# GLOBAL CONFLICT

# **TEACHER'S BOOK**











A social science module in simplified English for Myanmar adults

# Overview and general approach to this textbook

This book looks at historical events and the ideologies which have influenced most significant international conflicts since World War Two. The unit is composed of three chapters which examine three important international conflicts.

- Chapter One, *The Cold War and its Aftermath*, looks at the Cold War and all of the conflicts that came about as a result of the tensions between the Superpowers.
- Chapter Two, *Introduction to the Middle East*, explores the long history of conflict in the Middle East. This chapter includes two large detailed case studies: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and Iraq.
- Chapter Three, *The War on Terror*, discusses the current international crisis with terrorism.

The roots and causes of each conflict or crisis are presented by way of <u>historical background</u> as well as <u>current analysis</u>. However, for teachers using this unit, it is important to remember that *ideology* and *belief systems* are at the very core of these crises.

We hope that the students will look at more than one point of view when trying to understand why these events occurred and continue to occur. It is important to note that in many cases, there <u>are</u> historical facts which are conveniently left out of the conversation when one side is trying to support their point of view.

It would be useful for teachers to help students to look at how facts and opinion are sometimes used by world leaders and analysts to inform, as well as confuse. A major theme found in all three chapters is the use of **propaganda** by governments and those with power.

There are many discussion opportunities in this unit where students can debate complex issues. Hopefully, by the end of the unit, students will have explored their own values and beliefs as well as learned some history.

# 1. The Cold War and Its Aftermath

# 1.1 COLD WAR: A DEFINITION

# **Brainstorm**

Ask the students to list all the ways they can think of countries settling conflicts, for example: war, negotiations, compromise, agreement, economic sanctions, involve other countries in the conflict, etc.

Get students to say everything they can think of about the Cold War: what countries were involved, what was the reason for the conflict, why was it called 'cold', what were the major differences between the opposing countries? Was there any actual fighting?

Ask the students if they can explain why some countries are called 'superpowers'.

# Possible answer:

A superpower is a very powerful nation, with a very strong military. It is so strong that it makes it very difficult for other countries to compete with it. Since it is so much more powerful (militarily and politically), it can control many smaller or less powerful countries politically or economically. A superpower also has a lot of influence on international politics and on the politics of other independent countries.

# TWO SYSTEMS: IN THEORY



At this point the students have very little information about the two systems of communism and capitalism. Some students might already have strong opinions based on what they have heard before. Others might have no opinion. Even if the students don't have their own opinion, they can begin to discuss based on the information in the text. From that information they can start developing their own opinion, for example:

"I prefer the communist system, because it provides people with free education and health care."

Or

"I prefer capitalism. I think under capitalism, people will have more opportunities for economic development."

More information about the two systems comes later.

# TWO SYSTEMS: IN PRACTICE

# Preview

Ask the students if they think that in real life communism and capitalism work out exactly according to the theory. Why or why not? What could be some differences between the theory and practice of both communism and capitalism? What could be some problems with either system when implemented in real life?

#### Possible answers:

In many countries both systems have many problems relating to corruption of officials; some typical problems for capitalism include great disparity between rich and poor, and health and highereducation being too expensive or inaccessible for poor people. Many communist countries suffer from economic problems caused by government mismanagement, and restrictions of many civil society freedoms social problems such as lack of human rights, as communist governments are typically quite oppressive.

# **Group Work**

in small groups or with a partner, students select the phrases from the list to describe communism and capitalism, and arrange them in the table below.

Capitalism	Communism
private ownership of property	collective ownership of property
Private ownership of property	Collective ownership of property
Usually democratically elected by people	Leaders selected by official party
Many political parties	One-party rule
Reduced govt role in economy	State controls business
Individuals responsible for health and	Government assists with health and
education costs	education costs

# Comprehension

# **Possible Answers:**

- 1. Mismanagement and corruption
- **2.** Monopoly is a problem because it means that one company or business can charge any price because there is no competition. It means a business can charge very high prices. People have no choice. Quality of products or services could be bad without any consequence—no choice.
- **3.** The State controls civil society by restricting and controlling voting, political parties, access to open media, freedom of expression.



The purpose of this discussion is for students to see that there are problems as well as good points with <u>both</u> systems. Each one, *in theory*, has many positives, but each one, *in practice*, has not worked very well for all people.

Students will try to identify the good points of each system and see if they can work together. Obviously, there are ideological points which make some ideas impossible or difficult for one system or the other.

# **Example answers:**

Capitalism: The government could encourage small businesses and community based businesses more and put tighter control on large businesses against monopolies. Also, the government could provide better subsidies for poor people for education and health. This could help reduce the gap between rich and poor.

**Communism:** Smaller scale enterprises competing for government funding could help improve the quality of goods and services. Allowing and encouraging more local participation in decision-making could improve the civil society and general satisfaction of the people. More accountability responsibilities for the leadership could also help.



Students can do this in groups or as a class.

# **Example answers:**

	Communism	Capitalism	
	Free healthcare	Economic opportunities	
	Free education up to higher education	More freedoms	
Advantages	More job security	Stability	
		More accountability and	
		transparency in the government	
Disadvantages	Corruption	Corruption	
	State monopoly on all production	Monopoly	
	Mismanagement	Increasing gap between rich and poor	
		Expensive higher education	
		Lack of free or affordable healthcare	

# 1.2 ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

# Exercise

# **Answers:**

More Russians were killed in WW II than any other nationality.

Many Eastern European countries were controlled by the USSR.

Chiang Kai Shek was defeated by Mae Zedung.

The British and the Americans helped the anti-communists in Russia.

During WWII, Russians felt it did not receive enough help from Britain, USA, and France.

The Western allies feared the spread of communism.

# Comprehension

#### **Answers:**

**1.** After the Russian Revolution, the West supported the anti-communist forces during their civil war.

The Western allies refused to help Russia during much of WWII.

**2.** The Soviets occupied Eastern European countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria) at the end of WWII and did not allow free elections.

The success of the Chinese communists made the West fear the spread of communism globally.

# Alternative activity:

Instead of getting the students to answer these comprehension questions, put them in groups and write the four answers from above on the board, in mixed order

Then write on board: 1. Name two historical events which ......?

2. Name two historical events which.....?

Students in groups have to complete each question based on the answers above. Let the students compete to see who can finish first.

# 1.3 THE ARMS RACE

# **Brainstorm**

# **Possible answers:**

guided missiles, jet aircraft, computers, radar, weapons systems like nuclear and laser weapons, space exploration, submarines, nuclear powered ships.

# Questions for the graph:

#### **Answers:**

- 1. The US
- **2.** about 20.000
- **3.** About 1977
- **4.** US 25,000 USSR 30,000 difference=5,000
- **5.** US about 32,000, USSR about 40,000
- **6. Possible answers:** The USSR very quickly increased its stockpile to catch up with the US. The US rapidly increased its stockpile until about 1965 then it gradually declined while the USSR increased dramatically. At first, the US had a much larger stockpile of nuclear weapons than the USSR but by 1975 the two countries had about the same amount. The two countries had a much larger stockpile of nuclear weapons in 1975 than they did in 1955.

# Questions for table and graph:

#### **Answers:**

- 1. China, 450
- **2. Possible answers:** There was a fast increase in the number of nuclear weapons between 1960 and 1985 for the US and the USSR. More and more nuclear weapons were made between 1960-1985. Between 1960-1989 more countries developed nuclear weapons.



#### Possible answers:

As each side made more weapons, the other side felt it needed to make more to match its rival. Improved bombs were being made which were more effective than previous ones. Each side wanted to frighten the other side with its large number of weapons.

# 1.4 A WORLD DIVIDED

# **Group Work**

Using a world map or atlas the students work in groups to locate the countries listed. The students' map will represent how the world was divided into capitalist, communist and non-aligned states. Remember, this <u>was</u> the world of the 1960s-1980s. The world map is very different now. Continue working in groups to answer the questions 5 a) and b) in the students book.

# **5 Possible answers:**

- **a)** They are capitalist and communist countries. The first group were communist or former communist countries. The second group were/are capitalist.
- **b)** The third group are generally poor countries. They are developing countries. They are found in Africa, South America and South Asia. They were neither communist nor capitalist. Most of these countries are former colonies of one of the European countries.

# **DEVELOPMENT: HUMANITARIAN OR POLITICAL?**

# **Group Work**

# Possible answer:

**1.** After WWII, the US spent a lot of money helping rebuild countries ruined by war, especially Germany and Japan. In Europe this was called **The Marshall Plan**. The idea was that economic help to these countries would keep them away from being influenced by communism. Offering countries economic aid would make them pro-American.

This is what happened in reality. Students might come up with similar or different ideas. After each group contributes their ideas, summarise them on the board and get the students to read paragraph. After students have read, get them to compare their answers with the information in the paragraph. Were they similar? Were they different?

# Possible answer:

2. What Western capitalist countries, US in particular, did next was to start offering military aid to newly independent countries that were in the middle of civil war. The US would offer aid to one of the sides at war to help them come to power and prevent the country from falling to communism. This would create a pro-American or pro-Western government and a country would begin to develop in a capitalist way. America would then continue to provide developmental aid to support the economic development and the government of the new country.

Things that might threaten capitalism: a ruined economy, an unstable government, a civil war, a strong communist-oriented party or army active in the country, financial or military support from another communist country, a base in a neighbouring communist country from which a communist guerrilla force could operate.

# "HELP" FOR NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES

# Comprehension

Students answer the questions in groups or for homework

# Possible answers:

- **1.** Because some had suffered from WWII—had their cities and economies destroyed. Some were newly independent (former colonies) and poor. Some new countries were fighting civil wars which caused damage to the countries' infrastructure and economy.
- **2.** By giving money, aid and/or weapons to certain countries. By providing military aid and development aid.
- 3. The USSR or China

# **WARS BY PROXY**

# Comprehension

# **Answers:**

**1.** Africa, Asia, Latin America (South America and Central America/Caribbean). Three of the best examples are Korea, Vietnam and Afghanistan.

# THE VIETNAM WAR

# Comprehension

Get the students to answer the questions individually, with a partner, or for homework. **Answers:** 

- 1. In South East Asia, next to Cambodia, Laos and China
- 2. The Japanese
- **3.** They did not trust Ho because he wanted a socialist form of government for independent Vietnam.
- **4.** Because the North Vietnamese were communist and they were afraid that after Vietnam became communist all of the other countries in Asia would become communist ('The Domino Effect').
- **5**. China and the USSR
- 6. Afghanistan

### Exercise

#### **Answers:**

US refused to support Vietnamese Nationalists and Ho Chi Minh's struggle for independence from the French

North Vietnamese (or Vietcong) used guerrilla warfare tactics during the civil war.

Ho Chi Minh fought against the Japanese in WWII alongside the US.

Communist China supported the North Vietnamese army in the 1960's.

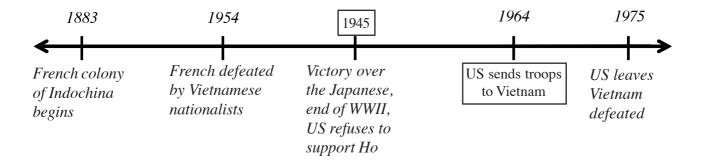
Vietnamese Nationalists defeated the French colonisers in 1954.

American public towards the late 1960's did not support the Vietnam War.

United Nations broke their promise for national elections in Vietnam and divided the country into North and South instead

# **Group Work**

Students fill in the key dates and events for the Vietnam War on the timeline. **Answers:** 



### **AFGHANISTAN**

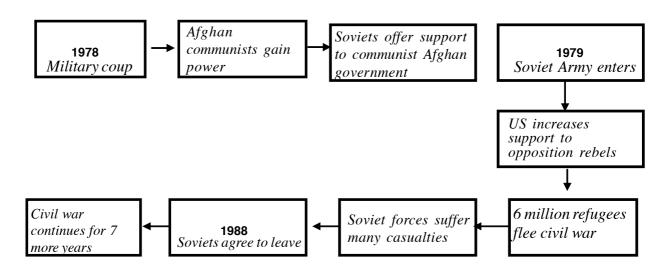
# Comprehension

# **Answers:**

- **1.** In Asia, at the southern border of the former USSR. It is between Iran (west), Pakistan (east) and Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan (north)
- 2. The USSR
- **3.** *True*
- **4.** Because the new communist Afghan government could not control the rebels trying to overthrow them.
- **5.** Because they wanted to help the rebels defeat the communist Afghan government.
- **6.** No. They left Afghanistan because of pressure from the Soviet people and because they were not doing very well against the Afghan rebels. Also, the communist Afghan government did not stay in power for very long after the Soviets left Afghanistan.

# **Group Work**

#### **Answers:**



# **Discussion Skills:** Reasoning

# Possible answers:

- **1.** Both the US and USSR proved unable to win a foreign war where the enemy was at home and able to use guerrilla tactics. A lack of public support for the wars (especially for Vietnam) also made it hard for each country to continue to support the wars.
- **2.** The mistake that both powers made seems to have been to become involved so heavily in someone else's civil war.

# 1.5 FROM BI-POLAR TO UNI-POLAR

# THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

# Exercise

#### **Answers:**

The Cold War (Arms Race, Proxy wars, Space Race) cost a lot of money and resources which resulted in a weak economy. When the economy weakened the standard of living declined. As the standard of living got worse, the people became unhappy which caused political and social unrest. Because there was political and social unrest the people eventually revolted and demanded a change of government and economic system.

# A NEW WORLD ORDER

# **Preview**

#### **Possible Answers:**

"New World Order" describes the political organisation of the world after the ending of the Cold War. It describes the current world system where the US is the sole superpower. The collapse of the Soviet Union had huge implications for the rest of the world. International politics were no longer carried out in the framework of a Cold War. Humanitarian issues became a policy concern that were more important than simply how they made the US or USSR more powerful. Policies which supported cruel regimes were questioned. And new wars broke out in areas where the Cold War had prevented tensions from appearing - such as in former Yugoslavia.

# **GLOBALISATION**

Discussion
Skills: Reasoning

#### Possible answers:

- 1. Because the two sides were so strong that they feared each other. Because each side has so many weapons that to start a war would have been a disaster for the whole world. Because no one can "win" a nuclear war. The term often used to describe the implications of war between the two superpowers, "mutually assured destruction" (or MAD), refers to ability of both the US and USSR to completely destroy the other (and possibly the whole world too).
- 2. One superpower always had the other superpower to challenge its power. One superpower could not do whatever it wanted because the other superpower would try to stop it. Because of the fear of the other power, each superpower always had to be careful of its actions. There was always a consequence for actions. This is called a "balance of power."
- 3. The Arms Race resulted in so many weapons which could have led to a dangerous World War III. The superpowers were supplying weapons to other countries and creating a very dangerous world. The costs related to the Arms Race could be spent for peaceful purposes like ending poverty. Proxy wars were preventing a peaceful world. The fear of a nuclear world war ended.
- **4.** Because there was no longer the balance of the two superpowers.
  - **5.** Could the only superpower be trusted to act in a way which benefitted others? What influence would other countries have in world affairs or at international organisations like the UN? Because now only one country (the United States) had more power than any other country and can dominate world affairs.

Consequences: One country could do as it pleases without consequences. One ideology could be forced on the rest of the world. No one could stop the only superpower from doing something which could be bad for others. The rule of law could be replaced by the rule of force.

Discussion
Skills: Inferring

### **Answers:**

The quotes looking at the positive aspects of globalisation focus on its large-scale economic benefits. The second set of quotes suggest some of the negative effects that the process of globalisation has on culture and social and economic equalities.

# **Group work**

Skills: Applying information

The effects of globalisation can be seen in all aspects of one's life. The spread of Western entertainment is one such example. Ask the students to name their favourite musicians or actors. These will probably be American entertainers whose popularity has spread through globalisation, demonstrating the effect that it has on culture all over the world. The name or symbol in the world that is most recognised is said to be "Coca-cola," evidence again of a globalised consumerism. Globalisation is said to shrink space and time, meaning that you can expect to find out within hours of important world events, through the internet or the radio - part of a worldwide media. Even the brand names of clothes or shoes that your students may own or want to own, the makes of cars they see driving past, these are examples of globalisation that are found in everyday life.

# **Group work**

Skills: Argument

### Points of view

Put students in groups to read through the quotes. They have to list the ones that are in favour of globalisation and the ones that are not. Groups report to class, make two lists on the board, and discuss the issue.

#### **Answers:**

The **Cato Institute** is conservative American research foundation which promotes and supports limited government and the free market.

Amnesty International is an international organisation which is dedicated to protecting human rights. Its mission is to undertake research and action for preventing and ending human rights abuses.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was created after WWII to help with the reconstruction of countries damaged by the war and to create stability in the world economy. IMF receives money in forms of investment from member countries and banks—the richer countries give more money and have more power in the organisation. The IMF promotes expanding trade and provides financial aid to developing countries for building their economies. The IMF has its headquarters in Washington DC.

The World Social Forum (WSF) brings together analysts, activists and world leaders to discuss the effects of globalisation. The WSF was created to provide an open platform to discuss strategies of resistance to the model for globalisation formulated at the annual World Economic Forum at Davos by large multinational corporations, national governments, IMF, the World Bank and the WTO.

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is an international organisation whose membership includes the industrialised countries of the world. The WTO makes rules for regulating international trade. The WTO is dedicated to free trade and removing trade barriers. Thomas Friedman is an influential American political/economic analyst and author who is a strong supporter of free trade.

**Kofi Annan** is the Secretary General (Head) of the United Nations.

# Discussion Skills: Applying information

#### Possible answers:

- **1.** Although consumerism is not as strong in Myanmar as in many other countries, vehicles, electronics and luxury items are still bought outside the country from a global market. Also the amount of English spoken could be due to the effects of globalisation.
- **2.** If Myanmar's population becomes increasingly involved with other countries, the effects of globalisation will grow. The effects in other countries have been a loss of some elements of culture (including cultural practices or even language), changing attitudes, and more widespread economic participation on both a local and global level.



The students might not have a lot of information to base their opinion on. There are the quotes from different points-of-view. Hopefully, the students will see that there have clearly been "winners" and "losers" as a result of globalisation. Some of the "wins" and "losses" have been economic but also the negatives for some cultures have been the loss of local culture. A so-called "Global Culture" is starting to spread and many believe this culture is not really "Global" but is in fact Western or more specifically, American. The spread of this culture is seen through films, TV, pop music and videos, advertising products and advertising as a way of life. Also, because some countries or companies are more effective and successful in selling their products or services in other countries it can mean that local industries/companies disappear. As this spread of global business and Western pop culture grows, the "outside culture" replaces the local or indigenous culture. For many, this is the greatest worry of "Globalisation." Perhaps the students can start thinking of ways to keep this from happening. Of course, there are no easy solutions.

# Possible answers:



Put students into two groups. Each group will prepare a different presentation. You can put students into four groups, then two groups will prepare Presentation A and two teams will prepare Presentation B. Students have to prepare their presentations independently, not in class, but you can discuss everything they need to do in class, and then let them start their preparation in class.

# 2. The Middle East

This chapter looks at two very violent, complex and tragic conflicts in the Middle East. These two conflicts are often described as being a simple case of "right' or "wrong." People simplistically blame one side or the other. However, the situation is not simple. Many innocent people have been killed and continue to die in these conflicts.

Only basic background information is provided here. In some cases, only very simplified explanations are given because it would take many books to properly explain the issues. However, hopefully students will be able to see why the conflicts continue and to understand the various points-of-view.

# 2.1 INTRODUCTION

# THE LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

# Brainstorm

Students are to say as much as they know and think they know about the Middle East. **Possible answers:** 

- **1.** Some reasons for countries going to war could be land disputes, natural resources, political domination in the region, religion, etc.
- **2.** The Middle East stretches from Egypt in the West to Afghanistan in the East.

See Who are the People of the Middle East? at the back of the Teacher's Guide for more information.

# Map work

Use the Ottoman Empire map in the student's book to identify the location of the Ottoman Empire. If you have a modern map of the Middle East (or world map), stick it on the board. Can students identify what modern-day countries were part of the Ottoman Empire?

# **Answers:**

The Ottoman Empire included all or parts of Algeria, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, Egypt, Lybia, Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Russia, Ukrine, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, Bosnia- Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia

# Comprehension

## **Answers:**

- **1.** At the end of World War One (WWI). Because the Ottomans had been getting weaker while other European countries were getting stronger by the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Because the Ottomans were allies with the Germans and the Germany lost the war.
- 2. Great Britain and France
- **3.** European leaders from the countries who won WWI.
- **4.** They were not involved in deciding their own boundaries.

# Discussion

**Skills:** Inferring and applying information

Hopefully the students will understand the frustration and anger that local populations feel when outsiders are deciding their fate for them. Arabs, like other colonised people, were angry at the way Europeans made such important decisions without consulting the local people. They did not want to accept those decisions. Other similar situations in different parts of the world include South East Asia (Indochina was created by the French), Many parts of Africa (East Africa was mostly British, West Africa mostly French). Many Pacific Islands have been divided amongst the French, British and Americans. South America was divided between Spain and Portugal. Myanmar and India were divided up by the British.

Encourage the students to compare this situation with the situation in Myanmar at the time of independence. How were decisions made in Myanmar?

# Map work

Students should write in the name of the countries clearly then colour in lightly in one colour for Great Britain and a different colour for France.

#### **Answers:**

France: Syria, Lebanon

 $\textbf{\textit{Great Britain:}}\ Palestine, Trans-Jordan\,(now\,called\,Jordan), Iraq, Kuwait, Arabian\,Peninsula$ 

(not controlled by Britain but allied with Britain)

# 2.2 THE RESPONSE TO COLONIALISM



# Some possible answers:

Because local populations were not happy being controlled by outsiders. Especially, after the British did not honour their agreement with Arabs. This agreement was that if the Arabs helped the British during World War One against the Ottomans, the British would allow some Arabs to have independence and control over their own land.

At the start of the twentieth century there were growing movements by colonised people to end colonial rule. All over the world there was growing dissatisfaction with colonialism. One reason contributing to the effectiveness of the new anti-colonialists was the fact that more and more local colonised people were being educated in the West (Europe and America). These people saw how life could be and when they compared it to how their countries were being controlled by outsiders, they clearly saw the injustice. Because they had a Western education they could also understand the colonisers better and develop more effective strategies to resist. Therefore, with increased travel and experiencing other cultures, local people were able to see that they could have and should have a better and freer way of life.

# 2.3 ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

# **CREATION OF A STATE**

# Brainstorm

There are many situations in the world where people from minority groups are treated differently. There are very few countries which treat all people equally - there are usually forms of discriminaton. Some might be official (such as minority peoples are not allowed to use their own languages in schools) or unofficial (such as not employing a person because you don't like their religion). The worst forms of this are *persecution*, when people from minority groups are killed or forced to leave their countries. Groups are usually persecuted because they are from a different religion or ethnic group to the majority population.

# **Discussion**

Skills: Inferring

For Jews around the world, the creation of the Jewish State in 1948 was a great event. Jews had not had their own state for about 2,000 years. They were forced from their land and had to migrate from country to country all around the world for hundreds of years. They have suffered persecution almost everywhere they went and have had to become refugees again and again throughout history.

Millions of Jews around the world were happy and proud of their new independent country. They hoped that this would bring the long-awaited peace to the Jewish nation. However, many Jews around the world also saw that the creation of Israel was not going to solve many problems. Many people could see that since the decision about the State of Israel was made without the true participation of the Arabic people that lived in the region it would very quickly cause problems for the new State of Israel.

The Arabs in the region felt that the creation of the Jewish State was unfair. They believed that the area had historically belonged to them and the claims of the Jews were not valid. There were many more Arabs than Jews living in the region. The Arabs were also very angry with the British and the UN because they were not involved in making decisions about what happened on their land. They felt the decision was made without any participation on their part. They did not trust the British or the Jews.

Since Arabs outnumbered the Jews ten to one in the region they felt it was their land. They felt they didn't need to take the Jewish State into account. They felt the Jews didn't have any rightful claims to any land in the region. Arabs saw Jews as basically European people. They felt that creation of Israel was an intrusion of foreigners (culturally and religiously different people) into what was rightfully their land.

# The Wars Begin

# Comprehension

# **Answers:**

- **1.** disagreed
- 2. Zionism
- 3.1948
- 4. ethnic
- **5.** supported
- 6.more

# Discussion Skills: Imagining

#### **Possible answers:**

- **1.** They believed it was unfair for this small group of mostly European settlers to have their own country. They also feared that it could lead to more serious conflict. They did not trust the Jews. The Arabs and Jews did not completely accept each other's religion. There was a lot of prejudice.
- **2.** The neighbouring Arab countries started a war against the new State of Israel.
- **3.** Students may have many opinions on how this could have been handled better. For example, the local Arab nations could have been involved in making decisions about the creation of the State of Israel and deciding on its borders. The British might have taken a more active role in facilitating early negotiations between the Jewish nationalists (Zionists) wanting to create an independent country, and the Arab nations in the region.

An important note to this situation is that the British were wanting to get out of Palestine for many reasons. First, after WWII, the British had suffered a lot and could not manage colonies all over the world any more. Secondly, there had been a very strong and violent Israeli nationalist movement to force the British out of Palestine. There were a lot of Israeli terrorist actions against the British (ie bombings, sabotage, assassinations). Therefore, perhaps the British left without giving the whole situation as much thought as they could have.

# **REFUGEES**

**Discussion** 

Skills: Imagining

### Possible answers:

Then neighbouring Arab countries could have offered better legal status to Palestinian refugees on their land and helped them to integrate in the new countries' societies, since they are fellow Arabs, practice the same religion, and a similar way of life. Of course, it is still important to realise that even within Arabic society there are a lot of cultural and religious differences and sub-groups.

The neighbouring Arab countries could have been more ready to negotiate with Israel to achieve better peace in the region so that it would be easier for refugees to return home.

# THE OCCUPATION

# Comprehension

#### **Possible answers:**

1.

Political reasons: Most Arab countries refused to recognise the State of Israel. Some do not accept Israel as a legal country. Some are angry about Israeli occupation of Palestinian land and oppression of Palestinian people. The US has supported Israel since independence. The US/Israel connection is strong which makes Israel be seen as a threat by the other Arab countries. Israel has the strongest military in the Middle East (including nuclear weapons) and has successfully fought and won wars against its Arab neighbours.

**Religious reasons:** Jerusalem is a very important city for Jews, Muslims and Christians. Now it is controlled by Israel. That makes it difficult for Muslims and Christians from most Arab countries to visit there.

Geographical reasons: Israel occupies the Golan Heights which legally belong to Syria. They also occupied Southern Lebanon for a long time.

The Palestinians still do not have a country of their own. The Israelis have gained more land since independence. Jewish settlements in the West Bank in the Occupied Territories has angered and threatened Palestinians. The Security Barrier has taken a lot of land from the West Bank.

Social reasons: Lack of equality, lack of respect for Palestinian rights. Wealth of Israel compared with surrounding countries.

Other reasons: The Palestinian struggle is very popular among people throughout the Middle East. By opposing Israel, some Middle Eastern governments can gain respect and support from their people.

- **2.** *Methods used by Israel to control the Occupied Territories:*
- building a wall to separate the Occupied Territories from the rest of Israel
- using a 'security barrier' to prevent anyone from the Occupied Territories from going into Israel
- maintaining Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories and a continued military presence to protect these settlements
- freedom of speech, press and assembly are either severely monitored or prohibited
- the Territories have continual Israeli military presence: military checkpoints and curfews
- closure of roads, schools and community buildings
- house demolitions
- detention of political activists
- confiscation of Palestinian land.
- Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories
- **3.** Lack of freedom of speech, press and assembly. Freedom of movement (from place to place due to checkpoints and the Wall). House demolitions and confiscation of land. Basically most of the answers to number 2 above are violations of human rights.
- **4.** Students should justify their answer. Why do they think 'yes' or 'no?'
- **5.** They are trying to make themselves safe from hostile Palestinian actions as well as from hostile neighbours. They are trying protect Israeli citizens. They are trying to control the Palestinians.

Encourage discussion with as many ideas and alternatives as possible. Remember, there are <u>two</u> sides to this story. <u>Two</u> points-of-view. Encourage the students to recognise both views.

# Map work

#### **Possible Answers:**

**2.** The map of Israel has grown since 1947. Israel has gained/taken land from the Palestinians and neighbours. The borders have grown. Israel keeps on taking more land from its neighbours. Israel took a large piece of land from Egypt (Sinai Peninsula) after the war in 1967 but then gave it back in 1979.

**Events:** The first Arab war in 1948. The Six Day War in 1967 when Israel took control of Sinai and Gaza (Egypt) and the West Bank (Jordan) and Golan Heights (Syria). The peace deal in 1979 when Israel gave back the Sinai Peninsula.

### THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE VETO

This brief introduction to the United Nations (UN) is to show students how the UN works and how the structure of the UN has resulted in decision-making. The UN was created after World War Two. The main countries to create the UN were the winning countries in the war. Therefore, the US, Britain, France, China and USSR created an organisation in which they would have the most power. The main purpose stated by the creators of the UN was to have an international organisation which could help to prevent war and where countries could go to solve conflicts peacefully.

During the Cold War, the UN was the scene of non-stop struggle and arguments between the superpowers — US and USSR. After the Cold War ended, the US took firm control of many decisions and used its veto more than any other permanent member of the Security Council. Often the General Assembly (which is the vast majority of the UN membership) will have extremely different opinions and decisions than the Security Council. However, the final decision is in the hands of the fifteen Security Council members and the real power is in the hands of the five permanent members.

The United States has defeated many resolutions condemning Israeli actions. Yet, still Israel has been condemned and criticised many times by the UN. In most cases, the Israeli government has refused to accept UN recommendations. The UN does not have the power to enforce its recommendations except when the powerful members decide to take serious action. In the case of Israel, the US has never allowed serious action to be taken against Israel. Yet, in other cases as with former Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Croatia) and Iraq, there have been strong UN military actions. In these cases, the United States agreed to action. In the next chapter in this textbook, the weakness of the UN is discussed in the case of the Iraq War of 2003.

# **Discussion**

#### **Possible answers:**

1. The General Assembly is made up of all member nations (over 200). However, final decisions are made by a Security Council made up of 15 countries. The membership in the Security Council is made up of five "permanent" members - US, Britain, France, Russia, China - and the other ten members are on the Security Council for two years. The other ten non-permanent members rotate being on the Security Council with all other UN members.

2. No. Only the five permanent members can "Veto" a decision. In other words, any one permanent member can defeat a vote even if all of the other countries in the world disagree.

Encourage discussion to think of a fairer way to make world decisions, for example, include more countries in the Security Council of the UN, give more equal power to the permanent and temporary members of the Security Council.

# THE INTIFADAH

# **Preview**

It may be useful here to show the differences between how to oppose government actions in a more democratic country as well as in less democratic countries. What laws or procedures can some people use in democratic countries? (i.e. appeal to their MPs, organise public talks and demonstrations and protests, write petitions, set up new political parties or work with existing ones to achieve change).

What are the options for people who have no rights or are persecuted? What about those who have tried to use institutions like the UN but have had no success? Palestinians have gone to the UN many times to seek support only to have resolutions defeated by one or two countries. It might be useful to look at the extremes of choices people make when opposing/resisting their government—from legal demonstrations and elections to violent acts of terrorism.

# Discussion

**Skills:** Analysing, Inferring

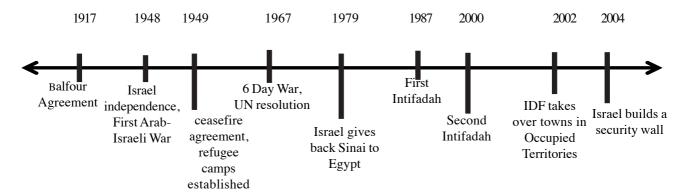
# Possible answers:

- **1.** Creation of the Palestinian Authority, bringing the situation to the world's attention.
- **2.** *Increasing tensions, deaths on both sides, use of terrorist tactics*
- **3.** *Most politically active Palestinians*.
- **4.** Division mongst the different Palestinian groups some refuse to negotiate with Israel.
- **5.** More concentrated effort on compromise and negotiation rather than opposition and violence.

# **Group work**

Students may include more events than the ones listed here.

# Possible answers:



# Group work Skills: Analysis

Listed below are some possible discussion points and ideas. Students are not expected to have all of the answers. If students need help you can offer suggestions from the table below. Also, some of the answers for what *could have been done differently* and what *could be done now* are only realistic if the current atmosphere/environment changes. Therefore, some answers are only "ideal" answers and not practical under current conditions.

# **Possible answers:**

Who	What they have done	What they could have done better	What can they do in the future
The Israeli Government and Army	Occupied Palestinian land.Took land from neighbours. Human rights abuses of Palestinians under occupation. Rejected UN resolutions. Built the security wall. Encouraged Jewish settlements in Occupied Territories (OT)	Allowed Palestinians to have their own land. Not taken land from neighbours. Accepted UN resolutions. Not built the Wall. Not made new settlements. Ended the Occupation.	Agree to peace proposal. Return land to Palestinians. Agree to independent Palestinian State. Take down Wall. Leave settlements. End the Occupation. Live peacefully with Palestinian neighbour State. Allow Palestinians to return to their land in Israel.
The Palestinian Authority	Could not control groups using violence. Condoned terrorism. Acted undemocratically and have been accused of corruption.	Not got involved with terrorist groups. Controlled other groups which were violent.	Try to cut all ties with other dangerous Palestinian groups. Co-operate with a peaceful Israeli government
Other Palestinian Groups	Used violence against IDF and Israeli civilians. Didn't co- operate with the PA.	Used peaceful means for bringing about change. Co-operated with the PA. Not targeted noncombatants.	Use peaceful means for bringing about change. Co-operate with the PA.
The US	Provided more arms to Israel than any other. Gave nuclear technology to Israel. Supported most Israel actions. Vetoed UN resolutions against Israel. Didn't force Israel to stop violence against Palestinians. Used the UN to further their international political agenda.	Not provided arms to Israel. Stopped supporting Israeli actions. Not used veto so often. Forced Israel to stop the violence. Stopped using UN to promote their own aims.	Stop supplying arms to Israel. Force Israel to stop the violence and occupation. Strongly support a peace plan. Stop using the UN to promote their military aims.
The UN	Did not insist on the Partition Plan. Did not enforce resolutions to end the occupation. Allowed the US to control final decisions.	Insisted on Partition plan borders. Enforced resolutions. Been stronger in trying to stop the US from controlling the UN	Enforce resolutions. Encourage Israel to return to pre-1967 boundaries. Encourage Israel to take down the Wall and end occupation. Find ways to control US domination of the UN. Send peacekeepers.

# LIFE IN ISRAEL

# **Preview**

Discuss how these things affect daily life in Israel for Jewish and Palestinian civilians.

#### **Discussion**

#### **Possible answers:**

- 1. Terrorists cannot fight successfully against a superior Israeli army. Therefore, they attack the most vulnerable. They attack those who cannot fight back. They use surprise and fear to be successful against their enemy. They also hope to weaken the Israeli people's support of their government. They want to receive lots of attention—even negative attention. They also feel that innocent Palestinians are being killed by the Israeli army so it is no different for them to kill innocent Israelis.
- **2.** When the Israeli government reacts to Palestinian violence with more and greater violence it continues the cycle of violence. It also is very bad for Israel's image internationally. It is obvious that Israel has far superior force than the Palestinians so they are often seen as the aggressor.
- **3.** The only realistic options are peaceful dialogue and negotiations. After over fifty years of using the same methods, the situation is as bad as ever.

#### **Debate**

This is a very serious and difficult question for debate. Most governments, media and people consider only violence by small groups or individuals as a "terrorist." Yet, the same violence, or worse, is not considered to be "terrorism" if it is committed by a government. For example, a suicide bomber which kills one or ten or twenty is called "terrorism" but at the same time a high-tech cruise missile which kills twenty or one hundred civilians is called "defensive" or "counter-terrorism."

Put the students in two or four teams, depending on the size of the class (if four teams, team one and three will argue in favour of the statement, team two and four will argue against) and give students a time limit to prepare arguments. Alternatively, you could give this as an independent work assignment to groups – they have to do research and prepare arguments in their free time, and then have the debate in the next lesson.

You can either divide the students evenly, or ask them to choose their position: do they agree or disagree with the statement: "The hostile actions of the State cannot be called 'terrorism'."

# Role play

Have the students read the two stories for homework. In class, put them into pairs. In pairs decide on their roles. The student who is going to speak for Majdi should read Majdi's story again. The student who is going to take Rachel's role should re-read Rachel's story. When students are ready, they have a role-play in pairs. Students should to try to see the two points-of-view. In the role play, one student must take the point-of-view of the Palestinian and the other student take the role of the Israeli. They are to have a discussion which shows how each side might feel.

You might want to choose one or two pairs to present in front of the class. Afterwards, summarise everyone's suggestions and make a list on board. Have a discussion about it. Do the students think that some of the suggestions are practical? Could they work?

# 2.4 THE TRAGEDY OF IRAQ

# A BRITISH CREATION

# **Brainstorm**

Students encouraged to offer as much as they know or think they know.

# Comprehension

#### **Answers:**

- **1.** *Iraq was formerly three provinces in the Ottoman empire.*
- 2. Shia's, Kurds, Sunni's
- 3. Combined three different cultural areas
  - Excluded Kuwait from Iraq
  - Chose a king who was not from the area.

Students might also include the British betrayal after WWI

### **Discussion**

Skills: Cause and effect, forming an opinion

#### Possible answers:

Locals would not respect or obey an outsider. An outsider might not be able to understand the local people. There may be problems for the government if the people did not obey the leader. Dissatisfaction could lead to social unrest and serious social problems like demonstrations, riots, political violence, etc

# Preview

#### **Possible answers:**

There are two major rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, flowing through the whole country, from North-West, to South-East, and into the Persian Gulf. This makes Iraq strategically located in the region, with access to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea with a port at Umm Qasr. Throughout the country's history, the rivers provided waterways for trade from Syria and Turkey, as well as a great resource of water for drinking and agriculture in an otherwise hot, dry, and infertile climate.

# **OIL AND WATER**

# Comprehension

#### Possible answers:

- **1.** The British kept a military presence in Iraq after independence to protect oil supplies and insure that they would have access to them.
- **2.** Anti-Western feelings grew in Iraq for several reasons: they appointed a foreign king to rule the country, the British forced different cultural groups to live together in one state, they did not fulfil their agreement to give Iraq independence they maintained a military presence after 1930.

# **Discussion**

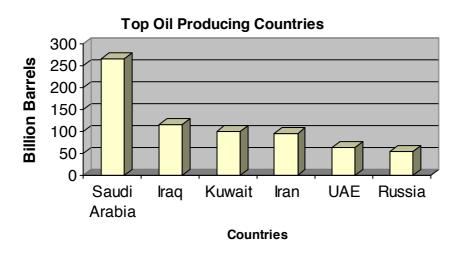
## Possible answers:

Most economies depend on oil to run their industries for transport (cars, trains, ships, planes, buses, etc), for heating, for energy/power generation (to make electricity), and for the petrochemical industry and all the products which come from petrol (plastics). Most industrialised countries depend on oil for most of their energy needs. It is also the main source of income for many countries (those who produce oil). Countries use it as currency to trade with other countries.



Students should use basic graphing techniques: title, label axes, use consistent spacing, ascending or descending order—high to low or low to high.

# Example answer:



Discussion

Skills: Developing opinions

It might be useful for students to imagine how they would feel if a foreign country occupied their country after giving them "independence."

# Possible answers:

In Iraq, the continued military presence of the British led to mistrust and resentment. But on the other hand, it insured the British economy had access to oil, without which it could have been at risk. You may also look at who has suffered from this military presence: the British or the Iraqis? Ask students who the winners and losers of this situation were.

# NATIONALISM AND THE BIRTH OF A TYRANT

# Discussion

# Possible answers:

- 1. Students should discuss the balance of power in some countries. In countries like Iraq, control of the military is the most important for control of the country. In a military government, the military leaders are the political leaders. Friends and relations of the military leaders will often be chosen as political leaders. In Iraq, the military coup was staged by minority Sunnis who went on to control the country until the Iraq War of 2003.
- **2.** There are many practical advantages by having good relationships with Western countries. Also, as an ally of the West, human rights abuses are tolerated more.

# **WAR WITH IRAN**

# **Preview**

#### **Answers:**

Iran borders Iraq and Turkey to the West, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan to the North, and Afghanistan and Pakistan to the East. The Persian Gulf is to the South of Iran. The capital of Iran is Tehran. Iran is an Islamic republic – it is a theocracy, ruled by religious leaders. It is a Muslim country. The language is Farsi (Persian). The Iraq-Iran war was started by Iraq.

# Comprehension

# **Answers:**

- **1.** *Uniting all Arabs; removing Zionists from Palestine; reclaiming Kuwait.*
- 2. False.
- 3. False.
- **4.** False. Although the earlier Iraqi government was anti-Western, Saddam was pro-Western as well as being pro-Arab.
- **5.** Through harsh oppression, imprisonment, torture, murder, intimidation.

#### Comprehension

#### **Answers:**

- **1.** *Border dispute*; *fear of the spread of Islamist anti-Western ideology.*
- **2.** Fear of the spread of anti-Western Islamist ideology; Iran could restrict access to oil.
- **3.** Providing military aid weapons, technology, intelligence.
- **4.** No, it continued to support Iraq.
- **5.** *No one did. Although, both countries claimed victory.*

# **Discussion**

# Possible answers:

People and governments are usually friendly with anyone who has the same enemy. For example, if person A is in conflict with Person B and Person A learns that Person C also is in conflict with Person B then A will become friendly with C. Where the two new "friends" do not really like each other, they will still see each other as "allies" because they share the same enemy. In fact, they are only allies because they have the same enemy not because they like each other or want to have any kind of relationship with each other. During the Cold War it was common for the superpowers to support anyone who opposed the other superpower. One example of this is the Vietnam war where the US supported the South Vietnamese government, not because they liked the regime, but because they opposed the Communist North Vietnamese.

# Role play

Put students in three groups: A, B, and C. Each group is assigned a role: US government, Iranian government and Iraqi government. Each group will prepare the position and arguments for its role. Have a role play.

# INVASION OF KUWAIT AND THE GULF WAR

# **Preview**

## Possible answers:

The Gulf War was fought by many countries against Iraq, after Iraq invaded Kuwait.

It is called that because it was fought in the Persian Gulf.

The Gulf War was mostly fought by the US, Britain and France.

The US led coalition won the war by forcing Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

Kuwait is a very small country but very rich in oil resources and access to Persian Gulf. This is why Saddam Hussein was interested in controlling it.

# Exercise Skills: Making comparisons

#### **Possible Answers:**

- **1.** For many years the US has not really opposed Israeli occupation and has in fact, vetoed and defeated many UN resolutions which would have condemned Israeli occupation. On the other hand, the US strongly opposed and condemned the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait immediately. The US pushed a UN resolution to demand that Iraq leave Kuwait or else face military action. The US enthusiastically "encouraged" the UN Security Council to vote in favour of a resolution against Iraq.
- **2.** One reason is the US's close relationship with Israel. Other reasons many experts have considered for the US reaction in Iraq has to do with control of the region and its resources (like oil). On the other hand, however, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was a violation of another sovereign state which is not so for Israel.
- **3.** The Iraq military in 1991 had just finished fighting a long and difficult eight-year war against Iran. It had suffered many losses. Its equipment was old, poorly functioning and Iraqi soldiers were mostly poorly trained forced recruits. On the other hand, the US-led forces were easily the most powerful fighting force ever to fight. The US-led force had the most modern equipment and professional soldiers in the world. The US alone had the strongest military. With Britain and France and others, it was far more powerful than any other force in the world.
- **4.** The US government had encouraged and funded (gave money and information) the Iraqi opposition groups of Kurds and Shi'as to overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein. After the Iraqi military was easily defeated and forced to leave Kuwait it seemed the perfect time for the opposition groups to try and overthrow the weakened Iraqi government. But, when the Shi'as and Kurds started a rebellion, the US did not offer military help. The Kurds and Shi'as thought they would receive military help from the Americans but the Americans did not assist them. Even though the Iraqi military was weakened from the Gulf War it still was still strong enough to stop the rebellion and murder thousands of Shi'as and Kurds.

# **Debate**

At some point (before or after the debate), the students should know that the governments of many powerful countries routinely help to overthrow other governments. The British, Soviets and French have done it and in the last fifty years the US has done it many times. The Cold War was a time of constant interference in the politics of other countries all over the world by the US and USSR. After the Cold War ended, this kind of activity continued. The CIA (US), MI6 (British), Mossad (Israel) and other intelligence agencies commonly interfere in the politics of other countries. Powerful countries who want to see another government changed usually do not go to war but use secretive, "covert" (not open) methods to destablise and change governments. They support opposition groups or they train local opposition leaders and military. They provide money, information, expertise and equipment. They interfere in democratic elections and give money to leaders they want to see win. They organise coups (forceful overthrow of a government). They assassinate leaders and use sabotage to cause social unrest.

Some arguments in *support* of this kind of activity is that it is necessary for "good" countries to stop "bad" countries from getting stronger, abusing local people and maybe go on to start wars. It is better to try to overthrow a government by helping local opposition groups rather than go in and start a war. It looks better to have a local group overthrow a government than to have an outside country do it. Sometimes local opposition groups are much weaker and need help to fight a strong government in power.

# BETWEEN TWO WARS: SANCTIONS AND "NO-FLY ZONES"

# Comprehension

#### **Answers:**

- **1.** Thousands of Iraqis killed. Iraq's infrastructure destroyed. Iraqi military crushed or weakened. Iraq occupation of Kuwait ended.
- **2.** At first, before the Gulf War it was to put pressure on the Iraqi government to obey UN resolutions to leave Kuwait. After the Gulf War it was to put pressure on Iraq to disarm (destroy their weapons). Also, to weaken the power of Saddam Hussein and hopefully lead to his removal.
- **3.** *The Iraqi people/civilians*.
- **4.** After the Gulf War, the infrastructure of Iraq was seriously damaged. Many supplies were needed to rebuild Iraq. Many supplies were needed to help the thousands of Iraqis who were injured during the war. The sanctions made it difficult to get some supplies in Iraq, such as medicines and spare parts to machinery. Therefore, everyday life was very difficult. Poverty increased, people got sick and could not get some medicines or proper treatment in hospitals. Diseases like cholera spread because of destroyed infrastructure like sewers and water supplies. Some hospital equipment could not be replaced or repaired. Also, the Iraqi government chose to spend a lot of money on rebuilding their army which could have been used to help reduce some of the negative effects of sanctions.
- **5.** In the North, in the area where there were mostly Kurds. In the South, in the area where there mostly Shi'as. Overall, over half of Iraqi air space.
- **6.** Only the Americans and the British (and the French at first). The UN did not.

# **Group work**

Students consider the purpose or intention of economic sanctions, then look at the effects. In some cases the sanctions can be very effective. Economic sanctions have been effective in other parts of the world. In the case of South Africa, there were degrees of sanctions used during the 1980s and 1990s trying to force the South African government to change its system of Apartheid. In the beginning, there was not total participation by other governments and South African government was able to survive with limited sanctions. But eventually, more and more governments supported sanctions. When the majority of governments were not trading with South Africa, the effects were serious enough for the South African government to make the changes the rest of the world were demanding. Yet, the sanctions were only part of the process that forced change in South Africa.

In Iraq the sanctions resulted only in making life miserable for the common people. The wealthy and powerful elite were able to use the black market and could survive without serious problems. Also, Saddam used the sanctions for political propaganda and received sympathy. Finally, there were many ways to bypass or go around the sanctions through trade with third parties. In other words, there were always companies and corporations who did business with the Iraqis by using false records or claiming they was not going to Iraq but to one of its neighbours (like Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi). Then the other ("third party") country would pass it on to Iraq for a profit. There were many American, British and French companies doing business with Iraq during the sanction years while their governments were strongly criticising Iraq.

# Role play

Try to get students to identify both the positive and negative aspects and the risks associated with extensive economic sanctions

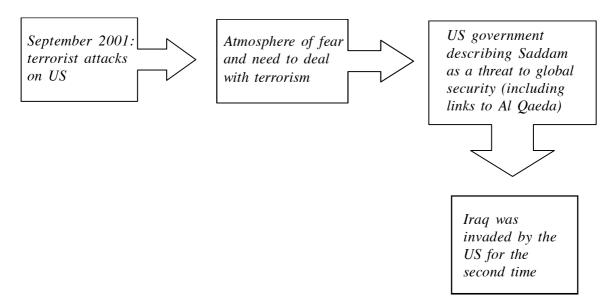
# THE IRAQ WAR

# **Preview**

The US had been trying to get rid of Saddam Hussein for a long time. There was an atmosphere of fear in the US, and Iraq was linked with the September 11 attacks (even though there was never any evidence). In addition to suspected (but not proved) weapons of mass destruction being developed in Iraq. This gave US an excuse to start a war against the UN decision.



# Possible answers:



#### Comprehension

#### Possible answers:

- **1.** Because they wanted the US to completely remove Saddam from power and to invade Iraq.
- 2. First they said that Iraq had Weapons of Mass Distruction (WMD) nuclear and chemical weapons. They said Iraq would use the WMD on other countries including the US. Next, they said that Iraq was working with al-Qaeda (international terrorists). Also, the US was afraid that Iraqi WMD might find their way into the hands of terrorists. Finally, they said they would go to war with Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power ("regime change") and to liberate the Iraqi people.
- 3. No. First, the UN had weapons inspectors in Iraq looking for WMD and making sure Iraq destroyed any WMD. The UN inspectors had not found any evidence of WMD and needed more time to finish their search. Secondly, there was no evidence of any connection between Osama bin Laden, al-Qaeda or September 11 and Saddam Hussein. Finally, although most people and governments agreed that Saddam Hussein was a cruel dictator, they did not believe going to war to remove him was correct. It was against the UN charter and international law to attack a country without proving a threat. A huge majority of the world's governments and millions of people spoke out against war.
- **4.** They believed more time was needed to finish the weapons inspections. They believed in keeping the sanctions in place and making it difficult for Iraq to receive any supplies which could be used for making weapons. They also believed that there must be continued negotiations.
- **5.** No. The main reason the UN could not prevent war was because the most powerful country in the UN and the world wanted to go to war .The US wanted the UN to agree to go to war but only to make legitimate its attack. In the end war occurred and many pointed to the weakness of the UN in failing to prevent it. Others, however, looked to the fact that the UN did not conform to the opinions of the US and was not manipulated by the US to support American policy.
- **6.** No. The UN (except Britain, Australia, Spain, Israel and a few others) was strongly against the US attack. The UN security council did not support US resolutions to attack Iraq. Even in Britain, Australia and Spain, the majority of the people were against war in Iraq although the governments of these countries supported the war. There were millions of people out in the streets demonstrating and protesting the US plan for war with Iraq.
- **7.** It was confirmed by special commissions and investigations in the US, UK (Britain), and Australia that the information ("intelligence") given before the war which said that Iraq had nuclear weapons and other WMDs was wrong.

#### **Debate**

The US position: Iraq is a threat. Iraq has WMDs. Iraq has used WMDs before (against the Kurds in the Iraq-Iran War). Saddam supports international terrorism. If terrorists receive the WMDs that Saddam has then they could unimaginable harm to the US. Iraq has defied UN resolutions and has not followed UN orders to disarm. The sanctions have not stopped Saddam from rebuilding his military. Saddam has attacked its neighbours twice (Iran and Kuwait). Saddam was a brutal dictator. There is no freedom or democracy in Iraq. The Iraqi people should have the right of democracy. We must free the Iraqi people.

The UN position: Iraq has been under investigation by the UN and the world for the last twelve years. Weapon's inspectors have been searching every corner of Iraq to find and destroy any WMDs. The inspections are successful and they need more time to complete the job. The US and UK have been patrolling Iraq in the "no-fly zones" and therefore making it impossible for Iraq to conduct any serious military activity. We do not support war because it is clearly stated in the UN charter that war is a last resort. There must be a proven threat to a UN member before the UN would authorise the use of force. At the moment we have no evidence that Iraq is a threat to any member of the UN. The UN was created to prevent the use of force to solve conflict. And force will be authorised only after all peaceful means have been used to the fullest. The US has not received UN authority to attack Iraq and if it does it is a clear violation of the UN charter and of international law.

37

# 3. The War on Terror

This last chapter looks at an issue which has been the main focus for many countries all over the world. The "War on Terror" was declared by the United States after the terrorist attacks on September 11,2001. Due to its influence in the world, the US has been able to insist that this issue receives more attention than any other issue.

The US, and countries who have joined the US in the War on Terror have also recently suffered from terrorist actions. Since this "war" was declared, the world has changed in many ways. How people travel, live, do business and think about certain cultures has been seriously affected by the terror attacks of September 11 and the reaction led by the United States government.

Everyday new events, tragedies and political decisions are happening which change the international environment. At the time of writing (October 2004) there is no end in sight to this international crisis. Some believe that this "War" is similar to the Cold War: Only history will decide if this is true.

#### **Brainstorm**

Write the word "terrorist" on the board. In small groups or as a class, students offer as many examples or definitions of a terrorist or terrorism as they can. If they need help, remind them about conflicts in places like the Middle East. Remember this is only a brainstorming session so students shouldn't be expected to offer complete or many responses.

#### **Some examples:**

Taking hostages and making demands on governments
Suicide bombings
Hijacking airplanes
Assassinating prominent political leaders
Blowing up buildings
Attacking civilians

#### **Exercise**

#### **Answers:**

**Hijacking-** Two Bosnian separatists forced a British Airways jet to fly to Cyprus instead of the scheduled flight to Ankara.

**Suicide bombing**- A car filled with explosives slammed into the US embassy killing six, including the driver

Sabotage-Iraqi oil supply pipes destroyed by rebels.

Hostage taking- The group demanded that all Korean military should leave Iraq or the captured Korean officials would be killed.

**Assassination**- The spiritual leader of Hamas was killed by Israeli forces while he was travelling to the nearby town of Nablus.

**Biological warfare**- Deadly germ Anthrax sent in letters to politicians.

#### 3.2 TERRORISM AND NATIONALISM

#### WHY IS THERE TERRORISM?

#### **Preview**

#### Possible answers:

- **1.** 1994 Oklahoma City bombing this was a protest against the undemocratic nature of the American government.
- 1999 Bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania to protest US policies in the Middle East.
- 2003 Bali bombing this was against Australian government policies in the Middle East.
  2004 School hostaga crisis, Baslan, Pussia, To protest for Chechnya to be independent
- 2004 School hostage crisis, Beslan, Russia. To protest for Chechnya to be independent from Russia.
- **2.** More recent acts of terrorism have often been motivated by a combination of factors. Very often a cause for political tensions, such as nationalism, has been joined with religion (for example) as a reason for terrorism. The September 11 attacks, for instance, cannot simply be understood as either religious or nationalistic alone. They were the result of many types of motivations, such as politics, nationalism and religion.

#### Comprehension

#### Possible answer:

Terrorism has been very successful in many cases. For example, in the cases given of the Irgun in Israel, the ANC in South Africa, the Mau Mau in Kenya, the Viet Cong in Vietnam. These groups achieved independence from colonial or minority rule. You can also point out that America's independence from Great Britain in the 18th century came after a war fought using acts of terrorism.

#### Research

Find out why four former "terrorists" were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. There is some information at the back of this Teacher's Guide that you can copy and give to your students. Also, if possible, they should look for other sources (internet, libraries, encyclopedias). This is an independent research assignment that students can do in groups or individually in their own time. It is a good idea to get the students to work in groups, so you won't need copies for every student.

#### **Answers:**

Israeli PM Begin was awarded the prize along with his Arab rival, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat for their efforts to make peace between Israel and its Arab neigbours.

Arafat shared the prize for his efforts with Israeli PM Simon Peres for their efforts at Israeli—Palestinian peace plans.

Nelson Mandela shared the prize with South Aftican President De Klerk for their cooperation in ending Apartheid and allowing free democratic elections.

## 3.3 SEPTEMBER 11

#### IN PERSPECTIVE

#### Preview

Ask students what they were doing on September 11, 2001. Do they remember it happening? Did it seem important to them? Do they think it was important now? Why or why not? Students might suggest some reasons for the attack from the discussion of motivation for terrorism on the previous page. If students cannot bring up any answers, just move on.

#### **Debate**

Divide the students into two teams. You can divide them based on their opinions, or by counting off 1-2-1-2 etc. In their teams, students prepare for the debate by writing out their arguments to defend their point of view. During the debate, teams take turns explaining their arguments, one at a time, and then the other team responds with relevant arguments.

You can nominate a student jury to judge the results of the debate: whose arguments were more convincing? It's a good idea to nominate the jury before dividing into teams, so that the students on the jury are not part of any team and are not biased.

The purpose of this debate is to look at two points of view:

- 1. The more international point of view which saw the September 11 attacks as one of the many attacks which have happened all over the world in recent history.
- 2. The American point of view which is based on never having had such a tragedy before.

#### THE RESPONSE

#### **Preview**

#### Possible answers:

US foreign policy after the September 11, 2001 attacks appeared to be very different from what it had been under former President Bill Clinton. Instead of agreeing to work with the international community, international law and the UN, President Bush proved that the US would work alone if they had to. Before the attacks the "Bush Doctrine" had not been seen. Some people claim that George Bush changed his policies after September 11 to what they are today. But many others argue that the "Terror Attacks" only gave Bush enough power and support to be able to follow his policies.

#### Discussion

#### **Answers:**

Osama bin Laden was believed to be responsible for an attack on the World Trade Centre in New York in 1993. After the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre, Osama Bin Laden was the main suspect along with his organisation, Al Qaeda, which was based in Afghanistan with the support of the Taliban – the Afghan government. At that time he US connected the September 11 attacks with Afghanistan and decided to invade the country in order to capture Osama Bin Laden, free the country, and remove bases of terrorism, they claimed.

#### Role play

Divide the students into two teams: Taliban and the US government. Both teams prepare arguments for the role-play. Students get into pairs - one partner from each team. (Or two from each team if students are not confident to work alone). Teams exchange their arguments in a role-play. See what decisions they come to. Is it different from the result between the Taliban and the American government? Try to encourage the students to see both points of view:

The Taliban was an oppressive regime that did not respect human rights. It was easy for the US to gain support in attacking them. But the purpose of this roleplay is to make students question whether the US invasion of Afghanistan was necessary or not. The Taliban were willing to cooperate but would not give in to US demands. The US saw the Taliban as a friend of the terror suspect and Osama Bin Laden and did not want to negotiate with them.

#### **Discussion**

#### **Possible answers:**

Some of Osama Bin Laden's motivations might come from nationalism. Osama Bin Laden is from Saudi Arabia and dislikes the country's unequal relationship with the US (especially the existence of US military bases in Saudi). He may also see the US and the West as evil societies without religion and morality that need to be destroyed. But how the September 11 terror attacks might have helped with his religious or nationalistic goals is not always obvious.

#### Discussion

#### **Possible answers:**

September 11 was not an attack from a foreign country and so many people felt that it did not make sense for the US to declare war on first Afghanistan and then Iraq. Instead, perhaps President Bush could have worked with these countries, as well as the international community, to fight terrorism.

The point here is for the students to consider the role of international law. How could an organisation like the UN have been used? If the September 11 attacks were a crime against humanity, then why was there not an attempt to use law enforcement instead of warfare?

Remind students that the UN did not have a chance to fully negotiate with the Taliban. The negotiations were mainly being controlled by the US. The UN did not authorise the attack by the US. Could it have been prevented? Why weren't the usual diplomatic efforts made? The UN, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation), and the ICC (International Criminal Court) are just some of the many international organisations which could have been used to respond to September 11.

#### **Group work**

Skills: Analysis

#### **Possible answers:**

Successful points	Failure points
The Taliban were removed from power	The war is still not over - fighting continues
Human rights are more respected in Afghanistan than they were before the war	Hostage taking and sabotage could increase to the same levels as Iraq
	Osama Bin Laden has not been captured, and al Qaeda continues to operate

#### **Debate**

Have this debate in groups, or as a whole class

#### Some possible arguments for the war:

The Taliban were an oppressive regime, not democratically elected, did not respect human rights, The Taliban supported terrorism.

The invasion of Afghanistan was the only way to get those responsible for September 11

#### Some possible arguments against the war:

The Taliban might have given Osama bin Laden over if the US had given proof of his guilt The Taliban might have given Osama bin Laden over to the ICC (International Criminal Court) The invasion has made more people hate the US and the West

Afghanistan was not responsible for the September 11 attacks

The war could lead to years of civil war and instability in the country (and region)

#### Possible answers:

**1.** Anger at the US support of Israel, US troops in Saudi Arabia, the US support of sanctions against Iraq.

Talk with the students about the United States position in the world after the end of the Cold War. As the only superpower, the US has been involved in many international conflicts. The US has by far the largest military. The US economy is the strongest. The US is seen as controlling international institutions like the United Nations, World Trade Organisation and the World Bank. This position of power and wealth in a world of poverty and powerlessness by most of the world creates resentment. Many in the world see the US as abusing its power to control the governments and lives of many other people all over the world

- **2.** He had been accused of organising previous terror attacks against the US at the World Trade Centre. He had publicly criticised the US and threatened to commit crimes against the US government.
- **3.** A Muslim fundamentalist group, who took over Afghanistan after Afghan civil war.
- **4.** To hand over Osama bin Laden.
- **5.** They first asked for the US to provide evidence that Osama was responsible for the attack. They then said that they would give Osama to a third country to ensure he had a fair trial.
- **6.** They refused every offer and insisted that the Taliban give them Bin Laden or else be attacked.
- **7.** Because the US government said that the Taliban did not cooperate with the demands to turn over Osama Bin Laden, and were supporting terrorist groups.
- **8.** The US officially claimed that the war in Afghanistan was a success because they removed the Taliban from power. They also destroyed many terrorist training camps and killed many terrorists and Al Qaeda members. But the main goal and reason for the war was to catch the main suspect for the September 11 attacks, Osama bin Laden. They did not catch him.

#### 3.4 THE BUSH DOCTRINE

#### Discussion

#### **Possible answers:**

- **1.** The quote from the UN charter says that the purpose of the organisation is to use peace and international law to solve problems, but the quote from the 2002 National Security Security Strategy goes against both peace and international law to solve the US's problems if necessary. The goals and methods of the present US administration are very different, therefore, from those of the UN.
- **2.** The US attacked Afghanistan and eventually Iraq, as a consequence of September 11 attacks. The US government did not cooperate with international organisations such as the UN in trying to negotiate a peaceful solution of the problem. The invasion of Iraq was pre-emptive, according to the Bush doctrine.

#### Comprehension

#### **Possible answers:**

- **1.** By talking about them, through negotiations, through international organisations (UN, etc.), war, threats, sanctions
- **2.** The United Nations was created to sort out problems and to prevent war. The idea was to create an organisation where countries could work together to solve problems peacefully.
- **3.** *It uses pre-emption, force, doesn't require negotiation, doesn't include the UN.*

# Discussion Skills: Inferring

#### **Possible answers:**

Some countries use 'pre-emption' to attack another country without evidence of threat. Rivals like India and Pakistan or China and Taiwan could start a war without trying to use the UN or other peaceful means.. Also, the Bush Doctrine can lead to creating a world where only those with the strongest force can decide how conflicts are resolved: "might makes right." The UN and international law are weakened and become powerless to maintain peace or prevent war.

# 3.5 SECURITY AND DEMOCRACY

#### Preview

#### Possible answers:

A good point could be that a lot of terrorist acts have been stopped due to the enhanced security activities around the world due to the US government lead War on Terror. A bad point is that US government violates international agreements and does not cooperate with many international organisations.

#### **Discussion**

The case study of Guantanamo Bay shows how the US is willing to violate international law for its own ends. By describing the prisoners as something other than prisoners of war, and by keeping them out of mainland America, the Bush administration has been able to deprive these men of all the rights that international law has tried to give them for the past 150 years.

#### **Discussion**

#### **Possible answers:**

- **1.** Because they would have to follow the Geneva Conventions which have rules for treatment of prisoners of war. They would have to take better care of the prisoners.
- **2**. It is the only superpower, so no other country is strong enough to stop them. The US sees itself as the world's "policeman" and feels it has responsibility for world security. Sometimes quick action is needed to solve a problem and there is no time for discussions in international organisations.

## THE 'COST' OF SECURITY IN A WORLD OF FEAR

#### Preview

Discuss these issues as a class. Some points you might like to bring up:

There is a trade-off between security and freedom. The more freedom citizens of a country are given, the less security can be assured. Similarly, as security is increased, freedoms will be reduced. When terrorism and domestic security become the most important aims of a government, the citizens of that country will lose some of their freedoms. Evidence of this can be seen with the Bush administrations "Patriot Act" – passed after September 11 – that allowed for many Arab residents of the US to be imprisoned and deported, as well as ordinary citizens rights of privacy being violated.

#### **Discussion**

#### Possible answers:

They are not happy about losing freedoms. They are angry at their governments. They are angry at the terrorists. They understand the need for more security but do not like losing freedoms.

#### **Debate**

The question looks at the issue of the risks we find in an open "free" society. With freedom of movement it is perhaps easier for dangerous people and to commit crimes. With more control by the government it may be possible to better protect citizens. A person may be safer in a prison but not free. Is it better to be free or safe? Are the possible dangers of a free society worth the risks? It is up to the students to decide what their opinion is. Have a debate in class. Put the students in teams to prepare their arguments before they start to debate.

#### 3.6 ALLIES IN THE WAR ON TERROR

#### Discussion

A danger like the September 11 terror attacks threatens national security greatly, and provides an excuse for governments to restrict their citizen's freedoms. Some countries have seen how using the same language as the United States does in its War on Terror can give them the freedom to pursue their own policies that would otherwise be unacceptable. For example Russia has done this with separatists in Chechnya; the Philippines against Islamic nationalists; and Musharaf of Pakistan has increased his controls with the support of the US in his fight against terrorist elements within his own country.

#### **Group work**

Skills: Argument

Get the students to answer the first question in pairs. Give a 5 minute time-limit. Get each pair to join with another pair so that now students are working in groups of 4. Ask them to present their answers to each other. Then get them to make an outline summary of their combined answers. Give 10 minutes for this. When students have completed their outlines in groups of 4, get each group join another group. Now students are working in groups of 8. In groups of 8 students have to compare the reasons they have outlined in their summaries. Now they have to make a combined list. Explain to the students that the purpose of this exercise is to get as many opinions from everyone in the class and to learn to share your opinion with your classmates. When this is done, have a class discussion and outline all answers on board. Discuss whether the students think the US should be making these alliances.

The United States has formed alliances with many authoritarian governments since September 11, 2001. These alliances help give the US and its military greater power. Some points:

- The US has a right to defend and protect itself, and if these new alliances help, then they are justified
- One of the US military strategies is to have many military bases around the world. US government believes this offers increased security, as it will be easy for the US government to strike pre-emptively or in response to any attack anywhere in the world.
- Many democratic countries would refuse to allow American military bases on their territory. However, the more authoritarian governments are easier to negotiate with in this respect.
- The US can offer some benefits to the government (business benefits, direct aid, or military support) in return for letting American military establish bases on their territory.
- As authoritarian governments do not consult with the people, they are more likely to agree to the US government offers than a democratic country.
- The country does have the right to protect itself. However, there is a difference between self-protection and aggression. Historically, countries have been known to protect themselves by building up their military and by guarding their borders, not by attacking other countries just in case they were planning an attack.

#### Map work

The purpose of this activity is to show how widespread the United States military is in the world. Students research where US military bases are, and colour in the outline map. There is an answer key map at the back of this Teacher's Guide.

## 3.7 EXPANDING THE WAR ON TERROR

#### **Exercise**

#### **Answers:**

1. False 2. False 3. False 4. True

#### Comprehension

#### Possible answers:

- 1. Here is Bush's definition of the Axis of Evil: "Our goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction ... North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens. Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom. Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred."
- **2.** The job of the Independent Commission was to inspect Iraq for any evidence of weapons of mass destruction.
- **3.** The governments around the world can use the War on Terror to limit the freedoms of people in their countries claiming that it is necessary for everyone's security. For example a government can put checkpoints on the roads and demand special passes for any travel between towns. The government can say that this is necessary to prevent terrorist activities. This will limit people's freedom of movement. Ask the students if they can think of any examples of governments that use this tactic. Governments can also crack down on any opposition movements, political activists or minority groups by accusing them of planning acts of terrorism.

#### Discussion

#### Possible answers:

- **1.** To receive help from the United States. To get more international support. By calling something "terrorism" instead of "nationalism", governments receive less criticism, and support is easier to find.
- **2.** The US can offer money in the form of aid and loans. The US can make business deals and investments in cooperating countries. The US can help countries through votes in the United Nations. Israel is a good example of a country which has received massive US military, economic and political support for being cooperative with the US. The opposite has happened with countries which did not vote in favour of the US. For example, before the Gulf War in 1990, Yemen did not support the US in a UN vote to attack Iraq. The US cut its aid to Yemen. Similar encouragements, both political and economic, have been given to many other countries that have supported Bush's "War on Terror".
- **3.** Iraq is a victory insofar as Saddam Hussein has been overthrown.



Bush's argument	Independent Commission's argument
Saddam Hussein is a dictator who oppresses his people and needs to be removed	Neither Saddam Hussein nor Iraq itself were involved in the September 11, 2001 attacks, and Iraq should therefore not be attacked
In the past Saddam has invaded other countries and is a risk to international peace	Iraq is not known to sponsor terrorism
Iraq may have weapons of mass destruction that could be sold or stolen by terrorists	An attack like September 11 should not give a country the freedom to declare war on anyone it chooses
Terrorists could use Iraq as a place to recruit and train more terrorists	

# 3.8 WAR WITHOUT END

#### **Preview**

This question does not really have an answer. Terrorism has been going on for centuries. You can raise the following questions with the students:

- Is it possible for a war on terrorism to ever be over?
- Is there any reason to believe today's War on Terror will end terrorism forever?
- *If it does not, will the war go on forever instead?*
- At what point would President Bush believe this war was a victory?

These are the questions this section will consider.

#### WAR WITHOUT END

#### Discussion

#### **Possible Answers:**

**1.** Many things have angered people in the Muslim world, and turned them against the US and its allies:

The attack on Afghanistan and on Iraq. The killing of thousands of innocent civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq. The occupation and control of Iraq. The prison abuse in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay. The support of Israeli actions against Palestinians. The way Muslims have been treated in Western Countries, e.g. being arrested without charges in the US. All of these actions make the United States look like a racist bully in the view of many Muslims. For poor, desperate and angry Muslims these actions make them want to fight back any way they can.

It is useful to elicit some of these points from the students:

- Many Muslims think that the US wants to destroy Islam.
- They see the attacks against Afghanistan and Iraq as attacks against Islam, and think that maybe their country will be attacked by the US too.
- They think that US support of Israeli actions against Palestinians, as anti-Muslim.
- They look at the way the US treats Muslims (especially after 9/11) in the US, such as arrests and interrogations of innocent US Muslims and Arab-Americans.
- They think that if they join al Qaeda they are fighting to save Islam, and their own people, from destruction.
- 2. Politically and economically the US has a powerful position. Militarily it is unmatched—the only superpower. In most of the world there is extreme poverty and injustice. Many countries are ruled by undemocratic governments. The US supports many of these undemocratic leaders. The spread of Globalisation has not been helpful for many of the world's people. The gap between rich and poor is growing in the world and the US is seen as the richest and most powerful. For many, the spread of American or Western culture is seen as a threat to their own culture. The threat of US military power spreading over the world is offensive to many people. The recent US military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq have made many people feel more threatened.

# **Exercise**

Get students' opinions on the differences between the 'War on Terror' and other wars. **Possible answers:** 

similarities	differences
during the Cold War	The Cold War had a fairly equal balance of power between the US and USSR, whereas the in the War on Terror there is only one superpower

#### Exercise

This activity can be done as an assessment to evaluate the student's understanding of the issues. Make sure the students look back on all the background covered in this chapter. Consider the issues of: reasons for the use of terror (why?), world conditions which motivate acts of terror, the response to terrorism from powerful governments, the success and failures of this response, the results of "anti-terrorism" methods, the way much of the world views the US government's actions. It is important for the students to say what they think is the best course of action. They could agree with the US position and want more of the same. Or they might disagree with the current War on Terror and have ideas of alternative methods. Students should try to give as much evidence and reason for their opinions.

# **Extra Material**

# The readings in this section give extra information on these topics

- For teachers to get more background on the topics they are teaching
- For students to do independent research

Peoples of the Middle East to accompany activities on page 18	page 56
Four Nobel Prize Winners to accompany activities on page 23	pages 57, 58
A map of US military bases to accompany activities on page 50	page 59

# Who are the People of the Middle East?

In the Middle East there are many different ethnic groups living in various parts of the region. *Ethnicity can be determined by three main factors: Language, Religion, Geography*. In other words, What language do they speak?; What religion do they practice?; What region do they live? However, within each one of these general groupings there are many specific and smaller groupings. People in each main ethnic grouping may consider themselves as being members of a very specific and different ethnic group due to their unique *combination of these three factors*.

**Language**: There are *three main types of languages spoken in the Middle East*. They are: Semetic (Arabic and Hebrew), Indo-European (Persian, Kurdish) and Turkic (Turkish, Azeri).

*Arabic is the main language spoken in the Middle East*. Over 60% of the population speaks some dialect of Arabic. Persian and Kurdish is the next big group of language speakers followed by Turkish speakers. Hebrew is primarily spoken in Israel.

Religion: There are *mainly three religions* found in many parts of the Middle East. They are: *Islam, Judaism, Christianity*. Followers of these religions can be found in many different countries throughout the Middle East. Islam is by far the most common religion in the Middle East. *Over 90% of the population is Muslim* (a follower of Islam). However, there are many different sects of Islam. The two main sects are Sunni and Shi'a. There are also smaller sects like the Druze in Lebanon and Israel, the Alawis in Syria, Alevis in Turkey. Christianity also has various sects such as the Copts in Egypt, Armenian in Turkey and Lebanon, Maronites in Lebanon and the Assyrian Christians in Iraq, Syria, Turkey. Jews can be found in many parts of the Middle East but since 1948 the vast majority live in Israel. Before Israeli independence, there were sizeable Jewish communities in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Yemen.

**Geography**: Some larger ethnic groups who are generally found in particular regions would include: Persians—in and around Iran. Turks—in and around Turkey. Kurds—in the border areas of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria (this area is known as Kurdistan).

The term "Arab" has been used to describe people living or coming from the region of the Arabian Peninsula. Also people who speak Arabic as their primary language are described as being "Arab."

#### The Difficulty of Defining Ethnicity

Although there are very large groupings to describe ethnicity, it is not always clear where people will fit into a category. For example, a Christian Palestinian may identify more with a Christian ethnic group than with a Palestinian or Arab group. A Persian Jew is both a Persian and a Jew. The variety of ethnic groups found in Lebanon shows how multi-ethnic the Middle East can be. The following groups are found in Lebanon: Maronites, Sunni Muslims, Shi'a Muslims (the largest single sect today), Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Druze, and Armenian Orthodox (Gregorian). Lesser sects include the Jacobite Christians, Syrian Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Jews, and Protestants—all this in a population of little more than 3 million.

# **Menachem Begin**

# Nobel Prize for Peace in 1978

Menachem Begin was born Aug. 16, 1913, Brest-Litovsk, Russia [now in Belarus] and died March 9, 1992, Tel Aviv, Israel. He was a Zionist leader and prime minister of Israel from 1977 to 1983. His main achievement was to obtain a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt (1979). For having helped make peace between the two countries, Begin and the president of Egypt, Anwar el-Sadat, were jointly awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1978. Begin received a law degree from the University of Warsaw in 1935. Active in the Zionist movement throughout the 1930s, he became (1938) the leader of the Polish branch of the Betar youth movement, dedicated to the establishment of a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River. When the Germans invaded Warsaw in 1939, he escaped to Vilnius; his parents and a brother died in concentration camps. The Soviet authorities deported Begin to Siberia in 1940, but in 1941 he was released and joined the Polish army in exile, with which he went to Palestine in 1942. Begin joined the militant Irgun Zvai Leumi and was its commander from 1943 to 1948. After Israel's independence in 1948 the Irgun formed the Herut ("Freedom") Party with Begin as its head and leader of the opposition in the Knesset (Parliament) until 1967. Begin joined the National Unity government (1967-70) as a minister without portfolio and in 1970 became joint chairman of the Likud ("Unity") coalition. On May 17, 1977, the Likud Party won a national electoral victory and on June 21 Begin formed a government. He was perhaps best known for his uncompromising stand on the question of retaining the territories occupied by Israel during the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. Prodded by U.S. President Jimmy Carter, however, Begin negotiated with Anwar el-Sadat for peace in the Middle East and reached two agreements known as the Camp David Accords (Sept. 17, 1978). A peace treaty between Israel and Egypt was signed on March 26, 1979. Begin and Sadat shared the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1978. In the early 1980s, his opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state remained resolute. His party failed to win a clear majority in a general election in 1980, but he was able to form a coalition. Two years later, Israel's invasion of Lebanon, causing well-publicized civilian casualties, turned world opinion against Israel. Begin resigned from office in 1983.

# Yasser Arafat

# Nobel Prize for Peace in 1994

Yasser Arafat was born Aug. 24?, 1929 in Egypt. He was president of the Palestinian Authority from 1996-2004, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) (1968-2004), and leader of Fatah, the largest of the constituent PLO groups. In 1993 he led the PLO in a peace agreement with the Israeli government. Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres of Israel were jointly awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1994.

Arafat was one of seven children of a well-to-do merchant whose wife was related to the anti-Zionist grand mufti of Jerusalem, Amin al-Husayni (d. 1974). Arafat attended the University of Cairo, graduating as a civil engineer. He joined the Muslim Brotherhood and the Union of Palestinian Students, of which he was president (1952-56), and was commissioned into the Egyptian army. In 1956 he served in the Suez campaign. After Suez, Arafat went to Kuwait, where he worked as an engineer and set up his own contracting firm. While there, he was a cofounder of Fatah, which was to become the leading military component of the PLO. After being named chairman of the PLO in 1969, he became commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces in 1971 and, two years later, head of the PLO's political department. Subsequently, he directed his efforts increasingly toward political persuasion rather than confrontation and terrorism against Israel. In November 1974, Arafat became the first representative of a non-governmental organisation—the PLO—to address a plenary session of the UN General Assembly.

governing body of the PLO) to be the president of a hypothetical Palestinian state. In 1993 Arafat, as head of the PLO, formally recognised Israel's right to exist and helped negotiate the Israel-PLO accord, which envisaged the gradual implementation of Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip over a five-year period. Arafat began directing Palestinian self-rule in 1994, and in 1996 he was elected president of the Palestinian Authority, which governed Palestinian-controlled areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Yasser Arafat died on November 11, 2004.

## **Shimon Peres**

# Nobel Prize for Peace in 1994

His original name was SHIMON PERSKI (b. Aug. 16, 1923, Wolozyn, Poland [now Valozhyn, Belarus]), Israeli statesman, leader of the Israel Labour Party (1977-92 and 1995-97) who served as prime minister of Israel in 1984-86 and 1995-96. In 1993, in his role as foreign minister, Peres helped negotiate a peace accord with Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), for which they, along with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, were jointly awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1994.

Peres immigrated with his family to Palestine in 1934. In 1947 he joined the Haganah movement, a Zionist military organisation, under the direction of David Ben-Gurion, who soon became his political mentor. When Israel achieved independence in May 1948, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion appointed Peres, then only 25, head of Israel's navy. In 1952 he was appointed deputy director general of the Defense Ministry, later serving as general director (1953-59) and deputy defense minister (1959-65), during which service he stepped up state weapons production, initiated a nuclear-research program, and established overseas military alliances, most notably with France. He became defense minister in the Labour Cabinet of Rabin in 1974.

In 1977 Peres became head of the Labour Party and, as such, was twice defeated by Menachem Begin as a candidate for prime minister (1977, 1981) before winning access to the post after the indecisive elections of 1984. Under Peres' moderate and conciliatory leadership, Israel withdrew its forces in 1985 from their controversial incursion into Lebanon. After similarly indecisive elections in 1988, the Labour and Likud parties formed another coalition government with Peres as finance minister and Shamir as prime minister; this coalition lasted only until 1990, when Likud was able to form a government without Labour support. In February 1992, in the first primary election ever to be held by a major Israeli party, Peres lost the Labour leadership to Rabin. When Labour won in the general elections in June and Rabin became prime minister of Israel in July, Peres was brought into the Cabinet as foreign minister. After the Israel-PLO accord was signed in 1993, Peres handled the negotiations with the PLO over the details of the pact's implementation. Following the assassination of Rabin in 1995, Peres took over as prime minister. In May 1996 he was

# Nelson Mandela Nobel Prize for Peace in 1993

narrowly defeated in his bid for re-election by Benjamin Netanyahu of the Likud party.

NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA (b. July 18, 1918, Umtata, Cape of Good Hope, S.Af.), South African black nationalist and statesman whose long imprisonment (1962-90) and subsequent ascension to the presidency (1994) symbolised the aspirations of South Africa's black majority.

The son of Chief Henry Mandela of the Xhosa-speaking Tembu tribe, Nelson Mandela was educated at University College of Fort Hare and the University of Witwatersrand and qualified in law in 1942. He joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944 and in 1949 became one of that black liberation group's leaders, helping to revitalise the organisation and engaging in increasingly militant resistance against the apartheid policies of the ruling National Party. After the massacre of unarmed Africans by police forces at Sharpeville in 1960 and the subsequent banning of the ANC, Mandela abandoned his non-violent stance and began advocating acts of sabotage against the South African regime. In 1962 he was jailed again and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

In 1963 the imprisoned Mandela and several other men were tried for sabotage, treason, and violent conspiracy in the celebrated Rivonia Trial. Mandela had been a founder of the organisation and admitted the truth of some of the charges that were made against him. On June 11, 1964, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. From 1964 to 1982 he was incarcerated at Robben Island Prison, off Cape Town. He was subsequently kept at the maximum-security Pollsmoor Prison until 1988, at which time he was hospitalised for tuberculosis. Mandela retained wide support among South Africa's black population, and his imprisonment became a cause célèbre among the international community that disapproved of apartheid. The South African government under President F.W. de Klerk released Mandela from prison on Feb. 11, 1990. He became president of the ANC in 1991.

In 1993 Mandela and de Klerk were awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace for their efforts to end apartheid and bring about a peaceful transition to non-racial democracy in South Africa. In April 1994 Mandela was elected president of South Africa in the country's first all-race elections. He introduced housing, education, and economic development initiatives designed to improve the living standards of the country's black population.

