



Making of the Modern World 122



Lecture #10: Liberalism Triumphant

Origins of the Cold War

- US, USSR, Great Britain unnatural allies during World War II
 - Tensions submerged until close of war
- Yalta and Potsdam Conferences (1945)
 - Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt
 - Decided on USSR declaration of war vs. Japan, setting up of International Military Tribunal
 - Free elections for Eastern Europe
- Stalin arranges pro-communist governments in Eastern European countries
- 1946: “Iron Curtain” descends

The Truman Doctrine (1947)

- World divided into free and enslaved states
- US to support all movements for democracy
- “containment” of Communism
- NATO and the Warsaw Pact established
 - Militarization of Cold War

The Marshall Plan

- Named for George C. Marshall (1880-1989), US Secretary of State
- Proposed in 1947, \$13 billion to reconstruct western Europe
- USSR establishes Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), 1949
- The United Nations formed (1945) to resolve international disputes

The Marshall Plan



The “Kitchen Debate”

- American National Exhibition, 1959
- Prelude: debate over horse manure vs. pig manure
- Public discord over Communism vs. Capitalism

Development of the Blocs

- Winston Churchill: the “iron curtain”
- Division of post-war Germany, especially Berlin
 - Western powers merge occupation zones
 - Introduce German Mark
 - Soviet Blockade of Berlin

Occupied Germany, 1945-1949



Berlin Airlift

- 11 months of air shipments to Berlin, beginning June 1948
- Cold war did not go “hot”
- Retribution: British/U.S. embargo on Soviet imports
- Soviets lift blockade in summer 1949
- East Berlin capital of “German Democratic Republic”
- Bonn capital of “Federal Republic of Germany”

Construction of the Berlin Wall

- 1949-1961: 3.5 million East Germans flee to west
 - Especially younger, highly skilled workers
- August 1961 construction of wall separating East and West
- Symbol of the Cold War

The Arms Race

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 1949
- Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact), 1955
- Nuclear proliferation
- End of 60s: Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)

Division of Korea

- Characteristic of Cold War: localized conflicts, “proxy wars”
- Korea divided along 38th parallel after WW II
- 1948 two Koreas
 - Republic of Korea (South, capital Seoul)
 - People’s Democratic Republic of Korea (North, capital Pyongyang)

Korean War

- North Korea invades in 1950, captures Seoul
- US lands, drives North Koreans back to 38th parallel, then goes on to capture Pyongyang
- Chinese invade, push USA back to 38th
- 3 million killed by ceasefire in summer 1953
- No peace treaty signed, continued tensions

Containment

- Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), Asian version of NATO
- “Domino Theory” moves Eisenhower to consider nuclear weapon use in Korea

Guess where.



Cuba

- Fidel Castro Ruz (1926-), 1959 revolution
- Cancels promised elections, expropriates foreign properties, kills or exiles political enemies
- US imposes trade embargo
- Soviets step in with massive aid, gain foothold off US shores

The Bay of Pigs

- Castro declares undying allegiance to Soviet foreign policy, 1960
- Kennedy and CIA send 1,500 Cubans into Bay of Pigs to spur revolution
- American Air support does not appear, force destroyed in 3 days
- US embarrassment

Fidel Castro at the Bay of Pigs



Fidel Castro at the Bay of Pigs

Cuban Missile Crisis

- October 1962 Soviets begin assembling missiles in Cuba
- Kennedy publicly challenges USSR
- Quarantines CUBA
- Soviets concede, but US guarantees non-interference with Castro regime
- US Secretary of State Dean Rusk: “Eyeball to eyeball, they blinked first”

The Cold War, 1949-1962



Consumerism

- Western success with household technologies
- US Marshall plan for rebuilding Europe: 13 billion, 1948-1952
- Europeans owning cars:
 - 1955: 5 million
 - 1963: 44 million

The Space Race

- Nonviolent aspect of cold war rivalry
- Initial Soviet successes:
 - 1957: Sputnik, first satellite
 - 1961: Yuri Gagarin orbits space'
- US sets up NASA, lands Apollo XI on the moon, July 1969

Challenges to Soviet Hegemony

- Rebellions quashed:
 - Yugoslavia expelled from Soviet bloc, 1948
 - Hungary, 1956
 - Prague Spring, 1968
- Brezhnev Doctrine: right to invade any socialist country threatened by elements “hostile to socialism”

The People's Republic of China

- Civil war between Communists and Nationalists erupts after defeat of Japan
- Jiang Jieshi (Chang Kai-shek) forced to retreat to island of Taiwan with Nationalist forces
 - Takes most of China's gold reserves
- Mao Zedong proclaims People's Republic of China, 1949
 - Begins dramatic transformation of Chinese society into Communist mold

Social and Economic Transformations

- Power concentrated in Communist Party
- Ex-nationalists executed or sent to reform camps
- Rapid industrialization under Soviet-style Five-Year Plan, 1955
 - Massive land redistribution
 - Collective farms replace private farming
- Universal health care, education
- Dramatic challenges to gender discrimination

Beijing-Moscow Relations

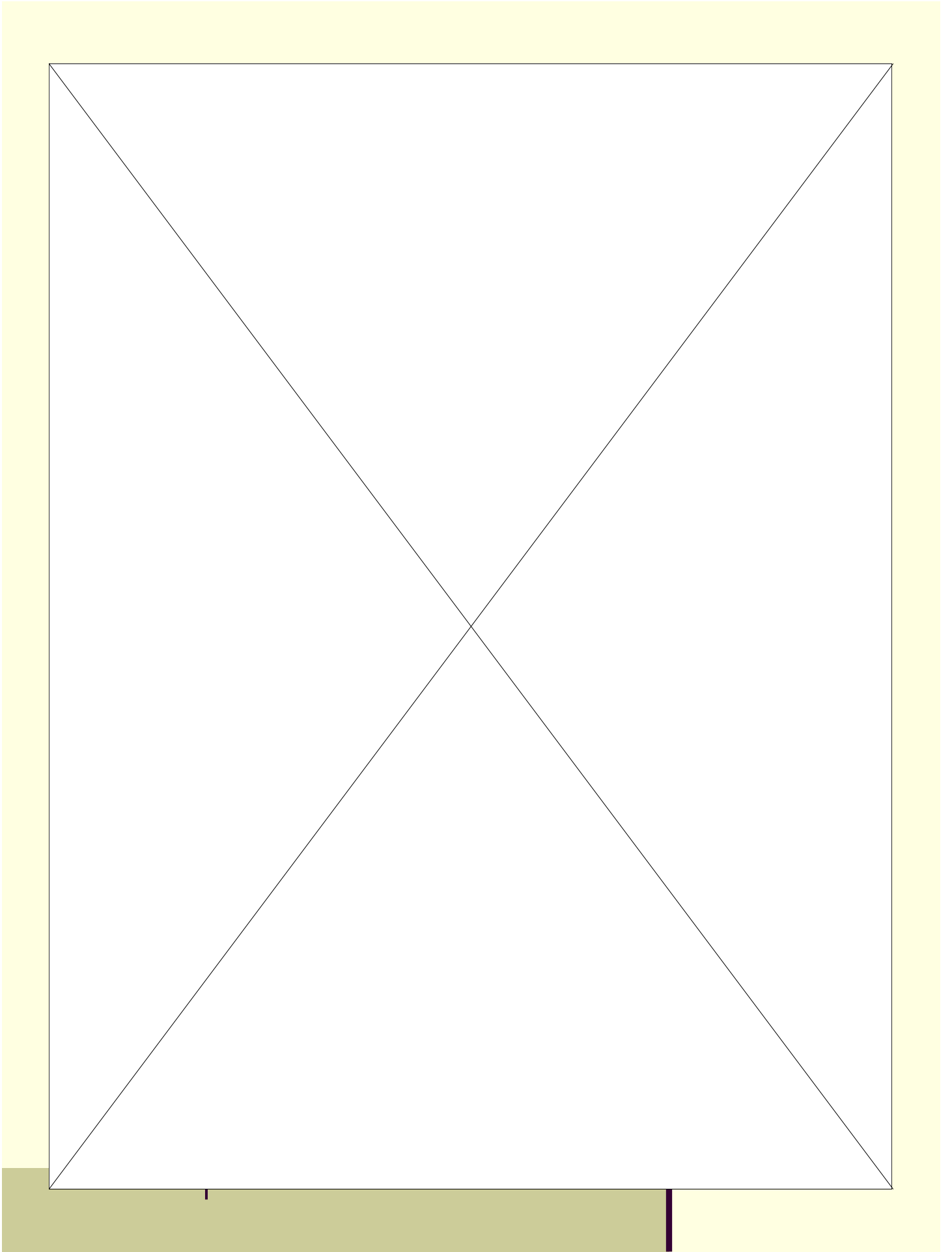
- Mutual concern over US rehabilitation of Japan
- Beijing recognizes primacy of USSR as Communist leader
 - Receives military aid in return
 - Soviet Union principal trading partner
- Friction over Moscow's neutrality in conflict with India over Tibet, claimed by China in 1950
- Rift sharpened in 1964 as Khrushchev moves toward peace with US

Détente

- Reduction in hostility between nuclear superpowers
- Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (1972, 1979)
- Friction in early 1980s over improvement in relations between US and China
 - Also, USSR intervention in Afghanistan
 - Earlier US intervention in Vietnam

The US Defeat in Vietnam

- US aids noncommunist Vietnam in south after French departure from territory
- US aid increases, reaches 500,000 troops in 1968
- Conflict with northern communists ends in stalemate
- President Richard Nixon attempts to end war by escalating bombings, extending into Cambodia
- US eventually leaves in 1973, war continues until south is defeated in 1975



Soviet setbacks in Afghanistan

- Afghanistan a Islamic nation, nonaligned until 1978, becomes pro-Soviet through a coup
- Radical non-Islamic reforms provoke backlash
- Soviet Union intervenes, fights nine-year battle against Afghan *mujahideen* (Islamic warriors)
 - CIA supplies them with ground-to-air Stinger missiles
- 1986 USSR forced to pull out
- 1994 Taliban takes over after civil war

Cold War Countercultural Protests

- *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*
 - Critique of nuclear power policies
- Massive anti-Vietnam protests
- Rock and Roll as counterculture
- Watergate Scandal (1972-1974)
 - President Nixon orders illegal wiretaps, discovered and forced to resign 1974

End of the Cold War

- President Ronald Reagan (in office 1981-1989) deeply opposes USSR
 - The “evil empire”
- Promotes massive military spending, beyond Soviet economy to keep up
 - Strategic Defense Initiative (“star wars”)
- Forces Soviet Mikhail S. Gorbachev (1931-) to implement reforms, ultimately brings down the USSR

Revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe

- Polish trade union Solidarity movement opposes Polish Communist Party rule, forces multiparty elections, 1989
- Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania follow
- The “Velvet Revolution”
 - Bloodless revolutions
- East Germany decides to open the Berlin Wall
 - East and West Germany reunite (1990)

The collapse of the Soviet Union and European communist regimes



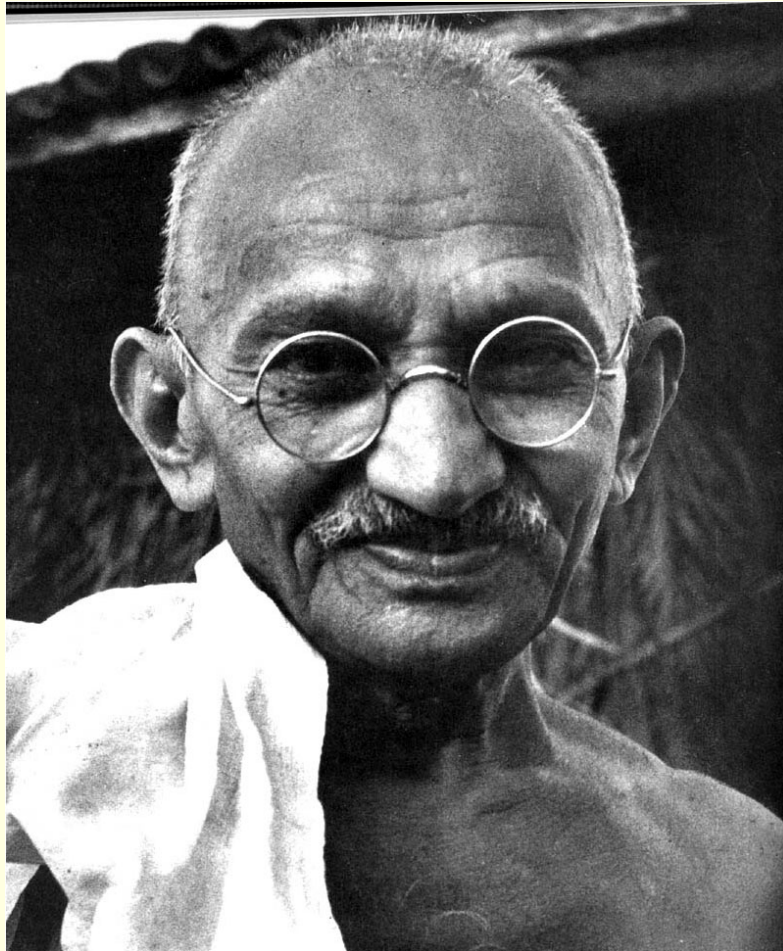
Collapse of the Soviet Union

- Reforms under Gorbachev
 - Economic
 - Social
- *Perestroika*: “restructuring”
- *Glasnost*: “openness”
- Nationalist sentiments, long suppressed, come to the surface
- Several non-Russian republics secede, August 1991
- Attempted hardliner takeover in Moscow fails, Soviet Union collapses by end of the year

India's Quest for Home Rule

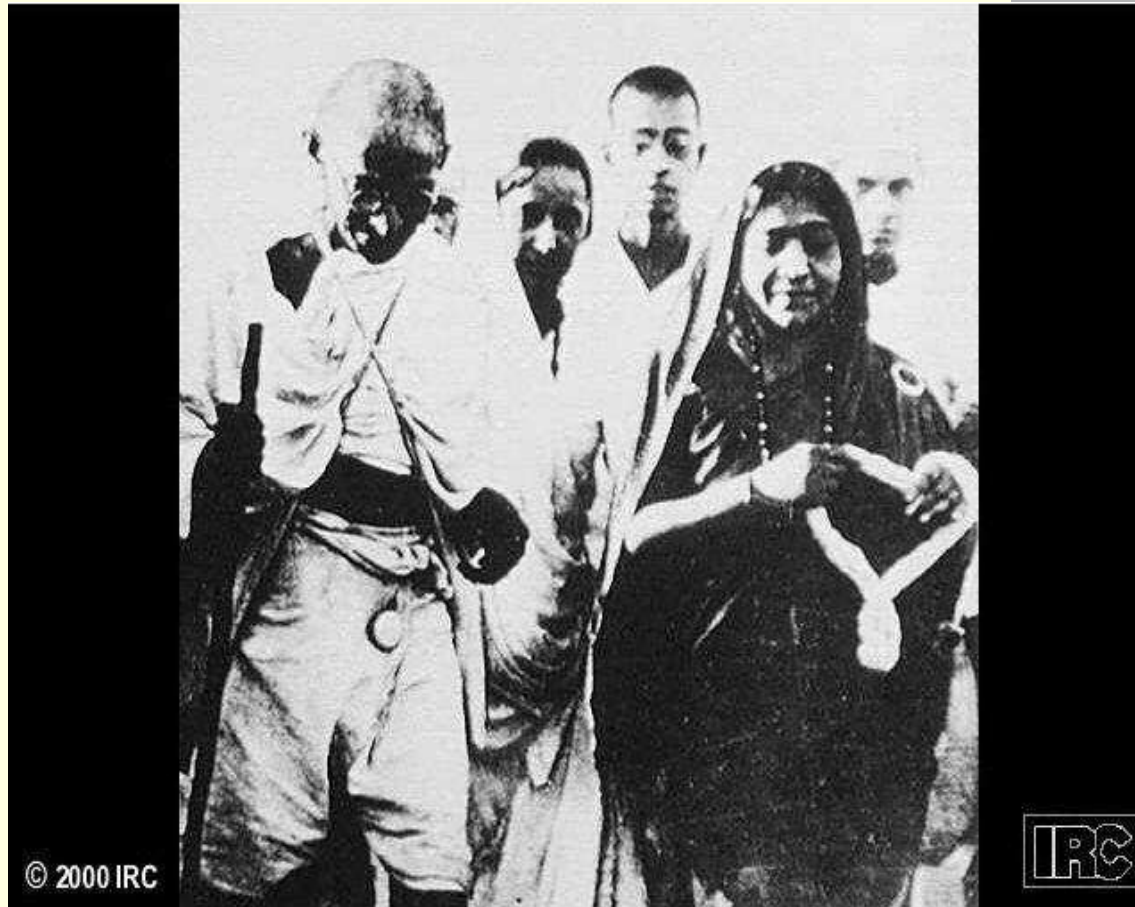
- Indian National Congress founded 1885, to promote self-rule
- Initial support from both Hindus and Muslims
- Original position in favor or collaboration with British, after World War I moved to opposition
- British encouraged development of Muslim League (1906) to blunt Congress
- Woodrow Wilson, Lenin inspirations to movement

Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948)



- Hindu, studied law in London, practiced in South Africa
 - Opposed apartheid
- Returned to India 1915, made Indian National Congress into a mass movement
- Titled Mahatma: “great soul”
- Opposed caste system

Gandhi



Gandhi

Gandhi's Passive Resistance

- *Ahimsa*: non-violence
- *Satyagraha*: passive resistance (“truth and firmness”)
- Non-cooperation Movement (1920-1922)
- Civil Disobedience Movement (1930)
- Boycott of British Institutions
- Amritsar Massacre (1919)

The Government of India Act (1937)

- Creation of autonomous legislature
 - 600 nominally sovereign princes refuse to cooperate
- Muslim fears of Hindu dominance
 - Traditional economic divide
 - Especially severe with Great Depression
- Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) proposes partition, creation of the State of Pakistan

Decolonization in Asia



India

- The Jewel of the Crown
 - Legacy of British colonialism
- Deep division between Hindus, Muslims
- Role of Mohandas Gandhi

“Vivisection” of India (Gandhi)

- Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Muslim League
- Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress Party
- 1947 partition
 - 500,000 killed
 - 10 million refugees
- India moves toward nonalignment position
 - The “third path”

Muslims leave India, 1947



Muslims leave India 1947

Nationalist Struggles in Vietnam

- French reassert control after WW II
- Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969), Communist leader mounts guerilla war, defeats France in 1954
- Vietnam divided at 17th parallel
- Civil war between north (Communist) and south
- President Lyndon Johnson (1908-1973) begins increasing US involvement

Vietnamese Protest French Occupation



© 2000 IRC

Vietnamese protest French occupation

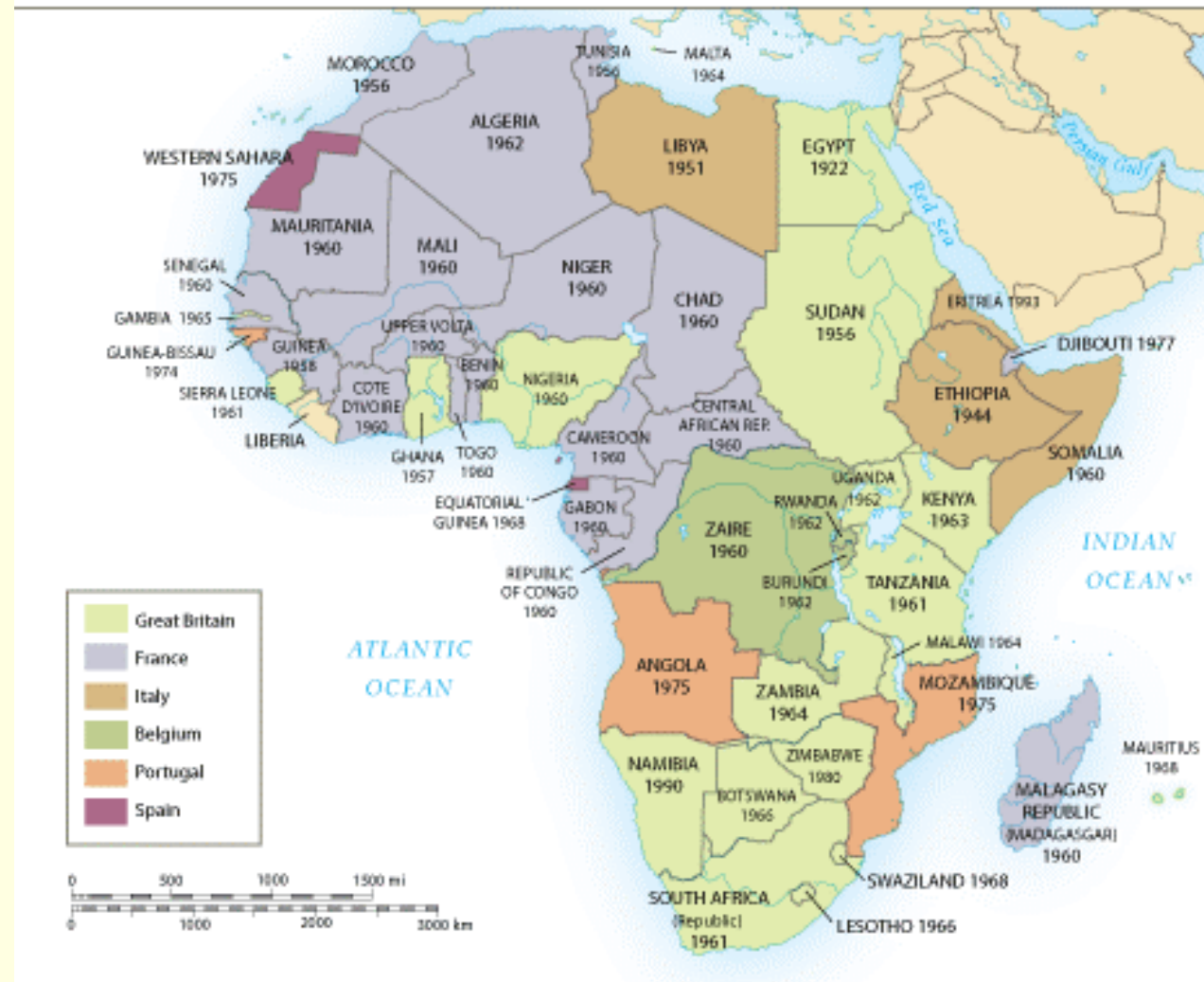
Africa and the Great War

- African colonies participate in World War I
- Allies invade German-controlled colonies
- Africans encouraged to fight white soldiers
- Many Europeans left to be deployed elsewhere
- Encouraged local rebellions, challenges to European domination

Africa's New Elite

- Post-war class of elite
- Often influenced by education, other experiences abroad
 - Jomu Kenyatta (1895-1978), Kenyan nationalist
- Moved to create modern nation-states in Africa
- Pan-Africanism promoted by Marcus Garvey (Jamaica, 1887-1940)
 - “Back to Africa”

Decolonization in Africa



Decolonization in Africa

- 19th century “scramble for Africa”
- Legacy of colonial competition
- Internal divisions
 - Tribal
 - Ethnic
 - Linguistic
 - religious

France and North Africa

- Abandonment of most territories
 - 1956 Morocco and Tunisia gain independence, 13 other colonies in 1960
- But determination to retain Algeria
 - Longer period of French colonization
 - 2 million French citizens born or settled in Algeria by WW II

Algerian War of Liberation

- 1954 Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) begins guerilla warfare against France
 - Simmering conflict since French massacre in Sétif, 1945
- 500,000 French soldiers in war by 1958
- War ends with Algerian independence in 1962
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), manifesto against colonial rule

Négritude: “Blackness”

- Influence of “black is beautiful” from USA
- Revolt against white colonial values, reaffirmation of African civilization
- Connection with socialism, Communism
- Geopolitical implications

Post-Independence Difficulties

- *Pax Romana* of European colonists
- Civil wars in Rwanda, Burundi, Angola
- Economic hardship
- Instability of democratic regimes

Afrocentrism

- Kwame Nkrumah, leader of Ghana
- Celebrated visit of Queen Elizabeth II in 1961, affirmation of Ghanaese independence and equality

Kwame Nkrumah leading Independence Celebrations



Kwame Nkrumah leading independence celebrations

Kenya

- Kikuyu ethnic group begins attacks on British and “collaborationist” Africans, 1947
- 1952 state of emergency declared
- Overwhelming British military response, 12,000 Africans killed vs. 100 Europeans
- Bloody, but negotiated withdrawal, independence 1962

Tarnishing of Independence

- Decline of democratic regimes, rise of dictatorships
- Partial reflection of artificial European boundaries
- Political immaturity of colonies
- Economic Decisions contribute
 - Rent seeking
 - Marketing Boards

Establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

- Formed 1962
- Declared boundaries permanent
 - Despite arbitrary nature, necessary to forestall conflicts
- Promotion of Pan-Africanism
- Failure to prevent ethnic strife, even Nkrumah deposed 1966

Botswana



Economic Globalization

- International Monetary Fund (IMF, founded 1944)
 - Expansion of free trade
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, 1947)
 - 123 member nations
- World Trade Organization (WTO), takes over from GATT in 1995)
- Global corporations expand, treat globe as single market
 - Decentralize as necessary to take maximum advantage of regional markets, labor pools, taxation policies
- Implications for exploitation of human and natural resources

Economic Growth in Asia

- Japan benefits from Marshall Plan, treaty limitations on defense spending
- Massive postwar economic expansion, slowed in 1990s
- China integrates elements of market economy, benefits from huge cheap labor pool
- But interrelated economies fragile, financial crisis in 1997

Trading Blocs

- European Union
 - Six nations when formed in 1957
 - Maastricht Treaty of 1993: moving toward political integration
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
 - Established 1960, dominated by Arab and Muslim countries
 - Used economic might to place embargo on US oil, 1973-1975
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

Consumption and Cultural Interaction

- “Americanization” or “McDonaldization”
 - American culture exported
- Yet cultural borrowings from non-American societies
- Internal transformations: Latino culture in America
- English language becomes predominant
 - Influence of British colonialism, America, the Internet

Population for Areas of the World, 1900 – 2050

Table 40.1 Population (in Millions) for Major Areas of the World, 1900–2050

Major Area	19 00	19 50	19 75	2005	20 50
Africa	133	224	416	906	1937
Asia	947	1396	2395	3905	5217
Europe	408	547	676	728	653
Latin America	74	167	322	561	783
North America	82	172	243	331	438
Oceania	6	13	21	33	48
World (total)	1650	2519	4074	6465	9076

source: World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision, Highlights, New York: United Nations,

Environmental Impact

- Biodiversity under threat: 4500 animal species threatened
- Global warming
 - Greenhouse gases
 - Kyoto accords, 1997
- Human mortality rate declines steadily, several regions work on birth control measures
- “Tragedy of the Commons”

Economic Inequities

- Regional poverty a persistent problem
- Unequal distribution of resources
 - Impact of colonialism
- Slavery abolished in Saudi Arabia, Angola in 1960s, forced indenture remains in place in developing world
 - International Labor Organization of the UN: 250 million children, ages 5-14, work, esp. southeast Asia
 - Global trafficking of human slaves

Global Diseases

- Disease has always played an important role in the development of human communities
- 1978 UN called for end to all infectious diseases by 2000 – unrealistic goal
- Ancient diseases TB and malaria on the rise
- New diseases Ebola and AIDS
- Threat throughout the world but has struck the developing world the hardest

Purpose of the Course

- To understand some important aspects of the modern world.
- To better understand Becky and Desta.
- So we studied some:
 - History
 - Economics
 - Political Philosophy
 - Art
 - Music

Remember—you (and I) are weird

- We are at one of the finest public universities in the world (not to mention we can read!)
- We spend a small portion of our income on food, which comes from all over the world.
- We have credit cards
- We have culture available, nonstop, for free
- We are some of the richest people in the history of mankind.
 - (I agree that it doesn't always feel like it)

Markets and States

- No Man is an Island
 - We live together
 - We depend on each other
 - How shall we coordinate our efforts?
- Two ways we coordinate:
 - Markets
 - States
- A gigantic amount of your life is determined by these two entities.

Political Animals

- Aristotle said that humans are *zoon politikon*.
 - We are political animals

- Politics is the defining trait of humanity.
 - We reason
 - We discuss
 - We plan

Liberalism

- The dominant mode of political and economic organization in the world today is liberal democracy.
 - Individual rights
 - Liberty
 - Equality
 - Universalism
- But this is not the only mode.
- And life has not always been like this.

We are our History

“History does not refer merely, or even principally, to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do”

-James Baldwin

“The Best of All Possible Worlds”

- How do we understand our world?
- How will we deal with the world's challenges?
- How do we understand suffering in our world?
- Philosopher Gottfried Leibniz argued that “all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.”

The Lisbon Earthquake



- 1755
- Massive destruction
- Up to 100,000 people killed
- Virtuous and sinful harmed together
- In what sense can this be “all for the best in the best of all possible worlds”

Enlightenment

- What is to be done:
 - Marquis of Pombal: “What now? We bury the dead and heal the living.”
- Much of our lives is out of our control, but we are capable of enlightened action.
- Kant: “Enlightenment is man’s emergence from his self-imposed immaturity.... Have courage to use your own understanding!”

Enlightened Progress



The End



- The world is what we make it.
- Get to work!