The oil-exporting nations such as Mexico faced crises because they had borrowed heavily when oil prices were high and rising in the 1970s, but found themselves unable to keep up with their debt payments when the price of oil fell in the 1980s.
6. In 1991 Latin America was more dominated by the United States than it had been in 1975. This may be seen in the U.S. use of military force to intervene in Grenada in 1983 and in Panama in 1989.

B. Islamic revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan
1. Crises in Iran and Afghanistan threatened to involve the superpowers: the United States reacted to these crises with restraint, but the Soviet Union took a bolder and ultimately disastrous course.
2. In Iran, American backing and the corruption and inefficiency of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi's regime stimulated popular resentment. In 1979 street demonstrations and strikes toppled the Shah and brought a Shi'ite cleric, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, to power. The overthrow of an ally and the establishment of an anti-western conservative Islamic republic in Iran were blows to American prestige, but the United States was unable to do anything about it.
3. In the fall of 1980 Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein invaded Iran to topple the Islamic Republic. The United States supported Iran at first, but then in 1986 tilted toward Iraq.
4. The Soviet Union faced a more serious problem when it sent its army into Afghanistan in 1978 in order to support a newly established communist regime against a hodgepodge of local, religiously inspired guerilla bands that controlled much of the countryside. The Soviet Union's struggle against the American-backed guerillas was so costly and caused so much domestic discontent that the Soviet leaders withdrew their troops in 1989 and left the rebel groups to fight with each other for control of Afghanistan.

C. Asian transformation
1. The Japanese economy grew at a faster rate than that of any other major developed country in the 1970s and 1980s, and Japanese average income outstripped that of the United States in the 1990s. This economic growth was associated with an industrial economy in which keiretsu (alliances of firms) received government assistance in the form of tariffs and import regulations that inhibited foreign competition.
2. The Japanese model of close cooperation between government and industry was imitated by a small number of Asian states, most notably by South Korea, in which four giant corporations led the way in developing heavy industries and consumer industries. Hong Kong and Singapore also developed modern industrial and commercial economies. All of these newly industrialized economies shared certain characteristics: discipline and hard-working labor forces, investment in education, high rates of personal savings, export strategies, government sponsorship and protection, and the ability to begin their industrialization with the latest technology.
3. In China after 1978 the regime of Deng Xiaoping carried out successful economic reforms that allowed private enterprise and foreign investment to exist alongside the inefficient state-owned enterprises and which allowed individuals and families to contract agricultural land and farm it as they liked. At the same time, the command economy remained in place and China resisted political reform, notably when the Communist Party crushed the protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

II. The End of the Bipolar World, 1989–1991
   A. Crisis in the Soviet Union
      1. During the presidency of Ronald Reagan the Soviet Union’s economy was strained by the attempt to match massive U.S. spending on armaments such as a space-based missile protection system. The Soviet Union’s obsolete industrial plants, its inefficient planned economy, its declining standard of living, and its unpopular war with Afghanistan fueled an underground current of protest.
      2. When Mikhail Gorbachev took over the leadership in 1985 he tried to address the problems of the Soviet Union by introducing a policy of political openness (glasnost) and economic reform (perestroika).
   B. The collapse of the Socialist Bloc
      1. Events in eastern Europe were very important in forcing change on the Soviet Union. The activities of the Solidarity labor union in Poland, the emerging alliances between nationalist and religious opponents of the communist regimes, and the economic weakness of the communist states themselves led to the fall of communist governments across Eastern Europe in 1989 and to the reunification of Germany in 1990.
      1. Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990 in an attempt to gain control of Kuwait’s oil fields. Saudi Arabia felt threatened by Iraq’s action and helped to draw the United States into a war in which American forces led a coalition that drove Iraq out of Kuwait but left Saddam Hussein in power.
      2. The Persian Gulf War restored the United States’ confidence in its military capability while demonstrating that Russia—Iraq’s former ally—was impotent.

III. The Challenge of Population Growth
   A. Demographic transition
      1. The population of Europe almost doubled between 1850 and 1914, and while some Europeans saw this as a blessing, Thomas Malthus argued that unchecked population growth would outstrip food production. In the years immediately following World War II Malthus’ views were dismissed as Europe and other industrial societies experienced a demographic transition to lower fertility rates.
      2. The demographic transition did not occur in the Third World, where some leaders actively promoted large families until the economic shocks of the 1970s and 1980s convinced the governments of developing countries to abandon the pronatalist policy.
      3. World population exploded in the twentieth century, with most of the growth taking place in the poorest nations due to high fertility rates and declining mortality rates.
   B. The industrialized nations
      1. In the developed industrial nations of western Europe and Japan at the beginning of the twenty-first century, higher levels of female education and employment, the material values of consumer culture, and access to contraception and abortion have combined to produce low fertility levels. Low fertility levels combined with improved life expectancy
will lead to an increasing number of retirees who will rely on a relatively smaller number of working adults to pay for their social services.

2. In Russia and the other former socialist nations, current birthrates are lower than death rates and life expectancy has declined.

C. The developing nations
1. In the twenty-first century the industrialized nations will continue to fall behind the developing nations as a percentage of world population: at current rates, 95 percent of all future population growth will be in developing regions, particularly in Africa and in the Muslim countries.
2. In Asia, the populations of China and India continued to grow despite government efforts to reduce family size. It is not clear whether or not the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America will experience the demographic transition seen in the industrialized countries, but fertility rates have fallen in the developing world where women have had access to education and employment outside the home.

D. Old and young populations
1. Demographic pyramids generated by demographers illustrate the different age distributions in nations in different stages of economic development.
2. The developed nations face aging populations and will have to rely on immigration or increased use of technology (including robots) in order to maintain industrial and agricultural production at levels sufficient to support their relatively high standards of living and their generous social welfare programs.
3. The developing nations have relatively young and rapidly growing populations but face the problem of providing their people with education and jobs while struggling with shortages of investment capital and poor transportation and communications networks.

IV. Unequal Development and the Movement of Peoples
A. The problem of growing inequality
1. Since 1945 global economic productivity has created unprecedented levels of material abundance. At the same time, the industrialized nations of the Northern Hemisphere have come to enjoy a larger share of the world’s wealth than they did a century ago: the majority of the world lives in poverty.
2. Regional inequalities within nations have also grown in both the industrial countries and in the developing nations.

B. Internal migration: the growth of cities
1. Migration from rural areas to urban centers in the developing world increased threefold from 1925 to 1950 and accelerated rapidly after 1950.
2. Migrants to the cities generally enjoyed higher incomes and better standards of living than they would have had in the countryside, but as the scale of rural to urban migration grew, these benefits became more elusive. Migration placed impossible burdens on basic services and led to burgeoning slums, shantytowns, and crime in the cities of the developing world.

C. Global migration
1. Migration from the developing world to the developed nations increased substantially after 1960, leading to an increase in racial and ethnic tensions in the host nations. Immigrants from the developing nations brought the host nations the same benefits that the migration of Europeans brought to the Americas a century before.
2. Immigrant communities in Europe and the United States are made up of young adults and tend to have fertility rates higher than the rates of the host populations. In the long run this will lead to increases in the Muslim population in Europe and in the Asian and Latin American populations in the United States, and to cultural conflicts over the definitions of citizenship and nationality.
V. Technological and Environmental Change
   A. New technologies and the world economy
      1. New technologies developed during World War II increased productivity, reduced labor requirements and improved the flow of information when they were applied to industry in the postwar period. The application and development of technology was spurred by pent-up demand for consumer goods.
      2. Improvements in existing technologies accounted for much of the world’s productivity increases during the 1950s and 1960s. The improvement and widespread application of the computer was particularly significant as it transformed office work and manufacturing.
      3. Transnational corporations became the primary agents of these technological changes. In the post-World War II years transnational corporations with multinational ownership and management became increasingly powerful and were able to escape the controls imposed by national governments by shifting or threatening to shift production from one country to another.
   B. Conserving and sharing resources
      1. In the 1960s, environmental activists and political leaders began warning about the environmental consequences of population growth, industrialization, and the expansion of agriculture onto marginal lands. Environmental degradation was a problem in the developed and in the developing countries: it was especially severe in the former Soviet Union. In attempting to address environmental issues the industrialized countries faced a contradiction between environmental protection and the desire to maintain rates of economic growth that depended on the profligate consumption of goods and resources.
      2. In the developing world population growth led to extreme environmental pressure as forests were felled and marginal land developed in order to expand food production. This led to erosion and water pollution.
   C. Responding to environmental threats
      1. The governments of the United States, the European Community and Japan took a number of initiatives to preserve and protect the environment in the 1970s. Environmental awareness spread by means of the media and grassroots political movements, and most nations in the developed world enforced strict antipollution laws and sponsored massive recycling efforts.
      2. These efforts, many of them made possible by new technology, produced significant results. But in the developing world, population pressures and weak governments were major obstacles to effective environmental policies.

VI. Conclusion
   A. The Cold War dominated international relations to the end of the 1980s, drawing the superpowers into a succession of civil wars and revolutions that transformed the world between 1975 and 1991.
   B. The world was also altered by economic growth and integration, by population growth, and by environmental change. New wealth and exciting technologies were created, but they were not shared equally: the capitalist West and a few Pacific Rim nations grew richer and more powerful while most of the world’s nations remained poor.
   C. Technology seemed to offer some hope for meeting the challenges of inequality, population growth, and environmental degradation, but most people in the developing world remained mired in poverty and thus disconnected from this liberating technology.
CHAPTER 35

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter students should:

1. Be able to use the concept of the nation-state in order to analyze the ethnic and religious conflicts of the late twentieth century.

2. Understand the ways in which the interconnections of nations in the global economy have affected economic development, standards of living, and international relations.

3. Understand the concepts of human rights and feminism and be able to discuss the philosophical and practical challenges to the formulation and application of universal concepts of human rights and feminism.

4. Be able to discuss and analyze the significance of the development of a global or international culture.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. A Fragmented World
   A. Challenges to the nation-state
      1. The modern state system that conceives of the world as a community of sovereign nation-states wielding absolute authority within recognized borders began with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Western Europe and the United States developed Western-style democracy and secularism as mechanisms for ensuring peace and tolerance within the nation-state; attempts to establish similar systems in the developing world and in eastern Europe failed to dampen religious and ethnic factionalism.
      2. One example of the failure of the nation-state is Yugoslavia, where a heterogeneous but seemingly harmonious society dissolved into a morass of separatist and warring groups after 1991. The struggle between Muslims and Serbs in the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Kosovo crisis of 1999 were the most serious challenges to arise from the breakup of Yugoslavia.
      3. NATO’s aerial war against Serbia forced the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Kosovo, but it was not clear whether new principles of international action had been established. The United States had proven its might, but circumstances weighed against intervention to protect the human rights of oppressed minorities such as the Kurds in Turkey, Christians and animists in Sudan.
B. Problems of the global economy
   1. World economic development after World War II initially followed the previous pattern in which Asia, Africa, and Latin America exported raw materials and served as markets for finished goods. This pattern gradually changed as American purchases of supplies during the Korean and Vietnam wars stimulated the economies of Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

   2. The world pattern of wealth distribution was also altered by fluctuations in the price of oil, the collapse of the planned economies of the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe, and the economic boom in Southeast Asia. The global effects of the Asian financial crisis of 1997 and the financial troubles of Russia both demonstrate the tight interconnections within the global economy and raise the question of whether the prosperous nations have an obligation to rescue failing economies.

   3. The interconnections of the global economy are also evident in the emergence of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the roles of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the use of economic sanctions as a tool for influencing foreign countries, and the development of the World Trade Organization.

C. Old threat, new dangers
   1. As new military technologies gave the United States and a few other countries the ability to wage war with minimum casualties to themselves, other ways of deploying violence for political ends became popular. Palestinian groups and others used terrorism in order to call attention to their demands.

   2. Nuclear proliferation posed another threat as terrorists and ambitious states sought to obtain or to construct their own nuclear weapons. Chemical and biological weapons posed a similar threat, but preventing their manufacture was more difficult than controlling the spread of nuclear weapons and nuclear technology.

II. The Struggle for Rights
   A. Human rights
      1. The United Nations sought to protect the rights of individuals through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed by the General Assembly in December 1948. The declaration’s emphasis on individual rights was derived mostly from European and American history: many of the countries that later signed this declaration had reservations about the universal nature of concepts that had been formulated exclusively on the basis of the Western cultural tradition.

      2. Rather than addressing fundamental philosophical issues regarding the concept of human rights, human rights activists worked through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and focused their efforts on agreed-upon violations of human rights: torture, imprisonment without trial, summary execution by death squads, famine relief, and refugee assistance. Such efforts put pressure on governments to consider human rights when making foreign policy decisions, but critics suggested that Western pressure on human rights issues was simply another form of Western cultural imperialism.

   B. Women’s rights
      1. Positions on the question of women’s rights clearly demonstrate the dichotomy of views between the Western industrialized nations and the nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

      2. The feminist movement in the West was concerned with voting rights, equal access to education and jobs, and an end to gender discrimination and sexual exploitation. Feminists in the West also decried the oppression of women in other parts of the world.
3. Some non-Western women complained about the deterioration of morality and family life in the West and questioned the priorities of the Western feminist movement. Efforts to coordinate the struggle for women’s rights internationally gained momentum in the 1970s but these efforts were not able to overcome deep-seated cultural disagreement on the definition of women’s rights.

III. Elements of a Global Culture

A. The medium and the message
   1. After World War II, the United States became the world’s main exporter of movies, challenged only by India, Egypt, and Hong Kong.
   2. In the 1960s television began to spread to most of the non-Western world, where government monopolies ensured that the new medium would be used to disseminate a unified national viewpoint rather than function as a medium for the transmission of Western culture and opinions. American organizations like MTV (Music Television) and CNN (Cable News Network) used satellite transmission technology to enter the international market. MTV created special editions adapted to the tastes of local markets, but CNN provided a fundamentally American view of the news.
   3. The development of digital technology offered the possibility of combining the separate technologies of movies, television, and computers, while the development of the Internet transformed business and education. These technological innovations could be seen as portents of Western—especially American—cultural domination, but as technology became more widespread, people around the world had more opportunities to adapt that technology to their own purposes.

B. The spread of popular culture
   1. The new technologies helped change perceptions of culture by allowing popular culture to become more and more visible. At the beginning of the early twentieth century European composers, choreographers, writers, and artists drew on popular cultures to inspire and enliven their work.
   2. The invention of the phonograph was the key that opened popular culture to global audiences. Phonographs spread American popular music—jazz, blues, and rock ‘n’ roll—around the world.
   3. Mass production and advertising opened another door to the worldwide spread of popular culture. The consumer products of American, European, and Japanese transnational companies found their way into international markets.

C. Global connections and elite culture
   1. Cultural links across national and ethnic boundaries at the elite level generated much less controversy than did the globalization of popular culture. Russian-American collaboration on space missions and in the business world, the flow of graduate students and researchers from around the world to American scientific laboratories, and the use of English as a global language were all aspects of globalization at the elite level.
   2. Another example of globalization at the elite level may be seen in the dissemination of the International Style of architecture and in the postmodernist reaction against the International Style. Postmodernism also affected dance, music, literature, and cultural theory with its critique of the limited elite, white, male Euro-American, individualist perspective of modernism.

D. The endurance of cultural diversity
   1. Diverse cultural traditions persisted at the end of the twentieth century despite the globalization of industrial society and the integration of economic markets. Japan, for example, has been a success in the modern industrial world in spite of—or perhaps because of—its group-oriented, hierarchical approach to social relations.
2. The economic success of Japan and other Asian countries call into question the long-standing Western assumption that all of world history culminated in the exceptional convergence of political freedom, secularism, and industrialization that emerged in the West. Also coming into question was whether industrialization offered the only viable route to prosperity.

IV. Conclusion
A. The West’s victory in the Cold War brought a much more complicated world than Western ideologues had imagined. While the West had fought the Cold War under the banner of democracy and economic liberalism, many of the world’s people seemed more concerned with ethnic, linguistic, and religious quarrels or with addressing the problems of poverty and overpopulation.
B. The United States and the other major industrial countries realized that they were unable to meet the world’s demands, but their reluctance to put much trust in international bodies like the United Nations prevented them from producing a workable model of a world community.
C. During the last decade of the twentieth century economic, technological, and cultural forces and the need to address environmental issues both drew the world’s people closer together and exacerbated local, regional, and global conflicts and controversies.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. To what extent can contemporary local and regional conflicts be attributed to the nation-state system? Are there viable alternatives to the nation-state system?
2. How did technology affect the development of the global economy in the late twentieth century?
3. How did technological innovation and dissemination change the ways in which nations and people were able to threaten each other with violence in the late twentieth century?
4. Is there sufficient justification for Western organizations and governments to concern themselves with human rights and women’s rights issues in non-Western countries?
5. What roles have modernism and postmodernism played in the development of a global or international culture?
6. What will be the major sources of conflict in the first decades of the twenty-first century?

LECTURE TOPICS
1. Human rights in international relations
Sources: