

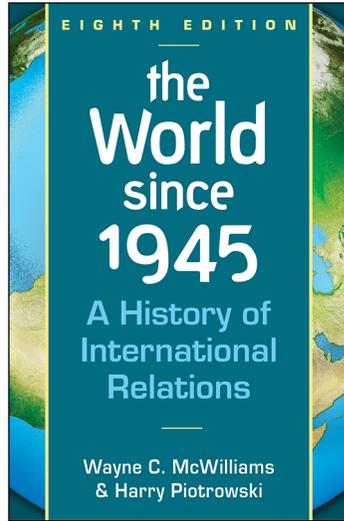
EXCERPTED FROM

The World Since 1945:
A History of
International Relations

EIGHTH EDITION

Wayne C. McWilliams
and Harry Piotrowski

Copyright © 2014
ISBN: 978-1-62637-074-6 pb



LYNNE RIENNER PUBLISHERS

1800 30th Street, Suite 314
Boulder, CO 80301 USA
telephone 303.444.6684
fax 303.444.0824

This excerpt was downloaded from the
Lynne Rienner Publishers website
www.rienner.com

Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	xi
Introduction	1
Part 1 The Origins of the Cold War	7
1 The End of World War II and the Dawn of the Nuclear Age	11
History's Most Destructive War 12, The Atomic Bombing of Japan 15, The Political Fallout 22	
2 The Cold War Institutionalized	29
The Yalta Conference 29, The Potsdam Conference 37, The Truman Doctrine 39, The Marshall Plan 41, Limits of Soviet Power 43	
3 The Cold War in Asia: A Change of Venue	47
The Allied Occupation of Japan 47, The Civil War in China 51, The Korean War 56, The United States and the Cold War in Asia 66	
4 Confrontation and Coexistence	70
West European Economic Integration 70, NATO: The Military Integration of Western Europe 74, East European Integration 77, The First Attempts at Détente 79, Moscow's Response to Containment 83, The Cuban Missile Crisis 86	

Part 2	Nationalism and the End of Colonialism	99
5	Decolonization in Asia	101
	The Impact of World War II <i>103</i> , Independence and the Partition of India <i>103</i> , The British and Dutch in Southeast Asia <i>107</i> , The French in Indochina <i>108</i> , The First Indochina War <i>110</i>	
6	Decolonization in Sub-Saharan Africa	116
	The Rise of Nationalism <i>116</i> , The British Departure <i>119</i> , The French Departure <i>122</i> , The French in Algeria <i>136</i> , The Belgian and Portuguese Departures <i>123</i> , Apartheid in South Africa <i>126</i>	
7	Decolonization in the Arab World	139
	The French Exit from Algeria <i>139</i> , Morocco <i>144</i> , Tunisia <i>145</i> , Libya <i>145</i> , Egypt <i>146</i> , Lebanon <i>148</i> , Syria <i>149</i> , Jordan <i>149</i> , Iraq <i>149</i>	
8	The Arab-Israeli Conflict	152
	The Rebirth of Zionism <i>152</i> , The Arab-Israeli Wars <i>159</i> , The Israeli-Palestinian Impasse <i>166</i> , The Search for a Political Solution <i>167</i>	
Part 3	The Shifting Sands of Global Power	179
9	The Communist World After Stalin	183
	Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost <i>184</i> , Eastern Europe: The Satellites <i>188</i> , The Sino-Soviet Split <i>197</i> , The Thirty-Year Feud Is Ended <i>202</i>	
10	The War in Indochina	206
	Downfall <i>212</i> , Johnson's War <i>213</i> , The Tet Offensive of 1968 <i>217</i> , Nixon and the Vietnamization of the War <i>220</i> , Negotiations <i>221</i> , Hanoi's Victory <i>223</i> , The Continuing Tragedy of Indochina <i>225</i> , The Plight of Cambodia <i>226</i>	
11	Détente and the End of Bipolarity	229
	Washington and Beijing: The Normalization of Relations <i>229</i> , Détente Between East and West <i>235</i>	

Part 4	The Global South	243
12	The Challenges of Economic Development	245
	The Population Factor 247, The Agrarian Dilemma 253, Prerequisites for Industrialization 254, Debt and the Global South: Africa and Latin America 256, The South's Continuing Poverty 260	
13	Africa	263
	Political Instability in Sub-Saharan Africa 264, The Biafran War 269, Foreign Intervention 271, The Worsening Economic Plight of Sub-Saharan Africa 273, Africa in the Early 1990s: The Call for Democracy 274, Flash Points in Africa in the 1990s 275, Ethnic Violence in Burundi and Rwanda 281, AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa 290	
14	Latin America	294
	The Colonial Heritage 294, "Yanqui Imperialism" 295, Economic and Political Patterns 296, South America: Oscillation Between Military and Civilian Rule 297, The Shift to the Left 310, Mexico 312, Revolution and Counterrevolution in Central America 316, Latin American Drug Trafficking 326, The Panama Connection 328	
15	The People's Republic of China and Taiwan	333
	Mao Zedong's Quest for a Communist Utopia 333, The Great Leap Forward 335, The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 336, The Tiananmen Square Massacre 338, Taiwan—The Other China 342, Taiwan and the People's Republic of China 343, Hong Kong 345, China and Its "Autonomous" Western Regions 346, The South China Sea 348	
16	The Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia	354
	India's Economic Development 356, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh 358, South Asia Since 1980 361, Southeast Asia 368, Dictatorship and Revolution in the Philippines 377	

Part 5	The Emergence of a New Landscape	383
17	The Globalization of the Economy The European Union 387, The 1980s: Three Economic Superpowers 394, Globalization: Remedy or Curse? 400, The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries 404, Insurmountable Debts 406, Global Environmentalism 409, The Global Economy and the Great Recession 410	385
18	The Rise of East Asia Strains in US-Japanese Economic Relations 419, The Four Tigers of Asia 424, Taiwan's Economic Growth 431, Deng Xiaoping's Economic Reforms 432	416
19	Russia: The Legacy of Soviet Empire Gorbachev's "New Thinking" 441, The End of the Soviet Union 448, The Yeltsin Presidency 451, The Putin Presidency 454, The Retreat from Empire 458, Poland and Solidarity 463, <i>Annus Mirabilis</i> 465, German Reunification 470, Yugoslavia 477	441
20	The Nuclear Arms Race The SALT Treaties 487, The Correlation of Forces 491, Intermediate-Range Weapons 492, Star Wars: The Strategic Defense Initiative 495, Gorbachev's Peace Offensive 497, START 500, The Expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe 502, National Missile Defense 505, Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction 506, The Quest for a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty 513	486
21	The Emergence of Political Islam in the Middle East and North Africa Islam: Theory and Practice 517, The Shiites and the Sunnis 521, The Revolution in Iran 522, The Iran-Iraq War 529, Terrorism in Lebanon and Libya 531, The Gulf War 532	517
22	September 11, Afghanistan, and Iraq Afghanistan: The War Against al Qaeda 546, Detour to Iraq 549, "Mission Accomplished" 554, The Sunni "Awakening" 560, The "Surge" 561, Kurdistan 563, Afghanistan 564, Pakistan 565	540

23	The Arab Spring: Turning to Winter?	570
	Tunisia 570, Libya 572, Morocco 574, Egypt 575, Syria 577	
	<i>Recommended Readings</i>	582
	<i>Index</i>	603
	<i>About the Book</i>	620

Introduction

In this eighth edition of *The World Since 1945*, we take the story to early 2014. Nearly seventy years after the end of World War II, the world grappled with challenges very much different from those it faced in previous decades. Arguably the most significant development during the past three decades was the increasing globalization of the economy, a process that produced an ever-tightening, interlocking economic relationship among nations and corporations. Globalization brought prosperity to many nations, notably China (which by 2012 had the world's second largest economy, behind only the United States) and India (which broke into the top ten). It came, however, with its own problems, as witnessed during the financial crises and the global recession that started in 2007, high unemployment rates, and the maldistribution of wealth.

Several old problems continued to roil the globe. The Arab-Israeli conflict remained unresolved; nuclear proliferation (once thought to have been kept under reasonable control) reemerged as an issue of concern; militant Islam gained a shot in the arm during the “Arab Spring.” The president of Russia, Vladimir Putin, announced that his country was no longer on its knees and served notice that eastward expansion by the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) could only go so far. The European Union, meanwhile, was forced to reassess its mission and ability to manage effectively the economy of its member states. A number of nations—notably in Latin America, Africa, and Asia—struggled with the challenges of establishing democratic institutions and raising the standard of living of their people.

• • •

A survey of current world conditions and a reading of the recent past reveal that the world is neither a fair nor a friendly place. Insurrections and wars abound, and all too many of the world's inhabitants live in misery and hunger while others live in comfort and luxury. In this age of modern science and technology, of space exploration and heart transplants, how does one account for the absence of peace and the continuing prevalence of poverty in a world of plenty? What are the roots of the perilous condition of human affairs? Today's students, young and old, must ask and seek to answer these questions. This book, a history of the world since 1945, was undertaken in order to assist them in that endeavor.

Tribal hostility and wars between nations have been common throughout history, but in modern times, and especially in the twentieth century with the development of modern military technology, wars became increasingly deadly. World War II brought death and destruction on an unprecedented scale, and it ended with the use of a powerful new weapon of mass destruction, the atomic bomb. From the ruins of that war came a cry, expressed even by military leaders, that there must never be another such war. Yet, even as the ashes of World War II were still smoldering, friction developed among its victors, and they—the United States and Britain on one side and the Soviet Union on the other—became locked in a new power struggle that threatened the very peace they had sacrificed so much to attain. The postwar friction between them rapidly hardened into a political Cold War that soon turned into a military confrontation marked by mutual mistrust, suspicion, and hostility. After World War II the Cold War continued for more than forty-five years as a major determinant of international affairs. The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, aggressively sought to establish and maintain blocs of allies, thus dividing the world into two hostile camps. And since each claimed to be the champion of a superior system, one capitalist and the other Communist, the world became the arena of an ideological conflict that endured for nearly half a century.

Meanwhile, both superpowers engaged in a relentless arms race. Each claimed that security lay in its own military strength and that the other's armaments threatened world peace. Thus they justified the building of massive arsenals containing thousands of nuclear weapons far more powerful than the ones used against Japan in 1945. Their arsenals became, by the end of the 1950s, large enough to destroy each other many times over and possibly extinguish human life on this planet, and yet year after year the superpowers continued to pile up ever more powerful weapons, which they could use only at their own peril. When they decided to scale back their nuclear arsenals, they found out that the genie was already out of the bottle, that even poor nations had the capability to build and launch them.

The military standoff between the nuclear powers brought about a precarious truce between them, but it did not keep them from sponsoring proxy

wars—such as in Korea, southern Asia, and Vietnam. The rest of the world became engaged in their own wars, for one reason or another. Since World War II, there have been more than a hundred wars, and many of these lesser wars, though contained geographically and limited to conventional weapons, carried the potential of igniting a larger conflagration.

Another danger to the well-being of humanity was the growing gulf between the world's rich nations and the poor nations, between the industrially advanced nations of the North and the underdeveloped nations of the South (or the Third World, as they were called during the Cold War). In the South, one finds the world's lowest standards of living, lowest economic growth rates, lowest levels of education, lowest rates of life expectancy, and the highest population growth rates and infant mortality rates. Thus, millions of the inhabitants of the South were dreadfully impoverished, malnourished, disease-ridden, and unable to live productively and in dignity. Their governments struggled, usually ineptly, to lift their countries from such impoverishment, and while some made marginal progress, many others were merely marking time or slipping even farther behind. Many of these countries contracted enormous foreign debts they were unable to pay, and their indebtedness threatened the financial stability of the wealthier nations of the North. Economic failure made the South more volatile politically and more vulnerable to intervention and militarization by the superpowers. Nearly every war fought since World War II was fought in the global South, and all were fought with weapons supplied by industrialized nations.

This is the world into which the youth of today were born. Their chances of resolving the immense problems they have inherited, of reducing the nuclear threat, and of alleviating the misery of the majority of humankind, thus making this world a safer and more civilized place, depend to a great extent on what they know of the causes of these problems. The clear-eyed vision needed to come to terms with these difficult problems and to progress toward a resolution of them must be based on an understanding of the past.

Our aim is to provide our readers with an evenhanded, yet critical, explanation of the political history of this troubled world and to expose them to more than one viewpoint. We seek to advance our readers' knowledge of the recent past and to develop a better understanding of the difficult issues and dangerous conditions in the world today. Above all, we hope to instill an appreciation of the need for greater objectivity and for careful, critical thinking about political issues. It is, therefore, our hope that this text will serve as a primer for responsible global citizenship.

It should be noted that we are primarily dealing with political history, except in certain chapters where economic themes are particularly relevant. We do not address many of the social or cultural dimensions of recent world history, as interesting or important as they may be. We also wish to point out that a text with a scope as broad as the world cannot help but be selective. Not

every political development around the globe can be discussed within these pages. We have attempted to provide a balanced coverage of global history, rather than a Western—or US-centered—approach.

The study of the recent past is no substitute for studying the longer haul of human history. Obviously, World War II had antecedents, the knowledge of which deepens our understanding of that momentous event, its consequences, and the course of events in the postwar period. Nonetheless, because World War II represents a historic watershed, it is not inappropriate that it be taken as a starting point for the study of recent world history. And because the end of the war ushered in a distinctly a new era with many new features—the advent of nuclear warfare, the development of high-speed aviation, the emergence of two superpowers, and the end of European colonialism, to name just a few—it makes sense to treat it as a distinct historical period. To be sure, for certain topics treated in this text, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict or the revolution in China, it will be necessary to trace historical roots further back in time, but our focus remains on the postwar period.

Eight Major Consequences of World War II

The enormous consequences of World War II gave shape to the postwar world, and they are treated as major themes in this text. We have identified the following as the most important of those consequences:

1. *The end of the European age.* Europe ceased to be the center of international power. At war's end, Europe was in shambles; its nations were prostrate, its cities in ruins, its people exhausted, and its economies shattered. The total defeat and destruction of Germany created a power vacuum in central Europe, and because nature and politics both abhor a vacuum, the victors inevitably filled it.

2. *The rise of the United States to superpower status.* Having played a decisive role in the global war and emerging from it militarily and economically supreme among the nations of the world, the United States shed for good what was left of its earlier isolationist tendencies and assumed a leadership role in the international arena.

3. *The expansion of the Soviet Union and its rise to superpower status.* Having played the major role in the defeat of Germany, the Soviet Union intended, despite its severe war damage and its dire economic condition, to extend its power, especially in Eastern Europe, and subsequently play a major role in world affairs.

4. *The emergence of the Cold War.* Contention, mistrust, and hostility between the two emerging superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, developed quickly and produced an ongoing, global, bipolar power struggle.

5. *The beginning of the nuclear age.* The use of the atomic bomb by the United States and the world's failure to achieve international control of atomic energy resulted inevitably in an ever-growing nuclear arms race, not only by the great powers, but by lesser powers as well.

6. *The rise of nationalism and independence movements in Asia and Africa.* Although the roots of nationalism may be traced back to prewar times, it was not until the postwar period that nationalist movements became strong enough to challenge successfully the colonial order in Asia and Africa. The struggle for independence, stimulated by a number of factors, including Japan's victories over Western colonial powers during World War II and the weakening of the European colonial powers during the war, resulted in an end to Western colonialism in a remarkably short span of time.

7. *A renewed effort to secure lasting peace through international organization.* The United Nations was created in the hope that it might help preserve the global peace and security that the old League of Nations had failed to maintain.

8. *A renewed effort to secure lasting global prosperity.* At the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in July 1944, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank came into existence, two agencies that played a major role in managing the global economy.

Most of these—interrelated—themes are discussed in Part 1, “The Origins of the Cold War,” where we examine the global state of affairs at the end of World War II and the origins of the Cold War. In Part 2, “Nationalism and the End of Colonialism,” we take up the sixth theme. There, we also trace the development of Arab and Israeli nationalism and the conflict arising from them. Part 3, “The Shifting Sands of Global Power,” focusing mainly on the 1960s, examines the changing configuration of the Cold War, the strains within the Eastern and Western blocs, the Sino-Soviet split, and the resulting emergence of multipolarity, which replaced the bipolar confrontation of the earlier Cold War period. This section also includes coverage of the Vietnam War and its consequences.

Part 4, “The Global South,” takes us back to Asia and Africa to trace their postindependence progress—or lack thereof—and to Latin America. In addition to investigating the political and economic patterns in Southern nations, we devote sections to topics such as the problem caused by their indebtedness and continued ethnic strife (particularly in Africa).

Part 5, “The Emergence of a New Landscape,” treats the major global developments since the early 1980s. We have selected for special attention the rise of Japan, China, and the European Community as new economic superpowers and the promise and pitfalls in globalization, in addition to later Cold War issues such as the rise of Solidarity in Poland, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the nuclear arms race. We also discuss the momentous

changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since the end of the 1980s, changes that signaled the end of the postwar era. We conclude the book with a discussion of the rise of militant Islam, as manifested in the Iranian revolution and its impact on the Arab world.

We urge our readers to join with us in a quest for a fuller, more objective understanding of the world of turmoil in which we live. And we would remind them that history, especially recent political history, is not merely the compilation of dead facts, of factoids as it were; it is alive with controversy and conflicting ideas. We challenge our readers to confront these controversies, to weigh the conflicting ideas and viewpoints, and to formulate their own opinions.