

Chapter 12

Anticolonialism, Nationalism, and Revolution in Africa, Asia, and Latin America

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, the industrialized nations of Europe and the United States—"the West"—achieved unprecedented global dominance. For India and most of Africa and Southeast Asia, this meant colonial status and outright political control by Western nations. For China, Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and many states in Latin America, it meant the subordination of their economic interests to those of the West and erosion of their political sovereignty. Most Europeans and Americans viewed these developments as just and inevitable. Their preponderance confirmed their intellectual and moral superiority to black-, yellow-, and brown-skinned people, whom the English writer Rudyard Kipling had depicted in his poem "The White Man's Burden" as "half devil and half child."

In the first half of the twentieth century, however, Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans challenged the West's ascendancy. In areas of formal empire, mounting anticolonialism gave rise to organized parties and movements whose supporters demanded more political power and, ultimately, independence. Such movements were strongest in India, where opposition to British rule escalated from polite requests by educated Indians for greater political responsibility to nationwide boycotts and mass demonstrations for independence. Despite French, British, and Dutch

repression in Southeast Asia, dozens of political parties and underground organizations worked for the peaceful end or violent overthrow of colonial regimes. In Africa—although colonized only in the late 1800s and despite its ethnic and linguistic diversity—articulate and forceful proponents of pan-Africanism, anticolonialism, and nationalism also emerged. In the Arab Middle East, where nationalist aspirations after World War I were dashed by the mandate system and the continuation of the British protectorate in Egypt, opponents of Anglo-French political control sought independence for Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria.

While nationalism in colonial areas was directed against foreign rule, in those parts of Asia and Latin America where states were independent but nonetheless subservient in many respects to U.S. and European interests, it focused on overcoming economic dependency and political weakness. In Turkey, this meant a sharp break from its past and implementation of a program of secularization and modernization under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In China, nationalism resulted in a struggle to rebuild the country and end foreign interference in the face of warlordism, civil war, and Japanese invasions of Manchuria in 1931 and China itself in 1937. In Latin America, nationalism inspired new plans for economic development after the Great Depression of the 1930s ruined the worldwide market for the region's minerals and agricultural products. In several Latin American countries, such efforts intensified conflict between entrenched elites and populist leaders who promised the masses social reforms.

When World War II ended in 1945, many Western leaders thought they could return to the world they had dominated before the war. In the immediate postwar years, the Dutch, French, and British all used force to maintain their empires but soon realized the futility of their efforts. Based on developments in the first half of the twentieth century, Asian and African demands for independence proved irresistible.

African Society and Identity Under Colonial Rule

Compared with the experience of India, the unfolding of colonialism in Africa resembles watching a film shown at high speed. The European “scramble for Africa” began in the early 1880s, and after overcoming resistance and deciding among themselves who controlled what, Africa's new masters gave serious thought to what policies would determine the future of their new acquisitions. Not long after these issues had been resolved, World War II was fought, and independence movements

swept through Africa. In 1957, the Gold Coast, a British colony, became the independent nation of Ghana, sparking a chain of events that resulted in the establishment of dozens of new independent states within the next decade and a half.

So brief was Africa's colonial experience, and so rapid was the Europeans' exit, that nationalism in Africa never became the broad popular movement that emerged in India during the long struggle against British rule. In addition, nationalist movements in Africa were hampered by other factors: the indifference of many chiefs, farmers, and petty traders who benefited from European rule; the paucity of Africans with formal education and political experience; the gap between educated city-dwellers and the rural masses; and rivalries among ethnic groups. Nevertheless, Africans in the interwar years found ways to express their opposition to colonial rule. They demonstrated against labor conscription, new taxes, and government-mandated land confiscations. They organized political associations, published journals, wrote books and editorials, joined independent African Christian churches, attended international meetings, and sent representatives to European capitals to state their grievances. A new generation of African nationalist leaders emerged, and a growing audience listened to what they had to say.

Eagles into Chickens

92 • JAMES AGGREY, PARABLE OF THE EAGLE

James Aggrey, an educator and clergyman who was among the most prominent Africans of his day, was born in 1875 in the Gold Coast, a British colony. He was educated in a Protestant mission school, became a convert to Christianity, and at age 23 traveled to the United States to study for the ministry. He remained in the United States for 20 years, studying economics and agriculture, speaking out against racial prejudice, and working among poor blacks of South Carolina. He returned to Africa in 1918 and died in 1927. "Parable of the Eagle" was written in the early 1920s.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to the lesson of Aggrey's parable, what psychological and emotional damage results from colonialism?
2. If the lessons of Aggrey's parable had been translated into actual policy by colonial administrators, what aspects of colonial rule would have been affected?

A certain man went through a forest seeking any bird of interest he might find. He caught a young eagle, brought it home and put it among his fowls

and ducks and turkeys, and gave it chickens' food to eat even though it was an eagle, the king of birds.

Source: James Aggrey, "Parable of the Eagle," in Edwin Smith, *Aggrey of Africa* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1929).

Five years later a naturalist came to see him and, after passing through his garden, said: "That bird is an eagle, not a chicken."

"Yes," said its owner, "but I have trained it to be a chicken. It is no longer an eagle, it is a chicken, even though it measures fifteen feet from tip to tip of its wings."

"No," said the naturalist, "it is an eagle still: it has the heart of an eagle, and I will make it soar high up to the heavens."

"No," said the owner, "it is a chicken, and it will never fly."

They agreed to test it. The naturalist picked up the eagle, held it up, and said with great intensity: "Eagle, thou art an eagle; thou dost belong to the sky and not to this earth; stretch forth thy wings and fly."

The eagle turned this way and that, and then, looking down, saw the chickens eating their food, and down he jumped.

The owner said: "I told you it was a chicken."

"No," said the naturalist, "it is an eagle. Give it another chance tomorrow."

So the next day he took it to the top of the house and said: "Eagle, thou art an eagle; stretch forth thy wings and fly." But again the eagle, seeing the chickens feeding, jumped down and fed with them.

Then the owner said: "I told you it was a chicken."

"No," asserted the naturalist, "it is an eagle, and it still has the heart of an eagle; only give it one more chance, and I will make it fly tomorrow."

The next morning he rose early and took the eagle outside the city, away from the houses, to the foot of a high mountain. The sun was just rising, gilding the top of the mountain with gold, and every crag was glistening in the joy of that beautiful morning.

He picked up the eagle and said to it: "Eagle, thou art an eagle; thou dost belong to the sky and not to this earth; stretch forth thy wings and fly!"

The eagle looked around and trembled as if new life were coming to it; but it did not fly. The naturalist then made it look straight at the sun. Suddenly it stretched out its wings and, with the screech of an eagle, it mounted higher and higher and never returned. It was an eagle, though it had been kept and tamed as a chicken! *My people of Africa, we were created in the image of God, but men have made us think that we are chickens, and we still think we are; but we are eagles. Stretch forth your wings and fly! Don't be content with the food of chickens!*

The Value of African Tradition

93 • KABAKA DAUDI CHWA, EDUCATION, CIVILIZATION, AND "FOREIGNIZATION" IN BUGANDA

The Great Lakes region of east-central Africa, dominated by the kingdom of Buganda, was an area of extensive European missionary activity in the nineteenth century. British Protestant missionaries arrived in 1877 and were followed by French Catholic missionaries in 1879. With the hold of traditional religion already weakened by conversions to Islam, the missionaries made numerous converts, especially among young courtiers in the entourage of Buganda's hereditary ruler, known as the *kabaka*. In the 1880s, Protestant-Catholic rivalries among the chiefs led to civil war, the weakening of the *kabaka*'s power, and the

establishment in 1894 of the British protectorate of Uganda, of which Buganda was the largest part.

Daudi Chwa (1897–1939), as a 2-year-old, was named kabaka of Buganda after his father had been deposed and exiled for leading a campaign against the British. A convert to Christianity, he was a figurehead, since the British gave his major chiefs a free hand to administer the colony. He did play an active and successful role in opposing the plan to consolidate Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika into one colony in the 1930s. Toward the end of his life, Daudi Chwa developed reservations about the effects of colonial rule, especially in the cultural and religious spheres. In 1935, four years before his death, he expressed his views in a pamphlet, “Education, Civilization, and ‘Foreignization’ in Buganda.”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How would you characterize the traditional system of justice of the Baganda? By what means did this system deter behavior that was counter to the people’s rules and customs?
2. According to the kabaka, in what ways do traditional Baganda moral values resemble those of Christianity?
3. According to the kabaka, what have the people of Buganda (the Baganda) gained and lost as a result of European colonization?
4. What sort of thinking about the “backwardness” of the Baganda does the kabaka try to counter in his letter?
5. In the kabaka’s view, what should be the proper balance between traditional and European beliefs and practices?

Everyone knows that education and civilization were started simultaneously in this country in their respective rudimentary forms by the kind efforts of the members of the various Missionary Societies and have now been enhanced largely due to the assistance rendered by the Protectorate Government.

Naturally, Education and Civilization gained tremendous favour among the Baganda,¹ and as a consequence there are numerous Schools in remote villages in Buganda Kingdom for the Education of the young generations. . . .

Now my fears are that instead of the Baganda acquiring proper and legitimate education and

civilization there is possible danger that they may be drifting to “foreignization.” . . . To be more explicit, what I mean by the word “foreignization” is that instead of the Baganda acquiring proper education at the various Schools and of availing themselves of the legitimate amenities of civilization, I am very much afraid the young generation of this country is merely drifting wholesale towards “foreignization” of their natural instincts and is discarding its native and traditional customs, habits and good breeding. . . .

I am well aware that it has been said more than once that the Baganda have neither morals nor public opinion. . . . I do not wish . . . to uphold

Source: Donald A. Low, *The Mind of Buganda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 134–138. Reprinted by permission of the University of California Press.

¹The Baganda are the people of the kingdom of Buganda.

the Baganda as a Nation of Angels—But what I do maintain is that prior to the advent of the Europeans the Baganda had a very strict moral code of their own which was always enforced by a constant and genuine fear of some evil or incurable or even fatal disease being suffered invariably by the breaker of this moral code. In fact I maintain the Baganda observed most strictly the doctrine of the Ten Commandments in spite of the fact that Christianity and the so-called Christian morals were absolutely unknown to the Baganda. . . .

(a) Theft was always punished very severely, invariably by the loss of the right hand of the offender, so as to render him incapable of committing the same offense again.

(b) Adultery was almost unknown among the Baganda and any man found guilty of such offense was always ostracized from Society.

(c) Murder was invariably followed by a very severe vendetta between the members of the family or clan of the victim and those of the offender.

(d) Filial obedience was most honored among the Baganda and disobedience or disrespect of one's parents was always supposed to be punished by some higher power by the infliction of some horrible or incurable disease upon the offender.

(e) False evidence was looked upon with contempt. The person who bore false evidence and the person against whom it was given were both subjected to a very severe test by forcing them to drink a certain kind of strong drug known as "Madudu," which was supposed to result in making one of the parties who was in the wrong unconscious.

In this connection I should like to point out that although polygamy was universally recognized among the Baganda and was never considered as immoral yet prostitution was absolutely unheard of. Civilization, education and freedom are the direct causes of the appalling state of affairs as regards prostitution and promiscuous relationships between the Baganda men and women. . . .

As an illustration of the strictness of the old moral code of the Baganda I should like to point out here one of the most important native customs of looking after the daughters in a Muganda's² home. It was one of the worst filial offenses for a daughter to become pregnant while living with her parents. As soon as she was discovered in that condition she was at once expelled from her parents' house, and was absolutely cut off from them. She could not eat with them nor would her parents touch her until the child was born and some rites had been gone through which necessitated a great deal of hardship and shame on the part of the girl and her seducer. This custom was intended to stimulate morality among the Baganda girls, since any girl who went astray before she was given in marriage suffered this indignity and was always looked upon with contempt by all her relatives and friends. Furthermore any girl who was given in marriage and was found not to be a virgin merited unspeakable disfavor in the eyes of her parents, relations and friends. All this, however, is of course, no longer the case. The present so-called education and civilization prevailing in this country has completely destroyed this moral code by removing the constant fear just referred to above from the minds of the young generation of the Baganda by the freedom and liberty which are the natural consequences of the present World civilization. . . .

I am strongly of opinion that most of the traditional customs and etiquette of the Baganda . . . were quite consistent with the principles of Christianity. In support of this argument it is only necessary to mention a few customs of the Baganda to show that they unconsciously possessed a sense of the modern Christian morality:

(a) It was one of the most important behaviors among the Baganda for one's neighbor to be considered as his own relative and to share with him in his happiness or unhappiness. . . .

²Muganda is the word for an individual Bagandan.

(b) It was the recognized etiquette for a Muganda to salute every one that he met on the road, whether he knew him or not.

(c) When a Muganda was taking his meal and any one passed by, it was always the custom to invite him to share it with him.

(d) It was always the duty of everyone who hears an alarm at any time of day or night or a cry for help to go at once and render assistance to the party in distress or danger. . . .

(e) It was the duty of every Muganda, when requested, to assist any traveller in directing him to his destination, or to give him food or water, and even to give him shelter from rain or for the night. . . .

My intention therefore in this article is to emphasize the fact that while boasting of having acquired Western education and civilization in an amazingly short period, we have entirely

and completely ignored our native traditional customs. In other words we have "foreignized" our native existence by acquiring the worst foreign habits and customs of the Western people. I am only too well aware that this is inevitable in all countries where Western civilization has reached, so I have considered it my duty in this article to warn very strongly all members of the young generation of the Baganda that while they are legitimately entitled to strive to acquire education and civilization they should also take a very great care that acquisition of Western Education and Civilization does not automatically destroy their best inherent traditions and customs which, in my own opinion, are quite as good as those found among the Western Civilized countries but which only require developing and remodelling where necessary on the lines and ideas of western civilization.

New Leaders and New Sources of Conflict in the Middle East

The immediate aftermath of World War I brought political disaster to the Middle East. The Turks, who had fought on Germany's side, were forced in 1920 to accept the humiliating Treaty of Sèvres, which stripped Turkey of its Arab territories; limited the Turkish army to 50,000 men; gave France, Britain, and Italy control of its finances; and proposed to cede parts of Turkey itself to Italy, Greece, and the new states of Kurdistan and Armenia. The sultan, overwhelmed by problems of lawlessness, army desertions, and inflation, not only accepted the treaty but failed to offer resistance when the Greeks landed troops in western Anatolia in May 1919.

The Turks' former subjects, the Arabs, also experienced bitter disappointment. Promised self-rule for joining the Anglo-French alliance and fighting against their Ottoman overlords, they learned in 1919 that the British and French had agreed in 1916 to divide Arab lands between them and that this, rather than the promises of Arab independence, would determine the postwar settlement. In 1920, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, and Jordan all became British or French mandates, a status that differed little from old-style colonialism. Arabs also were incensed by the continuation of the British protectorate in Egypt and by the British intention of honoring their wartime promises to support the establishment of a national homeland in

Palestine for the Jewish people. Farther east, another major Islamic state, Persia, under the decrepit rule of the Qajar Dynasty, also seemed on the verge of becoming a British protectorate.

Efforts to reverse the postwar settlements succeeded in Turkey and Persia. Under Mustafa Kemal, the Turks rallied to drive out the Greeks and smash the nascent Armenian state between 1919 and 1922. In 1922, they abolished the sultanate, and in 1923, the European powers agreed to replace the Treaty of Sèvres with the Treaty of Lausanne, which recognized the integrity and independence of the new Turkish republic. Assuming near-dictatorial powers, Mustafa Kemal now had an opportunity to transform Turkey into a modern secular state. In Persia, which barely avoided becoming a British protectorate in 1919, Colonel Reza Khan (1878–1944) was named shah in 1925 and, like his hero Kemal, sought to build up his country (which officially adopted the name Iran in 1935) through economic development, educational reform, and secularization.

Arab efforts to achieve independence and prevent Jewish immigration to Palestine were less successful. Of the 20 Arab states that stretched from Morocco in the west to Iraq in the east, only Saudi Arabia and parts of Yemen were truly independent in the interwar years. Egypt and Iraq attained limited self-rule, but the presence of British troops and continuing British influence over foreign and military affairs were sources of resentment in both countries. The drive for independence was even more frustrating in French-controlled Lebanon and Syria. In the 1930s, the French reneged on promises to relinquish their authority, and Lebanon remained a mandate until 1943 and Syria until 1946. Arabs throughout the Middle East also were angered by growing Jewish migration to Palestine, especially in the wake of the Nazi takeover of Germany.

While confronting these postwar political problems, the people and leaders of the region faced other difficult issues. What could be done to end poverty and illiteracy? How could the teachings and expectations of Islam be reconciled with the realities and demands of modernization? Was modernization itself desirable, and, if so, how was it to be achieved? Was the goal of Arab nationalism the expulsion of the British and French and the stifling of Zionism, or was it the attainment of a single united Arab state? In the face of the changes that swept across the region in the first half of the twentieth century, finding answers to questions such as these became more urgent and more difficult.

Secularism and Nationalism in Republican Turkey

94 • MUSTAFA KEMAL, SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN PARTY

The arch-symbol of secularism and nationalism in the Muslim world in the interwar years was Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938), a military hero during World War I who went on to serve as the first president of the Turkish republic. Disgusted by

the Ottoman sultan's acquiescence to the Greek occupation of the Turkish port of Smyrna (Izmir) in 1919, Kemal assumed leadership of a resistance movement that by 1923 had overthrown the sultan, defeated the Greeks, and won the annulment of the punitive Treaty of Sèvres. Exercising broad powers as president of Turkey, until his death in 1938 Kemal sought to transform Turkey into a modern secular nation-state. To accomplish this, he broke the power of Islam over education and the legal system, encouraged industrialization, accorded women full legal rights, mandated the use of a new Turkish alphabet, and ordered Turks to adopt Western-style dress. Directing all Turks to adopt hereditary family names, he took for himself the name Atatürk, or "Great Turk."

Having consolidated his authority, Kemal decided in 1927 to review his accomplishments and impress upon his subjects the need for continued support. He chose as the occasion the meeting of Turkey's only legal political party, the People's Republican Party, which he had founded. He delivered an extraordinary speech. Three months in preparation, it lasted six days.

In these excerpts he discusses Turkey's past and future; explains his reasons for abolishing the caliphate, the ancient office by virtue of which Ottoman sultans had been the theoretical rulers of all Muslims; and justifies his suppression of the Progressive Republican Party, which despite its name was a party of conservatives who opposed Turkey's modernization.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Kemal, what were the "erroneous ideas" that had guided the Ottoman state in the past?
2. Why does Kemal argue that nation-states, not empires, are the most desirable form of political organization?
3. What is Kemal's view of the West?
4. What are his views of Islam?
5. What arguments does Kemal offer against the continuation of the caliphate?
6. How does Kemal justify his suppression of the Progressive Republicans? What, in his view, were the positive results of this step?

[Nationalism and Empire]

... Among the Ottoman rulers there were some who endeavored to form a gigantic empire by seizing Germany and Western Europe. One of these rulers hoped to unite the whole Islamic world in one body, to lead it and govern it. For this

purpose he obtained control of Syria and Egypt and assumed the title of Caliph.¹ Another Sultan pursued the twofold aim, on the one hand of gaining the mastery over Europe, and on the other of subjecting the Islamic world to his authority and government. The continuous counterattacks from

Source: Mustafa Kemal, *A Speech Delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal* (Leipzig: F. F. Koehler, 1929), pp. 376–379, 589–594, 717, 721–722.

¹A reference to Selim I, who conquered Egypt and Syria in 1515–1516; it is doubtful that he actually considered himself caliph—that is, leader and protector of all Muslims.

the West, the discontent and insurrections in the Muslim world, as well as the dissensions between the various elements which this policy had artificially brought together within certain limits, had the ultimate result of burying the Ottoman Empire, in the same way as many others, under the pall of history. . . .

To unite different nations under one common name, to give these different elements equal rights, subject them to the same conditions and thus to found a mighty State is a brilliant and attractive political ideal; but it is a misleading one. It is an unrealizable aim to attempt to unite in one tribe the various races existing on the earth, thereby abolishing all boundaries. Herein lies a truth which the centuries that have gone by and the men who have lived during these centuries have clearly shown in dark and sanguinary events.

There is nothing in history to show how the policy of Panislamism² could have succeeded or how it could have found a basis for its realization on this earth. As regards the result of the ambition to organize a State which should be governed by the idea of world-supremacy and include the whole of humanity without distinction of race, history does not afford examples of this. For us, there can be no question of the lust of conquest. . . .

In order that our nation should be able to live a happy, strenuous, and permanent life, it is necessary that the State should pursue an exclusively national policy and that this policy should be in perfect agreement with our internal organization and be based on it. When I speak of national policy, I mean it in this sense: To work within our national boundaries for the real happiness and

welfare of the nation and the country by, above all, relying on our own strength in order to retain our existence. But not to lead the people to follow fictitious aims, of whatever nature, which could only bring them misfortune, and expect from the civilized world civilized human treatment, friendship based on mutuality. . . .

[The Issue of the Caliphate]

I must call attention to the fact that Hodja Shukri, as well as the politicians who pushed forward his person and signature, had intended to substitute the sovereign bearing the title of Sultan or Padishah by a monarch with the title of Caliph.³ The only difference was that, instead of speaking of a monarch of this or that country or nation, they now spoke of a monarch whose authority extended over a population of three hundred million souls belonging to manifold nations and dwelling in different continents of the world. Into the hands of this great monarch, whose authority was to extend over the whole of Islam, they placed as the only power that of the Turkish people, that is to say, only from 10 to 15 millions of these three hundred million subjects. The monarch designated under the title of Caliph was to guide the affairs of these Muslim peoples and to secure the execution of the religious prescriptions which would best correspond to their worldly interests. He was to defend the rights of all Muslims and concentrate all the affairs of the Muslim world in his hands with effective authority. . . .

If the Caliph and Caliphate, as they maintained, were to be invested with a dignity embracing the whole of Islam, ought they not to have realized

²The program of uniting all Muslims under one government or ruler.

³These events took place in January 1923. After Sultan Mehmed V was deposed on November 1, 1922, his cousin was designated caliph. Because of their long rule and vast territories, Ottoman sultans by the nineteenth century

were viewed by many Muslims as caliphs—that is, successors of the prophet Muhammad, with jurisdiction over all of Islam. Shukri was a *hodja* (or *hadj*), a Turkish religious leader; he hoped that the new Turkish state would continue to support the caliphate even after the sultanate was abolished. In 1924, however, Kemal abolished the caliphate.

in all justice that a crushing burden would be imposed on Turkey, on her existence; her entire resources and all her forces would be placed at the disposal of the Caliph? . . .

I made statements everywhere, that were necessary to dispel the uncertainty and anxiety of the people concerning this question of the Caliphate. . . . I gave the people to understand that neither Turkey nor the handful of men she possesses could be placed at the disposal of the Caliph so that he might fulfill the mission attributed to him, namely, to found a State comprising the whole of Islam. The Turkish nation is incapable of undertaking such an irrational mission.

For centuries our nation was guided under the influence of these erroneous ideas. But what has been the result of it? Everywhere they have lost millions of men. "Do you know," I asked, "how many sons of Anatolia have perished in the scorching deserts of the Yemen? Do you know the losses we have suffered in holding Syria and Iraq and Egypt and in maintaining our position in Africa? And do you see what has come out of it? Do you know? . . .

"New Turkey, the people of New Turkey, have no reason to think of anything else but their own existence and their own welfare. She has nothing more to give away to others." . . .

[The Suppression of the Progressive Republicans]

As you know, it was at the time that the members of the opposition had founded a party under the name of "Republican Progressive Party" and published its program. . . .

Under the mask of respect for religious ideas and dogmas the new Party addressed itself to the people in the following words:

"We want the re-establishment of the Caliphate; we do not want new laws; we are satisfied with the religious law; we shall protect the Medressas, the Tekkes, the pious institutions, the Sofrahs, the Sheikhs⁴ and their disciples. Be on our side; the party of Mustafa Kemal, having abolished the Caliphate, is breaking Islam into ruins; they will make you into unbelievers. . . ."

Read these sentences, Gentlemen, from a letter written by one of the adherents of this program: . . . "They are attacking the very principles which perpetuate the existence of the Muslim world. . . . The assimilation with the Occident means the destruction of our history, our civilization. . . ." Gentlemen, facts and events have proved that the program of the Republican Progressive Party has been the work emanating from the brain of traitors. This Party became the refuge and the point of support for reactionary and rebellious elements. . . .

The Government and the Committee found themselves forced to take extraordinary measures. They caused the law regarding the restoration of order to be proclaimed, and the Independence Courts to take action. For a considerable time they kept eight or nine divisions of the army at war strength for the suppression of disorders, and put an end to the injurious organization which bore the name "Republican Progressive Party."

The result was, of course, the success of the Republic. . . .

Gentlemen, it was necessary to abolish the fez,⁵ which sat on our heads as a sign of ignorance, of fanaticism, of hatred to progress and civilization,

⁴A *medressa* (also *madrasah* or *madrasa*) is an advanced school of Islamic learning; a *tekke* is a small teaching mosque usually built over the tomb of a saint; a *softah* is a student in an Islamic school; a *sheikh*, or *shaykh*, is a master of a religious order of Sufis, who adopted a mystical approach to Islam.

⁵The fez was a brimless hat popular among Turkish men during the nineteenth century; its lack of a brim allowed the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground while kneeling during prayer without removing the hat.

and to adopt in its place the hat, the customary headdress of the whole civilized world, thus showing, among other things, that no difference existed in the manner of thought between the Turkish nation and the whole family of civilized mankind. We did that while the law for the Restoration of Order was still in force. If it had not been in force we should have done so all the same; but one can say with complete truth that the existence of this law made the thing much easier for us. As a matter of fact the application of the law for the Restoration of Order prevented the morale of the nation being poisoned to a great extent by reactionaries.

Gentlemen, while the law regarding the Restoration of Order was in force there took place also the closing of the Tekkes, of the convents, and of the mausoleums, as well as the abolition of all sects⁶ and all kinds of titles such as Sheikh, Dervish, . . . Occultist, Magician, Mausoleum Guard, etc.⁷

One will be able to imagine how necessary the carrying through of these measures was, in order to prove that our nation as a whole was no primitive nation, filled with superstitions and prejudices.

Could a civilized nation tolerate a mass of people who let themselves be led by the nose by a herd of Sheikhs, Dedes, Seids, . . . Babas and Emirs,⁸ who entrusted their destiny and their

lives to chiromancers,⁹ magicians, dice-throwers and amulet sellers? Ought one to conserve in the Turkish State, in the Turkish Republic, elements and institutions such as those which had for centuries given the nation the appearance of being other than it really was? Would one not therewith have committed the greatest, most irreparable error to the cause of progress and reawakening?

If we made use of the law for the Restoration of Order in this manner, it was in order to avoid such a historic error; to show the nation's brow pure and luminous, as it is; to prove that our people think neither in a fanatical nor a reactionary manner.

Gentlemen, at the same time the new laws were worked out and decreed which promise the most fruitful results for the nation on the social and economic plane, and in general in all the forms of the expression of human activity . . . the Citizens' Legal Code, which ensures the liberty of women and stabilizes the existence of the family.

Accordingly we made use of all circumstances only from one point of view, which consisted therein: to raise the nation on to that step on which it is justified in standing in the civilized world, to stabilize the Turkish Republic more and more on steadfast foundations . . . and in addition to destroy the spirit of despotism for ever.

⁶Islamic religious orders.

⁷A *dervish*, or *darvish*, was a member of an Islamic sect famous for its whirling dances that symbolized the movement of the heavenly spheres. An *occultist* was a Sufi who achieved a state of withdrawal from the world. A *mausoleum guard* guarded the tomb of a saint or holy person.

⁸A *dede* was head of a Sufi order. *Seids*, or *sayyids*, were descendents of the prophet Muhammed through his daughter Fatima. *Baba* was a popular surname among Sufi preachers. In this context *emir* is an honorary Turkish title.

⁹People who told the future by reading palms.

Impasse in Palestine

95 • REPORT OF THE PALESTINE ROYAL COMMISSION (THE PEEL COMMISSION), JULY 1937

Despite six wars, dozens of minor conflicts, continual negotiations, and countless proposals, the Arab–Israeli conflict remains a source of ongoing tension in the Middle East and beyond. The immediate cause was the founding of the state of Israel in 1947 and the displacement of approximately 750,000 Palestinian Arabs during and after the 1948 Arab–Israeli War, but the roots of conflict go much deeper.

Its origins go back to 70 C.E., when the Jews were exiled from Palestine by the Romans, forcing them into a long period in which they resettled in other parts of the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, and years later the Americas. In their years of exile, Jews maintained a strong attachment to the “Land of Canaan,” which according to Hebrew scriptures, God had given them as their promised land after becoming His chosen people. Only in the nineteenth century, however, in response to growing anti-Semitism and fears over the loss of Jewish identity, did a number of intellectuals and religious leaders conclude that Jews could escape persecution and preserve their traditions only by returning to their former homeland in Palestine, the region between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. This movement came to be known as Zionism, derived from Mount Zion, one of the two major hills overlooking Jerusalem, the ancient Jewish capital and religious center.

The first advocates of Jewish resettlement in Palestine were Russian Jews reacting to the anti-Jewish pogroms of the 1880s and 1890s. Political Zionism, which advocates the foundation of a Jewish state (not just resettlement), dates from the late 1890s, when the Vienna-based journalist Theodor Herzl published *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*) in 1896 and one year later convened the first international Zionist conference in Basel, Switzerland. On the eve of World War I, approximately 60,000 Jews, about half of whom were recent immigrants, lived in Palestine compared to 620,000 Muslims and 70,000 Christians.

The situation in Palestine became more volatile in the 1920s and 1930s. The Palestinian Arabs, who had come to identify themselves politically with Syria, were bitterly disappointed when Great Britain and France reneged on their wartime promises to support the creation of an independent Arab state and instead turned the former Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire into mandates. They were embittered further when the British, who held the Palestinian mandate, made good on the wartime pledge of their foreign minister Arthur Balfour to facilitate Jewish immigration to Palestine and make it a “national home” for the Jewish people. Between 1919 and 1939, the number of Jews in Palestine’s population grew from slightly under 10 percent to 30 percent. These Jews purchased land, established industries, founded Jewish schools and universities, and with support from the Zionist Organization laid the groundwork for the foundation of a Jewish state. Meanwhile, Arabs pressured British authorities to halt Jewish immigration, limit land sales to Jews, and grant immediate independence to Syria. With Arab frustration growing, in 1936 sporadic violence escalated into Arab general strikes, tax boycotts, bombings, and property destruction directed against Jews and British officials.

In response, the British government sent the former Secretary of State for India, Lord William Peel, to Palestine to head a commission charged with the task of investigating the causes of the violence and recommending solutions. After gathering information and interviewing well over 100 people, the commission published its report in mid-1937. Concluding that compromise and cooperation were impossible, it recommended the partition of Palestine into three parts: Jewish territory in the northwest; Arab territory in the east and south; and continued British control of Nazareth, Jerusalem, and a corridor between Jerusalem and the coast (see map on page 441). Although

the proposals were endorsed by the British government, they bitterly divided the Jews and were rejected totally by the Arabs. The political future of Palestine was not settled until 1947, when the independent state of Israel was born. But the discord continued.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do the Arab and Jewish lists of grievances reveal about the economic and social status of the two communities?
2. Given the two sides' lists of grievances, what reasonable chance did the British have of satisfying each side?
3. Why, according to the report's authors, are the Arab and Jewish communities inherently and permanently incompatible?
4. On what basis do the report's authors predict that the Arab-Jewish conflict will worsen?
5. Why, according to the report, does the use of force provide no long-term solution to the problems of the region?
6. How, according to the report, will continuation of the status quo damage Great Britain's standing in the world?
7. Overall, does the tone and content of the report seem more sympathetic to the Arabs or Jews?
8. Arabs resolutely rejected the commission's plan for partition. Among Jews, the plan had supporters and opponents. What arguments might these groups have offered to defend their point of view? Consult the map in addition to the report itself for possible answers to these questions.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Arab Grievances

- (1) The failure to develop self-governing institutions.
- (2) The acquisition of land by the Jews.
- (3) Jewish immigration.
- (4) The use of Hebrew and English as official languages.
- (5) The employment of British and Jewish officers, and exclusion of Arabs from the higher posts.
- (6) The creation of a large class of landless Arabs, and the refusal of Jews to employ Arab labourers.
- (7) Inadequate funds for Arab education.

Whilst we believe that these grievances are sincerely felt, we are of opinion that most of them cannot be regarded as legitimate under the terms of the Mandate and we are therefore not called

upon to make recommendations on them. It is only in regard to the last that we are able to suggest any remedy. We would welcome increased expenditure on Arab education, especially in the direction of village agricultural schools.

Jewish Grievances

- (1) Obstruction in the establishment of the National Home owing to dilatory action in dealing with proposals demanding executive action.
- (2) The display of "pro-Arab" proclivities by officials and their failure to carry out the Mandate. . . .
- (3) Great delay in the decision of civil suits; inefficiency in criminal procedure, as instanced by the fact that 80 Jews were murdered during 1936, and no capital sentence was carried out.

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- (4) Toleration by the Government of subversive activities, more especially those of the Mufti of Jerusalem.¹
- (5) As regards the land, failure to introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, the continuance of the system of *Masha'a*;² no arrangement for the consolidation of holdings, great delay in the ascertainment of rights during land settlement, difficulty in obtaining a satisfactory title to land when purchased; . . . insufficient encouragement of irrigation and drainage schemes.
- (6) Reluctance really to facilitate [Jewish] immigration, . . . and uncontrolled illegal Arab immigration.
- (7) Trans-Jordan should be opened to Jewish immigration.³
- (8) The necessary steps have not been taken to secure the removal or alleviation of restrictions on the importation of Palestine citrus fruits into foreign countries.
- (9) Progressive Jewish Municipalities are unduly restricted by Government rules and regulations.
- (10) Failure to ensure public security.

> While the authors of the report rejected most Arab grievances as "illegitimate" under terms of the mandate, they proposed numerous administrative and policy changes in response to the grievances of the Jewish community. They concluded the section as follows.

¹A reference to Hajj Amin al-Husayni (1895[?]–1974), who as Mufti of Jerusalem (the Sunni cleric who oversaw Islamic holy places in Jerusalem) helped organize attacks on Jews and British officials in 1937–1938. He also helped found the Arab Higher Committee, which called for nonpayment of taxes, organized a general strike of Arab workers and businesses, and demanded an end to Jewish immigration. The committee was banned by the mandate administration in September 1937. Amin al-Husayni fled to Lebanon and then Iraq to escape arrest by the British. During World War II, he lived in Rome

These are the recommendations which we submit . . . They are the best palliatives we can devise for the disease from which Palestine is suffering, but they are only palliatives. They might reduce the inflammation and bring down the temperature, but they cannot cure the trouble. The disease is so deep-rooted that, in our firm conviction, the only hope of a cure lies in a surgical operation.

The Force of Circumstances

Before submitting the proposals we have to offer for its drastic treatment we will briefly restate the problem of Palestine. . . .

An irrepressible conflict has arisen between two national communities within the narrow bounds of one small country. About 1,000,000 Arabs are in strife, open or latent, with some 400,000 Jews. There is no common ground between them. The Arab community is predominantly Asiatic in character, the Jewish community predominantly European. They differ in religion and in language. Their cultural and social life, their ways of thought and conduct, are as incompatible as their national aspirations. . . . The War and its sequel have inspired all Arabs with the hope of reviving in a free and united Arab world the traditions of the Arab golden age. The Jews similarly are inspired by their historic past. They mean to show what the Jewish nation can achieve when restored to the land of its birth. National assimilation between Arabs and Jews is thus ruled out. . . . Neither Arab nor Jew has any sense of service to a single State.

and Berlin and made pro-Axis radio broadcasts for Arab audiences. The degree of his knowledge of and support for the Holocaust is the subject of ongoing debate among historians.

²The collective ownership of land by a village community.

³The emirate of Transjordan, to the east of the Jordan River, was created in 1921 to provide a kingdom for Abdullah bin al-Hussein, who had led the Arab revolt against the Ottomans in World War I. The original mandate exempted Britain from the responsibility of encouraging Jewish immigration to Transjordan, so this grievance was rejected by the Peel Commission.

The conflict has grown steadily more bitter. It has been marked by a series of five Arab outbreaks, culminating in the rebellion of last year. . . .

This intensification of the conflict will continue. . . . The educational systems, Arab and Jewish, are schools of nationalism, and they have only existed for a short time. Their full effect on the rising generation has yet to be felt. And patriotic "youth-movements", so familiar a feature of present-day politics in other countries of Europe or Asia, are afoot in Palestine. As each community grows, moreover, the rivalry between them deepens. The more numerous and prosperous and better-educated the Arabs become, the more insistent will be their demand for national independence and the more bitter their hatred of the obstacle that bars the way to it. As the Jewish National Home grows older and more firmly rooted, so will grow its self-confidence and political ambition. . . .

Meantime the "external factors" will continue to play the part they have played with steadily increasing force from the beginning. On the one hand, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, Iraq and Egypt are already recognized as sovereign states, and Trans-Jordan as an "independent government." In less than three years' time Syria and the Lebanon will attain their national sovereignty.⁴ The claim of the Palestinian Arabs to share in the freedom of all Asiatic Arabia will thus be reinforced. . . . That they are as well qualified for self-government as the Arabs of neighbouring countries has been admitted.

On the other hand, the hardships and anxieties of the Jews in Europe are not likely to grow less in the near future. . . . The appeal to the good faith and humanity of the British people will lose none of its force. The Mandatory [Great Britain] will be urged unceasingly to admit as many Jews into

Palestine as the National Home can provide with a livelihood and to protect them when admitted from Arab attacks. . . .

In these circumstances, we are convinced that peace, order and good government can only be maintained in Palestine for any length of time by a rigorous system of repression. . . . If "disturbances", moreover, should recur on a similar scale to that of last year's rebellion, the cost of military operations must soon exhaust the revenues of Palestine and ultimately involve the British Treasury to an incalculable extent. The moral objections to maintaining a system of government by constant repression are self-evident. Nor is there any need to emphasize the undesirable reactions of such a course of policy on opinion outside Palestine.

And the worst of it is that such a policy leads nowhere. However vigorously and consistently maintained, it will not solve the problem. It will not allay, it will exacerbate the quarrel between the Arabs and the Jews. The establishment of a single self-governing Palestine will remain just as impracticable as it is now. It is not easy to pursue the dark path of repression without seeing daylight at the end of it. . . .

In these last considerations lies a final argument for seeking a way out, at almost any cost, from the existing deadlock in Palestine. For a continuance or rather an aggravation—for that is what continuance will be—of the present situation cannot be contemplated without the gravest misgivings. It will mean constant unrest and disturbance in peace and potential danger in the event of war. It will mean a steady decline in our prestige. It will mean the gradual alienation of two peoples who are traditionally our friends: for already the Arabs of Palestine have been antagonized and the patience of their kinsmen throughout the Arab world is being strained; and already the Jews, particularly,

⁴Saudi Arabia was recognized as an independent state in 1927; Iraq became independent in 1932, although Britain maintained military bases and continued to exercise

influence over Iraqi foreign policy. The report exaggerates the progress toward independence in Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and Lebanon.



Peel Commission proposal for partition of Palestine

we understand, in the United States, are questioning the sincerity with which we are fulfilling the promises we made and suggesting that negligence or weakness on our part is the real cause of all the trouble. . . .

Manifestly the problem cannot be solved by giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want. . . . But, while neither race can justly rule all Palestine, we see no reason why, if it were practicable, each race should not rule part of it.

No doubt the idea of Partition as a solution of the problem has often occurred to students of it, only to be discarded. There are many who would have felt an instinctive dislike to cutting up the

Holy Land. . . . Others may have felt that Partition would be a confession of failure. . . . Others, again, if they thought of Partition, dismissed it, no doubt, as impossible. The practical difficulties seemed too great. And great they unquestionably are. . . . We do not underestimate them. They cannot be brushed aside. Nevertheless . . . , those difficulties do not seem so insuperable as the difficulties inherent in the continuance of the Mandate or in any other alternative arrangement which has been proposed to us or which we ourselves could devise. Partition seems to offer at least a chance of ultimate peace. We can see none in any other plan.

Anticolonialism in India and Southeast Asia

By the late nineteenth century, when Indians were already in a full-scale debate about their relationship with Great Britain and some were demanding independence, many Southeast Asians were experiencing direct European political control for the first time. Nonetheless, in the first half of the twentieth century, developments in both areas showed some marked similarities. Nationalism swept through the Indian population, and despite their many differences in religion, education, and caste status, millions of Indians came to agree that Great Britain should “quit India” and allow Indian self-rule. Nationalism also intensified in Southeast Asia, especially in Vietnam and the Dutch East Indies, where force was needed to suppress anticolonial movements in both areas in the 1920s and 1930s.

The reasons for this upsurge of anti-European sentiment included revivals of Hinduism in India, Buddhism in Burma, and Islam in Southeast Asia, all of which heightened people's awareness of their differences from the West; the emergence of Japan, which demonstrated that an Asian nation could become a great power; the carnage of World War I, which raised doubts about the Europeans' “superiority”; and the spread of Western education and political ideologies. Most telling, however, was anger over the disparity between the Europeans' stated good intentions about their colonies' futures and their actual record of economic exploitation, racial prejudice, and authoritarian rule.

To these factors were added the influence of charismatic leaders such as Mohandas Gandhi, who drew the Indian masses into the nationalist movement; Jawaharlal Nehru, who guided the Indian Congress Party after 1941; Ho Chi Minh, who built a strong nationalist coalition in Vietnam; and Achmed Sukarno, who rallied Indonesian nationalists despite opposition from the Dutch.

World War II was the catalyst for the creation of independent nations throughout the region in the late 1940s and the 1950s, but events and leaders of the first half of the twentieth century set the stage.

Gandhi's Vision for India

96 • MOHANDAS GANDHI, INDIAN HOME RULE

Mohandas Gandhi, the outstanding figure in modern Indian history, was born in 1869 in a village north of Mumbai on the Arabian Sea. His father was a government official who presided over an extended family with strict Hindu practices. Gandhi studied law in England, and after failing to establish a legal practice in Mumbai moved to South Africa in 1893 to serve the country's large Indian population.

In South Africa, he became incensed over discriminatory laws against Indians, many of whom were indentured servants employed by whites or petty merchants. During his struggle to improve the lot of South Africa's Indian population, Gandhi developed his philosophy of *satyagraha*, usually translated into English as "soul force." *Satyagraha* sought justice not through violence but through love, a willingness to suffer, and conversion of the oppressor. Central to Gandhi's strategy was nonviolent resistance: his followers disobeyed unjust laws and accepted the consequences—even beatings and imprisonment—to reach the hearts of the British and change their thinking.

Gandhi first wrote about his theories of *satyagraha* in 1908 after meeting with a group of Indians in England who favored force to oust the British. In response, he composed a pamphlet, "Hind Swaraj," or "Indian Home Rule," in which he explains his theory of nonviolent resistance and his doubts about the benefits of modern civilization. Written as a dialogue between a "reader" and an "editor" (Gandhi), "Indian Home Rule" was printed in hundreds of editions and still serves as the best summary of Gandhi's philosophy.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Gandhi see as the major deficiency of modern civilization?
2. According to Gandhi, how has civilization specifically affected women?
3. Why does Gandhi have faith that Hindus and Muslims will be able to live in peace in India?
4. What, according to Gandhi, is true civilization, and what is India's role in preserving it?
5. What leads Gandhi to his conviction that love is stronger than force?
6. Why did Gandhi's attack on civilization gain him support among the Indian masses?

Chapter VI

Civilization

READER: Now you will have to explain what you mean by civilization. . . .

EDITOR: Let us first consider what state of things is described by the word "civilization." Its true test lies in the fact that people living in it make

bodily welfare the object of life. We will take some examples: The people of Europe today live in better-built houses than they did a hundred years ago. This is considered an emblem of civilization, and this is also a matter to promote bodily happiness. Formerly, they wore skins, and used as their weapons spears. Now, they wear long trousers, and for embellishing their bodies they wear a variety of clothing, and, instead of spears,

Source: Mohandas Gandhi, *Indian Home Rule* (Madras, India: Ganesh & Co., 1922), pp. 30–35, 47–50, 63, 64, 85, 68, 90, 91.

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they carry with them revolvers containing five or more chambers. If people of a certain country, who have hitherto not been in the habit of wearing much clothing, boots, etc., adopt European clothing, they are supposed to have become civilized out of savagery. Formerly, in Europe, people plowed their lands mainly by manual labor. Now, one man can plow a vast tract by means of steam-engines, and can thus amass great wealth. This is called a sign of civilization. Formerly, the fewest men wrote books, that were most valuable. Now, anybody writes and prints anything he likes and poisons people's minds. Formerly, men traveled in wagons; now they fly through the air, in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. This is considered the height of civilization. It has been stated that, as men progress, they shall be able to travel in airships and reach any part of the world in a few hours. Men will not need the use of their hands and feet. They will press a button, and they will have their clothing by their side. They will press another button, and they will have their newspaper. A third, and a motor-car will be in waiting for them. They will have a variety of delicately dished up food. Everything will be done by machinery. Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill. This is civilization. Formerly, men worked in the open air only so much as they liked. Now, thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. Their condition is worse than that of beasts. They are obliged to work, at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations, for the sake of millionaires. Formerly, men were made slaves under physical compulsion, now they are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy. There are now diseases of which people never dreamed before, and an army of doctors is engaged in finding out their

cures, and so hospitals have increased. This is a test of civilization. Formerly, special messengers were required and much expense was incurred in order to send letters; today, anyone can abuse his fellow by means of a letter for one penny. True, at the same cost, one can send one's thanks also. Formerly, people had two or three meals consisting of homemade bread and vegetables; now, they require something to eat every two hours, so that they have hardly leisure for anything else. What more need I say? All this you can ascertain from several authoritative books. These are all true tests of civilization. And, if any one speaks to the contrary, know that he is ignorant. This civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion. . . .

This civilization is irreligion, and it has taken such a hold on the people in Europe that those who are in it appear to be half mad. They lack real physical strength or courage. They keep up their energy by intoxication. They can hardly be happy in solitude. Women, who should be the queens of households, wander in the streets, or they slave away in factories. For the sake of a pittance, half a million women in England alone are laboring under trying circumstances in factories or similar institutions. This awful fact is one of the causes of the daily growing suffragette movement.

This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destructed.

Chapter X

The Hindus and the Muslims

READER: But I am impatient to hear your answer to my question. Has the introduction of Islam not unmade the nation?

EDITOR: India cannot cease to be one nation because people belonging to different religions live in it. The introduction of foreigners does not necessarily destroy the nation, they merge in it.

A country is one nation only when such a condition obtains in it. That country must have a faculty for assimilation. India has ever been such a country. In reality, there are as many religions as there are individuals, but those who are conscious of the spirit of nationality do not interfere with one another's religion. If they do, they are not fit to be considered a nation. If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in dreamland. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Parsees¹ and the Christians who have made India their country are fellow-countrymen, and they will have to live in unity if only for their own interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India.

READER: But what about the inborn enmity between Hindus and Muslims?

EDITOR: That phrase has been invented by our mutual enemy.² When the Hindus and Muslims fought against one another, they certainly spoke in that strain. They have long since ceased to fight. How, then, can there be any inborn enmity? Pray remember this too, that we did not cease to fight only after British occupation. The Hindus flourished under Muslim sovereigns and Muslims under the Hindu. Each party recognized that mutual fighting was suicidal, and that neither party would abandon its religion by force of arms. Both parties, therefore, decided to live in peace. With the English advent the quarrels recommenced. . . .

Hindus and Muslims own the same ancestors, and the same blood runs through their veins. Do people become enemies because they change their religion? Is the God of the Muslim different from the God of the Hindu? Religions are different

roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal? Wherein is the cause for quarreling?

Chapter XIII

What Is True Civilization?

READER: YOU have denounced railways, lawyers and doctors. I can see that you will discard all machinery. What, then, is civilization?

EDITOR: The answer to that question is not difficult. I believe that the civilization India has evolved is not to be beaten in the world. Nothing can equal the seeds sown by our ancestors. Rome went, Greece shared the same fate, the might of the Pharaohs was broken, Japan has become westernized, of China nothing can be said, but India is still, somehow or other, sound at the foundation. The people of Europe learn their lessons from the writings of the men of Greece or Rome, which exist no longer in their former glory. In trying to learn from them, the Europeans imagine that they will avoid the mistakes of Greece and Rome. Such is their pitiable condition. In the midst of all this, India remains immovable, and that is her glory. It is a charge against India that her people are so uncivilized, ignorant, and stolid, that it is not possible to induce them to adopt any changes. It is a charge really against our merit. What we have tested and found true on the anvil of experience, we dare not change. Many thrust their advice upon India, and she remains steady. This is her beauty; it is the sheet-anchor of our hope.

Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible

¹Followers of the Zoroastrian religion who fled India when Islamic armies conquered Persia in the seventh century C.E.

²The British.

terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati³ equivalent for civilization means “good conduct.” If this definition be correct, then India, as so many writers have shown, has nothing to learn from anybody else, and this is as it should be.

Chapter XVII

Passive Resistance

READER: Is there any historical evidence as to the success of what you have called soul-force or truth-force? No instance seems to have happened of any nation having risen through soul-force. I still think that the evil-doers will not cease doing evil without physical punishment.

EDITOR: . . . The force of love is the same as the force of the soul or truth. We have evidence of its working at every step. The universe would disappear without the existence of that force. But you ask for historical evidence. It is, therefore, necessary to know what history means. . . .

The fact that there are so many men still alive in the world shows that it is based not on the force of arms but on the force of truth or love. Therefore the greatest and most unimpeachable evidence of the success of this force is to be found in the fact that, in spite of the wars of the world, it still lives on.

Thousands, indeed, tens of thousands, depend for their existence on a very active working of this force. Little quarrels of millions of families in their daily lives disappear before the exercise of this force. Hundreds of nations live in peace. History does not and cannot take note of this fact. History is really a record of every interruption of the even working of the force of love or of the soul. . . . Soul-force, being natural, is not noted in history.

READER: According to what you say, it is plain that instances of the kind of passive resistance are

not to be found in history. It is necessary to understand this passive resistance more fully. It will be better, therefore, if you enlarge upon it.

EDITOR: Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force. For instance, the government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me: I do not like it; if, by using violence, I force the government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

Everybody admits that sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others. Moreover, if this kind of force is used in a cause that is unjust, only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Men have before now done many things which were subsequently found to have been wrong. No man can claim to be absolutely in the right, or that a particular thing is wrong, because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate judgment. It is, therefore, meet [proper] that he should not do that which he knows to be wrong, and suffer the consequence whatever it may be. This is the key to the use of soul-force. . . .

READER: From what you say, I deduce that passive resistance is a splendid weapon of the weak but that, when they are strong, they may take up arms.

EDITOR: This is gross ignorance. Passive resistance, that is, soul-force, is matchless. It is superior to the force of arms. How, then, can it be considered only a weapon of the weak? Physical-force men are strangers to the courage that is requisite in a passive resister. Do you believe that a coward

³An Indian dialect spoken in Gujarat, in northwest India.

can ever disobey a law that he dislikes? Extremists are considered to be advocates of brute-force. Why do they, then, talk about obeying laws? I do not blame them. They can say nothing else. When they succeed in driving out the English, and they themselves become governors, they will want you and me to obey their laws. And that is a fitting thing for their constitution. But a passive resister will say he will not obey a law that is against his conscience, even though he may be blown to pieces at the mouth of a cannon.

What do you think? Wherein is courage required—in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and to be blown to pieces? Who is the true warrior—he who keeps death always as a

bosom-friend or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister.

This, however, I will admit: that even a man, weak in body, is capable of offering this resistance. One man can offer it just as well as millions. Both men and women can indulge in it. It does not require the training of an army; it needs no Jiu-jitsu. Control over the mind is alone necessary, and, when that is attained, man is free like the king of the forest, and his very glance withers the enemy.

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood, it produces far-reaching results.

A Vietnamese Condemnation of French Rule

97 • NGUYEN THAI HOC, LETTER TO THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Having taken control of Vietnam's southern region, known as Cochinchina, in the 1860s, the French extended their authority over Tongking (northern Vietnam) and Annam (central Vietnam) in the mid-1880s. Convinced of their civilizing mission, the French sought to undermine Vietnam's Confucian culture by creating a French-trained Vietnamese elite willing to cooperate with the colonial regime. Although some members of Vietnam's upper class resisted French rule (including the young emperor Duy Tân, whose plot to overthrow the French was uncovered in 1916), most at first sought some sort of compromise between Western culture and Confucianism.

Revolutionary nationalistic movements gained adherents in the 1920s, however, as Vietnamese anger grew over continued exploitation and repression, even though 90,000 Vietnamese troops and laborers had helped the French during World War I. The leading nationalist organization was the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang (Vietnamese Nationalist Party, or VNQDD), founded in 1927 by Nguyen Thai Hoc, a teacher from Hanoi. As a young man, he sought to improve conditions in Vietnam through moderate reforms but became disillusioned with the French and turned to revolution. In 1929, with VNQDD membership at about 1,500, its leaders plotted an anti-French insurrection. The uprising, known as the Yen Bai Revolt, was crushed in 1930, and the VNQDD leaders were arrested and executed.

While awaiting his execution, Nguyen Thai Hoc wrote the following letter to France's parliament, the Chamber of Deputies. A defense of his actions and a denunciation of French colonialism, the letter was also released to the Vietnamese public.

newspapers have been censored and rejected. From the experience of these rejections, I have come to the conclusion that the French have no sincere intention of helping my country or my people. I also concluded that we have to expel France. For this reason, in 1927, I began to organize a revolutionary party, which I named the Vietnamese Nationalist Party, with the aim of overthrowing the dictatorial and oppressive administration in our country. We aspire to create a Republic of Vietnam, composed of persons sincerely concerned with the happiness of the people. My party is a clandestine organization, and in February 1929, it was uncovered by the security police. Among the members of my party, a great number have been arrested. Fifty-two persons have been condemned to forced labor ranging from two to twenty years. Although many have been detained and many others unjustly condemned, my party has not ceased its activity. Under my guidance, the Party continues to operate and progress towards its aim.

During the Yen Bai uprising someone succeeded in killing some French officers. The authorities accused my party of having organized and perpetrated this revolt. They have accused me of having given the orders for the massacre. In truth, I have never given such orders, and I have presented before the Penal Court of Yen

Bai all the evidence showing the inanity of this accusation. Even so, some of the members of my party completely ignorant of that event have been accused of participating in it. The French Indochinese government burned and destroyed their houses. They sent French troops to occupy their villages and stole their rice to divide it among the soldiers. Not just members of my party have been suffering from this injustice—we should rather call this cruelty than injustice—but also many simple peasants, interested only in their daily work in the rice fields, living miserable lives like buffaloes and horses, have been compromised in this reprisal. At the present time, in various areas there are tens of thousands of men, women, and children, persons of all ages, who have been massacred.³ They died either of hunger or exposure because the French Indochinese government burned their homes. I therefore beseech you in tears to redress this injustice which otherwise will annihilate my people, which will stain French honor, and which will belittle all human values.

I have the honor to inform you that I am responsible for all events happening in my country under the leadership of my party from 1927 until the present. You only need to execute me. I beg your indulgence for all the others who at the present time are imprisoned in various jails.

³Many civilian deaths resulted from French actions following the revolt, but Nguyen Thai Hoc's estimate of 10,000 or more deaths is an exaggeration.

Latin America in an Era of Economic Challenge and Political Change

A popular slogan among Latin America's politicians, business leaders, and landowners in the late nineteenth century was "order and progress," and to an extent exceptional in the region's history, they achieved both. Around 1870, Latin America's economy entered a period of export-driven expansion that lasted until the 1920s. The region became a major supplier of wheat, beef, mutton, coffee, raw rubber,

nitrates, copper, tin, bananas, and a host of other primary products to Europe and the United States and a major market for European and U.S. manufactured goods. Land prices soared, and English and U.S. capital flowed into Latin America as investments and loans.

Latin America's boom took place in a climate of relative political stability. In Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, this meant republican governments controlled by an oligarchy of landowning families, sometimes in alliance with wealthy businessmen; in Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela, it meant rule by a dictator (*caudillo*), who also usually represented the interests of landowners and businessmen. Oligarchs and dictators alike sought economic growth by maintaining law and order, approving land confiscations from the Church and peasantry, and keeping foreign business interests happy by maintaining low taxes and tariffs.

Latin America in these years is often viewed as an example of *neocolonialism*. Although nations in the region all had achieved political independence in the early 1800s, economic relationships reminiscent of the colonial era persisted. Latin America still depended on the export of primary products to industrialized Europe and the United States, and depended on those same regions for manufactured goods and capital. The beneficiaries of the system were the landowning elite, European and U.S. bondholders, and foreign businesses with investments in construction, railroads, shipping, and mining. Dependency on foreign markets, capital, and manufactured goods made Latin American governments vulnerable to diplomatic arm-twisting by their powerful economic "partners," and in some instances, military intervention.

By the 1930s, the neocolonial economy and the political order it supported both were in shambles as a result of the Great Depression. Demand for Latin America's agricultural products and raw materials plummeted, driving millions into unemployment and depriving the region of the foreign exchange needed to buy manufactured goods from abroad. Foreign loans and investments dried up after the international banking system and stock markets collapsed. Governments faced insolvency, and capital shortages crippled plans to end the economic slump through industrialization. Latin Americans increasingly resented European and especially U.S. ownership of mines, oil fields, railroads, banks, processing plants, and prime agricultural land. Once welcomed as a means of attracting capital and encouraging growth, foreign ownership now was condemned as imperialist plunder.

Economic Dependency and Its Dangers

98 • FRANCISCO GARCÍA CALDERÓN, LATIN AMERICA: ITS RISE AND PROGRESS

For most of the nineteenth century, the United States had relatively little involvement in Latin America. U.S. interests in the region focused almost exclusively on Mexico, whose territories in the American west and southwest became part of the United States after the Mexican War of 1846–1848. Other U.S. schemes to

annex Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Mexican provinces of Yucatan and Lower California proved impractical or failed to generate support.

U.S.–Latin American relations changed beginning in the 1880s, however. As the United States industrialized, it gradually replaced Great Britain as the region's main purchaser of exports and supplier of manufactured goods. By 1910, U.S. investments had increased to \$1.6 billion, almost all of it "new money" invested since the end of the Civil War in 1865. As U.S. businesses expanded their operations in Latin America, successive administrations in Washington pledged to protect their interests. In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt announced that the United States reserved the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any state in the Western Hemisphere that was guilty of "chronic wrongdoing," a euphemism for failure to pay its debts or maintain law and order. Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, was even more explicit. He stated that his foreign policy would include "active intervention to secure our merchandise and our capitalists' opportunity for profitable investment." These were not idle words. Between 1898 and 1934, the United States annexed Puerto Rico and intervened militarily in Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

Condemnation of Latin America's economic dependence on foreigners and denunciations of "Yankee imperialism" became commonplace with the onset of the Great Depression, but such criticisms began earlier. One of the first such critics was the Peruvian diplomat and author Francisco García Calderón. Born into a wealthy and politically prominent family in Lima in 1883, García Calderón entered the Peruvian foreign service soon after graduating from the University of San Marcos. A career diplomat with postings to London and Paris and ambassadorships to Belgium and Portugal, he wrote numerous essays and books on Latin America. His most widely read book was *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*, which ranged over the region's history and discussed a number of contemporary issues, including immigration, the state of the economy, and Latin America's foreign relations. First published in 1912, it attracted a wide readership only in the 1920s, when it went through numerous editions in several languages.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to García Calderón, how has U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America evolved since the time of the Monroe Doctrine?
2. How does he explain these changes?
3. According to García Calderón, what benefits have accrued to Latin America as a result of foreign investments? How has Latin America been hurt by such investments?
4. How does García Calderón characterize Latin Americans, and how do they differ from the "Anglo-Saxons" of the United States?
5. How have the Latin American states contributed to their own economic problems?
6. If one accepts the premises of García Calderón's arguments, what would the Latin American states have had to do to overcome the problems connected with foreign economic dependency?

The nation [the United States] which was peopled by nine millions of men in 1820 now numbers eighty millions—an immense demographic power; in the space of ten years, from 1890 to 1900, this population increased by one-fifth. By virtue of its iron, wheat, oil, and cotton, and its victorious industrialism, the democracy aspires to a world-wide significance. . . . Yankee pride increases with the endless multiplication of wealth and population, and the patriotic sentiment has reached such intensity that it has become transformed into imperialism. . . .

Interventions have become more frequent with the expansion of frontiers. The United States have recently intervened in the territory of Acre [in western Brazil], there to found a republic of rubber gatherers; at Panama, there to develop a province and construct a canal; in Cuba, to maintain order in the interior; in San Domingo, to support the civilizing revolution and overthrow the tyrants; in Venezuela, and in Central America, to enforce upon these nations. . . . the political and financial tutelage of imperial democracy. In Guatemala and Honduras the loans concluded with the monarchs of North American finance have reduced the people to a new slavery. Supervision of the customs and the dispatch of pacificatory [peace-keeping] squadrons to defend the interests of the Anglo-Saxon¹ have enforced peace and tranquility: such are the means employed. . . . Mr. Pierpont Morgan² proposes to encompass the finances of Latin America by a vast network of Yankee banks. Chicago merchants and Wall Street financiers created the Meat Trust in the Argentine. . . . It has even been announced . . . that a North American syndicate wished to buy enormous belts of land in Guatemala. . . . The fortification of the Panama

Canal and the possible acquisition of the Galapagos Islands in the Pacific, are fresh manifestations of imperialistic progress.

...

Unexploited wealth abounds in [Latin] America. Forests of rubber . . . , mines of gold and diamonds, rivers which flow over beds of auriferous [gold-bearing] sand, . . . coffee, cocoa, and wheat, whose abundance is such that these products are enough to glut the markets of the world. But there is no national capital [for investment]. This contrast between the wealth of the soil and the poverty of the States gives rise to serious economic problems. . . .

Since the very beginnings of independence the Latin democracies, lacking financial reserves, have had need of European gold. . . . The necessities of the war [of independence] with Spain and the always difficult task of building up a new society demanded the assistance of foreign gold; loans accumulated. . . . The lamentable history of these bankrupt democracies dates from this period.

For geographical reasons, and on account of its very inferiority, South America cannot dispense with the influence of the Anglo-Saxon North, with its exuberant wealth and its industries. South America has need of capital, of enterprising men, of bold explorers, and these the United States supply in abundance. The defence of the South should consist in avoiding the establishment of privileges or monopolies, whether in favor of North Americans or Europeans.

...

The descendants of the Spanish conquerors, who knew nothing of labor or thrift, have incessantly resorted to fresh loans in order to fill the gaps in their budgets. Politicians knew of only one

Source: From Francisco García Calderón, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*, Bernard Miall, trans. (Charles Scribner's Sons and T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1913), pp. 298, 301–303, 306, 311, 378–382.

¹A loosely used term, Anglo-Saxon usually refers to people of English descent.

²John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), founder of the investment bank J. P. Morgan and Company, was one of the wealthiest and most powerful financiers in the United States.

solution of the economic disorder—to borrow, so that little by little the Latin-American countries became actually the financial colonies of Europe.

Economic dependence has a necessary corollary—political servitude. French intervention in Mexico³ was originally caused by the mass of unsatisfied financial claims; foreigners, the creditors of the State, were in favor of intervention. England and France, who began by seeking to ensure the recovery of certain debts, finally forced a monarch upon the debtor nation. The United States entertained the ambition of becoming the sole creditor of the [Latin] American peoples: this remarkable privilege would have assured them of an incontestable hegemony over the whole continent.

The budgets of various States complicate still further an already difficult situation. They increase beyond all measure, without the slightest relation to the progress made by the nation. They are based upon taxes which are one of the causes of the national impoverishment, or upon a protectionist tariff which adds greatly to the cost of life. The

politicians, thinking chiefly of appearances, neglect the development of the national resources for the immediate augmentation of the fiscal revenues; thanks to fresh taxes, the budgets increase. These resources are not employed in furthering profitable undertakings, such as building railroads or highways, or increasing the navigability of the rivers. The bureaucracy is increased in a like proportion, and the budgets, swelled in order to dupe the outside world, serve only to support a nest of parasites. In the economic life of these countries the State is a kind of beneficent providence which . . . increases the common poverty by taxation, display, useless enterprises, the upkeep of military and civil officials, and the waste of money borrowed abroad. . . .

To sum up, the new continent, politically free, is economically a vassal. This dependence is inevitable; without European capital there would have been no railways, no ports, and no stable government in [Latin] America. But the disorder which prevails in the finances of the country changes into a real servitude what might otherwise have been a beneficial relation.

³In 1861, Spain, Great Britain, and France sent troops to Mexico to force the government to pay its debts. After gaining assurances of future payments, Spain and Great Britain withdrew their troops, but Emperor Napoleon III of France went forward with a plan to establish a new Mexican government under French protection. The French-sponsored

candidate for emperor of Mexico was Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg, brother of Austrian emperor Franz Josef. Maximilian served as emperor from 1863 to 1865, when the threat of U.S. intervention convinced Napoleon III to abandon his Mexican project.

Mexican Muralists and Their Vision

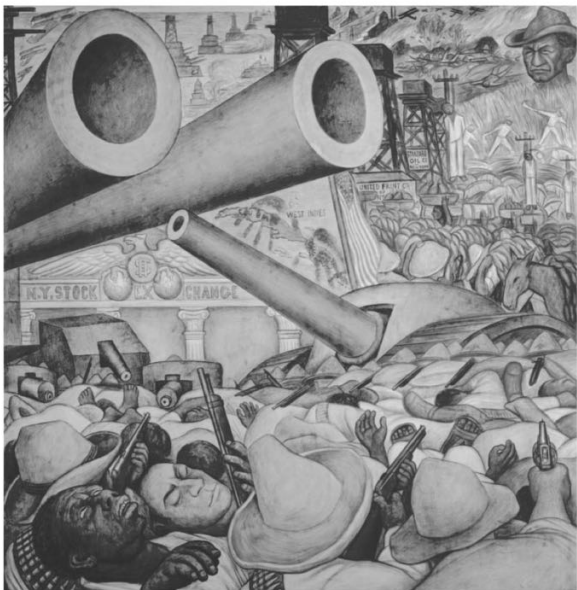
99 • JOSÉ CLEMENTE OROZCO, HISPANO-AMERICA—THE REBEL SOCIETY AND HIS INTERNATIONAL ENEMIES, AND DIEGO RIVERA, IMPERIALISM

In 1921, Mexico's newly appointed secretary of public education, José Vasconcelos, as part of his program to promote Mexican national pride, encouraged Mexico's composers, choreographers, writers, and artists to explore Mexico's past, including its Indian past, in their works. In the 1920s many muralists took advantage of his offer to make available the walls of public buildings for their work. Among them were José Clemente Orozco and Diego Rivera, whose paintings of the historical experiences of Mexicans and other Latin American people brought them international fame.

José Clemente Orozco (1883–1949) hoped to become an architect, but at age 26 began training as a painter in the Mexican Academy of Fine Arts. As a Marxist and supporter of the Mexican Revolution, he rejected the style of the officially approved European masters and introduced themes and topics dealing with the struggles of Mexico's Indian and mestizo populations. After completing murals at the National Preparatory School and several other buildings in Mexico City and other cities, he accepted a number of commissions in the United States, including one for Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. For Dartmouth, he chose as his theme the history of the Americas from preconquest to the modern age. The section shown below, given the name *Hispano-America—The Rebel and His International Enemies*, shows an armed peasant—standing amidst images of crumbling churches, an abandoned factory, politicians, soldiers, and capitalists. It is thought that the military figure on the right is General John J. Pershing, who in the so-called Punitive Expedition of 1916–1917 led U.S. forces into Mexico against the paramilitary forces of Francisco “Pancho” Villa, who had attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico, early in 1916. The masked figure behind him is thought to be President Woodrow Wilson, who ordered the attack.



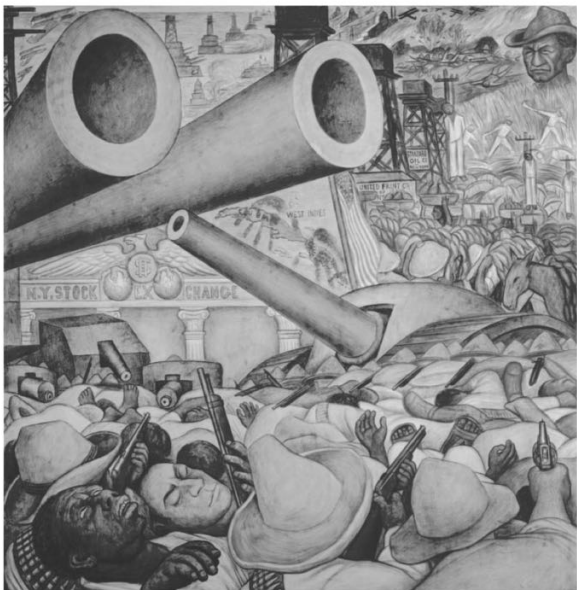
José Clemente Orozco, *Hispano-America—The Rebel and His International Enemies*



Diego Rivera, *Imperialism*

Another great Mexican muralist, Diego Rivera (1886–1957), also achieved fame from his paintings in Mexico City in the 1920s and then traveled to the United States, where he was commissioned to paint murals for the San Francisco Stock Exchange, the Detroit Institute of Art, and Rockefeller Center in New York City. The latter work was destroyed after it was discovered that Rivera, a dedicated Marxist, had included in it a portrait of the Russian revolutionary, Vladimir Lenin.

After the Rockefeller Center controversy, Rivera completed a series of 21 paintings depicting U.S. history collectively known as *Portrait of America*.



Diego Rivera, *Imperialism*

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After the Rockefeller Center controversy, Rivera completed a series of 21 paintings depicting U.S. history collectively known as *Portrait of America*.

Accepting no fee, Rivera painted these murals for an old, ramshackle building rented by the Communist Party Opposition, an anti-Stalinist organization founded in 1929. Used as a lecture hall and study center, the space was known as the New Workers' School. The thirteenth painting, *Imperialism*, shown on page 455, is dominated by the guns of U.S. tanks and warships protruding from the portal of the New York Stock Exchange. In the forefront is a mass of Latin American rebels, in whose midst are seen a murdered Caribbean black and a Cuban revolutionary. In the upper right appears the figure of Augusto Sandino, the leader of a rebellion against the U.S. military presence in Nicaragua, who had just been assassinated on orders of the Nicaraguan government. He looks down on the operations of Standard Oil and United Fruit, two U.S. organizations heavily involved in Latin America.

Only black-and-white photographs of *Imperialism* remain. When the school closed, the murals (which had been painted on larger moveable wooden panels) were given to the New York chapter of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, which stored them in its recreation center in Forest Park, Pennsylvania. A fire in 1969 destroyed all the paintings but three, which are now in private collections.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In Orozco's painting, what message is the painter communicating about the crumbling churches, the abandoned factories, the business owners, and the army officers?
2. What message does Orozco convey about the character and qualities of the central figure, the peasant?
3. What does Rivera's painting imply about the character, motives, and impact of U.S. imperialism?
4. In what specific ways do the paintings reveal the Marxist sympathies of the two Mexican painters?
5. What is the overall message of the two paintings? Is it optimistic about Latin America's prospects?

Economic Nationalism in Mexico

100 • LÁZARO CÁRDENAS, SPEECH TO THE NATION

Following the overthrow of dictator Porfirio Díaz in 1911, in 1917 Mexican revolutionaries overcame their rivalries and drafted a new constitution that confirmed the principles of free speech, religious toleration, universal suffrage, the separation of powers, and the protection of private property. It also committed the government to social reform and greater control over foreign corporations. In the face of continuing conflict, however, these latter provisions remained a dead letter until the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas, from 1934 to 1940. In a series of bold steps,

he confiscated millions of acres of land from large estates for redistribution to peasants, introduced free and compulsory elementary education, and sponsored legislation to provide medical and unemployment insurance. His most audacious step, however, was the nationalization of Mexico's oil industry. In 1936, a dispute between Mexican labor unions and U.S. and British oil companies erupted into a strike, and in the ensuing legal battle, 17 oil companies refused to accept the pro-union ruling of an arbitration board appointed by Cárdenas, even after the Mexican Supreme Court upheld the decision. In response, Cárdenas ordered government seizure of the oil companies' property. Cárdenas announced his decision on March 18, 1938, in a radio speech to the nation. In the following excerpt, Cárdenas comments on the role of the oil companies in Mexico's economic and social development.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In the account of Cárdenas, which actions by the foreign oil companies forced him to nationalize the oil industry?
2. According to Cárdenas, what truth is there in the oil companies' claims that they have benefited Mexico?
3. According to Cárdenas, who is ultimately responsible for the actions of the oil companies?
4. Which political activities of the oil companies does Cárdenas condemn?
5. What hardships does Cárdenas anticipate for the Mexican people as a result of his decision?
6. In what ways is Cárdenas's speech an appeal to Mexican nationalism?

In each and every one of the various attempts of the Executive to arrive at a final solution of the conflict within conciliatory limits . . . the intransigence of the [oil] companies was clearly demonstrated. Their attitude was therefore premeditated and their position deliberately taken, so that the Government, in defense of its own dignity, had to resort to application of the Expropriation Act, as there were no means less drastic or decision less severe that might bring about a solution of the problem. . . .

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* that the oil industry has brought additional capital for the development and progress of the country. This assertion is an exaggeration. For many years throughout the

major period of their existence, oil companies have enjoyed great privileges for development and expansion, including customs and tax exemptions and innumerable prerogatives; it is these factors of special privilege, together with the prodigious productivity of the oil deposits granted them by the Nation often against public will and law, that represent almost the total amount of this so-called capital.

Potential wealth of the Nation; miserably underpaid native labor; tax exemptions; economic privileges; governmental tolerance—these are the factors of the boom of the Mexican oil industry.

Let us now examine the social contributions of the companies. In how many of the villages

Source: Benjamin Keen, ed. and trans. *Readings in Latin American Civilization* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), pp. 362–364.

bordering on the oil fields is there a hospital, or school or social center, or a sanitary water supply, or an athletic field, or even an electric plant fed by the millions of cubic meters of natural gas allowed to go to waste?

What center of oil production, on the other hand, does not have its company police force for the protection of private, selfish, and often illegal interests? These organizations . . . are charged with innumerable outrages, abuses, and murders, always on behalf of the companies that employ them.

Who is not aware of the irritating discrimination governing construction of the company camps? Comfort for the foreign personnel; misery, drabness, and insalubrity for the Mexicans. Refrigeration and protection against tropical insects for the former; indifference and neglect, medical service and supplies always grudgingly provided, for the latter; lower wages and harder, more exhausting labor for our people.

The tolerance which the companies have abused was born, it is true, in the shadow of the ignorance, betrayals, and weakness of the country's rulers; but the mechanism was set in motion by investors lacking in the necessary moral resources to give something in exchange for the wealth they have been exploiting.

Another inevitable consequence of the presence of the oil companies . . . has been their persistent and improper intervention in national affairs. The oil companies' support to strong rebel factions against the constituted government . . . during the years 1917 to 1920 is no longer a matter for discussion by anyone. Nor is anyone ignorant of the fact that in later periods and even at the present time, the oil companies have almost openly encouraged the ambitions of elements discontented with the country's government, every time their interests were affected either by taxation or by the modification of their privileges or the withdrawal

of the customary tolerance. They have had money, arms, and munitions for rebellion, money for the anti-patriotic press which defends them, money with which to enrich their unconditional defenders. But for the progress of the country, for establishing an economic equilibrium with their workers through a just compensation of labor, for maintaining hygienic conditions in the districts where they themselves operate, or for conserving the vast riches of the natural petroleum gases from destruction, they have neither money, nor financial capabilities, nor the desire to subtract the necessary funds from the volume of their profits.

Nor is there money with which to meet a responsibility imposed upon them by judicial verdict, for they rely on their pride and their economic power to shield them from the dignity and sovereignty of a Nation which has generously placed in their hands its vast natural resources and now finds itself unable to obtain the satisfaction of the most elementary obligations by ordinary legal means.

As a logical consequence of this brief analysis, it was therefore necessary to adopt a definite and legal measure to end this permanent state of affairs in which the country sees its industrial progress held back by those who hold in their hands the power to erect obstacles as well as the motive power of all activity and who . . . abuse their economic strength to the point of jeopardizing the very life of a Nation endeavoring to bring about the elevation of its people through its own laws, its own resources, and the free management of its own destinies.

With the only solution to this problem thus placed before it, I ask the entire Nation for moral and material support sufficient to carry out so justified, important, and indispensable a decision. . . .

And, finally, as the fear may arise among the interests now in bitter conflict in the field of international affairs¹ that a deviation of raw materials fundamentally necessary to the struggle in which

¹World War II in Europe was still more than a year away, but the Japanese invasion of China was in full swing, Spain was in the midst of its civil war, and Hitler had just annexed Austria.

the most powerful nations are engaged might result from the consummation of this act of national sovereignty and dignity, we wish to state that our petroleum operations will not depart a single inch from the moral solidarity maintained by Mexico with the democratic nations, whom we wish to

assure that the expropriation now decreed has as its only purpose the elimination of obstacles erected by groups who do not understand the evolutionary needs of all peoples and who would themselves have no compunction in selling Mexican oil to the highest bidder. . . .

China in an Era of Political Disintegration and Revolution

The overthrow of the Qing Dynasty in the revolution of 1911 failed to produce China's long-awaited national revival. In the aftermath of the revolution, Sun Yat-sen and his dreams of democracy were pushed aside by General Yuan Shikai, who ruled the Chinese "republic" as a dictator between 1912 and 1916 and was planning to have himself declared emperor when he died in 1916. After his death, China was carved up by dozens of generally unscrupulous and irresponsible warlords—military strongmen whose local authority was based on their control of private armies and whose grip on China was not completely broken until after the Communists took power in 1949. With a weak national government, the Chinese endured continued Western domination of their coastal cities and were able to offer only feeble resistance when the Japanese conquered Manchuria in 1931 and invaded China itself in 1937. Massive flooding of the Yellow River and widespread famine in north China in the 1920s deepened the people's misery.

With Confucian certainties shattered and China disintegrating, intellectuals intensely debated China's predicament. The 1920s were years of intellectual experiment and inquiry, in which members of study groups, journalists, poets, fiction writers, academics, and students scrutinized what it meant to be Chinese and debated the country's future. Most of these intellectuals rejected traditional Chinese values, customs, and education, arguing that only a sharp break from the past would enable China to stand up to Japan and the West. Most of them believed that China needed to model itself on the West, although what specific Western values and institutions should be borrowed was a matter of debate.

In politics, two revolutionary parties—the Nationalist Party, or Guomindang, and the Chinese Communist Party—competed for support. The Guomindang, led by Sun Yat-sen until his death in 1925, was theoretically dedicated to Sun's "three principles of the people": democracy, nationalism, and livelihood. The party came to be identified with the educated, Western-oriented bourgeoisie of China's coastal cities and in practice, under General Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975), concentrated less on social reform and democracy than on fighting warlords and Communists. The Chinese Communist Party, founded in 1921, was dedicated to Marxism-Leninism,

with its leadership provided by intellectuals and its major support eventually coming from China's rural masses.

Aided by agents of the Soviet Union, the Guomindang and the Communists formed a coalition in 1923 to destroy the warlords. Their combined forces launched the Northern Expedition against the warlords in 1926, but the alliance disintegrated in 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek, buoyed by his early victories and generous financial support from Chinese businessmen, purged the Communists from the army and ordered Guomindang troops in Shanghai to kill Communist leaders who had gathered there. Communist troops and their leaders fled to the countryside, where, under the leadership of Mao Zedong (1893–1976), they rebuilt the party into a formidable military and political force. After a long struggle against the Guomindang and the Japanese, the Communists gained control of China in 1949.

Chinese Nationalism and the May 4th Movement

101 • DENG YINGCHAO, THE SPIRIT OF THE MAY 4TH MOVEMENT

On May 4, 1919, word reached Beijing that the diplomats at the Paris Peace Conference had rejected Chinese demands that the prewar German concessions in Shandong province be returned to Chinese control; instead, they were to be retained by Japan. Incensed by this rebuff from the Western powers, which had welcomed China as an ally in World War I, and resentful of Japan for taking one more piece of Chinese territory, university students in Beijing erupted in anger. Three thousand of them descended on Tiananmen Square, where they shouted slogans, waved banners, attacked a pro-Japanese official, and burned the house of a cabinet minister. The movement spread to universities, and with support from journalists, merchants, and well-known politicians such as Sun Yat-sen, students organized a national boycott of Japanese goods. After the Beijing warlord government attempted to crack down by arresting some 1,500 students in Beijing, the movement gained even more support, with whole factories going on strike and students refusing to attend classes. In response, the arrested Beijing students were released, the cabinet fell, and China refused to sign the Versailles Treaty.

This was more than a one-time victory for China's students. The "May 4th incident" became a national movement, one that made nationalism a part of China's political landscape.

Deng Yingchao was a 16-year-old student at a women's teachers' college in Tianjin when the May 4th demonstrations in Beijing spread to her university. The experience changed her life. Not only did she become a political activist, but she also met her future husband, Zhou Enlai, who served as China's premier and foreign minister after the Communist revolution. She joined the Communist Party in 1924 and was one of the few women who was part of the Long March, the 6,000-mile trek of

Mao Zedong's followers from Jiangxi province to Shaanxi in 1934–1935. After the Communist victory in 1949, she was revered as the nation's "elder sister" and became a member of the party's Central Committee. She weathered numerous political storms and died in Beijing at age 88.

The following excerpt is from an article written by Deng in 1949 in commemoration of the events of May 4, 1919. It captures the hopeful enthusiasm of the young participants in the May 4th movement and conveys the broad significance of the events.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Deng Yingchao's article reveal about the level of enthusiasm among the student protesters? What does it tell us about the students' goals?
2. Aside from the immediate impact of the demonstrations in Beijing, what were the deeper causes of the student protests, according to Deng?
3. What can be gathered from Deng's article about the level of public support for the student protesters in Tianjin?
4. According to Deng, what was the long-term significance of the May 4th movement?
5. Writing from the perspective of 1949, Deng suggests that the Communist movement in China can be traced back to the May 4th movement. To what degree does her recounting of events affirm such an interpretation?

On May 4, 1919, students in Beijing held a demonstration asking the government to refuse to sign the Versailles Peace Treaty and to punish the traitors at home. . . . The following day, when the news reached Tianjin, it aroused the indignation of students there who staged their own demonstrations of May 7th. They then started organizing such patriotic societies as the Tianjin Students Union, the Tianjin Women's Patriotic Society, and the Tianjin Association of National Salvation. We had no political theory to guide us at that time, only our strong patriotic enthusiasm. In addition to the Beijing students' demands, we demanded "Abolish the Twenty-one Demands!"¹ "Boycott Japanese Goods!" "Buy Chinese-Made Goods!" Furthermore, we emphatically refused to become slaves to foreign powers!

Despite the fact that it was a patriotic students' demonstration, the Northern Warlord government resorted to force to quell the protest. The police dispersed the march with rifles fixed with bayonets and sprayed us with hoses; and later resorted to rifle butts and even arrests. However, our political awareness awakened a new spirit in us in our new struggle with the government. New European ideas and culture poured into China after World War I. Also the success of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia brought progressive Marxism-Leninism to China. . . .

What we did know intuitively was that alone, we students did not have enough strength to save China from foreign powers. Therefore, we knew that we "must awaken all our compatriots."

Source: Deng Yingchao, "The Spirit of the May 4 Movement," in *Women of China*, May 1989, pp. 40–42.

¹The Twenty-One Demands, presented to China by Japan in 1915, required China to confirm Japan's claim to the former German concessions in Shandong and various economic

concessions in Manchuria and Mongolia. They also demanded extensive Japanese rights in China itself, including the appointment of Japanese advisors to the Chinese government.

We therefore organized many speakers' committees to spread propaganda among the people. I became the head of the speakers' group in the Tianjin Women's Patriotic Society and in the Tianjin Students Union. Frequently we gave speeches outside the campus. At first, we women dared not to give speeches on the street due to the feudalistic tradition that existed in China then. So the female students went instead to the places where people gathered either for an exhibition or to see a show, while the male students gave speeches in the street to passersby. There were always a lot of listeners. We told them why we should be united to save our country; that traitors in the government must be punished; and that people should have the right to freedom of assembly and association. We talked about the suffering of the Korean people after their country was conquered; and we publicly lodged our protests against the Northern Warlord government that persecutes progressive students. Usually tears streamed down our cheeks when we gave our speeches and our listeners were often visibly moved.

In addition to making speeches we also made home visits to out-of-the-way places or to slum areas. We went door-to-door to give our pleas, and some families gave us a warm welcome, but others just slammed the door on us. However, nothing could discourage us.

We delivered handbills and published newspapers to spread our patriotic enthusiasm even further. *The Paper of the Students Union*, for example, was run by the Tianjin Students Union and each issue sold more than 20,000 copies—a considerable number at that time! It was originally published every three days; however, later it was expanded into a daily newspaper. . . .

The Women's Patriotic Society also published a weekly. Both papers reported foreign and national current events, students' movements across the country, student editorials, progressive articles, and cultural and art news.

The reactionary Northern Warlord government, however, turned a deaf ear to us. They ultimately bowed to Japanese powers, shielded the traitors, and tried to suppress the students' movement. At that time people were denied expressing their patriotic views. So what we then struggled most urgently for was freedom of assembly and association; the right to express one's political views; and for freedom of the press. United under this common goal, we struggled bravely.

> After describing the numerous clashes between students and university and governmental authorities in 1919 and 1920, Deng comments on the broad significance of the May 4th movement.

The women's liberation movement was greatly enhanced by the May 4th Movement; this became an important part of the movement. And slogans such as "sexual equality," "freedom of marriage," "co-educational universities," "social contacts for women," and "job opportunity for women," were put forward.

In Tianjin we merged the men's students union with the women's. Fearing ridicule and that public opinion would be against it, some of the women were hesitant at first. However, the male and female activists among us took the lead and we worked together bravely to overcome all obstacles. In our work, we were equal and we respected each other. . . . Women students, particularly the more progressive ones, worked especially hard for we knew we were pioneers among Chinese women to show that women are not inferior to men. Inspired by the new ideals, among the progressive students men broke with the tradition of sexual discrimination and treated us with respect. . . .

At this time cultural movements were developing rapidly and students were receptive to publications which promoted new ideas. In Beijing, for example, there were *New Youth*, *Young China*,

and *New Tide* magazines. In Tianjin, the Students Union every week would invite a progressive professor . . . to give us an academic lecture on new literary ideas such as how to write in vernacular Chinese rather than in classical stereotyped writings.

Today these things are commonplace, but then it was very new and important.

As more scientific subjects and new ideas poured into China, we felt an urgency to learn, discuss, study, and understand them. Thus by the end of that summer, a smaller and well-organized group—the Awakening Society—was established by 20 of the more progressive activists among us students. . . .

At that time we didn't have a definite political conviction, nor did we know much about Communism. We just had a vague idea that the principle of distribution in the most advantageous society was "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." We knew only that a revolution led by Lenin in Russia had been successful; and that the aim of that revolution was to emancipate the majority of the people who were oppressed, and to established a classless society.

How we did long for such a society! But at that time we could not learn about such a society because we could scarcely find any copy of Lenin's ideas or information about the October Revolution.

The Maoist Version of Marxism

102 • MAO ZEDONG, REPORT ON AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN HUNAN AND STRATEGIC PROBLEMS OF CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Mao Zedong, born into a well-to-do peasant family in Hunan province in 1893, was a university student when he participated in the anti-Qing revolution of 1911. During the next several years, while serving as a library assistant at Beijing University, he embraced Marxism and helped organize the Chinese Communist Party, which was officially founded in 1921. During the 1920s he developed his unique Chinese variant of Marxism, which was based on the premise that peasants, not the urban proletariat, would lead China to socialism.

After the break from the Guomindang in 1927, the Communists took their small army to the remote and hilly region on the Hunan–Jiangxi border, where in 1931 they proclaimed the Chinese Soviet Republic. In 1934, Chiang Kai-shek's troops surrounded the Communists' forces, but as they moved in for the kill, more than 100,000 Communist troops and officials broke their encirclement and embarked on the Long March. This legendary trek lasted more than a year and covered 6,000 miles before a remnant found safety in the remote mountains around Yan'an in northern Shaanxi province. It was here that Mao, now the party's leader, rebuilt his army and readied himself and his followers for what would be 14 more years of struggle against the Japanese and the Guomindang.

The following excerpts are drawn from two of Mao's most important writings. The first, his "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," was written in 1927 after he visited Hunan province to study the activities and accomplishments of peasant associations, groups of peasants who, with the help of Communist organizers, had seized land, humiliated or killed landlords, and taken

control of their communities. In it, Mao seeks to convince other party members that the peasants are the main source of revolution in China. The second excerpt, from his "Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War," is based on a series of lectures delivered at the Red Army College in late 1936. In it, Mao assesses China's military situation and outlines his strategy for victory over the Guomindang through guerrilla warfare.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What specific developments in Hunan province reinforced Mao's convictions about the peasantry as a revolutionary force?
2. What criticisms have been made of the Hunan peasant movement, and how does Mao attempt to counter these criticisms?
3. What can be learned from these two writings about Mao's views of the role of the Communist Party in China's revolutionary struggle?
4. According to Mao, what have been the sources of oppression of the Chinese people? Once these sources of oppression are removed, what will China look like?
5. According to Mao, what are the four unique characteristics of China's revolutionary war, and how do they affect Mao's military strategy?
6. What are the characteristics of Mao's "active defense" as opposed to "passive defense"?
7. How do Mao's ideas about revolution resemble and differ from those of Marx?

Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan [1927]

... All the wrong measures taken by the revolutionary authorities concerning the peasant movement must be speedily changed. Only thus can the future of the revolution be benefited. For the present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into

their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly. . . .

"Yes, peasant associations are necessary, but they are going rather too far." This is the opinion of the middle-of-the-roads. But what is the actual situation? True, the peasants are in a sense "unruly" in the countryside. Supreme in authority, the peasant association allows the landlord no say and sweeps away his prestige. This amounts to striking the landlord down to the dust and keeping him

Source: Mao Zedong, *Selected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1954). Reprinted by permission.

there. . . . People swarm into the houses of local tyrants and evil gentry who are against the peasant association, slaughter their pigs and consume their grain. They even loll for a minute or two on the ivory-inlaid beds belonging to the young ladies in the households of the local tyrants and evil gentry. At the slightest provocation they make arrests, crown the arrested with tall paper-hats, and parade them through the villages, saying, "You dirty landlords, now you know who we are!" . . . This is what some people call "going too far," or "exceeding the proper limits in righting a wrong," or "really too much." Such talk may seem plausible, but in fact it is wrong. First, the local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords have themselves driven the peasants to this. For ages they have used their power to tyrannize over the peasants and trample them underfoot; that is why the peasants have reacted so strongly. . . . Secondly, a revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. A rural revolution is a revolution by which the peasantry overthrows the power of the feudal landlord class. Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years. . . . To put it bluntly, it is necessary to create terror for a while in every rural area. . . .

A man in China is usually subjected to the domination of three systems of authority: (1) the state system, . . . ranging from the national, provincial and county government down to that of the township; (2) the clan system, . . . ranging from the central ancestral temple and its branch temples down to the head of the household; and (3) the supernatural system (religious authority), ranging from the King of Hell down to the town and village gods belonging to the nether world, and from the Emperor of Heaven

down to all the various gods and spirits belonging to the celestial world. As for women, in addition to being dominated by these three systems of authority, they are also dominated by the men (the authority of the husband). These four authorities—political, clan, religious and masculine—are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants. . . .

The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority. With that overturned, the clan authority, the religious authority and the authority of the husband all begin to totter. . . . In many places the peasant associations have taken over the temples of the gods as their offices. Everywhere they advocate the appropriation of temple property in order to start peasant schools and to defray the expenses of the associations, calling it "public revenue from superstition." In Liling County, prohibiting superstitious practices and smashing idols have become quite the vogue. . . .

In places where the power of the peasants is predominant, only the older peasants and the women still believe in the gods, the younger peasants no longer doing so. Since the latter control the associations, the overthrow of religious authority and the eradication of superstition are going on everywhere. As to the authority of the husband, this has always been weaker among the poor peasants because, out of economic necessity, their womenfolk have to do more manual labor than the women of the richer classes and therefore have more say and greater power of decision in family matters. . . . With the rise of the peasant movement, the women in many places have now begun to organize rural women's associations; the opportunity has come for them to lift up their heads, and the authority of the husband is getting shakier every day. In a word, the whole feudal-patriarchal system and ideology is tottering with the growth of the peasants' power.

Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War [1936]

What then are the characteristics of China's revolutionary war?

I think there are four.

The first is that China is a vast semi-colonial country which is unevenly developed both politically and economically. . . .

The unevenness of political and economic development in China—the coexistence of a frail capitalist economy and a preponderant semi-feudal economy; the coexistence of a few modern industrial and commercial cities and the boundless expanses of stagnant rural districts; the coexistence of several millions of industrial workers on the one hand and, on the other, hundreds of millions of peasants and handicraftsmen under the old regime; the coexistence of big warlords controlling the Central government and small warlords controlling the provinces; . . . and the coexistence of a few railway and steamship lines and motor roads on the one hand and, on the other, the vast number of wheel-barrow paths and trails for pedestrians only, many of which are even difficult for them to negotiate. . . .

The second characteristic is the great strength of the enemy.

What is the situation of the Guomindang, the enemy of the Red Army? It is a party that has seized political power and has relatively stabilized it. It has gained the support of the principal counter-revolutionary countries in the world. It has remodeled its army, which has thus become different from any other army in Chinese history and on the whole similar to the armies of the modern states in the world; its army is supplied much more abundantly with arms and other equipment than the Red Army, and is greater in numerical strength than any army in Chinese history. . . .

The third characteristic is that the Red Army is weak and small. . . .

Our political power is dispersed and isolated in mountainous or remote regions, and is deprived of any outside help. In economic and cultural conditions the revolutionary base areas are more backward than the Guomindang areas. The revolutionary bases embrace only rural districts and small towns. . . .

The fourth characteristic is the Communist Party's leadership and the agrarian revolution.

This characteristic is the inevitable result of the first one. It gives rise to the following two features. On the one hand, China's revolutionary war, though taking place in a period of reaction in China and throughout the capitalist world, can yet be victorious because it is led by the Communist Party and supported by the peasantry. Because we have secured the support of the peasantry, our base areas, though small, possess great political power and stand firmly opposed to the political power of the Guomindang which encompasses a vast area; in a military sense this creates colossal difficulties for the attacking Guomindang troops. The Red Army, though small, has great fighting capacity, because its men under the leadership of the Communist Party have sprung from the agrarian revolution and are fighting for their own interests, and because officers and men are politically united.

On the other hand, our situation contrasts sharply with that of the Guomindang. Opposed to the agrarian revolution, the Guomindang is deprived of the support of the peasantry. Despite the great size of its army it cannot arouse the bulk of the soldiers or many of the lower-rank officers. . . . Officers and men are politically disunited and this reduces its fighting capacity. . . .

Military experts of new and rapidly developing imperialist countries like Germany and Japan positively boast of the advantages of strategic offensive and condemn strategic defensive. Such an idea is fundamentally unsuitable for China's revolutionary war. Such military experts point out that the great shortcoming of defense lies in

the fact that, instead of gingering up [enlivening] the people, it demoralizes them. . . . Our case is different. Under the slogan of safeguarding the revolutionary base areas and safeguarding China, we can rally the greatest majority of the people to fight single-mindedly, because we are the victims of oppression and aggression. . . .

In military terms, our warfare consists in the alternate adoption of the defensive and the offensive. . . . It remains a defensive until a campaign of “encirclement and annihilation” is smashed, and then it immediately begins as an offensive; they are but two phases of the same thing, as one campaign of “encirclement and annihilation” of

the enemy is closely followed by another. Of the two phases, the defensive phase is more complicated and more important than the offensive phase. It involves numerous problems of how to smash the campaign of “encirclement and annihilation.” . . .

In the civil war, when the Red Army surpasses the enemy in strength, there will no longer be any use for strategic defensive in general. Then our only directive will be strategic offensive. Such a change depends on an overall change in the relative strength of the enemy and ourselves. The only defensive measures that remain will be of a partial character.

Chapter 13

The Global Community Since 1945

WRITING THE HISTORY of the recent past presents unique challenges for early twenty-first-century historians. Their basic task—getting the facts right and determining “what happened”—is relatively easy. Although the inability of historians to examine certain sealed documents in government archives is an obstacle, this is offset by many advantages. Historians of the recent past have lived through many of the events they are describing, can interview eyewitnesses and participants, and have access to not only information contained in books, newspapers, and government documents but also in films, video recordings, and photographs. Many important documents have been digitized, making it possible to do historical research in front of one’s computer screen rather than in distant archives and libraries.

Writing history, however, requires more than factual accuracy and telling “what happened.” It also entails making interpretations, judging what’s important and what’s trivial, and determining how events fit into patterns and trends. To do these tasks well, historians need a perspective that includes knowledge of what preceded and what followed the events they are discussing. Historians of the recent past, not knowing the future, will always lack this perspective and thus can make only educated guesses about the meaning of recent events.

Consider, for example, the sudden disintegration of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Politicians, journalists, and historians—indeed, everyone who had anything to say about it—agreed at the time that a historic turning point had occurred. The demise of the Soviet Union, they argued, not only ended the Cold War and diminished the threat of nuclear holocaust, it also revealed fatal flaws in communism,

confirmed the triumph of capitalism, and opened up new possibilities for world peace and cooperation. The U.S. political scientist Francis Fukuyama went even further in his book, *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992). To him, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the democratization of its eastern European satellites meant the “end of history.” Liberal democracy and capitalism had proved their superiority to all other ideologies, paving the way for their general acceptance around the globe.

From the perspective of the early twenty-first century, it is unclear how many of these judgments will prove correct. In post-Soviet Russia, democracy has hardly flourished. Under the presidency of Vladimir Putin, who took power in 2000, the government took control of much of the media, stifled unfriendly journalists, and harassed and prosecuted critics. Putin had strong public support and was re-elected with 71 percent of the vote in 2004. Public opinion polls have suggested that Russians have few reservations about his policies and those of his hand-picked successor, Dmitry Medvedev, who was elected in 2008 and promptly named Putin as prime minister. Meanwhile, relations between Russia and the United States and, to a lesser degree, between Russia and the states of Western Europe have not been without tension. Russian leaders have resented Western carping about Russia's democratic failings. They also strongly opposed the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to include many former communist states in eastern Europe and the plan announced by President George W. Bush in 2007 to build a missile-defense system in Central Europe. For their part, U.S. leaders have been aggravated by Russia's meddling in its neighbors' politics, its tepid support for their Middle East policies, and its willingness to use its vast gas and oil reserves as a political weapon. In 2008 the world press proclaimed that the harsh U.S. reaction to the Russian invasion of Georgia brought tensions to a “Cold War level.”

Will the Cold War return? Will Russia remain an authoritarian state? Will some future leader tap the wellsprings of Russian nationalism to launch post-Soviet Russia on a path of conquest and expansion? Or are steps taken by President Obama (the decision to scrap the proposed missile defense system in Central Europe in 2009 and the agreement with President Medvedev to reduce nuclear weapons in 2010) harbingers of improved relations? Until questions such as these are answered, no historian will be able to gauge the true significance of what happened to the Soviet Union in 1991.

What is true of the fall of the Soviet Union also applies to many other recent events and developments. Is the emergence of radical Islam a prelude to a “battle of civilizations” between the West and Islam or a passing phase in Islam's history? What are we to make of the bursting

of the dot.com bubble between 2000 and 2002 and the worldwide economic collapse following the crash of the U.S. housing market in 2008? Are they signs of capitalism's fatal flaws or simply unfortunate bumps in the road toward ever greater prosperity? The stunning reemergence of China as an economic powerhouse raises many questions, the most basic of which is whether its distinctive form of authoritarian capitalism provides a viable alternative to the democratic capitalism of the West.

Many other unanswered questions exist. Are the recent gains of Western women in education, job opportunities, and legal status the first stage toward greater gender equality worldwide or will they remain a uniquely Western phenomenon? Will the environmental movement be hailed as a triumph of human foresight or mourned as something that came too late and accomplished too little? Will Africa lift itself from the curse of economic underdevelopment? No one will be able to answer these and countless other questions for another 50 years or more, and until then it is well to keep in mind the response of Chinese foreign minister Zhou Enlai to a question posed to him about the long-term significance of the French Revolution of 1789 during an interview with U.S. national security advisor Henry Kissinger in the early 1970s: "It's too soon to tell."

The 1950s and 1960s: Cold War Origins and Decolonization

Despite the enormous costs and casualties of World War I, international political relations in the 1920s and 1930s remained essentially what they had been before 1914. Not only did European powers retain their African and Asian colonies, but they also extended their authority into new regions such as the Middle East, where Syria and Lebanon came under control of the French and Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq came under control of the British as a result of the mandate system established at the Paris Peace Conference. With the United States withdrawing into isolationism and the new communist regime in the Soviet Union shunned as a pariah, international affairs continued to be dominated by Great Britain, France, and later Germany. Japan was the only non-European state that could boast of great power status.

The aftermath of World War II was far different. With ruined economies and exhausted populations, European states relinquished their dominance of world affairs to the United States and the Soviet Union, the two states whose size, industrial might, and military strength largely had been responsible for defeating the Axis powers. The unlikely alliance between the democratic, capitalist United States and the totalitarian, communist Soviet Union began to break down, however, in the

closing stages of the war and disintegrated completely after the war ended. The establishment of Soviet-dominated regimes in Eastern and Central Europe and the Soviet Union's annexation of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and parts of Poland confirmed the West's fears about communist designs for world domination. Simultaneously, staunch Western opposition to Soviet expansion reinforced Soviet leaders' conviction that capitalist nations were determined to destroy communism. Out of these mutual fears began the Cold War, the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States that dominated world diplomacy until the late 1980s.

Another symptom of Europe's diminished international role after World War II was the disintegration of its colonial empires. Decolonization had many causes, including the military and financial exhaustion of postwar Britain and France, the expansion and subsequent collapse of Japan's Asian empire, Soviet and U.S. opposition to colonialism, the upsurge of nationalism in the colonies, and the leadership of such men as Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru in India, Sukarno in Indonesia, Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, and many others. By the mid-1960s, just short of 90 former European colonies, most of them in Asia and Africa, had become independent.

European states continued to play an important though secondary role in world affairs in the second half of the twentieth century. After their impressive postwar economic recovery, the people of Europe, especially Western Europe, enjoyed high incomes, excellent health care, and exceptional educational opportunities. But the age of European domination had come to an end.

U.S. Perceptions and Cold War Strategies

103 • NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, UNITED STATES OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY (NSC PAPER NUMBER 68)

Of the thousands of papers, memoranda, reports, and policy statements produced by U.S. officials in the opening stages of the Cold War, two stand out as particularly important. The first, the so-called "Long Telegram," was written in 1946 by career diplomat George Kennan while serving in the U.S. embassy in Moscow. In a telegram to the State Department, Kennan argued that Soviet expansionism and hostility to the outside world were rooted less in Marxism than in a deep sense of Russian inferiority and insecurity. He argued further that the USSR's influence had to be "contained" in areas of vital strategic importance to the United States.

Of equal importance was a report entitled "United States Objectives and Programs for National Security," which was submitted to President Truman in April 1950. It was prepared by the National Security Council, an advisory body to the president that in 1950 consisted of the president himself; the vice-president; the secretaries of state, defense, and the treasury; and the chairman of the National Security Resources Board. Its function was to advise the president on the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to national security.

In early 1950, when the report was being prepared, many of the key events in the Cold War had already occurred. Winston Churchill had warned of the dangers of Soviet expansionism in his famous Iron Curtain speech in March 1946. The Truman Doctrine of 1947 pledged military aid to Greece and Turkey and any other country resisting a communist takeover; the Marshall Plan (1947) sought to blunt the appeal of communism by allocating millions of dollars to rebuild the economies of Western Europe; and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established in 1949 to counter Soviet military strength in Eastern Europe. Although no European countries became communist after Czechoslovakia in 1947, American fears of international communism deepened in 1949, when China became communist and the Soviets detonated their first atomic bomb. Against this background, President Truman approved the formation of an *ad hoc* committee to prepare a position paper on a suitable U.S. response to the perceived communist threat. Under the chairmanship of Paul Nitze, the Director of Policy Planning for the State Department, the committee produced a blueprint for U.S. Cold War strategy in April 1950, two months before the onset of the Korean War.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to this document, how did World War II fundamentally alter diplomatic relationships?
2. What view of the Soviet Union does this document present?
3. According to the report, what is the Soviet strategy for subverting the free world?
4. What does "containment" mean?
5. What must be done to ensure containment's effectiveness?

Within the past thirty-five years the world has experienced two global wars of tremendous violence. . . . During the span of one generation, the international distribution of power has been fundamentally altered. For several centuries it had proved impossible for any one nation to gain such preponderant strength that a coalition of other nations could not in time face it with greater strength. The international scene was marked by recurring periods of violence and war, but a system of sovereign and independent states was maintained, over which no state was able to achieve hegemony.

Two complex sets of factors have now basically altered this historical distribution of power. First,

the defeat of Germany and Japan and the decline of the British and French Empires have interacted with the development of the United States and the Soviet Union in such a way that power has increasingly gravitated to these two centers. Second, the Soviet Union, unlike previous aspirants to hegemony, is animated by a new fanatic faith, antithetical to our own, and seeks to impose its absolute authority over the rest of the world. Conflict has, therefore, become endemic and is waged, on the part of the Soviet Union, by violent or non-violent methods in accordance with the dictates of expediency. . . .

On the one hand, the people of the world yearn for relief from the anxiety arising from the risk of

Source: NSC-68, U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1950*, vol. 1.

atomic war. On the other hand, any substantial further extension of the area under the domination of the Kremlin would raise the possibility that no coalition adequate to confront the Kremlin with greater strength could be assembled. It is in this context that this Republic and its citizens in the ascendancy of their strength stand in their deepest peril.

The issues that face us are momentous, involving the fulfillment or destruction not only of this Republic but of civilization itself. They are issues which will not await our deliberations. With conscience and resolution this Government and the people it represents must now take new and fateful decisions. . . .

Our overall policy at the present time may be described as one designed to foster a world environment in which the American system can survive and flourish. It therefore rejects the concept of isolation and affirms the necessity of our positive participation in the world community.

This broad intention embraces two subsidiary policies. One is a policy which we would probably pursue even if there were no Soviet threat. It is a policy of attempting to develop a healthy international community. The other is the policy of "containing" the Soviet system. . . .

As for the policy of "containment," it is one which seeks by all means short of war to (1) block further expansion of Soviet power, (2) expose the falsities of Soviet pretensions, (3) induce a retraction of the Kremlin's control and influence and (4) in general, so foster the seeds of destruction within the Soviet system that the Kremlin is brought at least to the point of modifying its behavior to conform to generally accepted international standards.

It was and continues to be cardinal in this policy that we possess superior overall power in ourselves or in dependable combination with other like-minded nations. One of the most important ingredients of power is military strength. In the concept of "containment,"

the maintenance of a strong military posture is deemed to be essential for two reasons: (1) as an ultimate guarantee of our national security and (2) as an indispensable backdrop to the conduct of the policy of "containment." . . .

At the same time, it is essential to the successful conduct of a policy of "containment" that we always leave open the possibility of negotiation with the U.S.S.R. A diplomatic freeze—and we are in one now—tends to defeat the very purposes of "containment" because it raises tensions at the same time that it makes Soviet retractions and adjustments in the direction of moderated behavior more difficult. It also tends to inhibit our initiative and deprives us of opportunities for maintaining a moral ascendancy in our struggle with the Soviet system. . . .

It is quite clear from Soviet theory and practice that the Kremlin seeks to bring the free world under its dominion by the methods of the cold war. The preferred technique is to subvert by infiltration and intimidation. Every institution of our society is an instrument which it is sought to stultify and turn against our purposes. Those that touch most closely our material and moral strength are obviously the prime targets, labor unions, civil enterprises, schools, churches, and all media for influencing opinion. The effort is not so much to make them serve obvious Soviet ends as to prevent them from serving our ends, and thus to make them sources of confusion in our economy, our culture, and our body politic. The doubts and diversities that in terms of our values are part of the merit of a free system, the weaknesses and the problems that are peculiar to it, the rights and privileges that free men enjoy, and the disorganization and destruction left in the wake of the last attack on our freedoms, all are but opportunities for the Kremlin to do its evil work. Every advantage is taken of the fact that our means of prevention and retaliation are limited by those principles and scruples which are precisely the ones that give our freedom and democracy its

meaning for us. None of our scruples deter those whose only code is, "morality is that which serves the revolution."

At the same time the Soviet Union is seeking to create overwhelming military force, in order to back up infiltration with intimidation. In the only terms in which it understands strength, it is seeking to demonstrate to the free world that force and the will to use it are on the side of the Kremlin, that those who lack it are decadent and doomed. In local incidents it threatens and encroaches both for the sake of local gains and to increase anxiety and defeatism in all the free world.

The possession of atomic weapons at each of the opposite poles of power, and the inability (for different reasons) of either side to place any trust in the other, puts a premium on a surprise attack against us. It equally puts a premium on a more violent and ruthless prosecution of its design by cold war, especially if the Kremlin is sufficiently objective to realize the improbability of our prosecuting a preventive war. It also puts a premium on piecemeal aggression against others, counting on our unwillingness to engage in atomic war unless we are directly attacked. We run all these risks and the added risk of being confused and immobilized by our inability to weigh and choose, and pursue a firm course based on a rational assessment of each. . . .

Our position as the center of power in the free world places a heavy responsibility upon the United States for leadership. We must organize and enlist the energies and resources of the free world in a positive program for peace which will

frustrate the Kremlin design for world domination by creating a situation in the free world to which the Kremlin will be compelled to adjust. Without such a cooperative effort, led by the United States, we will have to make gradual withdrawals under pressure until we discover one day that we have sacrificed positions of vital interest. . . .

In summary, we must, by means of a rapid and sustained build-up of the political, economic, and military strength of the free world, and by means of an affirmative program intended to wrest the initiative from the Soviet Union, confront it with convincing evidence of the determination and ability of the free world to frustrate the Kremlin design of a world dominated by its will. Such evidence is the only means short of war which eventually may force the Kremlin to abandon its present course of action and to negotiate acceptable agreements on issues of major importance.

The whole success of the proposed program hangs ultimately on recognition by this Government, the American people, and all free peoples, that the cold war is in fact a real war in which the survival of the free world is at stake. Essential prerequisites to success are consultations with Congressional leaders designed to make the program the object of nonpartisan legislative support, and a presentation to the public of a full explanation of the facts and implications of the present international situation. The prosecution of the program will require of us all the ingenuity, sacrifice, and unity demanded by the vital importance of the issue and the tenacity to persevere until our national objectives have been attained.

Soviet Goals and Strategies in the 1950s

104 • NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, SPEECH AT RECEPTION FOR MILITARY ACADEMY GRADUATES, NOVEMBER 1958

Under Joseph Stalin, postwar Soviet foreign policy was characterized by unbending opposition to the West, relentless propaganda, and willingness to risk military confrontation. After Stalin's death in 1953 and a brief period of collective leadership,

Soviet policy took a new turn in 1955 when Nikita Khrushchev assumed control of the party and government.

Born in 1894, Khrushchev became a Bolshevik in 1918 and fought in the Red Army during the civil war. He attended a technical school and moved up the party ladder through positions in Moscow and Ukraine; and after World War II he became a member of the Politburo, the decision-making committee at the top of the Communist hierarchy. On becoming party secretary and premier in the mid-1950s, Khrushchev softened some of the harshest aspects of Stalin's dictatorship at home and pursued peaceful coexistence in foreign affairs. The doctrine of peaceful coexistence maintained that socialism's triumph over capitalism would result from economic, technological, and scientific competition, not warfare. Although Khrushchev did not hesitate to use military force against the anticommunist revolt in Hungary in 1956, he sought to improve East-West relations by meeting with Western leaders, visiting Europe and the United States, and publicly supporting disarmament. After several years of bad agricultural harvests and his humiliating withdrawal of missiles from Cuba in 1962, he fell from power in 1964 and retired to his villa outside Moscow, where he died in 1971.

The following excerpt is taken from a speech Khrushchev delivered in November 1958 at a reception for graduates of the Soviet Union's military academies. It shows that even while supporting peaceful coexistence, he harbored deep hostility toward the Soviet Union's Cold War rivals.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Khrushchev, what are the aims of Soviet foreign policy?
2. Why, according to Khrushchev, is it necessary for the Soviet Union to maintain a large military establishment?
3. What, according to Khrushchev, is the overall goal of the capitalist nations?
4. How does Khrushchev interpret the West's policy toward the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia?
5. Why is Khrushchev convinced that the Soviet Union and communism will triumph over the United States and capitalism?
6. How does the image of the Soviet Union portrayed by Khrushchev differ from the image described in NSC-68 (source 103)?

Comrades,

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government, all our people, are doing everything to maintain the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union at the necessary standard and to equip them with the latest weapons. But we are not doing it to prepare

our Army for any wars of conquest, as the imperialists try to insinuate. By attributing aggressive aims to the Soviet Union, our enemies betray their own ambition of organizing military campaigns against peaceful countries and gaining predatory imperialist domination over the world.

Source: From Nikita Khrushchev, *For Victory in Peaceful Competition with Capitalism* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1960), 749–757.

We have no aggressive aims whatsoever. The Soviet people have been brought up on the grand ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of respect for the freedom and independence of all countries, the spirit of international friendship. We proceed from the fact that there are no unpopulated countries, and that for this reason conquering a country or territory is tantamount to enslaving its people and exploiting them and their wealth. This goes entirely against our ideology, the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism. . . .

We know our strength very well. The socialist camp is now strong and powerful as never before. Yet we cannot disregard the strength of the imperialist camp. The ruling circles in the imperialist countries see what formidable economic and cultural progress has been made in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and all the socialist countries.

The imperialists would like to halt the development of the socialist countries by means of war. They would like thereby to check or completely destroy the socialist trend in social development, so as to preserve their domination, to preserve the capitalist system.

Not to be caught by surprise, to keep the aggressive forces at arm's length from the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, to discourage the imperialists from using war as a means of settling the ideological controversy between socialism and capitalism, we must see to it that our Armed Forces are always ready to repel the aggressor, and to rout him. (*Prolonged applause.*) . . .

Comrades, we live at the wonderful time when the scientific foresight of our great teachers, Marx and Lenin, about the triumph of socialism over moribund capitalism is coming true and the disgraceful colonial system is in the act of collapsing. The peoples in the colonial countries are emerging

from centuries of colonial oppression and fighting stubbornly to become masters of their destiny, their national wealth.

The imperialists are going to all lengths to preserve their domination and keep the colonial countries in a state of dependence. They are looking for new forms of keeping the peoples of economically underdeveloped countries dependent upon them. They are building up aggressive pacts and alliances, such as NATO, the Baghdad Pact, SEATO,¹ and others. With this object U.S. and British imperialists conclude diverse bilateral treaties and military agreements with a number of countries.

But all these pacts, blocs, and agreements are nothing but an artfully camouflaged form of the same old imperialist policy of keeping these countries in complete subjection to the principal imperialist Powers under the pretext of defending them from the "communist threat," and paralyzing the struggle of their peoples for liberation from colonialists, from these dyed-in-the-wool imperialist exploiters.

The imperialists stop at nothing to appropriate the resources of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. Aided by venal men occupying high government posts in some of the dependent countries, the imperialists try to drag these countries into their own camp so they should themselves help the imperialists in shoring up rotten and corrupt regimes and keep the peoples in the dependencies in colonial slavery. . . .

At present the rulers of some capitalist countries agree to unequal treaties with the United States. But to conceal this in some way, they claim that these treaties are allegedly defensive and a safeguard against the Soviet threat, although it is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has never threatened anyone, and does not threaten anyone now. Our enemies harp on some Soviet "threat,"

¹All of these were regional collective security organizations designed to halt Soviet aggression. An attack on one member was to be construed as an attack on all. NATO (North Atlantic

Treaty Organization) was founded in 1949; SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) was founded in 1954; the Baghdad Pact (Middle Eastern Treaty Organization) was signed 1955.

while the kings and rulers of certain states have something else in mind. What they fear is their own peoples, and they want the United States to back them, to protect them from the righteous wrath of the people. . . .

In hammering together their military blocs, the imperialists do not conceal their aggressive designs. Generals in countries that are party to these aggressive blocs often make provocative statements against the peaceful nations. Recently, Field Marshal Montgomery² known for his inflammatory statements and attacks upon the Soviet Union, retired from the post of Deputy Supreme Commander of NATO Armed Forces in Europe. Now he has been replaced by another Englishman, General Gale.³ No sooner had he assumed his duties than he adopted the methods of his predecessor. . . . He bragged brazenly about the possibilities of military adventures against the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. Among other things, he extolled in every way the modern means of communication and the air power of the NATO countries. In the past, Gale declared, it took eight hours to connect Paris and Oslo, whereas now it takes just a few seconds. In the past the Western armed forces had just so many airfields, he said, whereas now they have so and so many bases. . . .

We have said repeatedly that it is best to cease these inflammatory speeches, which cause alarm and fear in people. It would be far more sensible to work for a settlement of controversial issues by negotiation, barring threats, let alone the use of weapons, so that people could live peacefully and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

But statesmen of the more aggressive imperialist groups carry on their notorious policy "from positions of strength." Recently Mr. Dulles⁴ declared

again in a speech that the Western Powers were prepared to use armed force to retain control of West Berlin. . . .

Mr. Dulles likes to refer to God in his speeches. If he is really a pious man, we should recommend under the circumstances that he go to church and pray that God give him, a man in a high post, the patience and intelligence to get his proper bearings in the international situation and not to abuse his standing, not to frighten people, but to strive for a sensible settlement of controversial issues without resort to threats of war. (*Applause.*)

High-ranking statesmen such as Mr. Dulles must not liken themselves to a duellist who reaches instantly for his sword or pistol in an argument. They would do well to bear in mind that the partner whom they want to attack, apparently has the same, and perhaps an even more powerful and dangerous weapon. (*Prolonged applause.*) . . .

While encircling the Soviet Union with their military bases, the American imperialists like to use the language of chess players. They often say that they want to check us, that is, to put us in a difficult position. But it must be borne in mind that if one side wants to check, the other side might, for its part, also declare check, and even checkmate. (*Stormy applause.*) . . .

Our seven-year plan⁵ has set grand tasks. The time is not far distant when we shall catch up to the United States in per capita production of key industrial items. Our country will achieve the highest living standard and have the world's shortest working day.

To use a figure of speech, we are putting everything projected in our seven-year plan on the scales. Let the capitalists give the working people all that has been, and soon will be, achieved in the socialist countries. But the capitalist system

²Bernard Law Montgomery (1887–1976) was a British general in World War II and served as deputy supreme allied commander of NATO from 1953 to 1958.

³Sir Richard N. Gale (1896–1982) was a British career officer who served in both world wars. He was deputy to the NATO supreme Allied commander in Europe from 1958 to 1967.

⁴John Foster Dulles (1888–1959) was secretary of state under Eisenhower. A staunch anticommunist, he was architect of anti-Soviet alliances and stated he would "go to the brink" of war to halt communist aggression.

⁵The Soviet Union's recently adopted economic plan.

cannot give the working people, the whole nation, what the socialist system can give.

We want the people to choose for themselves what suits them best, what system accords with the fundamental interests of the toilers and what system gives some the opportunity of enriching themselves by exploiting and plundering others. We are sure that the peoples will make the right

choice. All peoples will choose the path charted by Marxism-Leninism. (*Stormy applause.*)

The future is with us, with socialism, with communism! We have created all the conditions we need to advance with giant strides along the road shown us by Marx and Lenin—the road to communism. And no hostile forces will stop our advance! (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

Great Britain Lets Go of India

105 • DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 4 AND 5, 1947

A turning point in the dismantling of Europe's empires took place in August 1947 when the Indian people gained independence from Great Britain and the new states of India and Pakistan were created. After the greatest imperial power released its hold on the "jewel in the crown" of its empire, nationalist leaders throughout Asia and Africa demanded equal treatment, and European politicians found it more difficult to justify continued colonial rule elsewhere.

British and Indian leaders had debated the timing and framework of Indian independence for decades, but World War II brought the issue to a head. Many Indians, still embittered by the meager benefits they had received for their sacrifices in World War I, showed little enthusiasm for the British cause in World War II. In 1942, after Japan's conquest of Southeast Asia, the British government sent Sir Stafford Cripps to Delhi to offer India dominion status after the war if the leaders of the independence movement, Gandhi and Jinnah, would support the war against Japan. Negotiations broke down, however, leading Gandhi to launch the "Quit India" movement, his last nationwide passive resistance campaign against British rule. Anti-British feeling intensified in 1943 when a disastrous famine took between 1 million and 3 million lives and the pro-Japanese Indian National Army, organized by Subhas Bose, declared war on Great Britain.

A shift in postwar British politics also affected India's future. The 1945 elections initiated six years of rule by the Labour Party, which had less enthusiasm for the idea of empire than the Conservatives. In the face of mounting restiveness in India, Prime Minister Clement Attlee dispatched a three-person mission to India in early 1946 charged with preserving Indian unity in the face of growing Hindu-Muslim antagonism and arranging for India's independence as soon as possible. Although Hindus and Muslims could not reconcile their differences, on February 20, 1947, the Labour government announced its plan to end British rule in India no later than June 1948.

This led to an emotional two-day debate in Parliament in which Conservatives and some Liberals argued that independence should be delayed. Labour had a strong majority, however, and in March 1947, Parliament approved its plan. At midnight on

August 14–15, 1947, predominantly Hindu India and predominantly Muslim Pakistan became independent states.

The following excerpts are from the parliamentary debates of March 4 and 5, 1947. All the speakers are opposing a proposal by Sir John Anderson, a Liberal representing the Scottish universities, that Great Britain should promise independence by June 1948 but withdraw the offer and require further negotiations if a suitable Hindu–Muslim agreement could not be achieved.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What were the points of disagreement among members of Parliament about the benefits and harm of British colonial rule in India?
2. Some speakers who believed that British colonialism had benefited India still supported independence. Why?
3. The critics of British rule in India supported immediate independence. What was their line of argument?
4. According to the speakers, what military and economic realities make it impractical to continue British rule in India?
5. How do the speakers view developments in India as part of broader historical trends?
6. Most of the speakers were members of the Labour Party and thus sympathetic to socialism. What examples of socialist perspectives can you find in their speeches?

MR. CLEMENT DAVIES¹ (MONTGOMERY) It is an old adage now, that “the old order changeth, yielding place to new,” but there has been a more rapid change from the old to the new in our time than ever before. We have witnessed great changes in each one of the five Continents, and for many of those changes this country and its people have been directly or indirectly responsible. . . . In all the lands where the British flag flies, we have taught the peoples the rule of law and the value of justice impartially administered. We have extended knowledge, and tried to inculcate understanding and toleration.

Our declared objects were twofold—first, the betterment of the conditions of the people and the improvement of their standard of life; and, second, to teach them the ways of good administration

and gradually train them to undertake responsibility so that one day we could hand over to them the full burden of their own self-government. Our teachings and our methods have had widespread effect, and we should rejoice that so many peoples in the world today are awake, and aware of their own individualities, and have a desire to express their own personalities and their traditions, and to live their own mode of life. . . . Our association with India during two centuries has been, on the whole—with mistakes, as we will admit—an honorable one. So far as we were able we brought peace to this great sub-continent; we have introduced not only a system of law and order, but also a system of administration of justice, fair and impartial, which has won their respect. . . . We have tried to inculcate into them the feeling that

Source: *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 434 (London: His Majesty's Printing Office, 1947).

¹A London lawyer (1884–1962). A Liberal Member of Parliament (MP) from 1929 until the time of his death.

although they are composed of different races, with different languages, customs, and religions, they are really part of one great people of India.

The standard of life, pathetically low as it is, has improved so that during the last 30 years there has been an increase in the population of 100 million and they now number 400 million people. We have brought to them schools, universities, and teachers, and we have not only introduced the Indians into the Civil Service but have gradually handed over to them, in the Provinces and even in the Central Government, the administration and government of their own land and their own people. . . . Then in 1946, there was the offer of complete independence, with the right again, if they so chose, of contracting in and coming back within the British Commonwealth of Nations.²

I agree that these offers were made subject to the condition that the Indian peoples themselves would co-operate to form a Central Government and draw up not only their own Constitution, but the method of framing it. Unfortunately, the leaders of the two main parties in India have failed to agree upon the formation of even a Constituent Assembly, and have failed, therefore, to agree upon a form of Constitution. . . .

What are the possible courses that could be pursued? . . . The first of the courses would be to restore power into our own hands so that we might not only have the responsibility but the full means of exercising that responsibility. I believe that that is not only impossible but unthinkable at this present stage. . . . Secondly, can we continue, as we do at present, to wait until an agreement is reached for the formation of a Central Government with a full Constitution, capable of acting on behalf

of the whole of India? The present state of affairs there and the deterioration which has already set in—and which has worsened—have shown us that we cannot long continue on that course.

The third course is the step taken by His Majesty's Government—the declaration made by the Government that we cannot and do not intend in the slightest degree to go back upon our word, that we do not intend to damp the hopes of the Indian peoples but rather to raise them, and that we cannot possibly go on indefinitely as we have been going on during these past months; that not only shall they have the power they now really possess but after June 1948, the full responsibility for government of their own peoples in India. . . .

MR. SORESENSEN³ (LEYTON, WEST) I have considerable sympathy with the hon. and gallant Member for Ayr Burghs (Sir T. Moore),⁴ because, politically, he has been dead for some time and does not know it. His ideas were extraordinarily reminiscent of 50 years ago, and I do not propose, therefore, to deal with so unpleasant and decadent a subject. When he drew attention to the service we have rendered to India—and we have undoubtedly rendered service—he overlooked the fact that India has had an existence extending for some thousands of years before the British occupation, and that during that period she managed to run schools, establish a chain of rest houses, preserve an economy, and reach a high level of civilization, when the inhabitants of these islands were in a condition of barbarism and savagery. One has only to discuss such matters with a few representative Indians to realize that they can draw up a fairly powerful indictment of the evil we have taken to India as well as the good. . . .

²The British Commonwealth of Nations was founded by Parliament in 1931 through the Statute of Westminster. It is a free association of nations comprising Great Britain and a number of its former dependencies that have chosen to maintain ties of friendship and practical cooperation. Members acknowledge the British monarch as the symbolic head

of their association. Since 1946 it has been known as the Commonwealth of Nations.

³A clergyman (1884–1971). A Labour MP from 1929 to 1931 and from 1939 to 1954.

⁴A Conservative MP (1929–1962) who had just spoken against the government's plan for Indian independence.

Whatever may have been the origin of the various problems in India, or the degree of culpability which may be attached to this or that party or person, a situation now confronts us which demands decision. . . . That is why, in my estimation, the Government are perfectly right to fix a date for the transference of power. . . . Responsibility is ultimately an Indian matter. Acute problems have existed in India for centuries, and they have not been solved under our domination. Untouchability, the appalling subjugation of women, the division of the castes, the incipient or actual conflict between Muslim and Hindu—all those and many others exist.

I do not forget what is to me the most terrible of all India's problems, the appalling poverty. It has not been solved by us, although we have had our opportunity. On the contrary, in some respects we have increased that problem, because, despite the contributions that we have made to India's welfare, we have taken a great deal of wealth from India in order that we ourselves might enjoy a relatively higher standard of life. Can it be denied that we have benefited in the past substantially by the ignorant, sweated labor of the Indian people? We have not solved those social problems. The Indians may not solve them either. There are many problems that the Western world cannot solve, but at least, those problems are India's responsibility. Indians are more likely, because they are intimate with their own problems, to know how to find their way through those labyrinths than we, who are, to the Indian but aliens and foreigners.

Here I submit a point which surely will receive the endorsement of most hon. Members of this House. It is that even a benevolent autocracy can be no substitute for democracy and liberty. . . .

I would therefore put two points to the House tonight. Are we really asked by hon. Members

on the other side to engage in a gamble, first by continuing as we are and trying to control India indefinitely, with the probability that we should not succeed and that all over India there would be rebellion, chaos, and breakdown? Secondly, are we to try to reconquer India and in doing so, to impose upon ourselves an economic burden which we could not possibly afford? How many men would be required to keep India quiet if the great majority of the Indians were determined to defy our power? I guarantee that the number would not be fewer than a million men, with all the necessary resources and munitions of war.

Are we to do this at a time when we are crying out for manpower in this country, when in the mines, the textile industry, and elsewhere we want every man we can possibly secure? There are already 1,500,000 men under arms. To talk about facing the possibility of governing and policing India and keeping India under proper supervision out of our own resources is not only nonsense, but would provide the last straw that breaks the camel's back. . . .

FLIGHT-LIEUTENANT CRAWLEY⁵ (BUCKINGHAM) Right hon. and hon. Members opposite, who envisage our staying in India, must have some idea of what type of rule we should maintain. A fact about the Indian services which they seem to ignore is that they are largely Indianized. Can they really expect the Services, Indianized to the extent of 80 or 90 percent, to carry out their policy any longer? Is it not true that in any situation that is likely to arise in India now, if the British remain without a definite date being given for withdrawal, every single Indian member of the Services, will, in the mind of all politically conscious Indians become a political collaborator? We have seen that in Palestine where Arab hates Arab and Jew hates Jew if they think they are collaborating with the British.⁶ How could we get

⁵An educator and journalist (1908–1992) who served in the Royal Air Force during World War II. A Labour MP from 1945 to 1951.

the Indianized part of the Services to carry out a policy which, in the view of all political Indians, is anti-Indian? The only conceivable way in which we could stay even for seven years in India would be by instituting a type of rule which we in this country abhor more than any other—a purely dictatorial rule based upon all the things we detest most, such as an informative police, not for an emergency measure, but for a long period and imprisonment without trial. . . .

MR. HAROLD DAVIES⁷ (LEEK) . . . I believe that India is the pivot of the Pacific Ocean area. All the peoples of Asia are on the move. Can we in this House, by wishful thinking, sweep aside this natural desire for independence, freedom, and nationalism that has grown in Asia from Karachi

to Peking,⁸ from Karachi to Indonesia and Indo-China? That is all part of that movement, and we must recognize it. I am not a Utopian. I know that the changeover will not be easy. But there is no hon. Member opposite who has given any concrete, practical alternative to the decision, which has been made by my right hon. friends. What alternative can we give?

This little old country is tottering and wounded as a result of the wars inherent in the capitalist system. Can we, today, carry out vast commitments from one end of the world to another? Is it not time that we said to those for whom we have spoken so long, "The time has come when you shall have your independence. That time has come; the moment is here"?

⁷The British were attempting to extricate themselves from Palestine, which they had received as a mandate after World War I and was the scene of bitter Arab-Jewish rivalry (see source 95).

⁸An author and educator (1904–1984). A Labour MP from 1959 to 1964.

⁹Karachi, a port city on the Arabian Sea, was soon to become Pakistan's first capital city.

Problems and Prospects of Postcolonial Asia and Africa, 1960s–1980s

As one colony after another achieved independence in the 1950s and 1960s, euphoria swept across Africa and Asia. All the indignities of colonialism and all the ways it had branded colonized peoples with the mark of inferiority could now be forgotten. With a unity of purpose forged in the struggle against colonial rule, leaders and common people alike were ready to show the world they could govern themselves effectively. Their economic outlook was no less optimistic: with the heavy hand of the colonial master lifted from their economies, they anticipated rapid economic development and the alleviation of poverty.

Many of these states have achieved their dreams. But in the first three decades of independence, most experienced more difficulties and disappointments than anyone could have imagined at the time of independence. Many were nations in name only, with boundaries drawn by European administrators during the colonial

era without regard for cultural affinities, ethnic groupings, religious traditions, and economic viability. Throughout much of Asia and Africa, shallow national loyalties were undermined by regionalism and ethnic conflict, and soon civil wars and military coups took their toll on democratic governments. With some notable exceptions, such as India, the norm became one-party dictatorships, which at best were controlled by nationalist leaders with the interests of their countrymen at heart, but at their worst were dominated by venal, short-sighted, even genocidal leaders who enriched themselves and their henchmen while their nations' economies crumbled. In some parts of Africa lawlessness, random violence, and warlordism overwhelmed even the dictators, and effective government essentially disappeared.

Economic development in the early stages of independence also came slowly. In the 1960s and 1970s, South Korea and Taiwan, former colonies of Japan, and Singapore and Hong Kong, former colonies of Great Britain, became major industrial and financial powers, but the spectacular success of these four "Asian Tigers" was unique. Elsewhere, oil-rich states in the Persian Gulf, Middle East, and Nigeria generated huge revenues in oil sales but failed to develop the balanced economies needed to improve their people's standard of living or provide a foundation for lasting economic growth. In India, agricultural and industrial growth occurred but not fast enough to keep pace with its rising population, while in Africa, low rates of literacy, lack of infrastructure, and political instability doomed most of the continent to minimal economic growth and deepening poverty.

In their efforts to provide economic growth and political order for their citizens, the approximately 100 new independent nations that emerged from the 1940s through the late 1970 faced different obstacles, undertook different strategies, and achieved varying results. The sources that follow in this section provide insights into some of their experiences.

The Colonial Legacy: Ethnic Tensions in Nigeria

106 • C. ODUMEGWU OJUKWU, SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Political challenges for the newly independent states of sub-Saharan Africa were daunting: poor communications, low literacy levels, peasant resistance to taxation by distant governments, underdeveloped economies, arbitrary national boundaries, and unrealistically high expectations. Overshadowing everything else, however, was the persistence of strong local and ethnic loyalties that led people to judge national policies by the narrow standard of how they benefited one's region or tribe. In the Republic of Congo (soon to be renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo and later Zaire), rebellion and civil war broke out in January 1960, literally within hours of the formal end of Belgian rule. Newly independent Nigeria held together longer,

but it too fell victim to civil war in 1967, when the eastern province of Biafra declared its independence.

When Nigeria became independent in 1960, its constitution was the product of protracted deliberations involving British administrators and representatives of the colony's major ethnic groups, the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba, and the Igbo. It established a central government with a prime minister and legislature and three provinces with extensive powers: the Northern Region, which was dominated by the Hausa-Fulani and was overwhelmingly Muslim; the Western Region, which was dominated by the Yoruba and was Protestant; and the Eastern Region, which was dominated by the Igbo and was mainly Roman Catholic. Denouncing corruption and the government's failure to address mounting economic problems, army officers, mostly Igbo, led a *coup d'état* in 1966 and then created a strong centralized national government at the expense of Nigeria's provinces. This angered the Hausa-Fulani and the Yoruba, who feared that the more highly educated and economically sophisticated Igbo would dominate the new regime. The result was another coup, led by Yakuba Gowon, an army officer from the Northern Region, and massacres of Igbo living outside the Eastern Region. The Eastern Region refused to recognize the new government and declared itself the independent Republic of Biafra in May 1967.

The leader of the Biafran independence movement was Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, who was born into a wealthy Igbo family and educated in England, where he received a master's degree in history from Oxford. He rose through the ranks of the Nigerian army and in 1967 became head of state and army commander-in-chief of newly independent Biafra. Immediately attacked by Nigerian forces, Biafra held out until 1970, when Ojukwu capitulated and fled to Guinea. Yakuba Gowon now ruled a reunited Nigeria, which he divided into 12 provinces rather than 3 to defuse ethnic conflict. For the next two decades, except between 1979 and 1983, Nigeria was ruled by military dictators.

The following excerpts are from General Ojukwu's speeches and writings from 1966 to 1969. They reveal his views of Nigeria's history and politics and his thoughts on the meaning of Biafran independence.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In Ojukwu's opinion, how did the British and the Northern Nigerians contribute to the problems of the Nigerian state?
2. What characteristics define the people of Eastern Nigeria, in Ojukwu's view?
3. According to Ojukwu, what have been the major flaws of the Nigerian government since independence? How will the new state of Biafra avoid these shortcomings?
4. What specific reasons does Ojukwu provide for the decision of Eastern Nigerians to secede?
5. What does Ojukwu see as the broader significance of the Biafran independence movement?

The Background of a Crisis

The constitutional arrangements of Nigeria, as imposed upon the people by the erstwhile British rulers, were nothing but an implicit acceptance of the fact that there was no basis for Nigerian unity.

It was Britain, first, that amalgamated the country in 1914, unwilling as the people of the North were.¹ It was Britain that forced a federation of Nigeria, even when the people of the North objected to it very strongly. It was Britain, while keeping Nigeria together, that made it impossible for the people to know themselves and get close to each other, by maintaining an apartheid policy in Northern Nigeria which herded all Southerners into little reserves, barring them from Northern Nigerian schools, and maintaining different systems of justice in a country they claimed to be one.²

It was Britain, for her economic interest, that put the various nations in Nigeria side by side and called it a federation, so as to have a large market. . . .

On October 1, 1960, independence was granted to the people of Nigeria in a form of "federation," based on artificially made units. The Nigerian Constitution installed the North in perpetual dominance over Nigeria. . . . Thus were sown, by design or by default, the seeds of factionalism and hate, of struggle for power at the center, and of the worst types of political chicanery and abuse of power. One of two situations was bound to result from that arrangement: either perpetual domination of the rest of the country by the North . . . or a dissolution of the federation bond. . . .

Nigeria in the end came to be run by compromises made and broken between the Northerners

and consenting Southern politicians. This led to interminable violent crises, to corruption and nepotism, and to the arbitrary use of power. . . .

Key projects in the National Development Plan were not pursued with necessary vigor. Instead of these, palaces were constructed for the indulgence of ministers and other holders of public offices—men supposed to serve the interest of the common man. Expensive fleets of flamboyant and luxurious cars were purchased. Taxpayers' money was wasted on unnecessary foreign travel by ministers, each competing with the other only in their unbridled excesses.

. . . Internal squabbles for parochial and clanish patronage took the place of purposeful coordinated service of the people. Land, the basic heritage of the people, was converted into the private estates of rapacious individuals who, thus trampling on the rights of the people, violated their sacred trust under this system. . . . Nepotism became rife. Tribalism became the order of the day. In appointments and promotions mere lip service was paid to honesty and hard work.

Grievances of the Eastern Nigerians

In the old Federation some of you here will remember quite vividly what the contribution of the people from this area, now known as Biafra, was to the betterment of the areas in which we chose to reside and believed was our country. Socially we gave our best in Nigeria. Politically, we led the struggle for independence and sustained it. Economically, the hope of Nigeria was embedded deeply in this area and we contributed everything for the common good of Nigeria.

Source: Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, Biafra: Selected Speeches and Random Thoughts of C. Odumegwu Ojukwu, with Diaries of Events (New York: Harper & Row, 1969). Copyright © 1969, renewed 1997 by Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. Reprinted by permission of Harper-Collins Publisher.

¹The provinces of Northern and Southern Nigeria were brought under a common administration by Sir Frederick

Lugard, governor-general of Nigeria between 1912 and 1919.

²Many Eastern Nigerians had moved to other parts of the country, mainly to pursue business opportunities. Many believed they were treated as second-class citizens, especially in the Muslim north.

Our people moved from this area to all parts of the old Federation, and particularly to Northern Nigeria. Where there was darkness we gave them light! In Northern Nigeria, where they had no shelter we gave them houses. Where they were sick, as indeed most Northerners are, we brought them health. Where there was backwardness we brought progress. And where there was ignorance we brought them education. As a result of all this, we became people marked out in the various communities in which we lived.

Initially we were marked out as people who were progressive. Next, as people who were successful. Finally as people who should be the object of jealousy—people who were to be hated, and this hatred arose as a result of our success. . . . We were relegated to the position of second-class citizens and later to slavery—yes, slavery—because as we worked, our masters enjoyed the fruits of our labor.

We reached a stage where the people from this part were fast losing their identity. They hid away the fact that they came from this area. . . .

The Northern attitude is the attitude of horse and rider. . . . We were carrying the North physically, economically, and in every other way. For all that we received no thanks. They only got furious if we did not travel fast enough. Then they would kick. But, for every mule there comes a time when it bucks and says, "No, I will carry no more." We have bucked. We will carry Northern Nigeria no more!

The New Biafran Society

Born out of the gruesome murders and vandalism of yesterday, Biafra has come to stay as a historical reality. We believe that the future we face and our battle for survival cannot be won by bullets alone, but by brainpower, modern skills, and the determination to live and succeed. . . .

Nepotism and tribalism are twin evils. I believe that these can be avoided if we set about making sure that every appointment in our society is based on one and only one criterion—merit. We should ensure that this term "merit" is no

munbo-jumbo. It should be something that is obvious for everyone to see: that is, when you have given somebody a job, the reason for giving that job to that person in preference to others must be generally clear. . . .

Tribalism is, perhaps, more deeply rooted. . . . When I first came to this area as the military governor, one of the first things I did was to erase tribe from all public documents. We are all Biafrans. "Where do you come from?" you are asked, and the answer is simple: "I come from Biafra." The government must not emphasize tribal origin if it is trying to stamp out tribalism. . . .

Every effort should be made by future governments to educate our people away from tribalism. I would like to see movement of people across tribal frontiers. The government should encourage people to move from their own areas to be educated elsewhere. Yes, I would even go further to support government measures to encourage intertribal marriages. . . . It is only a gesture, but if the government really believes that tribalism could be wiped out, something like a bounty should be given to that young man who marries across tribe, to show that the government appreciates what he has done. . . .

I see a new breed of men and women, with new moral and spiritual values, building a new society—a renescent and strong Biafra.

I see the realization of all our cherished dreams and aspirations in a revolution which will not only guarantee our basic freedoms but usher in an era of equal opportunity and prosperity for all.

I see the evolution of a new democracy in Biafra as we advance as partners in our country's onward march to her destiny.

When I look into the future, I see Biafra transformed into a fully industrialized nation, wastelands and slums giving way to throbbing industrial centers and cities. . . .

I see agriculture mechanized by science and technology. . . .

I see a Republic knit with arteries of roads and highways; a nation of free men and women

dedicated to the noble attributes of justice and liberty for which our youth have shed their blood; a people with an art and literature rich and unrivaled.

I am sure all Biafrans share these hopes for our country's future and destiny. . . . We are building a society which will destroy the myth that the black man cannot organize his own society.

. . . We are taking our rightful place in the world as human beings. . . . The black man cannot

progress until he can point at a progressive black society. Until a society, a virile society entirely black, is established, the black man, whether he is in America, whether he is in Africa, will never be able to take his place side by side with the white man. We have the unique opportunity today of breaking our chains.

. . . We owe it, therefore, to Africa not to fail. Africa needs a Biafra. Biafra is the breaking of the chains. . . .

The Challenge of Religious Rivalries: Two Competing Visions of India

107 • JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, "A SECULAR STATE" AND GIRILAL JAIN, EDITORIALS FROM THE INDIAN SUNDAY TIMES

Religious tension between India's majority Hindus and smaller communities of Muslims and Sikhs divided India's political leaders in the 1930s and early 1940s; set off communal rioting that caused the deaths of tens of thousands in 1946; and ultimately led to the founding of two separate states, predominantly Muslim Pakistan and predominantly Hindu India, after the end of British rule in August 1947. In the year following independence, as many as 14 million Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs crossed borders to escape entrapment in a state that was hostile to their faith. Newly formed governments were unable to deal with migrations of such staggering magnitude, and massive violence and slaughter occurred on both sides of the border. As many as 500,000 deaths may have occurred.

Despite partition and the mass migrations of 1947 and 1948, independent India remained religiously divided among Hindus (approximately 82 percent of the population), Muslims (approximately 13 percent), and smaller communities of Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Jains, and Buddhists. In 1949, under the leadership of the Congress Party, a constituent assembly that also served as India's first parliament approved a constitution that declared India to be a secular state committed to religious freedom and partiality to no single religious group.

None of India's religious groups has been completely satisfied with the results of India's commitment to secularism. Many Hindus remain convinced that the government has bent over backward to protect Muslims and Sikhs; Muslims and Sikhs, conversely, continue to believe that the government has pandered to Hindus. Religious tensions intensified in the 1980s, as Muslims began to make converts among low-caste Hindus in the south, Sikhs agitated for an independent Punjab, and Hindus in 1982 organized their own political party, the Bharatiya Janata (Indian People's Party), or BJP, whose goal was the "Hinduization" of India.

The ongoing tensions between secularism and Hindu nationalism are represented by excerpts from the works of two authors, written 30 years apart. "A Secular

State” is a brief essay written by Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) in 1961. As leader of the Congress Party and India’s prime minister from 1947 to 1964, the upper-class, English-educated Nehru shaped India’s early economic and political development more than any other individual did. The other excerpts are from editorials by Girilal Jain, a prominent journalist who served as editor-in-chief of the *New Delhi Times of India* between 1978 and 1988. Born into a poor rural family in 1922 and educated at Delhi University, Jain was drawn to Hindu nationalism and the BJP in the 1980s. He wrote the following editorials in 1990, when Hindu–Muslim tensions were peaking over the Babri mosque, built in the city of Ayodhya in the sixteenth century on a site believed by Hindus to be the birthplace of one of the most revered Hindu gods, Lord Rama. Hindus demanded the destruction of the mosque, which was no longer used, so that a temple in honor of Rama could be built. In 1989, Hindu nationalists began laying the foundations for a Hindu temple near the mosque, and in 1990, the year in which Jain wrote his editorials “The Harbinger of a New Order” and “Limits of the Hindu Rashtra [Polity]” for the *Sunday Mail*, they attacked and damaged the mosque. In December 1992, 150,000 Hindus stormed the mosque and destroyed it, precipitating a government crisis and causing violence that took 2,000 lives.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Nehru, what is the meaning of the term “secularism” in the context of Indian society?
2. According to Nehru, how will the abandonment of secularism affect India and its future?
3. What does Jain mean when he says that the issues that concern the BJP have to do with “civilization,” not religion?
4. How does Jain define the West? How does he view the West’s role in Indian history?
5. Why, according to Jain, is the controversy over the Ayodhya mosque so significant for India’s future?
6. In Jain’s view, why have the Muslims been satisfied to go along with the secularist policies of the Indian state?
7. What is Jain’s vision of India’s future? How does it differ from the future imagined by Nehru?

Nehru, “A Secular State”

It is perhaps not very easy even to find a good word in Hindi for ‘secular’. Some people think that it means something opposed to religion. That obviously is not correct. What it means is

that it is a state which honours all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities; that, as a state, it does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion, which then becomes the state religion. . . .

Source: Printed in Jawaharlal Nehru, *Nehru An Anthology*, Sarvepalli Gopal, ed. (Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 1980), pp. 330–331. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press India.

The word secular . . . [also] conveys . . . the idea of social and political equality. Thus a caste-ridden society is not properly secular. I have no desire to interfere with any person's belief, but when those beliefs become petrified in caste divisions, they affect the social structure of the state. They prevent us from realizing the idea of equality which we claim to place before ourselves. . . .

In a sense, this is a more or less modern conception. India has a long history of religious tolerance. That is one aspect of a secular state, but it is not the whole of it. In a country like India, which has many faiths and religions, no real nationalism can be built up except on the basis of secularity. Any narrower approach must necessarily exclude a section of the population, and then nationalism itself will have a much more restricted meaning than it should possess. In India we would have then to consider Hindu nationalism, Muslim nationalism, Sikh nationalism or Christian nationalism and not Indian nationalism.

As a matter of fact, these narrow religious nationalisms are relics of a past age and are no longer relevant today. They represent a backward and out-of-date society. In the measure we have even today so-called communal troubles, we display our backwardness as social groups. . . .

In a country like England, the state is, under the constitution, allied to one particular religion, the Church of England, which is a sect of Christianity. Nevertheless, the state and the people there largely function in a secular way. Society, therefore, in England is more advanced in this respect than in India, even though our constitution may be, in this matter, more advanced.

We have not only to live up to the ideals proclaimed in our constitution, but make them a part of our thinking and living and thus build up a really integrated nation. That, I repeat, does not mean absence of religion, but putting religion on a different plane from that of normal political and social life. Any other approach in India would mean the breaking up of India. . . .

Jain, "The Harbinger of a New Order"

A specter haunts dominant sections of India's political and intellectual elites—the specter of a growing Hindu self-awareness and self-assertion. Till recently these elites had used the bogey of Hindu "communalism" and revivalism as a convenient device to keep themselves in power and to "legitimize" their slavish imitation of the West. Unfortunately for them, the ghost has now materialized.

Millions of Hindus have stood up. It will not be easy to trick them back into acquiescing in an order which has been characterized not so much by its "appeasement of Muslims" as by its alienness, rootlessness and contempt for the land's unique cultural past. Secularism, a euphemism for

irreligion and repudiation of the Hindu ethos, and socialism, a euphemism for denigration and humiliation of the business community to the benefit of ever expanding rapacious bureaucracy, . . . have been major planks of this order. Both have lost much of their old glitter and, therefore, capacity to dazzle and mislead. . . .

The Hindu fight is not at all with Muslims; the fight is between Hindus . . . and the state, Indian in name and not in spirit and the political and intellectual class trapped in the debris the British managed to bury us under before they left. The proponents of the Western ideology are using Muslims as auxiliaries and it is a pity Muslim "leaders" are allowing themselves to be so used. . . .

Source: Giralal Jain, "The Harbinger of a New Order" and "Limits of the Hindu Rashtira" from Koenrad Elst, *Ayodhya and After* (New Delhi: Crescent Printing Works, 1991),

pp. 364–367, 369–371, 373–375. Reprinted by permission of the author.

Jain, "Limits of the Hindu Rashtra"

The first part of this story begins, in my view, with the mass conversion of Harijans to Islam in Meenakshipuram in Tamil Nadu in 1981¹ and travels via the rise of Pakistan-backed armed secessionist movements in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir,² and the second part with the spectacular success of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the last polls. . . .

India . . . has been a battleground between two civilizations (Hindu and Islamic) for well over a thousand years, and three (Hindu, Muslim and Western) for over two hundred years. None of them has ever won a decisive enough and durable enough victory to oblige the other two to assimilate themselves fully into it. So the battle continues. This stalemate lies at the root of the crisis of identity the intelligentsia has faced since the beginning of the freedom movement in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. . . .

The more resilient and upwardly mobile section of the intelligentsia must, by definition, seek to come to terms with the ruling power and its mores, and the less successful part of it to look for its roots and seek comfort in its cultural past. . . . Thus in the medieval period of our history there grew up a class of Hindus in and around centers of Muslim power who took to the Persian-Arabic culture and ways of the rulers; similarly under the more securely founded and far better organized and managed [British] Raj there arose a vast number of Hindus who took to the English language, Western ideas, ideals, dress and eating habits; . . . they, their progeny and other recruits to their class have continued to dominate independent India.

They are the self-proclaimed secularists who have sought, and continue to seek, to remake

India in the Western image. . . . Behind them has stood, and continues to stand, the awesome intellectual might of the West, which may or may not be anti-India, depending on the exigencies of its interests, but which has to be antipathetic to Hinduism. . . .

Some secularists may be genuinely pro-Muslim. . . . But, by and large, that is not the motivating force in their lives. They are driven, above all, by the fear of what they call regression into their own past which they hate and dread. Most of the exponents of this viewpoint have come and continue to come understandably from the Left, understandably because no other group of Indians can possibly be so alienated from the country's cultural past as the followers of Lenin, Stalin and Mao, who have spared little effort to turn their own countries into cultural wastelands.

The state in independent India has, it is true, sought, broadly speaking, to be neutral in the matter of religion. But this is a surface view of the reality. The Indian state has been far from neutral in civilizational terms. It has been an agency, and a powerful agency, for the spread of Western values and mores. It has willfully sought to replicate Western institutions, the Soviet Union too being essentially part of Western civilization. It could not be otherwise in view of the orientation and aspirations of the dominant elite of which Nehru remains the guiding spirit . . . Muslims have found such a state acceptable principally on three counts. First, it has agreed to leave them alone in respect of their personal law. . . . Secondly, it has allowed them to expand their traditional . . . educational system in madrasahs³ attached to mosques. Above all, it has helped them avoid the necessity to come to terms with Hindu civilization

mixed populations of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, they have been plagued by religious conflict.

³Madrasahs are advanced schools of learning, or colleges, devoted to Islamic studies.

¹Hindus were incensed when large numbers of low-caste Hindus, or Harijans, were converted to Islam in 1981. It was believed that the missionary campaign was financed by Saudi Arabians.

²The province of Punjab and the province of Jammu and Kashmir were created at the time of independence. With

in a predominantly Hindu India. This last count is the crux of the matter. . . .

In the past up to the sixteenth century, great temples have been built in our country by rulers to mark the rise of a new dynasty or to mark a triumph. . . . In the present case, the proposal to build the Rama temple has also helped produce an “army” which can in the first instance achieve the victory the construction can proclaim.

The raising of such an “army” in our democracy, however flawed, involves not only a body of disciplined cadres, which is available in the shape of the RSS,⁴ a political organization, which too is available in the Bharatiya Janata Party, but

also an aroused citizenry. . . . The Vishwa Hindu Parishad⁵ and its allies have fulfilled this need in a manner which is truly spectacular.

The BJP-VHP-RSS leaders have rendered the country another great service. They have brought Hindu interests, if not the Hindu ethos, into the public domain where they legitimately belong. But it would appear that they have not fully grasped the implications of their action. Their talk of pseudo-secularism gives me that feeling. The fight is not against what they call pseudosecularism; it is against secularism in its proper definition whereby man as animal usurps the place of man as spirit. . . .

⁴RSS stands for the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, a militant Hindu organization founded in 1925 dedicated to the strengthening of Hindu culture.

⁵The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), or World Hindu Society, was founded in 1964. It is dedicated to demolishing mosques built on Hindu holy sites.

New Nations and the Cold War: The Experience of Vietnam

108 • LAO DONG PARTY DIRECTIVE FOR THE SOUTH: “SITUATION AND TASKS FOR 1959”

For many states in Africa and Asia, the achievement of independence from Great Britain, France, Japan, or some other colonial power led directly to interference in their affairs by one or both of the world's two new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. These Cold War rivals, for a host of ideological, diplomatic, economic, and strategic reasons, intervened by providing arms to opposing sides in civil wars, working to destabilize unfriendly regimes, helping organize coups, and propping up sympathetic rulers through foreign aid. Such interference prolonged civil wars in Africa, enabled kleptocratic dictators to stay in power, and led to a shooting war in Korea from 1950 to 1953.

Nowhere, however, did the Cold War cause as much conflict and suffering as in the three former French colonies of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Recognized as independent nations in 1954, they became the locus of the Second Indochina War, caused mainly by U.S. efforts to stop the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. The United States committed 3.4 million military personnel to the war, 60,000 of whom were killed or became missing in action. The South and North Vietnamese, however, suffered 1,200,000 military deaths and almost an equal number of civilian deaths. An unknown number of Cambodians and Laotians also died when the

United States subjected both countries to bombing attacks to halt the movement of military supplies and personnel from North Vietnam to South Vietnam through their territories. When the fighting stopped in 1975, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia all had communist rulers. In Cambodia's case, the ruler was Pol Pot, whose policies resulted in the deaths of anywhere from 1.2 million to 3 million of his countrymen before he was overthrown in 1979.

The roots of the conflict go back to September 1945, when Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969), the communist leader of the Viet Minh (the Vietnam Independence League), declared Vietnamese independence and went on to lead his supporters in the First Indochina War, in which France, with U.S. aid, fought to reestablish its colonial authority. The war ended in 1954, when the Geneva Accord temporarily divided Vietnam into a communist north and non-communist south, with the question of reunification to be decided by a nationwide referendum in 1956. Such an election never occurred, due mainly to the establishment of a permanent state in the south under the government of Ngo Dinh Diem. Supported by the United States, the Republic of Vietnam developed into an authoritarian state in which Diem imposed censorship, ordered the arrest of opponents on vague charges of treason, alienated the country's Buddhist majority by his pro-Catholic policies, and manipulated plans for land reform to benefit his family and supporters. Opposition to Diem came from Buddhists, disgruntled peasants, frustrated nationalists, and some five to ten thousand Viet Minh cadres (professional revolutionaries), who had stayed in the south after the division of the country in 1954.

Against this background, in late 1958 or early 1959, the leaders of North Vietnam's ruling political party, the Lao Dong (Workers' Party), reconsidered their strategy on how to reunite the country now that elections no longer were a possibility. In the midst of an ambitious program of industrialization and land reform and cautioned against provoking another war in Southeast Asia by the Soviet Union, it issued a directive for its "southern strategy." It promised its supporters in the south financial support and guidance but ordered them to avoid assassinations and direct attacks against the South Vietnamese army. They should focus on tightening their organization and using propaganda to pressure and discredit the Diem government but resort to force only to protect themselves from government informers, security officials, and corrupt landlords. This cautious policy would soon be abandoned, but not the underlying sense of purpose, conviction, confidence, and single-mindedness that would guide the North Vietnamese until April 30, 1975, when their troops took Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, and brought an end to this long and costly struggle.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to the authors of the document, how is the conflict in Vietnam part of broader movements taking place in other parts of the world?
2. How do the authors of the document interpret U.S. motives in South Vietnam?

3. According to the party's statement, what are the short- and long-term goals of the party for Vietnam?
4. According to the authors, how has rule by "U.S.-Diem" affected the lives of the people in South Vietnam? What will be its future effect, and how does this affect the party's strategy for achieving its goals?
5. Based on their analysis of the situation, what strategies should the parties' allies in South Vietnam pursue for 1959?

World Situation

1) The forces of the socialist camp in every area—economic, political, military and scientific grows unceasingly stronger. . . .

The continuous defeats of the imperialist camp: in the Middle East, the Far East, Africa, Latin America, etc., have weakened imperialism. The movement of peace, democracy and national independence in the world, developing strongly by relying on the strength of the socialist camp. Not only as the potential to check and smash a war provoked by imperialism, but to push it back from one place to another. It is clear that our camp led by the Soviet Union is the mainstay in defending world peace.

2) The movement of national liberation and nationalism . . . is increasingly on the rise in Africa, Asia, Latin America. The colonial system of imperialism has entered the phase of disintegration and collapse. . . .

3) The imperialist economy, especially that of U.S. imperialism, has fallen into serious crisis, influencing those countries dependent on the U.S., and pushing the people of those countries to step up more and more their struggle to escape from their slavery to the U.S. economy: Western Europe, Asia, and Africa.

4) Weakened, defeated and expelled everywhere, imperialism in general and the U.S. in particular, show extreme stubbornness; sickeningly,

cynically, they stick to the positions they have seized and provoke wars to dominate peoples. . . .

• • •

The South

1) The American imperialists more and more actively intervene in the South, turning it into a new type colony and military base, aiming at sabotaging peace and reunification of our country. The U.S. has become the number one enemy of the Southern people and the people of the whole country.

The Diem¹ ruling clique, is really only the lackey carrying out every scheme and policy of their American masters.

2) From 1957 to now, the activities of the U.S.-Diem [regime] exhibit them to be determined to poisonously carry out their country-stealing and country-selling scheme.

Their activities have the following notable points:

—Using anti-Communist and denunciation of Communist labels to make every effort to terrorize and repress. . . . They do not carry out all democratic rights, stubbornly opposing peace, unification and rejecting every proposal for peace, unification from the North. They carry out brazenly fascist policies with regard to politics.

—Striving to build, strengthen and increase military forces in order to repress and provoke war. Widening strategic military lines of communications (highways) and new military bases. Striving to recruit

Source: From Gareth Porter, ed. and trans., *Vietnam: The Definitive Documentation of Human Decisions* (Stanfordville, NY: Earl M. Coleman Enterprises, 1979), vol. 2, 36–41. Reprinted by permission of the author.

¹Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963), an implacable anticommunist, served as president of South Vietnam until he was overthrown and assassinated in 1963 in a military coup tacitly supported by the United States.

troops by force, to gather troops, to gather people, to expel villagers, to coerce people's labor, and to do everything possible to destroy old resistance bases.

—Increasing sweeps to mercilessly plunder the human, material and financial means of the people. Aim at impoverishing the peasants by every cruel trick: stealing the land of the peasants, confusing land ownership, increasing rent, increasing old taxes, instituting new taxes, lotteries, collections, fines, gambling and especially under the farce they call community development.

—Sowing the seeds of a degenerate, lavish, cowboy, U.S.-style culture, developing gambling, prostitution in every form in order to deprave the people's spirit, hoping to put them to sleep and make them worthless. . . .

—Because the economy is more and more dependent on American aid, more and more in decline, everyday, because of the policy of long-term division of the country and preparing to provoke war, because of the policy of increasing terrorism and repression, merciless exploitation and plunder, the life of the Southern people, especially workers, peasants and poor strata in the cities is more and more miserable; hunger and famine have appeared in scattered places in the countryside and the cities. Agriculture is declining, industry and commerce are stagnating, peasants are going bankrupt, and many suicides because of poverty and indigence have occurred under the U.S.-Diem regime are very pitiful.

—Because of their miserable, dark real life experience, popular strata from the countryside to the cities are gradually understanding that it is caused by the policies of U.S.-Diem. Aspirations for national independence, peaceful unification of the country, demands for improvement of daily life, demands for democratic freedom among popular strata, peasants and urban workers are clearer and deeper everyday, and the neutralist tendencies are growing among bourgeois people. . . .

The peoples movement against U.S.-Diem during the past period has developed continually and unceasingly.

—The characteristic of the movement is that it has gone deep into the interests of the masses, mobilizing classes, religions, and the people to participate and to form a broader front from the countryside to the cities. . . .

—Looking generally at the movement there are many advances, struggle slogans are very realistic. The Struggle front is broad. Forms of struggle are abundant, the level of struggle sometimes is fierce and decisive. We have won definite victories, caused very many difficulties and obstacles for the enemy. They must exhaust themselves with every step in carrying out their cruel policies. . . .

Tasks for 1959 (Three immediate tasks)

. . . Based on the above situation between the enemy and ourselves now and the changes about to take place, we can see that the three immediate tasks of the Party put forward by the District conference from 1957 to now are fundamentally still appropriate. The tasks have not changed, but the forms and the level of the struggle movement in the near future must be broader, stronger and more decisive.

1) Continue to do everything possible to stay the dictatorial, fascist hands of U.S.-Vietnam, politically, and economically, demanding freedom, food and clothing, to protect the living rights and democratic rights for the people.

2) Stop the U.S.-Diem warmongering scheme to sabotage peace. Demand peaceful unification of the fatherland, and immediately demand establishment of relations between the two zones.

Because the U.S. imperialist intervention in every aspect, economic, political, military and cultural is the origin of all the southern people's suffering . . . , we must especially pay attention to raising slogans opposing the U.S. and demanding national independence in the South.

Only if we educate the people to raise still higher their consciousness and spirit of opposing U.S. imperialism and colonialism in the struggle for the real daily rights, can we build and develop strongly the anti-U.S. forces to demand national independence and divide and isolate further the feudal and reactionary forces in the South. . . .

3) Build real specialized strength, that is to push strongly the building and strengthening of the Party section, in order to raise the influence and role of the Party. Strengthen the peasant worker alliance, broaden the popular front, go deep to create specialized bases in the U.S.-Diem army and government.

Utopian Dreams in Mao's China

109 • TAN MANNI, LUSHAN'S PIG-IRON SPUTNIK

On October 1, 1949, with the Guomindang armies of Chiang Kai-shek in full retreat, Mao Zedong, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, stood above the Gate of Heavenly Peace in Beijing and proclaimed the People's Republic of China. China's civil war had ended, and the fate of 540 million Chinese lay in the hands of Mao Zedong and a small number of his followers who for 25 years had struggled to unify China under communist rule.

Mao and the communists had ambitious plans. They envisioned a strong, independent China, no longer vulnerable to imperialism and its attendant humiliations. They envisioned a China in which poverty would be eradicated through agricultural modernization, industrialization, and a program of road-building, railroad construction, and energy development. They envisioned a China in which ancient inequalities—between men and women, landlords and peasants, the learned and the illiterate, bureaucrats and subjects—would no longer exist. But was it possible to achieve rapid economic development in a truly egalitarian society? Finding an answer to this question became Mao's greatest challenge.

Between 1949 and 1953, large-scale businesses were nationalized, and land seized from rich landowners was redistributed to peasants. In 1953, in imitation of Stalin's Soviet Union, China instituted its first Five Year Plan. Its key components were centralized economic planning, the collectivization of agriculture, and rapid industrialization, with emphasis on steel, industrial equipment, chemicals, and electric power.

Despite annual growth rates of 18 percent, Mao was unhappy with such an approach. Central planning meant larger and more powerful bureaucracies, while rapid industrialization brought disproportionate wealth and status to elite managers and engineers. Thus by late 1957, Mao was prepared to take China into a new stage of its socialist development—the Great Leap Forward.

The Great Leap Forward shifted the focus of China's economic development from cities to the countryside, where millions of peasants, in the selfless pursuit of socialism, would dedicate themselves not just to farming but also to road construction, stock-raising, iron-making, and other enterprises to transform China into a modern socialist society. By the end of 1958, 120 million households had joined 26,000 large communes, which party officials ran according to strict egalitarian principles: private plots were abolished; commune members all received the same pay and food ration irrespective

of their work; families were organized collectively, with meals and child care provided by the commune. They joined militias; built and operated backyard iron foundries and other factories; worked on construction projects; and in some cases prospected for uranium. Those with talent were encouraged to write inspirational poetry and songs.

The Great Leap Forward was a disaster. People were worked to exhaustion; the backyard iron foundries produced millions of iron pots and tools, but most were unusable; worst of all, farm output failed to reach unrealistically high production targets, and as the communes' grain, vegetables, and meat were handed over to the state to feed city-dwellers, famine swept through rural China and claimed 20 million lives between 1959 and 1962.

Why did the Great Leap Forward fail? Some answers are provided by the following article, which appeared in the journal *China Reconstructs* in 1959. Its author, Tan Manni, describes how a commune in Lushan County, a region in Jiangxi Province, reached a "sputnik" in iron production. Sputnik was the name of the first man-made satellite sent into orbit by the USSR in 1957. The term was used during the Great Leap Forward for high production goals in agriculture and manufacturing.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does the selection reveal about the level of economic and technological development in Lushan County at the time of the Great Leap Forward?
2. According to the author, how do the workers view their labors? What methods have been used to motivate them?
3. What does the article reveal about the reasons for the poor quality of pig iron produced in the Lushan County foundries?
4. What does the article reveal about the reasons for the fall in agricultural production during the Great Leap Forward?
5. What changes in social and family relationships accompanied the Great Leap Forward? Why were they necessary?

Furnace fields are everywhere . . . plots of hundreds of small earthen furnaces were "growing," in late autumn when I was there, alongside fields of sweet potatoes and tobacco. . . .

Small red flags fly overhead indicating the sections belonging to the various companies and squads of farmer-steelworkers, who are organized like militia units. . . .

At one of the ten-foot-high furnaces, a man climbs a wooden ladder to dump coke and firewood through the top. After a few minutes

beside the 1,000-degree heat, he descends and another worker goes up to tamp the fuel down with his rake. A third man follows to pull the hot rake away from the blast of the fire. Beside the furnace another crew is pushing the handle of the huge homemade wooden bellows. With all his might one of them pulls the handle, half as tall as himself, and pushes it back with the weight of his body. Three other men standing by to take their turns jokingly cheer him on. . . .

Source: "Lushan's Pig Iron Sputnik," *China Reconstructs* (now *China Today*), vol. VIII, no. 1 (January 1959), pp. 6–9.

The river a few miles away from the county town is another scene of activity. Undaunted by cold north wind, 25,000 students, women, and local government workers are ankle-deep in the water, washing for the iron-bearing sand that has been carried down from the nearby mountains. On the banks, groups of students off their working shift hold classes, and a crew of older women minds the children for the mothers beside the temporary living quarters made for workers from distant parts of the county. . . .

The office of the county Communist Party committee where I stayed in the county town of Lushan is like the headquarters of an army, for the party had undertaken direct leadership of the iron campaign. Any time of the day or night, one can hear someone shouting into the telephone, "Long distance . . . urgent . . . coal . . . tons."

This is the verve which enabled Lushan, the small mountainous county which six months ago possessed neither a blast furnace nor an engineer, or even an automobile, to startle the entire country by proving it could turn out 1,000 tons of iron a day. That record on last August 28 opened a new page in the nation-wide campaign for iron and steel, for it did away with the belief that smelting by local methods does not add up to much.

Lushan's achievement was called a "sputnik," and within the next month it inspired seventy-three more counties to reach that level. Now the record has been surpassed hundreds of times, but the county's 430,000 people are still seized by the iron and steel fever. Each day 100,000 of them work directly in its production, and many thousands more "at the rear" help transport ore after a day's work in the fields.

The people of Lushan began making small amounts of iron early in the summer, in line with the country's policy of developing small local industry as well as large plants, and to meet their own needs in making labor-saving farm machinery. . . . In Lushan, local materials and

simple homemade tools were used to cut down initial investment and half of the funds were contributed by the people themselves. A dozen blacksmiths who at the beginning did not know how to smelt ore, led by the party vice-secretary, studied and experimented until they found a suitable process, and then passed the technique on to 600 other farmer-steelworkers. . . .

. . . The farming had to be done with as few people as possible so as to free as many workers as possible to build and operate more furnaces, and mine and transport ore and coal. . . .

As the work could not go ahead without full mass support and understanding, the meetings to discuss the proposal [to set higher production goals] became hot debates—a struggle of ideas. It was through this that the farmers came to realize their real power to produce. Party leaders put the need for iron in terms of the country's own needs—it could bring hydroelectric power stations on every one of the 600 reservoirs the people had built in the spring, better farm tools and machines, multi-storied buildings. They also pointed out that more iron for national construction would mean more tractors, rail lines and other improvements for all.

The way [to proceed], most people agreed, was large-scale organization. Lushan's mountains had ore but few people to do the mining. On the plains, on the other hand, there was manpower to spare. So their coops¹ decided that only by merging could they better deploy the working force. This later formed the basis for the people's commune which now embraces all of Lushan county.

Suggestions for nurseries and canteens to release more women were also adopted. In one large village alone, these measures freed 2,100 women for productive work. . . .

When the time came to sign up for iron work, 95 percent of the county's able-bodied persons applied, and 65,000 were soon actually making

¹Cooperative farms.

iron. Shock teams were organized to man the furnaces, mine the ore, mold crucibles, and repair roads to facilitate transport. They built 500 new furnaces, and methods were developed to make the older ones yield twenty times as much iron per heat.

In the fortnight which preceded the target date of August 28, few people got a full night's sleep. It was just in those weeks that news came of the aggressive military build-up by the United States in the Taiwan Straits area and of provocations against the mainland.² Determination became even greater. On August 27, just as the furnaces

were being lit, word arrived about the nation-wide call to raise the 1958 national production of steel to 10.7 million tons, twice as much as the year before. On August 28, Lushan's furnaces yielded 1,068 tons of pig iron. The "sputnik" had succeeded and Lushan had set a new standard for local iron production.

Soon the daily average was far surpassing this one-time figure. In the autumn, 40,000 more workers came from neighboring counties. By early November 150,000 tons were being produced in one day—as much as had been planned for the whole year.

²In August 1958, China demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan after the Chinese air force began bombing raids against Quemoy, an offshore island near the port of Amoy controlled by the Nationalist government of Taiwan.

A standoff ensued. China continued the bombardment until December but made no attacks on the supply ships sent to Quemoy under U.S. Navy escort.

Women Between Tradition and Change, 1960s–1970s

During the twentieth century, political leaders of industrialized nations, revolutionaries such as Lenin and Mao, and nationalist heroes as different as Atatürk and Gandhi all supported the ideal of women's equality with men. The United Nations Charter of 1945 committed the organization to the same ideal, and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reaffirmed the goal of ending all forms of gender-based discrimination. Beginning in the 1960s, powerful feminist movements with agendas ranging from equal educational access to legalized abortion took root in the Western industrialized nations and to a lesser degree in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Despite this broad support for gender equality, progress for women worldwide was uneven in the 1970s and 1980s. In developed industrial societies, women undoubtedly made great strides. Large numbers of women entered professions such as law, medicine, and university teaching; contraception and abortions were legalized in some nations; laws forbidding gender-based discrimination were passed. Nonetheless, even in developed countries with strong feminist movements women still earned less than men for doing the same job, were underrepresented in managerial positions, and played less significant roles in politics than did men. Furthermore, movements for gender equality met strong opposition from individuals and groups who were convinced that they threatened the family, undermined morality, and left women unhappy and unfulfilled.

In less economically developed parts of the world, efforts to improve the status of women faced even more obstacles. Movements to improve women's legal status were hindered by the small pool of educated women and by the gap between middle-class, urban women and the millions of women in urban slums or rural villages who struggled against poverty. Religious fundamentalists in the Islamic world and elsewhere also sought to keep women in traditional roles. Even in China and India, both of which adopted strong antidiscrimination laws, it proved difficult to modify, let alone eradicate, centuries-old educational patterns, work stereotypes, marriage customs, and attitudes. More so than in almost any other area of modern life, tradition held its own against movements and ideologies seeking to liberate African, Asian, and Latin American women from the burdens of patriarchy and inequality.

Liberal Feminism and Women's Liberation in the United States

110 • NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN, 1966 STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND NEW YORK RADICAL WOMEN, "NO MORE MISS AMERICA!" SEPTEMBER, 1968

After having won the right to vote in most Western democracies by the 1920s, the powerful feminist movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lost momentum. In the 1930s and 1940s, women diverted their energies to surviving the Great Depression and contributing to their nations' efforts in World War II. After 1945, as prosperity returned to the United States and Europe, women were generally content to accept the domestic roles prescribed for them by the family-oriented ethos of the postwar era.

Beginning in the 1960s, feminism reemerged as a powerful force, with much of its impetus and energy derived from movements originating in the United States. The revival of feminism gathered strength in the early 1960s with the appointment by President John F. Kennedy of the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961, the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, and the inclusion of gender as one of the categories protected by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The National Organization for Women (NOW), which concentrated on redressing gender-based vocational and educational inequalities, seemed ready after its founding in 1966 to assume leadership of a moderate and liberal women's movement.

Within only a few years, however, calls for legal equality gave way to demands for women's liberation, as the feminist movement became increasingly radical and militant. Radical feminists of the late 1960s were young, and like black militants, were angered by the disparity between American rhetoric about equality and the reality of their lives. In 1967 and 1968, the first radical feminist groups were formed in Chicago, New York, and San Francisco. In 1968, the New York Radical Women pioneered the technique of consciousness-raising, in which women met

to participate in open-ended discussions of how societal oppression personally affected them.

The two following excerpts provide insights into the concerns and priorities of moderate and radical U.S. feminists in the 1960 and early 1970s. The first excerpt is from the Statement of Purpose adopted by the National Organization for Women in 1966 (and does not necessarily represent current language or priorities of the organization). It was written by the organization's first president, Betty Friedan, who in 1963 had published the best-selling *The Feminine Mystique*, an indictment of the 1950s cult of domesticity. The second excerpt is from the manifesto "No More Miss America!" distributed by the New York Radical Women in September 1968 at the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Convinced that the pageant encouraged sex-based stereotyping, the women picketed, crowned a sheep as "Miss America," tossed symbols of female "torture" (high heels, dish detergent, bras, and girdles) into a trash can, and interrupted the closing ceremonies. They also handed out the manifesto that is excerpted below. The events at Atlantic City captured headlines around the world and made "women's liberation" a household phrase.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to the NOW Statement of Principles, why are the mid-1960s the right time to advance the "unfinished revolution" of women's equality?
2. According to the NOW statement, what factors have kept women from full equality with men?
3. What evidence does the NOW statement provide to show that women's status and prospects declined in the 1950 and 1960s?
4. According to the "No More Miss America," what qualities are rewarded at the Miss America Pageant? How is this a disservice to women in general?
5. To what extent do the NOW Statement of Purpose and "No More Miss America!" share common values and goals? Where do the two documents disagree?

NOW Statement of Purpose

Enormous changes taking place in our society make it both possible and urgently necessary to advance the unfinished revolution of women toward true equality, now. With a life span lengthened to nearly 75 years it is no longer either necessary or possible for women to devote the greater part of their lives to child-rearing; yet

childbearing and rearing which continues to be a most important part of most women's lives—still is used to justify barring women from equal professional and economic participation and advance.

Today's technology has reduced most of the productive chores which women once performed in the home and in mass-production industries based upon routine unskilled labor.

Source: NOW 1966 Statement of Purpose. Reprinted by permission of National Organization for Women. This is a historical document (1966) and may not reflect the current language or priorities of the organization. New York

Radical Women, "No More Miss America!" reprinted in *The Times Were a Changin': The Sixties Reader*, ed. Irwin Unger and Debi Unger (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1998), pp. 213.

This same technology has virtually eliminated the quality of muscular strength as a criterion for filling most jobs, while intensifying American industry's need for creative intelligence. In view of this new industrial revolution created by automation in the mid-twentieth century, women can and must participate in old and new fields of society in full equality—or become permanent outsiders.

Despite all the talk about the status of American women in recent years, the actual position of women in the United States has declined, and is declining, to an alarming degree throughout the 1950's and 60's. Although 46.4% of all American women between the ages of 18 and 65 now work outside the home, the overwhelming majority—75%—are in routine clerical, sales, or factory jobs, or they are household workers, cleaning women, hospital attendants. About two-thirds of Negro women workers are in the lowest paid service occupations. Working women are becoming increasingly—not less—concentrated on the bottom of the job ladder. . . . In 1964, of all women with a yearly income, 89% earned under \$5,000 a year; half of all full-time year round women workers earned less than \$3,690; only 1.4% of full-time year round women workers had an annual income of \$10,000 or more.

Further, . . . too few women are entering and finishing college or going on to graduate or professional school. Today, women earn only one in three of the B.A.'s and M.A.'s granted, and one in ten of the Ph.D.'s.

In all the professions considered of importance to society, and in the executive ranks of industry and government, women are losing ground. Where they are present it is only a token handful. Women comprise less than 1% of federal judges; less than 4% of all lawyers; 7% of doctors. . . . And, increasingly, men are replacing women in the top positions in secondary and elementary schools, in social work, and in libraries—once thought to be women's fields.

Official pronouncements of the advance in the status of women hide not only the reality of this dangerous decline, but the fact that nothing is being done to stop it. . . . Until now, too few women's organizations and official spokesmen have been willing to speak out against these dangers facing women. Too many women have been restrained by the fear of being called "feminist." There is no civil rights movement to speak for women, as there has been for Negroes and other victims of discrimination. The National Organization for Women must therefore begin to speak. . . .

WE DO NOT ACCEPT the token appointment of a few women to high-level positions in government and industry as a substitute for serious continuing effort to recruit and advance women according to their individual abilities. To this end, we urge American government and industry to mobilize the same resources of ingenuity and command with which they have solved problems of far greater difficulty than those now impeding the progress of women.

WE BELIEVE that this nation has a capacity at least as great as other nations, to innovate new social institutions which will enable women to enjoy the true equality of opportunity and responsibility in society, without conflict with their responsibilities as mothers and homemakers. . . . We question the present expectation that all normal women will retire from job or profession for 10 or 15 years, to devote their full time to raising children, only to reenter the job market at a relatively minor level. . . . Above all, we reject the assumption that these problems are the unique responsibility of each individual woman, rather than a basic social dilemma which society must solve. True equality of opportunity and freedom of choice for women requires such practical, and possible innovations as a nationwide network of child-care centers, which will make it unnecessary for women to retire completely from society until their children are grown, and national programs to provide retraining for women who have chosen to care for their children full-time.

WE BELIEVE that it is as essential for every girl to be educated to her full potential of human ability as it is for every boy—with the knowledge that such education is the key to effective participation in today's economy and that, for a girl as for a boy, education can only be serious where there is expectation that it will be used in society. . . . Moreover, we consider the decline in the proportion of women receiving higher and professional education to be evidence of discrimination. This discrimination may take the form of quotas against the admission of women to colleges, and professional schools; lack of encouragement by parents, counselors and educators; denial of loans or fellowships; or the traditional or arbitrary procedures in graduate and professional training geared in terms of men, which inadvertently discriminate against women. . . .

WE REJECT the current assumptions that a man must carry the sole burden of supporting himself, his wife, and family, and that a woman is automatically entitled to lifelong support by a man upon her marriage, or that marriage, home and family are primarily woman's world and responsibility. . . . We believe that a true partnership between the sexes demands a different concept of marriage, an equitable sharing of the responsibilities of home and children and of the economic burdens of their support. We believe that proper recognition should be given to the economic and social value of homemaking and child-care. To these ends, we will seek to open a reexamination of laws and mores governing marriage and divorce, for we believe that the current state of "half-equity" between the sexes discriminates against both men and women, and is the cause of much unnecessary hostility between the sexes.

WE BELIEVE that women must now exercise their political rights and responsibilities as American citizens. They must refuse to be segregated on the basis of sex into separate-and-not-equal ladies' auxiliaries in the political parties, and they must demand representation according to their

numbers in the regularly constituted party committees . . . participating fully in the selection of candidates and political decision-making, and running for office themselves:

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF WOMEN, we will protest, and endeavor to change, the false image of women now prevalent in the mass media, and in the texts, ceremonies, laws, and practices of our major social institutions. Such images perpetuate contempt for women by society and by women for themselves. We are similarly opposed to all policies and practices—in church, state, college, factory, or office—which, in the guise of protectiveness, not only deny opportunities but also foster in women self-denigration, dependence, and evasion of responsibility, undermine their confidence in their own abilities and foster contempt for women. . . .

WE BELIEVE THAT women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity—not in pleas for special privilege, nor in enmity toward men, who are also victims of the current, half-equality between the sexes—but in an active, self-respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and their society.

"No More Miss America!"

We Protest:

The *Degrading Mindless-Boob-Girlie Symbol*. . . . The parade down the runway blares the metaphor of the 4-H Club county fair, where the nervous animals are judged for teeth, fleece, etc., and where the best "specimen" gets the blue ribbon. So are women in our society forced daily to compete for male approval, enslaved by ludicrous "beauty" standards we ourselves are conditioned to take seriously.

Racism with Roses. Since its inception in 1921, the Pageant has not had one Black finalist, and this

has not been for a lack of test-case contestants. . . . Nor has there ever been a *true* Miss America—an American Indian.

Miss America as Military Death Mascot. The highlight of her reign each year is a cheerleader-tour of American troops abroad—last year she went to Vietnam to pep-talk our husbands, fathers, sons and boyfriends into dying and killing with a better spirit. . . . We refuse to be used as Mascots for Murder. . . .

Competition Rigged and Unrigged. We deplore the encouragement of an American myth that oppresses men as well as women: the win-or-you're-worthless competitive disease. The "beauty contest" creates only one winner to be "used" and forty-nine losers who are "useless."

The Woman As Pop Culture Obsolescent Theme. . . . What is so ignored as last year's Miss America? This only reflects the gospel of our society, according to Saint Male: women must be young, juicy, malleable—hence age discrimination and the cult of youth. And we women are brain-washed into believing this ourselves! . . .

The Irrelevant Crown on the Throne of Mediocrity. Miss America represents what women are supposed to be: unoffensive, bland, apolitical. If you are tall, short, over or under what weight the Man prescribes you should be, forget it. Personality, articulateness, intelligence, commitment—unwise. Conformity is the key to the crown—and, by extension, to success in our society.

Miss America as Dream Equivalent To—? In this reputedly democratic society, where every little boy supposedly can grow up to be President, what can every little girl hope to grow up to be? Miss America. That's where it's at. Real power to control our own lives is restricted to men, while women get patronizing pseudopower, an ermine cloak and a bunch of flowers . . .

Miss America as Big Sister Watching You. The Pageant exercises Thought Control . . . to further make women oppressed and men oppressors; to enslave us all the more in high-heeled, low-status roles; to inculcate false values in young girls; to use women as beasts of buying; to seduce us to prostitute ourselves before our own oppression.

Women and Religious Fundamentalism: The Example of Iran

III • ZAND DOKHT, "THE REVOLUTION THAT FAILED WOMEN"

Although the Pahlavi rulers of Iran, Reza Shah (1925–1941) and Muhammad Reza Shah (1941–1979), gave women political rights, allowed them to abandon the veil for Western-style dress, and encouraged female literacy and higher education, in the 1970s, millions of Iranian women shared the growing disgust with their government's autocracy, corruption, and secularism. Women played a prominent role in the massive demonstrations that preceded Reza Shah's downfall in 1979 and led to his replacement by an Islamic fundamentalist regime under Ayatollah Ruhulla Khomeini (1902–1989). True to its Islamic principles, Khomeini's government revoked Pahlavi legislation on women and the family and reinstated strict Islamic practices.

Iranian women who had taken advantage of educational opportunities and had benefited professionally during the Pahlavi years opposed the Islamic republic's effort to turn back the clock. In 1979, representatives from various women's

organizations founded the Women's Solidarity Committee, dedicated to the protection of women's rights in Iran. Although later banned in Iran itself, a branch of the organization was maintained in London by Iranian women living in England. Known as the Iranian Women's Solidarity Group, in the 1980s it published pamphlets and newsletters on issues pertaining to women in Iran. The following selection, written by a Solidarity Committee member, Zand Dokht, appeared in one of their publications in 1981.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In what specific ways did the Islamic Revolution in Iran affect women?
2. According to the author, how do Iran's new leaders envision a woman's role in society?
3. How does the author explain the fact that so many Iranian women supported the revolution that toppled the shah?
4. Why in the author's view did Pahlavi-era reforms fail to satisfy large numbers of Iranian women?

When Khomeini created his Islamic Republic in 1979, he relied on the institution of the family, on support from the women, the merchants, and the private system of landownership. The new Islamic constitution declared women's primary position as mothers. The black veil, symbol of the position of women under Islam, was made compulsory. Guards were posted outside government offices to enforce it, and women were sacked from their jobs without compensation for refusing to wear the veil. . . .

Schools were segregated, which meant that women were barred from some technical schools, even from some religious schools, and young girls' education in the villages was halted. Lowering the marriage age for girls to 13, reinstating polygamy and *Sigben* [temporary wives] . . . meant that women did not need education and jobs, they only needed to find husbands.

The Ayatollahs¹ in their numerous public prayers, which grew to be the only possible national activity, continuously gave sermons on the

advantages of marriage, family, and children being brought up on their mother's lap. They preached that society would be pure, trouble free, criminal-less (look at the youth problem in the West) if everybody married young, and if men married as many times as possible (to save the unprotected women who might otherwise become prostitutes). . . . Another *masterpiece* of the revolutionary Islamic government was to create a system of arranged marriages in prisons, between men and women prisoners, to "protect" women after they leave prison.

Because abortion and contraception are now unobtainable, marriage means frequent pregnancy. If you are 13 when you get married, it is likely that you will have six children by the time you are 20. This, in a country where half the total population are already under 16, is a tragedy for future generations.

Religious morality demands that all pleasures and entertainments be banned. Wine, music, dancing, chess, women's parts in theater, cinema,

Source: From Miranda Davies, ed., *Third World, Second Sex* (London: Zed Press, 1983), 152–155. Reprinted by permission of Zed Books.

¹Ayatollah is a title of respect for high Shiite Muslim religious leaders.

and television—you name it. Khomeini banned it. He even segregated the mountains and the seas, for male and female climbers and swimmers. . . .

Perhaps nowhere else in the world have women been murdered for walking in the street open-faced. The question of the veil is the most important issue of women's liberation in Muslim countries. The veil, a long engulfing black robe, is the extension of the four walls of the home, where women belong. The veil is the historical symbol of woman's oppression, seclusion, denial of her social participation and equal rights with men. It is a cover which defaces and objectifies women. To wear or not to wear the veil, for Muslim women is "the right to choose." . . .

Why do women, workers, and unemployed, support this regime which has done everything in its power to attack their rights and interests? The power of Islam in our culture and tradition has been seriously underestimated . . . and it was through this ideology that Khomeini directed his revolutionary government. The clergy dealt with everyday problems and spoke out on human relationships, sexuality, security, and protection of the family and the spiritual needs of human beings. It was easy for people to identify with these issues and support the clergy, although nobody knew what they were later to do.

Women's attraction to Khomeini's ideas was not based simply on his Islamic politics, but also on the way he criticized the treatment of women—as secretaries and media sex

objects—under the Shah's regime. Women were genuinely unsatisfied and looking for change. Some educated Iranian women went back to Iran from America and Europe to aid the clergy with the same messages, and became the government's spokeswomen. They put on the veil willingly, defended Islamic virtues and spiritual values while drawing from their own experiences in the West. They said it was cold and lonely. Western women were only in pursuit of careers and self-sufficiency, and that their polygamous sexual relationships had not brought them liberation, but confusion and exploitation. These women joined ranks with an already growing force of Muslim women, to retrieve the tradition of true/happy Muslim women—in defense of patriarchy.

The mosque is not just a place of prayer, it is also a social club for women. It provides a warm, safe room for women to meet, chat, or listen to a sermon, and there are traditional women-only parties and picnics in gardens or holy places. Take away these traditional and religious customs from women as the Shah—with his capitalist and imperialist reforms, irrelevant to women's needs—tried to do and a huge vacuum is left. Khomeini stepped in to fill that vacuum. The reason why Khomeini won was that the Shah's social-economic program for women was dictatorial, bureaucratic, inadequate (especially in terms of health education) and therefore irrelevant to women's needs. . . .

African Tradition and Western Values: The Issue of Female Genital Mutilation

112 • ASSOCIATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, A STATEMENT ON GENITAL MUTILATION

Female genital mutilation, also referred to as genital cutting or female circumcision, refers to any ritual procedure that involves the partial or complete removal of the external female genitals. The operation, which in different societies may take place

anytime from shortly after birth to the onset of puberty, is usually performed by midwives or village women without benefit of anesthesia or antibiotics. No accurate statistics on the prevalence of the practice exist. It is most common in sub-Saharan Africa, especially in the Sudan region, but it is also practiced in many other parts of the world. Presumably instituted to encourage chastity by dulling a woman's sexual desire, the practice has come under harsh criticism both from within the societies in which it exists and from outsiders, especially from the West. Efforts to suppress the practice have had, however, little effect among peoples who consider the custom part of their ethnic and religious heritage and a necessary rite of passage into womanhood.

Western-inspired campaigns to end genital mutilation have frequently backfired, especially in Africa, where the custom is most deeply rooted. The following statement, issued in 1980 by the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD), which was founded in 1977 in Dakar, Senegal, reveals that even Africans who oppose the practice resent Western interference.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is the basis of the authors' assertion that critics of female circumcision are guilty of "latent racism"?
2. How have Western criticisms of female circumcision hindered the efforts of African critics to limit the practice?
3. In the view of the authors, what would be an appropriate Western approach to the issue of female circumcision?
4. How might an ardent Western critic of female circumcision in Africa counter the arguments contained in the AAWORD statement?

In the last few years, Western public opinion has been shocked to find out that in the middle of the 20th century thousands of women and children have been "savagely mutilated" because of "barbarous customs from another age." . . . There have been press conferences, documentary films, headlines in the newspapers, information days, open letters, action groups—all this to mobilize public opinion and put pressure on governments of the countries where genital mutilation is still practiced. . . .

. . . In trying to reach their own public, the new crusaders have fallen back on sensationalism, and have become insensitive to the dignity of the

very women they want to "save." They are totally unconscious of the latent racism which such a campaign evokes in countries where ethnocentric prejudice is so deep-rooted. And in their conviction that this is a "just cause," they have forgotten that these women from a different race and a different culture are also *human beings*, and that solidarity can only exist alongside self-affirmation and mutual respect. . . .

AAWORD, whose aim is to carry out research which leads to the liberation of African women in particular, *firmly condemns* genital mutilation and all other practices—traditional or modern—which oppress women and justify exploiting them

Source: Association of African Women for Research and Development, A Statement on Genital Mutilation.

economically or socially, as a serious violation of the fundamental rights of women. . . .

However, as far as AAWORD is concerned, the fight against genital mutilation, although necessary, should not take on such proportions that the wood cannot be seen for the trees. Young girls and women who are mutilated in Africa are usually among those who cannot even satisfy their basic needs and who have to struggle daily for survival. This is due to the exploitation of developing countries, manifested especially through the impoverishment of the poorest social classes. In the context of the present world economic crisis, tradition, with all of its constraints, becomes more than ever a form of security for the peoples of the Third World, and especially for the "wretched of the earth." For these people, the modern world, which is primarily Western and bourgeois, can only represent aggression at all levels—political, economic, social and cultural. It is unable to propose viable alternatives for them.

Moreover, to fight against genital mutilation without placing it in the context of ignorance, obscurantism, exploitation, poverty, etc., without questioning the structures and social relations which perpetuate this situation, is like "refusing

to see the sun in the middle of the day." This, however, is precisely the approach taken by many Westerners, and is highly suspect, especially since Westerners necessarily profit from the exploitation of the peoples and women of Africa, whether directly or indirectly.

Feminists from developed countries—at least those who are sincerely concerned about this situation rather than those who use it only for their personal prestige—should understand this other aspect of the problem. They must accept that it is a problem for *African women*, and that no change is possible without the conscious participation of African women. They must avoid ill-timed interference, maternalism, ethnocentrism and misuse of power. These are attitudes which can only widen the gap between the Western feminist movement and that of the Third World. . . .

On the question of such traditional practices as genital mutilation, African women must no longer equivocate or react only to Western interference. They must speak out in favour of the total eradication of all these practices, and they must lead information and education campaigns to this end within their own countries and on a continental level.

Tradition Trumps Legislation: The Case of the Indian Dowry System

113 • EDITORIAL AGAINST DOWRY FROM MANUSHI

Although some improvement in the status of Indian women took place under British rule, major legislation to advance gender equality took place only after Indian independence in 1947. Women received the right to vote, hold political office, own property, and divorce their husbands; in addition, child marriage and polygamy were outlawed, and restrictions against intercaste marriages were eased. In 1961, the government also outlawed dowries, the gifts of property a new bride's family was expected to make to the husband or the husband's family. The intent of the legislation was to lessen the financial burdens of families with daughters and encourage men from higher castes to marry women from lower castes.

As the following editorial shows, however, the practice of dowries continued, often with tragic results for young married women. This anonymous editorial was originally published in 1979 in *Manushi*, an Indian magazine for women.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to the author of this editorial, is the giving and taking of dowries the result of recent developments or of long-standing Indian traditions?
2. According to the author, why have efforts to end the practice of dowries failed?
3. What does the author see as the solution to the problem?
4. According to the author, to what degree do dowry murders fit into a general pattern of mistreatment of women in Indian society?

Most people are not even aware that the giving and taking of dowry is a legal offense. Since the Prohibition of Dowry Act was passed in 1961, the custom has flowered and flourished, invading castes and communities among whom it was hitherto unknown—sprouting new forms and varieties. It is percolating downwards and becoming so widespread even among the working classes that it is no longer possible to consider it a problem of the middle class alone. . . .

Marriages are made and broken for such items as cars, scooters, TVs, refrigerators and washing machines, wedding receptions in five-star hotels or an air ticket plus the promise of a job for the son-in-law in a foreign country.

In India, we have a glorious heritage of systematic violence on women in the family itself, sati¹ and female infanticide being the two better-known forms. Today, we do not kill girl-babies at birth. We let them die through systematic neglect—the mortality rate among female children is 30–60% higher than among male children. Today, we do not wait till a woman is widowed before we burn her to death. We burn her in the lifetime of her husband so that he can get a new bride with a fatter dowry.

“Woman burnt to death. A case of suicide has been registered. The police are enquiring into the matter.” For years, such three-line news items have appeared almost every day in the newspapers and gone unnoticed. It is only lately that dowry deaths are being given detailed coverage. It is not by accident that fuller reporting of such cases has coincided with a spurt of protest demonstrations.

We, as women, have too long been silent spectators, often willing participants in the degrading drama of matrimony—when girls are advertised, displayed, bargained over, and disposed of with the pious injunction: “Daughter, we are sending you to your husband’s home. . . . You are not to leave it till your corpse emerges from its doors.” Death may be slow in coming—a long process of killing the girl’s spirit by harassment, taunts, torture. It may be only too quick—fiery and sudden. Dousing the woman with kerosene and setting her on fire seems to have become the most popular way of murdering a daughter-in-law because with police connivance it is the easiest to make out as a case of suicide or accident.

Source: from Madhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, *In Search of Answers: Voices from Manushi* (London: Zed Books, 1984), 246–248. Reprinted by permission of Zed Books.

¹Sati is the custom in which a Hindu widow is willingly cremated on the funeral pyre of her dead husband as a sign of devotion to him.

And for every one reported murder, hundreds go unreported, especially in rural areas where it is almost impossible to get redress unless one is rich and influential. . . .

Why is it that gifts have to be given with the daughter? Hindu scriptures proclaim that the girl herself is the most precious of gifts “presented” by her father to her husband. Thus the money transaction between families is bound up with the marriage transaction whereby the girl becomes a piece of transferrable property. So little is a woman worth that a man has literally to be paid to take her off her father’s hands. The dramatic increase in dowry-giving in the post-independence period reflects the declining value of women in our society. Their only worth is as reproducers who provide “legitimate” heirs for their husbands’ property. . . .

. . . We appeal, therefore, to all the women’s organizations to undertake a broad-based united

action on this issue and launch an intensive, concerted campaign instead of the isolated, sporadic protests which . . . can have only a short-term, limited impact.

Perhaps even more urgent is the need to begin the movement from our own homes. Are we sure that none of us who participated so vociferously in these demonstrations will take dowry from our parents or give it to our daughters in however veiled a form? That we will rather say “No” to marriage than live a life of humiliations and compromises? Do we have the courage to boycott marriages where dowry is given? . . . Will we socially ostracize such people, no matter how close they are to us? All the protest demonstrations will be only so much hot air unless we are prepared to create pressures against dowry beginning from our own homes.

Communism’s Retreat

The Cold War era was a time of moral and ideological absolutes. On one side was the communist world, characterized by authoritarian, one-party governments, centralized economic planning, and a commitment to the worldwide victory of Marxism over capitalism. On the other side was the “free world,” a bloc of nations led by the United States, with the goal of defending capitalism and spreading liberal democracy. For more than 40 years, these two blocs formed formidable military alliances, built up huge nuclear arsenals, supported giant intelligence establishments, and competed for support among nonaligned nations. For both sides, the dualisms of the Cold War—communism versus capitalism, the United States versus the Soviet Union, NATO versus the Warsaw Pact—gave direction and meaning to international politics.

In reality, the Cold War was never completely about ideology. From its start, the United States and its allies propped up dictators when it served their purposes. Furthermore, cracks and fissures appeared in both coalitions as early as the 1950s. Anti-Soviet revolts took place in Eastern Europe in 1956 and 1968, and relations between China and the Soviet Union cooled in the mid-1960s. Also in the 1960s, the prospering, stable democracies of Western Europe, inspired by the independent diplomatic course of France’s leader, Charles de Gaulle, no longer unquestioningly

accepted U.S. policies concerning military deployment in Europe and U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

There were times when the Cold War seemed about to end, but on each occasion, old tensions returned. Peaceful coexistence in the late 1950s gave way to renewed acrimony after the downing of a U.S. spy plane over Soviet territory in 1960, the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. U.S.–Soviet relations improved in the 1970s, but again deteriorated after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. In the early 1980s, President Ronald Reagan branded the Soviet Union an “evil empire,” and Soviet suspicions of the United States deepened. No one expected anything other than continuing U.S.–Soviet conflict.

By 1991, however, the Cold War was over. In one state after another, communist regimes in Eastern Europe either collapsed or were voted out of power and replaced by democracies. Within the Soviet Union, Premier Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 initiated policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) to rejuvenate Soviet society. But his efforts to save communism by democratization and economic liberalization had unexpected results: by the end of 1991, communist rule and the Soviet Union itself had ceased to exist.

Profound changes also took place in China. After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, China’s new leader, Deng Xiaoping, deemphasized ideology and egalitarianism in favor of pragmatism and economic development. He ordered the opening of small private businesses, fostered a market economy in agriculture, sought foreign investment, supported scientific and technological education, and encouraged Chinese exports of manufactured goods. The result was economic growth rates of 12 percent annually in the early 1990s. China remained officially communist, but with its commitment to “market socialism,” it was far different from the isolated, ideology-driven China of previous decades.

China’s New Course

114 • DENG XIAOPING, SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Of all the events of the late twentieth century, China’s full entry into the global economy and its decision to commit itself to economic development may prove to be the most significant. For centuries, China was the world’s most successful state in terms of size, wealth, technological sophistication, and strength of its political institutions. This was easy to forget in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when China became a pawn of the Western powers and a victim of political breakdown, military defeat, and deepening poverty. In the 1980s, however, China’s leaders set a new course that seems destined to restore China to its preeminence in Asia, if not its primacy among the world’s powers.

The man who launched China on its new path was Deng Xiaoping. Born into the family of a well-off landowner in 1904, Deng studied in China and then in

post–World War I France, where he supported himself as a kitchen helper and a laborer. He also embraced Marxism, which he studied further in Moscow in 1925–1926. On his return to China in 1927, he joined the Communist Party and became one of Mao's most loyal followers.

After the communists took control of China in 1949, Deng became a Politburo member and party secretary general, with responsibility for overseeing economic development in southwest China. He supported the strategy of developing China's economy by following the Stalinist model of agricultural collectivization, centralized planning, and investment in heavy industry. This was scrapped in 1958 when Mao instituted the Great Leap Forward. As we have seen (source 109), the Great Leap Forward was a spectacular failure, and in its wake, Deng and other moderates dismantled the communes and reintroduced centralized planning.

This made Deng a prime candidate for vilification after Mao launched the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966. Designed to revive revolutionary fervor and rescue China from materialism and Soviet-style bureaucratization, the revolution unleashed the energies of millions of young people who were urged to rise up and smash "bourgeois" elements throughout society. Deng fell from power, was paraded through the streets in a dunce cap, and was put to work in a mess hall and a tractor repair shop. As the Cultural Revolution faded, Deng was reinstated as a party official, and after Mao's death in 1976, he led the moderates in their struggle with the radical faction led by Mao's widow, Jiang Qing. Deng's faction won, and in December 1978, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party officially abandoned Mao's emphasis on ideology and class struggle in favor of a moderate, pragmatic policy designed to achieve the Four Modernizations in agriculture, industry, science and technology, and the military.

To encourage economic growth, the government fostered free markets, competition, and private incentives. Although Deng claimed that China had entered its "second revolution," it was an economic revolution only. When millions of Chinese demonstrated for democracy in the spring of 1989, the government crushed the demonstration in Beijing with soldiers and tanks, thus ensuring the continuation of the party dictatorship. After 1989, Deng withdrew from public life, and he died in early 1997. The following excerpts are from speeches and interviews given by Deng between 1983 and 1986.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Deng, what had been the shortcomings of China's economic development planning under Mao Zedong?
2. According to Deng, how is China's new economic policy truly Marxist and truly socialist?
3. How does Deng view China's role in the world? What implications will China's new economic priorities have for its foreign policy?
4. What is Deng's rationale for opposing democracy in China?

Maoism's Flaws

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great leader. . . . But he made the grave mistake of neglecting the development of the productive forces. I do not mean he didn't want to develop them. The point is, not all of the methods he used were correct. For instance, the people's communes were established in defiance of the laws governing socio-economic development. The most important lesson we have learned, among a great many others, is that we must be clear about what socialism is and how to build it. . . .

The goal for Marxists is to realize communism, which must be built on the basis of highly developed productive forces. What is a communist society? It is a society in which there is vast material wealth and in which the principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs is applied. . . .

Our experience in the 20 years from 1958 to 1978 teaches us that poverty is not socialism, that socialism means eliminating poverty. Unless you are developing the productive forces and raising people's living standards, you cannot say that you are building socialism.

After the Third Plenary Session¹ we proceeded to explore ways of building socialism in China. . . . The first goal we set was to achieve comparative prosperity by the end of the century. . . . So taking population increase into consideration, we planned to quadruple our GNP [Gross National Product], which meant that per capita GNP would grow from \$250 to \$800 or \$1,000. We shall lead a much better life when we reach this level, although it is still much lower than that of the developed countries. That is why we call it comparative prosperity. When we attain that level, China's GNP will have reached \$1,000 billion,

representing increased national strength. And the most populous nation in the world will have shaken off poverty and be able to make a greater contribution to mankind. With a GNP of \$1,000 billion as a springboard, within 30 or 50 more years—50, to be more accurate—China may reach its second goal, to approach the level of the developed countries. How are we to go about achieving these goals? . . . We began our reform in the countryside. The main point of the rural reform has been to bring the peasants' initiative into full play by introducing the responsibility system and discarding the system whereby everybody ate from the same big pot. Why did we start in the countryside? Because that is where 80 per cent of China's population lives. If we didn't raise living standards in the countryside, the society would be unstable. Industry, commerce and other sectors of the economy cannot develop on the basis of the poverty of 80 per cent of the population. After three years of practice the rural reform has proved successful. . . . The countryside has assumed a new look. The living standards of 90 per cent of the rural population have been raised. . . .

Urban reform is more complicated and risky. This is especially true in China, because we have no experience in this regard. Also, China has traditionally been a very closed society, so that people lack information about what's going on elsewhere. . . .

It is our hope that businessmen and economists in other countries will appreciate that to help China develop will benefit the world. China's foreign trade volume makes up a very small portion of the world's total. If we succeed in quadrupling the GNP, the volume of our foreign trade will increase considerably, promoting China's economic relations with other countries and

Source: Deng Xiaoping, *Fundamental Issues in Present-Day China* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1987), pp. 42–44, 69–72, 101–102, 105–109, 162–163. Reprinted by permission.

¹The Third Plenary Session of Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, held in December 1978, approved the Four Modernizations Program favored by Deng.

expanding its market. Therefore, judged from the perspective of world politics and economics, China's development will benefit world peace and the world economy. . . .

True Socialism

Our modernization programme is a socialist programme, not anything else. All our policies for carrying out reform, opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy are designed to develop the socialist economy. We allow the development of individual economy, of joint ventures with both Chinese and foreign investment and of enterprises wholly owned by foreign businessmen, but socialist public ownership will always remain predominant. The aim of socialism is to make all our people prosperous, not to create polarization. If our policies led to polarization, it would mean that we had failed; if a new bourgeoisie emerged, it would mean that we had strayed from the right path. In encouraging some regions to become prosperous first, we intend that they should help the economically backward ones to develop. Similarly, in encouraging some people to become prosperous first, we intend that they should help others who are still in poverty to become better off, so that there will be common prosperity rather than polarization. A limit should be placed on the wealth of people who become prosperous first, through the income tax, for example. In addition, we should encourage them to contribute money to run schools and build roads. . . . We should encourage these people to make donations, but it's better not to give such donations too much publicity.

In short, predominance of public ownership and common prosperity are the two fundamental socialist principles that we must adhere to. We shall firmly put them into practice. And ultimately we shall move on to communism.

Special Economic Zones

In establishing special economic zones² and implementing an open policy, we must make it clear that our guideline is just that—to open and not to close.

I was impressed by the prosperity of the Shenzhen³ Special Economic Zone during my stay there. The pace of construction in Shenzhen is rapid. It is particularly fast in Shekou, because the authorities there are permitted to make their own spending decisions up to a limit of U.S. \$5 million. Their slogan is "time is money, efficiency is life." In Shenzhen, it doesn't take long to erect a tall building; the workers complete a storey in a couple of days. . . . Their high efficiency is due to the "contracted responsibility system," under which they are paid according to their performance, and to a fair system of rewards and penalties.

A special economic zone is a medium for introducing technology, management and knowledge. It is also a window for our foreign policy. Through the special economic zone we can import foreign technology, obtain knowledge and learn management, which is also a kind of knowledge. . . . Public order in Shenzhen is reportedly better than before, and people who slipped off to Hong Kong have begun to return. One reason is that there are more job opportunities and people's incomes and living standards are rising, all of which proves that cultural and ideological progress is based on material progress.

China's Foreign Relations

Reviewing our history, we have concluded that one of the most important reasons for China's long years of stagnation and backwardness was its policy of closing the country to outside contact. Our experience shows that China cannot rebuild itself with its doors closed to the outside and

²Special Economic Zones were restricted areas where foreign firms could set up businesses and house foreign personnel.

³A district in southern China's Guangdong province, situated just north of Hong Kong. The area was one of the first Special Economic Zones.

that it cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world. It goes without saying that a large country like China cannot depend on others for its development; it must depend mainly on itself, on its own efforts. Nevertheless, while holding to self-reliance, we should open our country to the outside world to obtain such aid as foreign investment capital and technology. . . .

China's Political Future

The recent student unrest⁴ is not going to lead to any major disturbances. But because of its nature it must be taken very seriously. Firm measures must be taken against any student who creates trouble at Tiananmen Square. . . . In the beginning, we mainly used persuasion, which is as it should be in dealing with student demonstrators. But if any of them disturb public order or violate the law, they must be dealt with unhesitatingly. Persuasion includes application of the law. When a disturbance breaks out in a place, it's because the leaders there didn't take a firm, clear-cut stand. This is not a problem that has arisen in just one or two places or in just the last couple of years; it is the result of failure over the past several years to take a firm, clear-cut stand against bourgeois liberalization. It is essential to adhere firmly to the Four Cardinal Principles;⁵ otherwise bourgeois liberalization will spread unchecked—and that has been the root cause of the problem. . . .

In developing our democracy, we cannot simply copy bourgeois democracy, or introduce the system of a balance of three powers. I have often criticized people in power in the United States, saying that actually they have three governments. Of course, the American bourgeoisie uses this system in dealing with other countries, but when it comes to internal affairs, the three branches often pull in different directions, and that makes trouble. We cannot adopt such a system. . . .

Without leadership by the Communist Party and without socialism, there is no future for China. This truth has been demonstrated in the past, and it will be demonstrated again in future. When we succeed in raising China's per capita GNP to \$4,000 and everyone is prosperous, that will better demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism, it will point the way for three quarters of the world's population and it will provide further proof of the correctness of Marxism. Therefore, we must confidently keep to the socialist road and uphold the Four Cardinal Principles.

We cannot do without dictatorship. We must not only affirm the need for it but exercise it when necessary. Of course, we must be cautious about resorting to dictatorial means and make as few arrests as possible. But if some people attempt to provoke bloodshed, what are we going to do about it? We should first expose their plot and then do our best to avoid shedding blood, even if that means some of our own people get hurt. However, ringleaders who have violated the law must be sentenced according to law. Unless we are prepared to do that, it will be impossible to put an end to disturbances. If we take no action and back down, we shall only have more trouble down the road.

The struggle against bourgeois liberalization is also indispensable. We should not be afraid that it will damage our reputation abroad. China must take its own road and build socialism with Chinese characteristics—that is the only way China can have a future. We must show foreigners that China's political situation is stable. If our country were plunged into disorder and our nation reduced to a heap of loose sand, how could we ever prosper? The reason the imperialists were able to bully us in the past was precisely that we were a heap of loose sand.

⁴Deng made these remarks in December 1986, when student demonstrations and speechmaking on behalf of the pro-democracy movement had been going on in Tiananmen Square in Beijing for several years.

⁵Issued by Deng in 1979, the Four Cardinal Principles were (1) the socialist path, (2) the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) party leadership, and (4) Marxism/Leninism/Mao Zedong thought.

A Plan to Save Communism in the Soviet Union

115 • MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, PERESTROIKA

In the 1970s and early 1980s, the Soviet Union was viewed as one of the world's two superpowers, with an enormous army, a huge industrial establishment, a record of impressive technological achievement, and a seemingly unshakable authoritarian government. In reality, industrial output and agricultural production were stagnating, the people's morale was plummeting, and the fossilized bureaucracy was mired in old policies and theories that no longer worked. Against this background Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the Communist Party in March 1985 and began the task of rejuvenating Soviet communism by introducing policies based on *glasnost*, or openness, and *perestroika*, or restructuring.

Gorbachev, who was 54 years old when he took power, was born of peasant parents and had studied law and agricultural economics. After filling a variety of positions in the Communist Party, he became a member of the politburo in 1979. In 1987, he published a book, *Perestroika*, from which the following excerpt is taken. In it, he describes his goals for Soviet communism. He fell from power in 1991, with his reforms having led not to communism's reform but to its demise and not to the Soviet Union's revival but to its collapse.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What developments in the Soviet Union led Gorbachev to the conclusion that Soviet society and government were in need of reform?
2. In Gorbachev's analysis, what caused Soviet society to "lose its momentum"?
3. In Gorbachev's view, how will the "individual" in Soviet society be affected by his reforms?
4. To what extent is perestroika democratic?
5. What similarities and differences do you see between Gorbachev's statements about perestroika and Deng's comments about the needs of China (source 114)?

Russia, where a great Revolution took place seventy years ago, is an ancient country with a unique history filled with searchings, accomplishments, and tragic events. It has given the world many discoveries and outstanding personalities.

However, the Soviet Union is a young state without analogues in history or in the modern world. Over the past seven decades—a short span in the history of human civilization—our country has traveled a path equal to centuries. One of the mightiest powers in the world rose up to replace

Source: From *Perestroika* by Mikhail Gorbachev, pp. 18–19, 21–25, 30–36. Copyright © 1987 by Mikhail Gorbachev. Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

the backward semi-colonial and semi-feudal Russian Empire. . . .

At some stage—this became particularly clear in the latter half of the seventies—something happened that was at first sight inexplicable. The country began to lose momentum. Economic failures became more frequent. Difficulties began to accumulate and deteriorate, and unresolved problems to multiply. Elements of what we call stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism began to appear in the life of society. A kind of “braking mechanism” affecting social and economic development formed. And all this happened at a time when scientific and technological revolution opened up new prospects for economic and social progress. . . .

Analyzing the situation, we first discovered a slowing economic growth. In the last fifteen years the national income growth rates had declined by more than a half and by the beginning of the eighties had fallen to a level close to economic stagnation. A country that was once quickly closing on the world’s advanced nations began to lose one position after another. . . .

. . . We spent, in fact we are still spending, far more on raw materials, energy, and other resources per unit of output than other developed nations. Our country’s wealth in terms of natural and manpower resources has spoilt, one may even say corrupted, us. . . .

The presentation of a “problem-free” reality backfired: a breach had formed between word and deed, which bred public passivity and disbelief in the slogans being proclaimed. It was only natural that this situation resulted in a credibility gap: everything that was proclaimed from the rostrums and printed in newspapers and textbooks was put in question. Decay began in public morals; the great feeling of solidarity with each other that was forged during the heroic times of the Revolution, the first five-year plans, the Great Patriotic War,¹

and postwar rehabilitation was weakening; alcoholism, drug addiction, and crime were growing; and the penetration of the stereotypes of mass culture alien to us, which bred vulgarity and low tastes and brought about ideological barrenness, increased.

. . . [M]ass distribution of awards, titles, and bonuses often replaced genuine concern for the people, for their living and working conditions, for a favorable social atmosphere. An atmosphere emerged of “everything goes,” and fewer and fewer demands were made on discipline and responsibility. Attempts were made to cover it all up with pompous campaigns and undertakings and celebrations of numerous anniversaries centrally and locally. The world of day-to-day realities and the world of feigned prosperity were diverging more and more. . . .

By saying all this I want to make the reader understand that the energy for revolutionary change has been accumulating amid our people and in the Party for some time. And the ideas of perestroika have been prompted not just by pragmatic interests and considerations but also by our troubled conscience, by the indomitable commitment to ideals which we inherited from the Revolution and as a result of a theoretical quest which gave us a better knowledge of society and reinforced our determination to go ahead.

Today our main job is to lift the individual spiritually, respecting his inner world and giving him moral strength. We are seeking to make the whole intellectual potential of society and all the potentialities of culture work to mold a socially active person, spiritually rich, just, and conscientious. An individual must know and feel that his contribution is needed, that his dignity is not being infringed upon, that he is being treated with trust and respect. When an individual sees all this, he is capable of accomplishing much.

¹World War II.

Of course, perestroika somehow affects everybody; it jolts many out of their customary state of calm and satisfaction at the existing way of life. Here I think it is appropriate to draw your attention to one specific feature of socialism. I have in mind the high degree of social protection in our society. On the one hand, it is, doubtless, a benefit and a major achievement of ours. On the other, it makes some people spongers.

There is virtually no unemployment. The state has assumed concern for ensuring employment. Even a person dismissed for laziness or a breach of labor discipline must be given another job. Also, wage-leveling has become a regular feature of our everyday life: even if a person is a bad worker, he gets enough to live fairly comfortably. The children of an outright parasite will not be left to the mercy of fate. We have enormous sums of money concentrated in the social funds from which people receive financial assistance. The same funds provide subsidies for the upkeep of kindergartens, orphanages, Young Pioneer² houses, and other institutions related to children's creativity and sport. Health care is free, and so is education. People are protected from the vicissitudes of life, and we are proud of this.

But we also see that dishonest people try to exploit these advantages of socialism; they know only their rights, but they do not want to know their duties: they work poorly, shirk, and drink hard. There are quite a few people who have adapted the existing laws and practices to their own selfish interests. They give little to society, but nevertheless managed to get from it all that is possible. . . .

The policy of restructuring puts everything in its place. We are fully restoring the principle of socialism. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," and we seek to affirm social justice for all, equal rights for all, one law

for all, one kind of discipline for all, and high responsibilities for each. Perestroika raises the level of social responsibility and expectation. . . .

It is essential to learn to adjust policy in keeping with the way it is received by the masses, and to ensure feedback, absorbing the ideas, opinions, and advice coming from the people. The masses suggest a lot of useful and interesting things which are not always clearly perceived "from the top." . . .

The Plenary Meeting encouraged extensive efforts to strengthen the democratic basis of Soviet society, to develop self-government and extend glasnost, that is openness, in the entire management network. We see now how stimulating that impulse was for the nation. Democratic changes have been taking place at every work collective, at every state and public organization, and within the Party. More glasnost, genuine control from "below," and greater initiative and enterprise at work are now part and parcel of our life. . . .

Perestroika means overcoming the stagnation process, breaking down the braking mechanism, creating a dependable and effective mechanism for the acceleration of social and economic progress and giving it greater dynamism.

Perestroika means mass initiative. It is the comprehensive development of democracy, socialist self-government, encouragement of initiative and creative endeavor, improved order and discipline, more glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism in all spheres of our society. It is utmost respect for the individual and consideration for personal dignity.

Perestroika is the all-round intensification of the Soviet economy, the revival and development of the principles of democratic centralism in running the national economy, the universal introduction of economic methods, the renunciation of management by injunction and by administrative methods, and the overall encouragement of innovation and socialist enterprise.

²A youth organization sponsored by the Soviet regime.

Perestroika means a resolute shift to scientific methods, an ability to provide a solid scientific basis for every new initiative. It means the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with a planned economy.

Perestroika means priority development of the social sphere aimed at ever better satisfaction of the Soviet people's requirements for good living and working conditions, for good rest and recreation, education, and health care. It means unceasing concern for cultural and spiritual wealth, for the culture of every individual and society as a whole.

Perestroika means the elimination from society of the distortions of socialist ethics, the consistent implementation of the principles of social justice. It means the unity of words and deeds, rights and

duties. It is the elevation of honest, highly-qualified labor, the overcoming of leveling tendencies in pay and consumerism.

I stress once again: perestroika is not some kind of illumination or revelation. To restructure our life means to understand the objective necessity for renovation and acceleration. And that necessity emerged in the heart of our society. The essence of perestroika lies in the fact that it *unites socialism with democracy* and revives the Leninist concept of socialist construction both in theory and in practice. Such is the essence of perestroika, which accounts for its genuine revolutionary spirit and its all-embracing scope.

The goal is worth the effort. And we are sure that our effort will be a worthy contribution to humanity's social progress.

Terrorism in a Global Age

On the morning of September 11, 2001, four U.S. commercial airliners—two from Logan Airport in Boston, one from Dulles International Airport in Washington, D.C., and one from Newark International Airport in New Jersey—were hijacked shortly after departure by members of al-Qaeda, a terrorist organization founded in the 1980s by Osama bin Laden. One of the four jets was commandeered by passengers and crashed in a field in southwestern Pennsylvania with no survivors, but the other three found their targets. One was flown to Washington, D.C., where it crashed into the Pentagon, the symbol of U.S. military might; the other two were flown to New York City, where they smashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center, a symbol of U.S. capitalism. The twin towers were destroyed, more than 3,000 people were killed, and fighting terrorism became the priority of governments around the world.

Terrorism as a political weapon has a long history. Many histories of the subject begin with the first century C.E., when Roman authorities financed dissidents and malcontents to murder enemies in subject territories or neighboring states, and members of a small Jewish sect assassinated officials and prominent individuals in and around Jerusalem to bring about the end of Roman rule in Palestine. Terrorism's history includes the Persian religious sect, the Assassins, who used murder to end the rule of the Seljuk Turks in Southwest Asia; Catholics who sought to undermine England's Protestant government by plotting to blow up the houses of

Parliament in 1605; and European anarchists and radical socialists who assassinated some 50 prominent politicians and heads of state from the late 1800s through the early 1900s. The assassination of Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz-Ferdinand in July 1914 by a member of the Serbian sect called “Union or Death” led directly to the outbreak of World War I one month later.

After subsiding during and after World War I, terrorism revived after World War II. Beginning in the late 1940s, terrorist acts have taken place in every part of the world and have been carried out by groups espousing many different causes: radical Zionists in post-World War II Palestine; anticolonialists in Africa and Asia; left-wing radicals in Europe; Arabs bent on the destruction of Israel; abortion foes in the United States; religious extremists in India, Northern Ireland, Indonesia, and Africa; enemies of apartheid in South Africa; and Chechen separatists in Russia, to name but a few. They also include obscure religious sects such as Aum Shinrikyo, whose members killed 12 and injured thousands when they released sarin gas in the Tokyo subway system in 1995; alienated individuals such as Theodore Kaczynski, the American opponent of technology whose letter bombs killed 3 and injured 23 before his arrest in 1997; and self-proclaimed patriots like Timothy McVeigh, who sought to strike a blow against the “tyranny” of the U.S. government in 1995, when his truck bomb destroyed the federal building in Oklahoma City and killed 168.

In recent decades, terrorism has been identified especially with the Middle East, whose peoples are both victims of terrorism and a major source of recruitment, organizational effort, and financing for terrorist activities around the world. Terrorist bombings, hijackings, kidnappings, and assassinations related to political and religious conflict in the region took more than 1,000 lives from the 1970s through the 1990s, but it was the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, that caused a seismic shift in world politics and made the prevention of terrorism the twenty-first century’s first great challenge. The two sources in this section seek to provide insight into the beliefs and values of those who were responsible for that attack.

The Worldview of Osama bin Laden

116 • OSAMA BIN LADEN, DECLARATION OF JIHAD AGAINST AMERICANS OCCUPYING THE LAND OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES

Osama bin Laden, the founder of al-Qaeda, was born in 1957 in Saudi Arabia, the son of a billionaire owner of a construction company and a cultured Syrian woman who was his tenth or eleventh wife. Young bin Laden led a privileged existence of private schooling, Scandinavian vacations, and English lessons in Oxford. At 17, he enrolled as a civil engineering student at King Abdul Aziz University in Jidda, Saudi Arabia, where he became interested in Islamic theology and forged

friendships with Islamic radicals. In 1980, he went to the Pakistani–Afghan border to aid Afghan holy warriors, or mujahedeen, who were fighting Soviet troops who had invaded Afghanistan in late 1979 to prop up the pro-Soviet regime. Using his inheritance (perhaps as much as \$300 million), he organized an office to provide support and weapons for the thousands of Muslim volunteers; from the mid-1980s onward, he joined the fighting. Out of these contacts and activities, al-Qaeda (meaning “the base” in Arabic) took shape under bin Laden’s guidance.

On his return to Saudi Arabia, bin Laden became an outspoken critic of the Saudi regime for its corruption, secularism, and acceptance of the U.S. military presence during and after the first Persian Gulf War. In 1991, he fled to Sudan, where he extended and expanded al-Qaeda to include as many as several thousand agents who worked in cells ranging from the Philippines to the United States. Between 1992 and 1995, al-Qaeda was linked to attacks on U.S. troops in Yemen and Somalia, the bombing of an American-operated Saudi National Guard training center in Riyadh, and unsuccessful plots to assassinate Pope John Paul II, U.S. president Clinton, and Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. Under U.S. pressure, Sudan expelled bin Laden in 1996, forcing al-Qaeda to relocate its base to Afghanistan, which was coming under the control of the radical Islamic group known as the Taliban. Between 1996 and 2000, al-Qaeda was responsible for more acts of terrorism, including the car bombing of an apartment building in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, that killed 19 U.S. soldiers; the simultaneous bombings of U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya that killed 234 and injured several thousand; and the attack on the USS *Cole* in Aden, Yemen, that killed 17 U.S. sailors and wounded 39. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States invaded Afghanistan, ended Taliban rule, and smashed al-Qaeda headquarters and training camps. Bin Laden eluded capture, however, presumably moving to the mountainous region straddling the Pakistani–Afghan border.

Bin Laden has published little and as leader of a secret terrorist organization has given few interviews or public speeches. One exception is the speech he delivered to his followers in Afghanistan in August 1996 in which he “declared war” on the United States. Printed in Arabic-language newspapers and audiotaped for worldwide distribution, bin Laden’s speech describes his motives and priorities.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does bin Laden perceive the Muslims’ place in the world? Who are their main enemies?
2. Why does bin Laden oppose the existing government of Saudi Arabia?
3. What are the goals of the “Zionist-Crusaders alliance,” according to bin Laden?
4. What lessons can be learned, according to bin Laden, by the U.S. response to terrorist attacks and military setbacks in Beirut, Aden, and Somalia?
5. Why is bin Laden convinced that Muslims will triumph in their struggle with the United States?
6. What do you perceive as bin Laden’s ultimate political and religious goals?

It should not be hidden from you that the community of Islam has suffered from aggression, iniquity and injustice imposed on them by the Zionist-Crusaders alliance and their collaborators. . . . Their blood was spilled in Palestine and Iraq. The horrifying pictures of the massacre of Qana¹ in Lebanon are still fresh in our memory. Massacres in Tajikistan, Burma, Kashmir, Assam, the Philippines, Fatani, Oga-din, Somalia, Eritrea, Chechnya and in Bosnia-Herzegovina² took place, massacres that send shivers in the body and shake the conscience. All of this and the world watched and listened, and not only didn't respond to these atrocities, but also with a conspiracy between the USA and its allies and under the cover of the iniquitous United Nations the dispossessed people were even prevented from obtaining arms to defend themselves.

The people of Islam awakened and realized that they are the main target for the aggression of the Zionist-Crusaders alliance. All false claims and propaganda about "Human Rights" were hammered down and exposed by the massacres that took place against the Muslims in every part of the world. . . .

Today we work to lift the iniquity that had been imposed on the Umma [the Muslim community] by the Zionist-Crusaders alliance, particularly after they have occupied the blessed land of Jerusalem . . . and the land of the two Holy Places.³ . . . We wish to study the means by which we could return the situation [in Saudi Arabia] to

its normal path and to return to the people their own rights, particularly after the large damages and the great aggression on the life and the religion of the people. . . .

Injustice [in Saudi Arabia] had affected the people in industry and agriculture. It affected the people of the rural and urban areas. And almost everybody complains about something. The situation at the land of the two Holy Places became like a huge volcano at the verge of eruption that would destroy the Kuffar [non-believers] and the corruption and its sources. . . . People are fully concerned about their everyday living; everybody talks about the deterioration of the economy, inflation, ever increasing debts and jails full of prisoners.

Through its course of actions the regime has torn off its legitimacy:

- (1) Suspension of the Islamic Sharia law and exchanging it with man-made civil law. . . .
- (2) The inability of the regime to protect the country and allowing the enemy of the Umma, the American crusader forces, to occupy the land for the longest of years. . . . As a result of the policy imposed on the country, especially in the oil industry where production is restricted or expanded and prices are fixed to suit the American economy, ignoring the economy of the country. Expensive deals were imposed on the country to purchase arms. People are asking what then is the justification for the very existence of the regime?

But to our deepest regret the regime refused to listen to the people. . . .

Source: "Declaration of Jihad Against Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Mosques," from <http://azzam.com/html/articles/declaration.htm>.

¹In April 1996, the Israelis launched a two-week bombardment of territory in southern Lebanon against the terrorist group Hezbollah. On April 18, 100 civilians were killed when the Israelis shelled the battalion headquarters of a UN peacekeeping force where some 800 Lebanese had taken refuge. The Israelis blamed "technical and procedural errors," an explanation questioned by an official UN report.

²This is a rather wide-ranging list. The massacres in Assam, a province of northeastern India, were carried out by an Assam separatist group in 1990 and claimed several dozen victims, not all of whom were Muslims. Attacks on Burmese (Myanmar) Muslims in the early 1990s were carried out by Buddhists.

³Mecca, the birthplace of Muhammad and the site of the Kabah, Islam's holiest shrine, and Medina, the city to which Muhammad and his followers fled in 622 C.E. Both are in Saudi Arabia.

The regime is fully responsible for what has been incurred by the country and the nation; however, the occupying American enemy is the principal and the main cause of the situation. Therefore efforts should be concentrated on destroying, fighting and killing the enemy until, by the Grace of Allah, it is completely defeated. . . .

...

It is incredible that our country is the world's largest buyer of arms from the USA and the area's biggest commercial partner of the Americans who are assisting their Zionist brothers in occupying Palestine and in evicting and killing the Muslims there, by providing arms, men and financial support. To deny these occupiers . . . the enormous revenues from their trade with our country is a very important help for our Jihad against them. . . .

We expect the women of the land of the two Holy Places and other countries to carry out their role in boycotting the American goods. If economic boycott is intertwined with the military operations of the Mujahedeen [holy warriors], then defeating the enemy will be even nearer, by the Permission of Allah. . . .

...

A few days ago the news agencies had reported that the Defense Secretary⁴ of the Crusading Americans had said that "the explosions at Riyadh and Al Khobar⁵ had taught him one lesson: that is, not to withdraw when attacked by coward terrorists."⁶

We say to the Defense Secretary that his talk can induce a grieving mother to laughter! . . .

Where was this false courage of yours when the explosion in Beirut took place in 1983? You were turned into scattered bits and pieces at that time; 241 marine soldiers were killed.⁶ And where was this courage of yours when two explosions made you leave Aden in less than twenty-four hours!⁷ But your most disgraceful case was in Somalia;⁸ where you moved an international force, including twenty-eight thousand American soldiers. . . . However, when tens of your soldiers were killed in minor battles and one American pilot was dragged in the streets of Mogadishu you left the area carrying disappointment, humiliation, defeat and your dead with you. Clinton appeared in front of the whole world threatening and promising revenge, but these threats were merely a preparation for withdrawal. You have been disgraced by Allah and you withdrew; the extent of your impotence and weaknesses became very clear. . . .

Since the sons of the land of the two Holy Places feel and strongly believe that fighting against the nonbelievers in every part of the world is absolutely essential; then they would be even more enthusiastic, more powerful and larger in number upon fighting on their own land, the place of their births . . . They know that the Muslims of the world will assist and help them to victory. I say to you William [Perry] that these youths love death as you love life. They inherit dignity, pride, courage, generosity, truthfulness and sacrifice from father to father. They are most . . . steadfast at war. They inherit these values from their ancestors. . . .

⁴William Perry, secretary of defense between 1994 and 1997.

⁵In November 1995, a car bomb at a Saudi National Guard training center in Riyadh killed 5 Americans; the bombing of Khobar Towers, a U.S. Air Force housing complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killed 19 Americans.

⁶President Reagan ordered the withdrawal of Marine peacekeepers after a bomb killed 241 Marines and Navy seamen in October 1983 in Beirut.

⁷The Pentagon withdrew 100 army personnel after the U.S. embassy in Aden was bombed in 1993.

⁸President Clinton ordered the withdrawal of U.S. peacekeepers from Somalia by March 1994 after a clash with Somali warlords in Mogadishu in October 1993 resulted in the deaths of 18 Army Rangers.

These youths believe in what has been told by Allah and His messenger about the greatness of the reward for the Mujahedeen martyrs. . . .

Those youths know that their reward in fighting you, the USA, is double their reward in fighting someone else. They have no intention except to enter paradise by killing you. . . .

In the heat of battle they do not care, and cure the insanity of the enemy by their "insane" courage. Terrorizing you, while you are carrying arms on our land, is a legitimate and morally required duty. It is a legitimate right well known to all humans and other creatures. Your example and our example is like a snake which entered into a house of a man and got killed by him. The coward is the man who lets you walk, while carrying arms, freely on his land and provides you with peace and security.

Those youths are different from your soldiers. Your problem will be how to convince your troops to fight, while our problem will be how to restrain our youths to wait for their turn in fighting. . . .

The youths hold you responsible for all of the killings and evictions of the Muslims and the violation of the sanctities, carried out by your Zionist brothers in Lebanon; you openly supplied them with arms and finance. More than 600,000 Iraqi children have died due to lack of food and medicine and as a result of the unjustifiable aggression imposed on Iraq and its nation.⁹

The children of Iraq are our children. You, the USA, together with the Saudi regime are responsible for the shedding of the blood of these innocent children. . . .

It is a duty now on every tribe on the Arab Peninsula to fight in the cause of Allah and to cleanse the land from those occupiers. Allah knows that their blood is permitted to be spilled and their wealth is a booty to those who kill them. . . . Our youths know that the humiliation suffered by the Muslims as a result of the occupation of their Holy Places cannot be removed except by explosions and Jihad.

⁹The alleged victims of economic sanctions imposed on Iraq after the first Persian Gulf War (1991).

The Final Step Toward Martyrdom

117 • MOHAMMED ATTA, THE LAST NIGHT

Mohammed Atta was born in a Cairo suburb on September 1, 1968, and died on September 11, 2001, when he flew a hijacked American Airlines passenger jet into one of the towers of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan. The son of a lawyer, Atta graduated with a degree in architecture from Cairo University. He then moved to Hamburg, Germany, where he was a student at the Technical University. Devoted to Islam, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1995, and on his return to Hamburg began an Islamic prayer group. At some point, he was recruited by al-Qaeda, and by the late 1990s, his Hamburg apartment was a meeting place for the Hamburg cell. Late in 1999, it is likely that he met Osama bin Laden at al-Qaeda's base in Afghanistan. In June 2000, Atta entered the United States and attended a flight school in Venice, Florida. In 2001, he briefly visited Germany and Spain and then returned to Florida, where he took additional flying lessons. On the morning of September 11, he and another conspirator drove from their motel in South Portland, Maine, to Portland International Airport, flew to Boston, and boarded American Airlines Flight 11.

It was later discovered that Atta had left behind a bag containing airline uniforms, flight manuals, and a four-page document in Arabic, copies of which were also found in the effects of two of the other terrorists. The document is a list of instructions for the terrorists to review on the night of September 10. Excerpts from these instructions follow.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Atta, how should the participants prepare themselves for what lies ahead of them?
2. Is Atta totally confident about the success of the mission? What might go wrong, and what can be done to prevent failure?
3. What rewards can the participants expect from their anticipated martyrdom?
4. What feelings does Atta express about the victims of their actions?
5. On the basis of this document, what conclusions can be drawn about Atta's and, by extension, the other participants' motives?

1. Make an oath to die and renew your intentions. Shave excess hair from the body and wear cologne. Shower.¹

2. Make sure you know all aspects of the plan well, and expect the response, or a reaction, from the enemy.

3. Read al-Tawba and Anfāl² and reflect on their meanings and remember all of the things that God has promised for the martyrs.

4. Remind your soul to listen and obey and remember that you will face decisive situations that might prevent you from 100 percent obedience, so tame your soul, purify it, convince it, make it understand, and incite it.

5. Pray during the night and be persistent in asking God to give you victory, control and conquest, and that he may make your task easier and not expose us.

6. Remember God frequently, and the best way to do it is to read the Holy Quran. . . .

7. Purify your soul from all unclean things. Completely forget something called "this world."

Source: The original letter was translated by Capital Communications Group, Inc., Washington, D.C. Reprinted with permission.

¹These are ritual acts of self-purification to prepare oneself for martyrdom and salvation.

The time for play is over and the serious time is upon us. How much time have we wasted in our lives? Shouldn't we take advantage of these last hours to offer good deeds and obedience?

8. You should feel complete tranquility, because the time between you and your marriage [in heaven] is very short [soon to come]. Afterward begins the happy life, where God is satisfied with you, and eternal bliss "in the company of the prophets, the companions, the martyrs and the good people, who are all good company." . . .

9. Keep in mind that, if you fall into hardship, how will you act and how will you remain steadfast and remember that you will return to God and remember that anything that happens to you could never be avoided, and what did not happen to you could never have happened to you. . . .

10. Remember the words of Almighty God [lines from the Quran]: . . . "How many small groups beat big groups by the will of God." And his words: "If God gives you victory, no one can beat you. And if he betrays you, who can give you

²The ninth and eighth chapters (surahs) of the Quran, sometimes referred to as the "war chapters," they describe the need for holy war against Islam's persecutors.

victory without Him? So the faithful put their trust in God.” . . .

12. Bless your body with some verses of the Quran [done by reading verses into one's hands and then rubbing the hands over whatever is to be blessed], the luggage, clothes, the knife, your personal effects, your ID, your passport, and all of your papers.

13. Check your weapon before you leave and long before you leave. (You must make your knife sharp and you must not discomfort your animal during the slaughter.) . . .

The Second Step

When the taxi takes you to (M) [this initial probably stands for *matar*, airport in Arabic] remember God constantly while in the car. . . .

When you have reached (M) and have left the taxi, say a supplication of place [“O Lord, I ask you for the best of this place, and ask you to protect me from its evils”], and everywhere you go . . . smile and be calm, for God is with the believers. And the angels protect you without you feeling anything. Say this supplication: “God is more dear than all of his creation.” And say: “O Lord, protect me from them as you wish.” And say: “O Lord, take your anger out on them [the enemy] and we ask you to protect us from their evils.” And say: “O Lord, block their vision from in front of them, so that they may not see.” And say: “God is all we need, he is the best to rely upon.” . . .

All of their equipment and gates and technology will not prevent, nor harm, except by God's will. The believers do not fear such things. The only ones that fear it are the allies of Satan, who are the brothers of the devil . . . [and who] who are fascinated with Western civilization, and have drunk the love [of the West] like they drink water. . . .

Whoever says, “There is no God but God,” with all his heart, goes to heaven. The prophet, peace be upon him, said: “If you put all the worlds and universes on one side of the balance, and ‘No God but God’ on the other, ‘No God but God’ will

weigh more heavily.” You can repeat these words confidently, and this is just one of the strengths of these words. . . .

Also, do not seem confused or show signs of nervous tension. Be happy, optimistic, calm because you are heading for a deed that God loves and will accept [as a good deed]. It will be the day, God willing, you spend with the women of paradise. . . .

The Third Phase

When you ride the (T) [this initial probably stands for *tayyara*, airplane in Arabic], before your foot steps in it, and before you enter it, you make a prayer and supplications. Remember that this is a battle for the sake of God. . . . When the (T) moves, even slightly, toward (Q) [unknown reference], say the supplication of travel. . . .

And then it takes off. . . . Pray for yourself and all of your brothers that they may be victorious and hit their targets and [unclear] and ask God to grant you martyrdom facing the enemy, not running away from it, and for him to grant you patience and the feeling that anything that happens to you is for him. . . .

When the confrontation begins, strike like champions who do not want to go back to this world. Shout, “Allahu Akbar” [“God is great”], because this strikes fear in the hearts of the non-believers. . . . Know that the gardens of paradise are waiting for you in all their beauty, and the women of paradise are waiting, calling out, “Come hither, friend of God.” They have dressed in their most beautiful clothing.

If God decrees that any of you are to slaughter, you should dedicate the slaughter to your fathers . . . because you have obligations toward them. . . . If you slaughter, do not cause the discomfort of those you are killing, because this is one of the practices of the prophet, peace be upon him. . . .

Then implement the way of the prophet in taking prisoners. Take prisoners and kill them. As Almighty God said: “No prophet should have prisoners until he has soaked the land with blood. You want the bounties of this world [in exchange

for prisoners] and God wants the other world [for you], and God is all-powerful, all-wise." . . .

. . . When the hour of reality approaches, the zero hour . . . wholeheartedly welcome death for the sake of God. Always be remembering God. Either end your life while praying, seconds before

the target, or make your last words: "There is no God but God, Muhammad is his messenger."

Afterward, we will all meet in the highest heaven, God willing. . . .

And may the peace of the God be upon the prophet.

The Wealth and Poverty of Nations

One of the greatest challenges for historians of the recent past is making sense of the combination of recent economic, political, technological, and cultural changes described by *globalization*, a word with several layers of meaning. It refers, first of all, to a world of free trade, open markets, and capitalist competition in which goods, services, and capital flow across seamless international borders. It also refers to a world in which a remarkable series of technological breakthroughs—computers, communications satellites, fiberoptic cable, and especially the Internet—have destroyed the barriers of time and space. It refers, finally, to a world of increasing cultural homogeneity in which tastes in music, art, architecture, personal dress, and countless other areas of life have become increasingly standardized and, for better or worse, westernized.

Historians agree that globalization represents an acceleration and intensification of trends that have been a part of world history for thousands of years. Where it will take us is impossible to predict. Its supporters see universal benefits from worldwide economic growth, strengthened democracies through better-informed citizenry, increased capacity to deal with global environmental problems, and even a heightened sense of human community. Its detractors, of which there are many, see a widening divide between haves and have-nots, dangerous political transitions, the triumph of an ethos of corporate greed, and a bland uniformity in world culture. Whichever side is correct, understanding the roots and meaning of globalization will be a primary challenge for future historians.

Economic and Social Development in a New Era of Globalization

118 • WORLD BANK, WORLD DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS

The statistics in the following tables enable us to draw some conclusions about short-term economic and social developments during the recent era of intensified globalization. The data were compiled by the World Bank, one of many international organizations concerned with alleviating world poverty by encouraging economic development. Founded at the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire in 1944,

the World Bank uses funds subscribed by member nations (today numbering 186) to make loans to governments and private businesses for projects that further economic development. Although most loans at first were allocated for post-World War II reconstruction projects, since the 1950s the bank has supported projects mainly in developing nations.

Since 2000, the World Bank has sought to contribute to achieving the so-called Millennium Development Goals adopted by 189 member states of the United Nations in September 2000. Designed to “free all men, women, and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty,” the eight goals to be achieved by 2015 are eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality and empowering women; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; ensuring environmental sustainability; and developing a global partnership for economic development.

Since 1978, the World Bank has published annually its *World Development Report*, which contains commentary on development strategies and statistics on economic, demographic, fiscal, and educational trends. Since 2001, most of the statistical data have been published separately as *World Development Indicators*. The World Bank draws on a wide range of sources for the information in its annual reports, including reports from governments, U.N. agencies, and nongovernmental organizations. Inevitably, in any given year, some data may be missing due to a nation’s refusal to cooperate or its inability to do so because of conflict or natural disaster. In the accompanying tables, the use of a dash (–) shows that no data are available. Furthermore, many factors affect the reliability of the data, including weak statistical methods used by some governments, differences in coverage, and disagreements over key definitions. Despite such difficulties, the data allow us to make broad comparisons over time.

Of the more than 100 nations covered in the World Bank reports, 29 have been included in the following tables. They represent all the world’s regions and range from some of the world’s poorest states to the some of the richest. The tables provide data on eight topics:

1. Population
2. Per capita Gross National Income (GNI), a number calculated by dividing the country’s population into the Gross Domestic Income, which is calculated by adding a country’s Gross Domestic Product (the value of all goods and services produced within a country in a given time) and net receipts of primary income (compensation of employees and property income) from non-resident sources. In other words, income produced by a U.S.-owned company in Mexico counts toward the U.S. GNI, but not income produced by a Japanese-owned company in the U.S. Such information gives a broad idea of a country’s standard of living but is not necessarily an accurate gauge of the prevalence of poverty. For this, further information about wealth distribution would be needed.
3. Life expectancy

4. Infant mortality. This measures the number of infants per one thousand who die before their first birthday.
5. Literacy of adults aged 15 years or older. Literacy is defined as the ability to read and write simple sentences about one's daily life experiences.
6. Per capita energy consumption, a number calculated by converting a country's total energy consumption into the equivalent of the energy produced by 1 kilogram of oil, and then dividing it by the country's population.
7. Percentage of population with access to improved sanitation facilities, defined as those capable of preventing human, animal, and insect contact with human waste. They may range from simple, protected pit latrines to flush toilets with connection to a sewer system.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What population trends are revealed in the tables?
2. To what extent do the tables reveal uneven development among the world's major regions?
3. Does the information in the tables suggest that the gap between rich and poor nations is getting larger or smaller?
4. For those nations that have not achieved significant economic progress, what insights do the tables provide into reasons for their lack of success?
5. What information do the tables provide on the relationship between economic growth and environmental quality?
6. On the basis of the information in the tables, would it appear that things are getting better or worse for humankind?