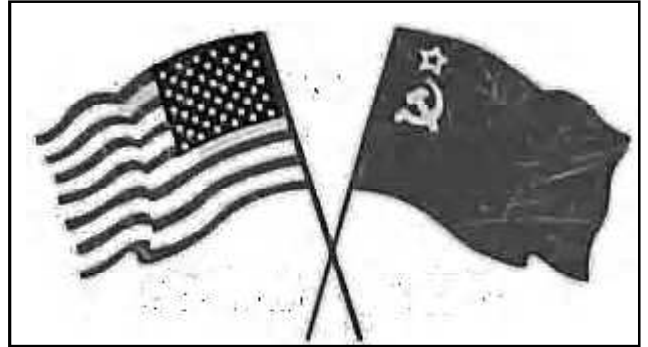


1. The Cold War and Its Aftermath



At the end of this chapter you will be able to:

- Explain what “Cold War” means
- Describe differences between capitalism and communism
- Name and identify on a map, the main countries involved in the Cold War
- Discuss how development assistance and aid were used as weapons of the Cold War
- Give examples of regional wars which were supported by Cold War rivals
- Discuss at least three global consequences of the Cold War

1.1 COLD WAR: A DEFINITION

KEY WORDS

alliance (*n*) – associations, friendly groups; political partners

propaganda (*n*) – information meant to influence

arms (*n*) – weapons

rivals (*n*) – opponents, competitors

theory (*n*) – explanation, unproven idea

regulate (*v*) – control, manage, co-ordinate

distribution (*n*) – the sharing amongst many

collectively (*adv*) – as a group

Brainstorm

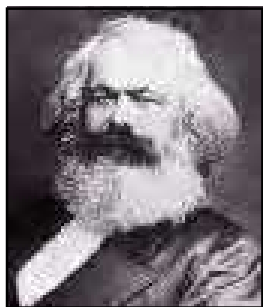
1. What are the most common ways countries settle conflicts?
2. What do you know about the Cold War?
3. What is the meaning of 'superpower'?

The Cold War was a period (1945-1989) of competition, tension, and conflict between the USSR* and the US (and their allies). This 'East-West' conflict never became a full-scale war. Each superpower formed alliances with other countries.

Both superpowers supported their allies during regional and civil wars. Through propaganda, support of allies and a technological and arms build-up, the two rivals were always threatening each other's survival.

TWO SYSTEMS: IN THEORY

Communism: 19th Century German philosopher Karl Marx saw great inequality in society. He noticed



Karl Marx developed the social and political system of modern Communism

that working class and poor people found it very difficult to improve their lives. At the same time, rich people seemed to find it easier to get richer and more powerful. He developed a theory for a new economic and social system that was later called *Communism*. In Marx's theory, the government, or "State," regulated the economy (businesses, factories,

services, resources) so as to ensure an equal distribution of wealth between all member of society. The State and the people would **collectively** own

property. The State is also responsible for ensuring citizens have adequate education, health and employment opportunities.

Capitalism: In capitalist systems, the government does not control the economy. Private ownership of property and services is encouraged. Economic activities are decided by the private sector, called the "market." The price and supply of goods and services is determined by those who produce and use them. This is sometimes called a "free market system." Health, education and employment conditions may or may not be a government responsibility.

* *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – the name for Greater Russia from 1920-1989*

Discussion

Skills:
Reasoning

Which theory do you prefer? Give reasons for your answer.

TWO SYSTEMS: IN PRACTICE

Preview

What do you know about the practice of both of these systems?
What are some disadvantages of communism and capitalism in real life?

KEY WORDS

mismanagement (n) – bad management

civil society (n) – society where individuals have rights and participate freely

monopoly (n) – someone or some people who completely dominates or controls.

vital (adj) – very important

corruption (n) – dishonesty; bribery

price-fixing (n) – agreement between suppliers on prices that users pay for services each time used.



VI Lenin,
Soviet leader

Unfortunately, the *practice* for these two systems has proven to be quite different from the *theories*. Communism, as practiced by most 20th century nations, did not always result in a fair distribution of wealth for all. **Mismanagement** by government-owned enterprises and corruption led to poor economic results. In different countries communist ideology was implemented into different economic policies and brought quite different results in terms of development. In Russia, for example, the government used very harsh agricultural policies. This brought about an **unprecedented** and extremely unbalanced economic growth. In 20-30 years the country became a military superpower. However in China, similar policies caused mass starvation and hardly any development. Under communism, the State has a **monopoly** on the production of most goods. It is also the sole provider of most services. This has in many cases lead to low quality

goods and services since there is no competition. In communist countries, the State controlled **civil society**. In some cases, freedoms were restricted. In several cases, however, communist governments improved the health and education standards and reduced unemployment levels.

In capitalist countries government has less control over business. This has sometimes resulted in unfair business practices such as monopoly and **price-fixing**. This has led to less competition and higher prices. The gap between rich and poor has grown and the level of poverty is increasing with little hope of change. Private education and health care resulted in fewer people being able to receive health care and higher education. Unemployment can be very high. Still, there are generally more opportunities for economic well-being and political participation.



Ronald Reagan,
US President

Group Work

Use the phrases below to complete the table describing capitalism and communism.

1. private ownership of property
2. one-party rule
3. many political parties
4. reduced government role in economy
5. individual responsible for health and education costs
6. collective ownership of property
7. government assists with health and education costs

Capitalism	Communism
private ownership of property	collective ownership of property

Comprehension

1. Name two reasons for a poor distribution of wealth under Communism.
2. Why is monopoly a problem?
3. How did the State attempt to control civil society in communist countries?

Discussion

How could capitalism work better? How could communism work better?

Skills:
Reasoning

Review

Skills:
Organising
information

Can you add anything to the list you made in the preview activity before the text?

1.2 ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

KEY WORDS

monarchy (n) – rule by royal family
civil war (n) – war between groups in the same country
ally (n) – partner, supporter
occupied (v) – invade and take over, possess
dominance (n) – superiority, overall authority over others
tension (n) – pressure, strain, worry

The origins of the Cold War go back to before World War Two. In 1917, the Russian Revolution ended a **monarchy** and began a new kind of government based on communism. However, just after the revolution, there was a period of **civil war** in Russia where communist and anti-communist groups fought for power. Great Britain and the United States supported the anti-communists.

In World War Two, the Soviets suffered many more deaths than the other countries (over 20 million

people). They blamed the lack of support from Western **allies** (USA, Britain, France, etc) for much of their loss. Meanwhile, the West believed the Soviets wanted to spread communism all over Europe. In fact, the USSR **occupied** many Eastern European countries during and immediately after WWII. Free elections were promised but never happened in these Soviet occupied countries. Another worry for the West were events in China: Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist army defeated the Western supported army of Chiang Kai Shek in 1949. Now, one more powerful communist country, China, was a challenge to the **dominance** of capitalism and the West. There were a few main factors that led to the Cold War:

- belief in very different forms of government and economy;
- mutual distrust;
- perception of each other as wanting to expand their territory of influence.

For the next four decades, this **tension** and conflict between two different economic, political and social systems was the main influence on international politics.



WW II allies Churchill (GB), Roosevelt (US), Stalin (USSR) became rivals after the war

Exercise

Match the first half of the sentence in Column A with the second half in Column B

Column A	Column B
More Russians were killed in WWII than	the anti-communists in Russia.
Many Eastern European countries were	defeated by Mao Zedung.
Chiang Kai Shek was	the spread of communism.
The British and the Americans helped	controlled by the USSR after WWII.
During WWII, Russian felt it did not recieve	any other nationality.
The Western allies feared	enough help from Britain, USA and France.

Comprehension

1. Name two historical events which resulted in the Soviets not trusting the West.
2. Name two historical events which resulted in the West not trusting the Soviets.

1.3 THE ARMS RACE

Between 1945-1989, technology advanced quickly, partly as a result of the Cold War. Warfare-related technology received a lot of interest, research and government support. Computer and space technology developed with the design and production of weapons.



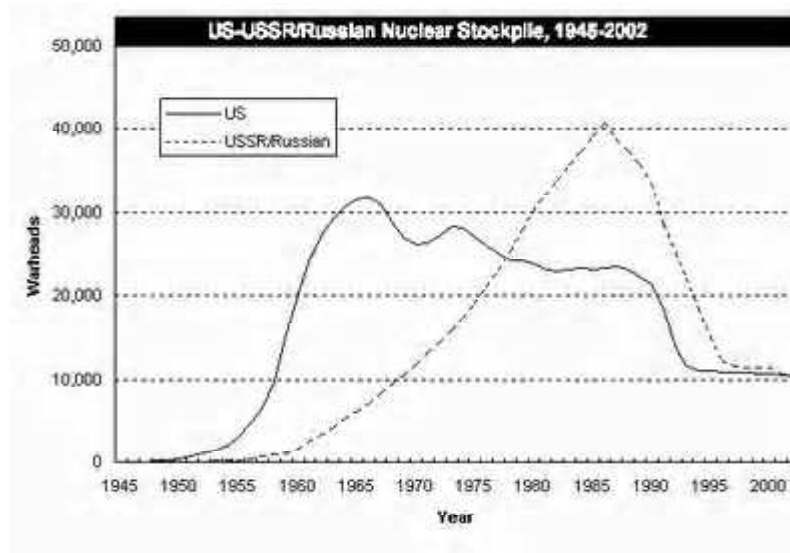
technology of war

Brainstorm

What are some examples of “warfare-related technology?”

Nuclear Weapons

In 1945, the United States tested the first nuclear weapon and then used it twice in Japan (at Hiroshima and Nagasaki) in order to help end WWII in the Pacific. Over 200,000 people were killed by the first two ‘Atomic bombs’ and thousands more suffered from injury and radiation related diseases. Today, one nuclear warhead is over 10 times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima and has the ability to kill over a million people.



Comprehension

Questions for the graph:

1. Which country had the most nuclear warheads in 1960?
2. How many warheads did the USSR have in 1975?
3. In what year did the USSR pass the US in size of nuclear stockpile?
4. What was the difference in size of nuclear force between the US and USSR in 1980?
5. At the *peak*, how many nuclear warheads did each country have?
6. Describe the *trend* between 1955 and 1975. (*Trend: the way a situation changes*)

Countries with Nuclear Warheads 1989			
USA (1945)	22000	India (1974)	30
Great Britain (1953)	300	USSR (1949)	35000
Israel (1967)	100	France (1964)	400
China (1964)	450	South Africa	6

N.B. In brackets is the year the country first acquired a nuclear bomb

Questions for table and graph:

1. Which Asian country possessed the most nuclear weapons in 1989? How many did it have?
2. Using the graph and the table, write one or two sentences which describe the changes between 1960 and 1989.

Discussion

Skills:
Reasoning

By 1975, the US and USSR each had enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world many times. Why do you think the two sides continued to make more and more nuclear weapons?

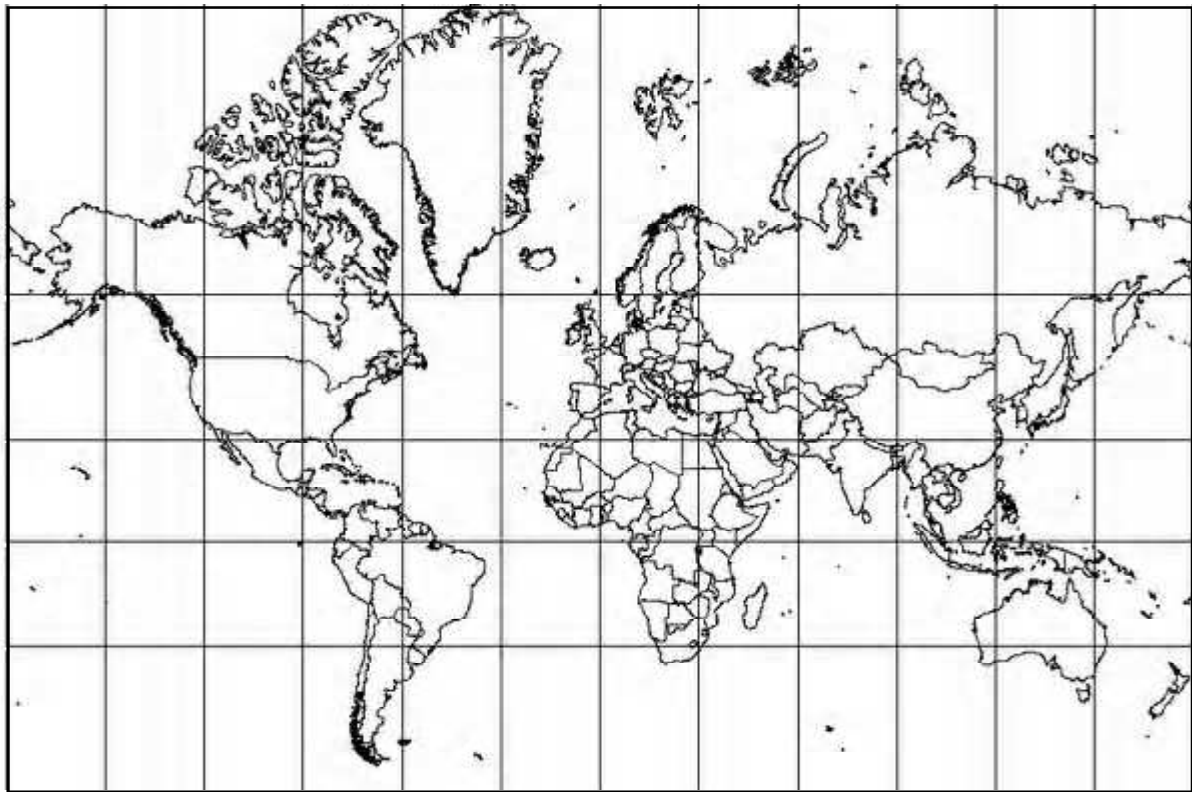
1.4 A WORLD DIVIDED

Group Work

There is a world map on the next page. On this world map outline:

1. Colour in red the following countries: USSR, China, North Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania
2. Colour in blue the following countries: USA, Great Britain, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the rest of Europe
3. Colour in the rest of the world with another colour
4. Give your map the title "The World During the Cold War"
5. a) What do you notice about the first and second group of countries?
b) What do you notice about the third group?

Hint: Where are these countries located? What about their economies? What about their history?



DEVELOPMENT: HUMANITARIAN OR POLITICAL?

KEY WORDS

ruins (*n*) – wrecked, destroyed
instability (*n*) – unsettled situation

severely (*adv*) – seriously
aligned (*adj*) – taking the same political side

Group Work

You are the US government after the end of WWII. The USSR has just occupied a number of Eastern European countries and a communist regime has just come to power in China. You are very worried about the spread of communism in the world. You are afraid it will threaten the Western world and capitalism.

1. You are the government of one of the most powerful countries in the world to stop the spread of communism. What will be your post-war politics towards countries that have been devastated by the war? Work with your group to devise a list of policies.

With the end of World War Two (1945), much of the world was left in **ruins** from either warfare or from **severely** weakened economies. After the war, the US began the task of helping to rebuild defeated Germany and Japan. The reconstruction of Japan and Germany was part of an economic and political plan to stop the spread of communism. The

Americans believed that a strong and *pro-American* Japan and Europe would be an ally of the West. Another section of the world was struggling for independence from colonial rule. This created a serious degree of social, political and economic **instability**.

2. What can you add to your list of international relations policies to facilitate stability in the countries struggling for their independence? Remember, your goal is to stop the spread of communism and make sure that capitalism around the world is not threatened. What would your policy towards these countries be? Start by brainstorming a list of things that could threaten a capitalist system.

“HELP” FOR NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES



In this unstable global environment the practice of foreign aid or “development aid,” became an important aspect of international relations. The Cold War soon became a major factor in foreign aid decision-making. The superpowers used foreign aid to develop alliances with newly independent nations. Many of the newly independent countries went through civil war and they wanted weapons. Foreign aid was often in the form of military aid. Soon, the US and the USSR were providing weapons as well as development aid to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. During the Cold War, the so-called “Third World” consisted of countries with fairly undeveloped economies. Most

of these countries have, at some point, been under colonial rule. The USSR and the USA competed for influence in these countries. This is where a lot of the Cold War was fought.

Comprehension

1. Why did so many countries need financial assistance in the 1950s and 1960s?
2. How did the superpowers hope to make new friends in the “Third World?”
3. If a newly independent country wanted to become communist, who would they most likely receive Aid from?

WARS BY PROXY

KEY WORDS	
advisor (n) – an “expert” giving assistance and information	proxy (v) – using others to act for you
fuel (v) – keep going, provide for	partition (n) – separation, division
	rivalry (n) – competition, opposition

In wars by “**proxy**,” the superpowers provided military assistance to countries at war with their neighbours. They hoped to stop the influence of the rival superpower. Sometimes the military support was to fighting groups from the same country involved in civil war. In Asia, the superpowers provided support and added to the **rivalry** between India and Pakistan. In the Korean War, the United States and some allies fought the North Koreans who were supported by

the Chinese and Soviets. In Africa, civil wars in Angola, Congo, Mozambique and Ethiopia were **fuelled** by aid from the Soviets and the Americans. Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, and Guatemala became Cold War battlegrounds in Latin America. In two such wars, one superpower fought against local armies supported by the other superpower: They were the Vietnam War and the Afghanistan War.

Comprehension

1. Name three regions in the world where civil wars were fought by opposing groups supported by the superpowers.
2. Find them on the map

Case study THE VIETNAM WAR

Vietnam was part of the French colony of Indochina from 1883 until the defeat of the French by Vietnamese **nationalists** in 1954. The leader of the nationalists, Ho Chi Minh, had fought against the Japanese in WWII and was an ally of the US. However, Ho preferred a more **socialist** * style of government, so the US refused to support his struggle for independence from France.

The US supported the French. Communist China gave support to the North Vietnamese. After the



*Ho Chi Minh,
Vietnamese
independence
leader*

French left in 1954, the United Nations at first agreed to national elections for Vietnam. But they changed the plan and organised the partition of Vietnam into a communist North and a capitalist South. Soon the North and the South Vietnamese were involved in civil war. The United States feared a communist take-over of Vietnam would lead to the rest of Asia falling to the communists. They called this belief the “Domino Theory.” The US began aiding the South Vietnamese government with military equipment and military **advisors**. By 1964, the US was fully engaged in war in Vietnam.



US soldiers in Vietnam were told they were fighting communism

Although Ho Chi Minh was not originally an ally of the USSR or China, the involvement of the US in the civil war brought greater support from the two communist powers. By the late 1960s, the much stronger military power of the US was not making progress against the much smaller but determined North Vietnamese, who were using guerrilla warfare. The American public no longer supported a foreign war on foreign soil, as it did not threaten America or its people. During the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, hundreds of thousands of people all over the world demonstrated and protested to end the war.

Finally, the Americans and the North Vietnamese agreed to a peace settlement, and the last American military official left in 1975. The Vietnam War resulted in the deaths of over three million Vietnamese, over a

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world. A few years later, in another part of Asia, the other superpower made the same mistake.



Comprehension

1. Where is Vietnam?
2. Who did Ho Chi Minh fight during World War Two?
3. Why did the US support the French against Ho Chi Minh?
4. Why were the Americans afraid of the North Vietnamese?
5. What countries supported the North Vietnamese during the Vietnam War?
6. Can you guess what conflict the last sentence in the text refers to?

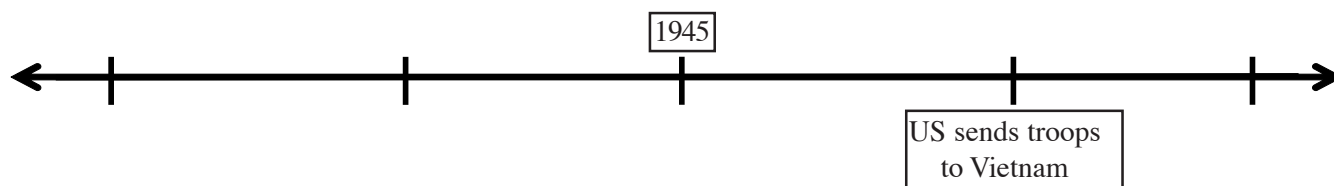
Exercise

Match the actors in the Vietnam War and the conflict surrounding it with their actions:

US	... fought against the Japanese in WWII alongside the US
North Vietnamese (or Vietcong)	... refused to support Vietnamese Nationalists and Ho Chi Minh's struggle for independence from the French
Ho Chi Minh	... supported North Vietnamese army in the 1960s
Communist China	... broke their promise for national elections in Vietnam and divided the country into North and South instead
Vietnamese Nationalists	... defeated the French colonisers in 1954
American public	... used guerrilla warfare tactics during the civil war
United Nations	... towards the late 1960's did not support the Vietnam War

Group Work

Fill in the key dates and events for the Vietnam War on the timeline



Case study

AFGHANISTAN

KEY WORDS

coup (*n*) – unannounced change of leadership, usually with use of threat of violence
rebels (*n*) – people against authority, and in armed struggle for change
casualties (*n*) – death or people who have been injured
strain (*n*) – difficulty, burden
overthrow (*v*) – to change or remove a government in power
inferior (*adj*) – not as good as; poor quality

In the 1980s, Afghanistan became the USSR's "Vietnam." Afghanistan is located on the southern border of the former USSR. When a military **coup** (1978) brought in a communist government, Soviet Russia gladly provided support. Civil war began between the Soviet-backed government and rebel groups sponsored by the USA. The Afghan government was losing control so the Soviet army entered Afghanistan in 1979. For the next ten years, Soviet forces battled Afghan **rebels**, known as *Mujahideen*.

These rebels received increasing amounts of military support and training from the US. Many of these rebels would later rise to power and become enemies of the US (in the US attack on Afghanistan in 2001). As the Soviet **casualties** grew, the war became unpopular with the Russian people. By 1988, the war had become too large a **strain** on the Russian economy and the USSR agreed to leave Afghanistan. The last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan in February 1989.

Following the departure of the Soviets, civil war in Afghanistan would continue for at least another seven years. Over 15,000 Soviet soldiers and one million Afghans died. During the conflict, over three million refugees left the country, many never to return. Once again, a superpower had suffered an embarrassing defeat by a smaller and supposedly **inferior** opponent. This was a war, and a part of the Cold War.



Afghan fighters fought the Soviets with US aid

Comprehension

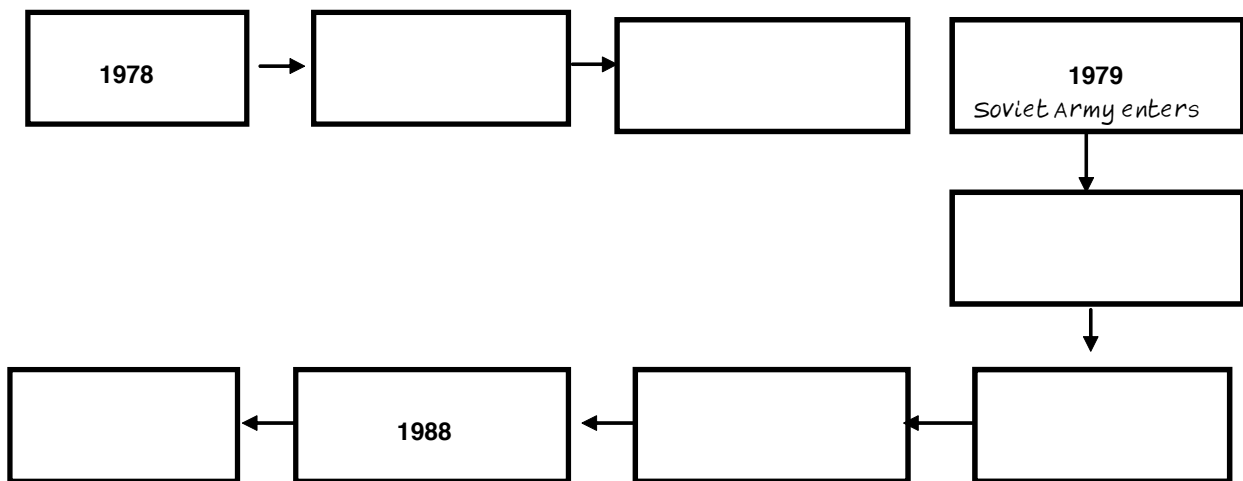
1. Where is Afghanistan?
2. Who supported the new communist Afghan government?
3. True or False? The USA opposed the communist government in Afghanistan.
4. Why did the Soviets enter Afghanistan?
5. Why did the US support the Afghan rebels?
6. Did the USSR win the war? explain

Group Work

Flow Diagram

Another way to show the progression of historical events is by using a flow diagram. Use the events below to fill in the flow diagram.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Millions of refugees flee civil war | 6. Soviet Army enters |
| 2. Soviets offer support to communist Afghan government | 7. Military coup |
| 3. Soviets agree to leave | 8. Civil war continues 7 more years |
| 4. US <u>increases</u> support to opposition rebels | 9. Soviet forces suffer many casualties |
| 5. Afghan Communists gain power | |



Discussion

Skills: Reasoning

Why did the US fail in Vietnam? The US gave a lot of support in money, military equipment and soldiers to the US-supported South-Vietnamese government. The USSR failed in Afghanistan even though it was much more powerful and rich than the Mujahedeen. Why did they fail?

1.5 FROM BI-POLAR TO UNI-POLAR

KEY WORDS

theorist (*n*) – person who develops theories
wear down (*v*) – to tire, exhaust, use up
union (*n*) – united group, coalition
unrest (*n*) – unsettled; dissatisfaction

intense (*adj*) – very serious, extreme
authoritarian (*adj*) – using extreme power or force to control
collapse (*n*) – falling down, destruction, failure

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

There are many reasons why the one-time superpower, the USSR, fell apart. The **intense** rivalry and conflicts between the Cold War superpowers, combined with economic and leadership problems, eventually **wore down** and defeated the Soviets.

In order to keep up with and fight its rival for over forty-five years, the USSR was pushed beyond its economic capability. In the end, the Soviets could not continue spending money on weapons, technology, propaganda and war.

Another important factor was that the Soviet Union was made up of numerous republics/states and ethnic groups, which had a long history of conflict and rivalry with each other. Only through strong **authoritarian** methods, the “**union**” was kept together. The impact of the international conflict (Cold War) began to

weaken the power of the Soviet central government. In this weakened condition, the dissatisfied population of the “union” were able to rise up and demand change. In 1989, the symbolic Berlin Wall, which separated East and West Germany was torn down. Immediately following the destruction of the Wall, many former Soviet republics gained independence. Soon the Soviet Union was officially ended and the communist system was replaced by a form of free market capitalism.



Gorbachev was the last leader of the Soviet Union and helped to open Soviet society

Exercise

Complete the paragraph explaining the chain of events which led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Use the phrases below to fill in the gaps.

change of government and economic system revolted	weak economy	Cold War	standard of living declined political and social unrest
--	--------------	----------	--

The _____ cost a lot of money and resources which resulted in a
_____. When the economy weakened the _____. As the
standard of living got worse, the people became unhappy which caused _____.
Because there was political and social unrest the people eventually _____ and demanded
a _____.

A NEW WORLD ORDER

Preview

1. What do you think “new world order” means here?
2. What importance did the collapse of the Soviet Union have for the rest of the world?
3. Read the text and try to answer these questions.

Germans celebrate the destruction of the Berlin Wall which divided their country during the Cold War



KEY WORDS

unchecked (adj) – without control, not monitored
shift (v) – move, change position

hegemony (n) – leadership dominated by a stronger power

For over forty-five years, international relations were based on the power struggle between the two superpowers and their allies. During the Cold War period, there were many regional conflicts and wars. However, the much-feared “World War Three” never happened *because* of the presence of two rival superpowers. A ‘balance of power’ existed, as everyone was afraid of the superpowers directly challenging each other with the threat of nuclear war. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, this balance of power **shifted**. Now only one superpower

remained. A so called “new world order” was established. The United States held supreme power and dominance. The old fears of global nuclear war between the two powers ended. However, there were new concerns of **unchecked** power and influence by one country. Now, the sole superpower was in full control. A new era of American **hegemony** had begun. The possible effects of this new order have presented new challenges for stability and peace.

Discussion

Skills: Reasoning

1. Why was there never war between the two superpowers?
2. How was the world “balanced” during the Cold War?
3. Name some of the advantages for ending the Cold War.
4. Name some disadvantages
5. Why was/is there great concern and worry about the “New World Order?”
List some reasons and explain the consequences.

GLOBALISATION

KEY WORDS

prevail (v) – succeed, continue

competitors (n) – people trying to succeed in the same contest; opponents

The end of the Cold War not only meant that the two superpowers stopped their competition for dominance, but it also meant that the ideology of the winner **prevailed**. In this “new world order,” capitalism has become the economic model for all countries. Part of the process that spreads this global economic system is globalisation. Globalisation involves the ending of **trade barriers*** that many

countries use to protect their local economies. Entry into a global economy requires that a country reforms its economy. The market has to be open to all **competitors** regardless of nationality. Participation in the global economy allows the “free market” to determine what and how goods are produced, sold and purchased.

Some positive opinions about globalisation:

All countries compete with the same rules and the same benefits

Globalisation makes the world into one big marketplace

Competition will create the best products for the best prices

In practice, globalisation does not always produce the results that its supporters promise. Globalisation has affected different countries in different ways. The opinions and attitudes toward globalisation are many.

Some realities about Globalisation:

The gap between rich and poor countries continues to grow

Cultural identity is lost by advertising and consuming the same products

Small local industries can't compete successfully with large trans-national companies

Discussion

Skills: Inferring

What aspects of life are stressed in the quotes about the positive aspects of globalisation? What aspects of life are stressed in the quotes about its realities?

*Trade Barriers

Traditionally, most governments protect their economies by making sure imported goods (goods coming from another country) are more expensive than ones made locally. They do this by charging import duties, which is a kind of government tax on all imports.

Group work**Skills:** Applying information

1. What examples of globalisation can you find in your life?
2. Do they support the positive view of globalisation?

Group work**Skills:** Argument**Points of View:**

Look at the quotes about globalisation. Decide which are in favour and which oppose globalisation.

“The historical record is very clear that free trade bestows many benefits to the average person. Those countries that lower trade barriers and open their markets enjoy higher economic standards of living. Consumers have access to a wider range of higher quality products at prices lower than they would otherwise pay”.

The Cato Institute, Center for Trade Policy Studies

“..... post-Cold War globalisation that once promised a new world order that would bring freedom and prosperity for all. Instead, globalisation has brought worker exploitation and economic instability to many countries...”

Pierre Sane – Secretary General, Amnesty International

Markets promote efficiency through competition and the division of labour - the specialisation that allows people and economies to focus on what they do best. Global markets offer greater opportunity for people to tap into more and larger markets around the world. It means that they can have access to more capital flows, technology, cheaper imports, and larger export markets.

International Monetary Fund

People in Third World countries, as well as the poor and excluded sectors of industrialised countries suffer the devastating effects of economic globalisation and the dictatorship of international institutions such as

the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO and the governments that serve their interests.

~World Social Forum, 2002

‘The average American in 1985 made over 30% more than the average German, 40% more than the average Japanese, nearly 50% more than the average citizen of the United Kingdom, and 5,500% more than the average Ethiopian... These gaps defy the imagination... and will double in a century-and-a-half at the current trend.’

World Trade Organization study, 1999

The Cold War system was built exclusively around nation-states, and it was balanced at the center by two superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the globalisation system, the United States is now the sole and dominant superpower and all other nations are subordinate to it to by one degree or another.

Thomas Friedman

“Globalisation’s benefits have been unevenly distributed, with many of its burdens falling hardest on those who can least protect themselves. . . Too many people, particularly in developing countries, feel excluded and threatened by globalization, . . . They feel that they are the servants of markets, when it should be the other way around.”

Kofi Annan - Secretary-General, United Nations

Discussion**Skills:** Applying information

1. How has globalisation affected Myanmar?
2. How might it affect Myanmar in the future?

Group work**Skills:** Comparison

In groups, discuss the question of globalisation—what seems good and what seems bad. Then fill in the chart listing all the advantages and the disadvantages that you can think of.

Advantages of Globalisation	Disadvantages of Globalisation

Group work**Skills:** Research, presentation**Group A**

Prepare a presentation about the ‘balance of power’ in the Cold War. Include information about the superpowers, their allies, the arms race, wars by proxy, and any other information you find relevant. Use information from this unit, supplementary readings, or any outside sources.

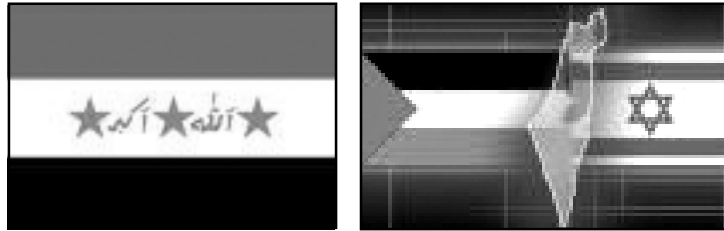
Group B

Prepare a presentation on the ‘New World Order’. How has the collapse of the Soviet Union changed the balance of power in the world? What changes have occurred? Talk about political, economic, and social changes. You can also use any other sources (supplementary readings, library materials, etc.)

2. The Middle East

In this chapter we will explore recent conflicts in the Middle East. These conflicts have seen the political, economic, and military involvement of many countries throughout the world. The two conflicts are:

- **The Israeli-Palestinian conflict**
- **The Tragedy of Iraq**



At the end of this chapter you will be able to:

- Name and locate on a map the main countries in conflict in the Middle East
- Explain how European colonialism helped to create more conflict
- Discuss both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict
- Describe the role of geography and natural resources in the region
- Discuss how the United Nations has reacted to regional conflict
- Identify important events in the recent history of Iraq
- Identify events in the last two decades that lead to the two wars in Iraq

2.1 INTRODUCTION

THE LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

Brainstorm

1. What are some reasons for countries going to war?
2. Where is the Middle East?
3. What do you know about the Middle East?

For over six hundred years (1300-1922) the Ottoman Empire ruled much of what we today call Central Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and North Africa. The Ottomans were Muslim and their capital was Istanbul. By the start of the twentieth century, Ottoman power was weakening. Strong European countries threatened the Ottomans for control of the Middle East region. During World War One, the Ottomans were on the side of Germany, which lost the war. As a result, most of the Middle East was divided up after the war and taken over by the winners: mainly France and Britain.

More importantly, during the war many Arabs supported Britain by fighting against the Ottomans. Britain promised independence for Arabs in exchange for their support. This agreement was never honoured. Most of the Middle Eastern countries as we know them today were created by the victorious European powers. France controlled Syria and Lebanon. Great Britain took control of Palestine and the new states of Iraq and Trans-Jordan. The rest of the Arabian Peninsula was not under direct British control but was allied with Britain.

Nation Makers

At the end of WWI, the future of millions of Arabs in the Middle East was decided by a handful of European leaders. Borders were changed and made in private sessions by powerful men thousands of kilometres away from the areas affected. After generations of living together, tribal and ethnic groups were separated from each other based on European politics.

Map work

On the map, find all present-day countries that used to be part of the Ottoman Empire.

Comprehension

1. When was the Ottoman Empire broken up? Why did this happen?
2. Which European countries controlled most of the Middle East after WWI?
3. Who made the new boundaries for the new Middle Eastern states?
4. How were the local populations involved in deciding the new boundaries?



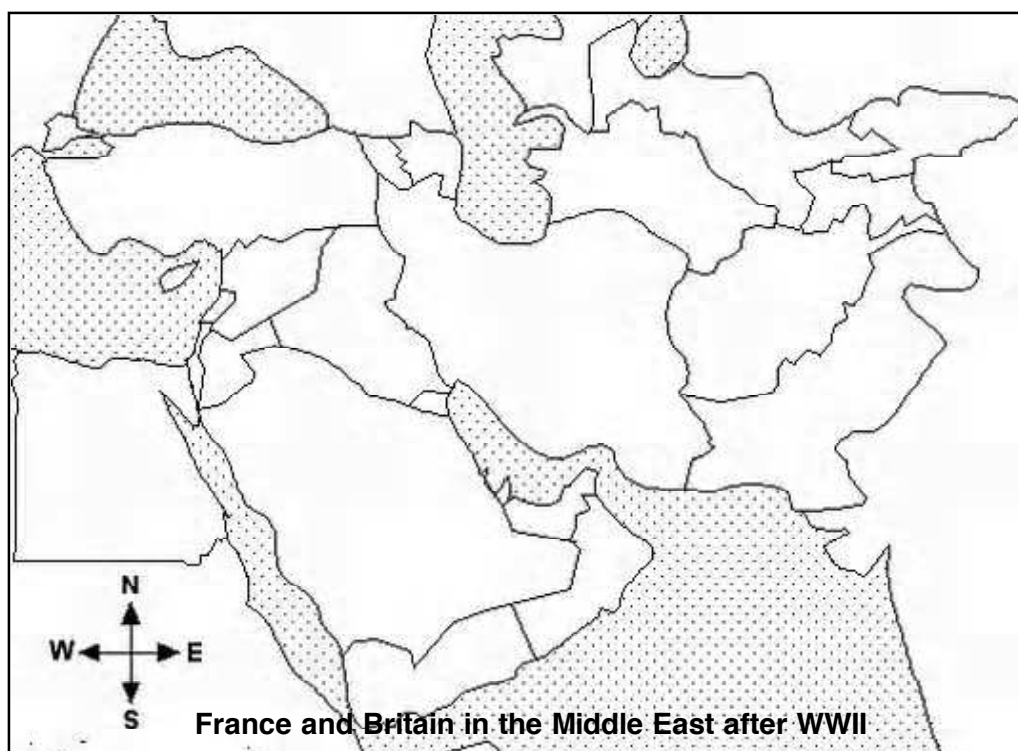
Discussion

Skills: Inferring, applying information

1. How do you think the Arabs felt about the new shape of the Middle East after WWI?
2. Describe a similar situation in a different part of the world.

Map work

On the map below name and locate the countries controlled by France and Great Britain after World War One. Make a key and colour them according to the key.



2.2 THE RESPONSE TO COLONIALISM

KEY WORDS

presence (*n*) – being there, occupying
radical (*adj*) – excessive, extreme, fanatical
resentment (*n*) – anger over past actions, strict or extreme interpretation
tolerate (*v*) – to accept

betrayal (*n*) – to not keep a promise, disloyal
fundamentalism (*n*) – extreme belief in an idea or religion
nationalism (*n*) – a movement to establish a national identity

No one likes outsiders coming to take control of their land, resources and their futures. British and French occupation and military **presence** resulted in many armed conflicts between local people and the European occupiers. During the first half of the twentieth century, many forms of **nationalism** grew to challenge colonialism all over the world. Local populations were no longer willing to **tolerate** the injustice of colonialism. In the Middle East there were various types of Arab nationalism (i.e. Egypt under President Nasser, Ba'athism in Iraq and Syria). There was also Jewish nationalism (Zionism).

Religious **fundamentalism** (both Muslim and Jewish) was another reaction by some groups who tried to maintain their own **identity** and independence. Some of these fundamentalists **adopted** extreme beliefs and used **radical** actions. In the Middle East, the nationalist feelings and anger were increased by the **betrayal** of the British when they refused to honour their World War One agreement to give some Arabs independence. This **resentment** became a major factor in future conflicts and wars.

Discussion

Skills: Inferring, reasoning

Why was there an increase in nationalist movements after World War I?

2.3 ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

CREATION OF A STATE



Brainstorm

What do you know about the persecution of minority groups?
What groups have been persecuted? How are groups persecuted?

KEY WORDS

bitter (*adj*) – very angry
extermination (*n*) – to kill all people
intolerance (*n*) – not accepting, prejudice
overwhelmingly (*adv*) – very large amount

partition (*n*) – separation, division
persecuted (*v*) – mistreated, victimised
sanctuary (*n*) – safe place

Settlers arrive

Throughout history, Jews worldwide have been **persecuted**. Creating a Jewish homeland had been a goal for Jews for many years. In 1948, the state of Israel was created. However, the vast majority of people living in the region—who were



European Jews migrated to Israel to escape persecution

overwhelmingly Arabs - did not accept this new creation. The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is long and **bitter**. It concerns land and religion. For centuries, Jews and Muslims have lived together in Palestine and many other parts

of the Middle East. For both Jews and Muslims in Palestine, there was always some distrust and religious **intolerance**. However, land is the main point of disagreement, which goes back to before the time of European colonialism. At the beginning of the 19th century, Jews from all over the world went to Palestine to settle. At the end of the 19th century, Jewish persecution, especially in Russia, was extreme. Jews living in many parts of the world organised and created a nationalist movement called 'Zionism.' A main goal of Zionism was to establish a Jewish state in the area known as Palestine. This became particularly important for Jewish people after the horrors of the *Holocaust*.

Before the arrival of the Zionist settlers, Arabs from many religious and cultural groups and sub-groups (Muslim, Druze, Christian) had mostly been living together in harmony with the minority Jewish population. By the start of World War One (1914), Arabs outnumbered Jews by over ten to one in Palestine.

The Holocaust

During World War II the Nazis started extreme and systematic persecution of Jews. The ultimate goal of this persecution was to kill all Jews in the world. As the German army occupied more and more countries in Europe, all Jews in the occupied territories were put into concentration camps where they were forced to do hard labour, starved to death, and were killed in special cells filled with gas. Many Jews tried to escape Europe during that time, but most other countries did not want to take refugees. It was also very hard to escape once a country was occupied by Nazi Germany. About 6 million Jews were killed in Europe in the Holocaust. Very few Jews survived in the occupied countries and territories during World War II. Some people managed to escape into Palestine.

Discussion

Skills: Inferring

In 1948 the State of Israel was created. How do you think the Jews felt about this? Why? How did the Arabs in the region feel about this? Why? Arabs outnumbered Jews by over ten to one in Palestine. What importance do you think this fact had for the future of the region?

Under British Rule

When the British gained control of Palestine at the end of the war, they had also agreed to the creation of a separate Jewish state (the agreement was known as the Balfour Declaration named after British Foreign Minister, Arthur Balfour). This decision angered local Arabs who felt the British once again betrayed them.

Under British control, there was continual tension and inter-ethnic violence in Palestine. During and after WWII (1939-1945), thousands of Jews fled the mass **extermination** by the Nazis. Jews thought of Israel as a **sanctuary** from the horrors happening in Europe.

By the end of World War Two (1945), most European powers were giving up their colonies. Great Britain agreed to give up control of Palestine. In 1947, the newly formed United Nations declared that Palestine would be divided into an Arab state and a Jewish state. Arabs rejected this plan. In their opinion, the illegal Jewish settlers had never received permission to be in Palestine, yet they were now being given equal rights to the Palestinians. This UN

Whose land is it?

According to the Bible (Old Testament), Palestine was the home of the Jews. Jews claim that this means that Palestine is still their home. Arab Palestinians claim that their long and continuous presence (living) in Palestine gives them rights to the land.

decision, Arab rejection and Israeli reactions have all contributed to the conflict.

The Wars Begin

At the moment of Israeli independence, intense fighting broke out between Arab and Jewish residents of Palestine. Soon, neighbouring Arab countries (Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Trans-Jordan) entered the fight and declared war. The smaller but better trained and organised Israeli army was able to defeat the Arabs. In 1949 an agreement was signed which gave the new state of Israel even more land than the UN plan. The Palestinians did not have the leadership nor the support from the neighbouring Arab countries. Therefore, Egypt took control of the Palestinian area near Gaza and Jordan took control over areas of Central Palestine (the West Bank) and East Jerusalem. The new Jewish state had been created and the UN **partition** plan (see map below) never came to be. The Palestinians were left out of the negotiations as their Arab neighbours benefitted by gaining control over Palestinian territory. The Palestinians had lost a war and a home.



Comprehension

Choose the appropriate word or fill in the gaps to complete the sentences.

1. Arabs (agreed/disagreed) with the UN partition plan.
2. The Jewish movement which encouraged settling in Palestine was called _____.
3. Israel declared itself a new state in 19 _____.
4. In Palestine, there were many _____ groups who are all Arabs.
5. The Balfour Agreement _____ creating a Jewish state.
(a. supported b. opposed c. ignored)
6. At the end of the first Arab-Israeli war in 1949, Israel possessed _____ land compared to the UN plan. (a. less b. more c. the same)

Discussion

Skills: Imagining

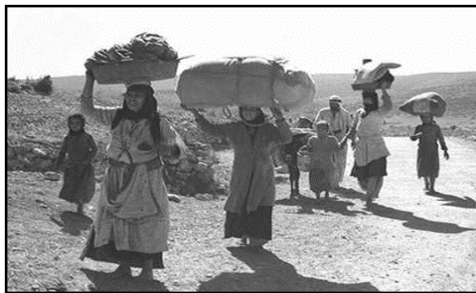
1. Why were the other Arab nations in the region against the new state of Israel?
2. How did they show their disagreement?
3. How could the British have organised Palestine in a way that would have led to less fighting in the future?

REFUGEES

Almost immediately after the announcement of the creation of the state of Israel, hundreds of thousands of people fled their homes as refugees. Many Jews who had been living in neighbouring Arab countries for centuries were forced or chose to leave their homes. They feared for their safety in countries which had just declared war on the new Jewish state. These Jewish refugees were accepted into the new state of Israel as citizens.

Almost immediately after the announcement of the creation of the state of Israel, over 700,000 Palestinian Arabs left Israel as refugees. There were several reasons why Palestinians left their homes:

- 1) To escape war
- 2) Persecution by Jews
- 3) Fear of living under future Israeli rule.



Palestinian refugees in search of a home

Over the next fifty years, the number of Palestinian refugees increased to about four million. Many are still living in the same camps established in 1949. Jordan has the largest number of Palestinian refugees, and Lebanon and Syria also have large numbers. Many Palestinians have moved to the wealthier Arab Gulf countries (like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE) and other parts of the world. However, the only Arab state to grant citizenship to some Palestinians is

Jordan. Palestinians in other Arab states do not generally have the same rights as the citizens of those states.

Palestinians and most other Arabs share the same religion and both have generally opposed Israeli government policy, but the Palestinians have not received full support from these other Arab countries.

Discussion

Skills: Imagining

- What could other Arab countries in the region have done to help the refugees?
What could other countries, or the UN, have done?

THE OCCUPATION

KEY WORDS

confiscation (*n*) – taking away

curfew (*n*) – not allowed outside after a certain hour

demolition (*n*) – destruction

detention (*n*) – arrest, imprisonment

hostile (*adj*) – unfriendly, opposing

justify (*v*) – give reason for

monitor (*v*) – check, watch, observe

occupation (*n*) – remaining in a place

prohibit (*v*) – not allow, forbid

After the 1949 ceasefire agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours, two areas in the original Palestine (West Bank and Gaza) remained under Arab control. That changed in 1967.

In 1967, the Israeli government identified large numbers of troops from Egypt and Syria gathering around its borders in what looked to be **hostile**, aggressive actions. Israel reacted by quickly and effectively attacking and defeating Egypt, Syria and Jordan. The result of this war was that Israel took control and

occupied the two Arab territories, a large piece of land formerly belonging to Egypt (Sinai Peninsula) and land bordering Syria (Golan Heights). This war is known as the “Six Day War” because Israel defeated its enemies in six days.

In 1979, as part of a peace agreement, Israel handed back most of the Sinai Peninsula, taken in the 1967 war. However, it kept control of Gaza, the West Bank and the Golan Heights. Before the 1990s, Israel’s neighbours refused to accept Israel’s right to exist.

The destruction of Israel was a policy for several Arab governments. Israel has been continually threatened by aggressive actions from both Palestinians as well as hostile neighbouring Arab countries.

It is important to remember that much of the land in Palestine and Israel is dry and infertile. Water is one of the most valuable resources. Two very important water supplies are found in the West Bank—The Jordan River and the Sea of Galilee. Whoever controls these significant water sources controls a key resource. The Israeli government maintains that it must control these areas for its own security. These areas are where most of the Israeli Palestinians live. Israel uses many security measures in the “Occupied Territories” These security measures control and limit the movement of the Palestinians living there. Some security measures include:

- freedom of speech, press and assembly are either severely **monitored** or **prohibited**.
- closure of roads, schools and community buildings
- house **demolitions**
- **detention** of political activists
- **confiscation** of Palestinian land.

Recently, the Israeli government began the construction of a large wall used to separate the Occupied Territories from the rest of Israel (see box



A Palestinian stone thrower faces the Israeli army

below). This “security barrier” is also used to separate Palestinians from each other. Another important method used by the Israeli government to maintain control is to build new Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories. Hundreds of thousands of Jewish settlers have moved into these new settlements. In 2004, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon proposed removing Jewish settlements in Gaza but keeping others in the West Bank. Protecting these settlers in the Occupied Territories **justifies** continued Israeli military force in the region, according to the Israeli government.

The Wall

In July 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled that the Israeli security barrier is illegal and should be removed. The UN General Assembly passed a resolution saying that Israel should take down the wall immediately. So far (October 2004), the Israeli government has refused to obey the resolution.

Comprehension

1. Why are the Arabs in the neighbouring countries and some Palestinians inside Israel hostile to the Israeli government? How many reasons can you name? Organise these reasons into groups:

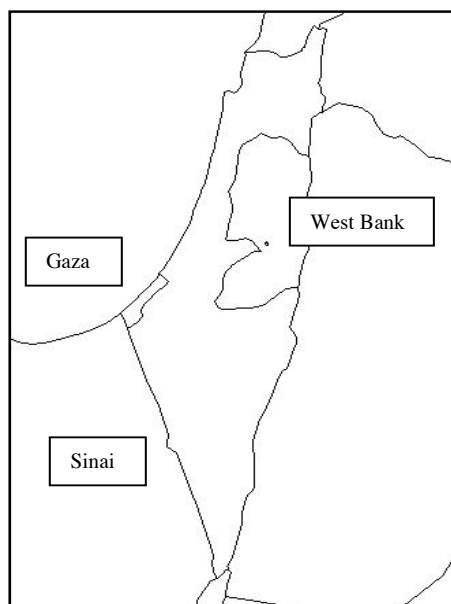
political reasons	religious reasons	geographical reasons	social reasons	other reasons

2. What methods have been used by Israel to control the Occupied Territories?
3. Can you find any human rights violations mentioned in this text?
4. Do you think the Israeli government has a right to commit these human rights violations?
5. What is the Israeli government trying to achieve?
6. What would be a better way to do this?
7. What could neighbouring Arab countries do to help reduce some hostilities?

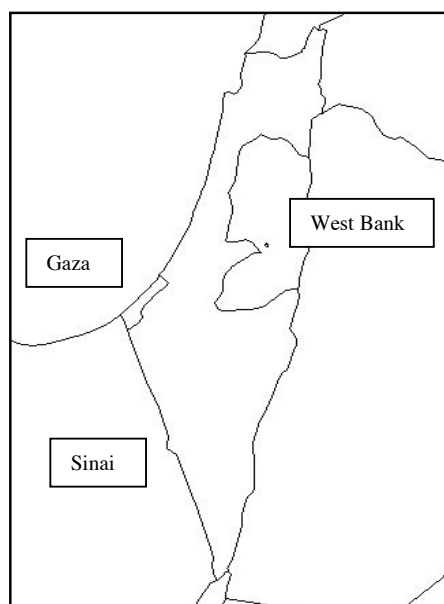
Map work

1. In each of the maps below, colour in the land controlled by Israel.

Israel and Occupied Territories



1967 - 1979



1979 - present

2. Make statements about the changes in the map of Israel from 1947 until the present. Why has the map changed? What events affected the changes?

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE VETO

KEY WORDS

condemning (v) – criticising, judging negatively
resolution (n) – official statement, judgement
rotate (v) – take turns, alternate
veto (n) – refusal, rejection
violate (v) – disobey, to break a law



In 1967, in response to the Israeli invasion and occupation of Arab land, the UN passed a **resolution**. The resolution required Israel to leave the occupied land and to accept the old boundaries. To date, Israel refuses to accept this. Over the next thirty-five years Israel would **violate** over thirty-five UN resolutions – more than any other country in the world. Most of the resolutions relate to Israeli-Palestinian relations. Many more resolutions

condemning Israeli actions have been proposed by the UN but have not been approved because of the UN system of **veto**.

The UN has over 200 member states. The most important decisions are made by a group of 15 countries, called the Security Council. Five of the fifteen members are “permanent” members—they are the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, and China. The other ten members of the Security

Council are chosen from the overall membership and **rotate** being a Security Council member every two years. Any of the five permanent members can defeat a resolution by using their power of veto. So even if all of the other countries in the world agree on something, one country alone (a permanent member only) can defeat the agreement.

The US has been Israel's largest supporter providing them with more military and financial aid than any other country. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, the US wants a strong presence in the Middle East for political and economic reasons. Israel is the only non-Muslim country in the region. Culturally, it is more similar to the US than Muslim Middle Eastern countries. Another reason is that there are many influential American Jews who have strong political and cultural links to Israel. The US has supported Israel by vetoing numerous UN resolutions **condemning** Israeli actions.



US President Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Sharon

Discussion

1. How are decisions made at the United Nations?
2. Do all member countries have equal power?
3. What is your opinion about this kind of system?
4. Think of a different way to make decisions at the United Nations

THE INTIFADAH

Preview

How can people organise resistance or opposition to the government?

KEY WORDS

barricading (v) – blocking, deny access

bombardment (n) – attack from bombs or missiles

boycotts (n) – an organised refusal to buy

intervention (n) – to get involved, participation

resistance (n) – to be against something, struggle

siege (n) – long attack

strikes (n) – organised refusal to work

uprising (n) – rebellion, revolt

Palestinians React

By 1987, after years of living under Israeli occupation and failed attempts at peace (see box below), Palestinians organised a mass **uprising** or **resistance** movement. It was called the Intifadah (which means “shaking off” in Arabic). Palestinians from all parts of society used the following *non-violent* methods:

- organised demonstrations and **strikes**
- **boycotted** Israeli goods
- created underground schools (many Palestinian schools were closed by Israel during the uprising).
- refused to pay taxes

There were also direct acts of violence:

- throwing stones and explosives
- **barricading** roads
- Suicide bombing

The first Intifadah lasted about six years with hundreds of people dying—Israelis and Palestinians. One result from the first Intifadah was the creation of an official Palestinian government, called the Palestinian Authority (PA). However, there have been several Palestinian political parties and organisations that do not agree with the Palestinian Authority. Some of these organisations refuse to negotiate with the Israeli government. Terrorism



Palestinian throwing a Molotov cocktail

and violence are their main methods for trying to bring about change. The first Intifadah brought the level of violence from Palestinian extremists to a new high. Later in 2000, a second Intifadah began. The Israeli reaction to this uprising was even stronger than the first time. The Palestinian response was also more violent. Suicide bombings of innocent Israelis by Palestinians increased. This increase in violence by both sides has made the possibility of peace increasingly difficult.

Discussion

Skills: Analysing,
Inferring

1. What were some positive results of the Intifadah?
2. What were some negative ones?
3. Who were the participants in the Intifadah?
4. What can you name as an important weakness of the different participants?
5. What could have made the Intifadah more successful?

The Peace Process

There have been many attempts at creating peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians. The United Nations, The USA, USSR/Russia, The European Union, and various Arab governments have all tried to bring about peace. Until the present, no peace deal has been fully accepted by either the Israeli or the Palestinian representatives. Each side claims the need for security and a fair share of the land.

Israel Reacts

In 2002, Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) moved into the Occupied Territories to take over important towns and cities. Palestinian Authority's official residence was completely surrounded and under heavy bombardment. Its former leader, the late Yasser Arafat, and his cabinet were unable to leave for many weeks. Buildings were destroyed and many Palestinians were killed during the siege. Individual leaders of Palestinian resistance organisations were specifically targeted and killed by the IDF.

The International Community Reacts

Most international observers thought Israelis were guilty of using excessive force and of violating

international law. The UN and the international community loudly condemned the violence. Israel rejected the international reaction and continued the siege for many more days. Lack of strong US intervention allowed this to happen. Both Intifadahs have attracted a lot of international attention to the Palestinian situation. However, there have also been negative international reactions condemning Palestinian suicide bombings against civilians. In spite of efforts to work out a peace arrangement, the situation remains as dangerous as ever. By September 2004, over 3000 Palestinians and 1000 Israelis had died since the start of this second Intifadah.

Group work

Make a timeline showing important events mentioned in this chapter.

Group work**Skills:** Analysis

There are many players in this conflict: the Israeli army, the Palestinian Authority, the other Palestinian groups, the USA, the UN, Israeli and Palestinian civilians. In your group, say what each player has done so far to add to the conflict. Then say what each player could have done differently for a better result. Finally, say what each player could do now to help resolve the conflict. Organise your answers in this chart:

Who	What they have done	What they could have done better	What can they do in the future
The Israeli Government and Army			
The Palestinian Authority			
Other Palestinian Groups			
The UN			
Israeli and Palestinian Civilians			

LIFE IN ISRAEL**KEY WORDS**

alleged (*adj*) – suspected, not proven
arsenal (*n*) – collection of weapons

escalation (*n*) – increase
sophistication (*adj*) – very advanced

Preview

How do you think the Israeli/Palestinian conflict affects life in Israel today?

The **escalation** of violence inside and outside the Occupied Territories has made life in Israel dangerous. Palestinian resistance organisations have increased the use of suicide bombing in civilian areas in response to:

- continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian land;
- harsher responses by the Israeli army;
- lack of progress with the peace process.

Palestinian suicide bombers target public places such as bus stations, restaurants, nightclubs and community halls. The Israeli army has strongly reacted by using its **sophisticated arsenal**. They use helicopter gunships, fighter jets and tanks to respond to the Palestinian violence. Israelis use targeted killing of **alleged** Palestinian terrorists which has made the

situation worse. Each side refers to the other's murderous activities as "terrorism." One form is committed by individuals or members of organisations whilst the other is committed by a State. The results are the same: Innocent people are dying, both sides refuse to be open to understanding the other side and the conflict is nowhere near resolved.



A suicide bomber exploded this Israeli bus, killing the passengers inside.

Government vs The People

In most international conflicts it is common that the position or opinion of a government is not the same as what all the people think or want. Such is the case in Israel/Palestine. Throughout all the years of this conflict, there have been people on both sides who have strongly disagreed with their governments and their leaders. There have been individual Israelis and Palestinians, as well as organisations, which reject violence and have tried to work together to find peaceful solutions.

Discussion

1. Why do you think suicide bombers choose public places to carry out their actions?
2. How do the Israeli reactions to the suicide bombing affect plans for peace?
3. What other options do the Israeli and Palestinians have?

Debate

The hostile actions of the State cannot be called “terrorism.”

Role play

Read the two stories below. Then in pairs take the role of either Rachel or Majdi and have a discussion on how to create peace in Israel/Palestine.

RACHEL'S STORY MAJDI'S STORY

Rachel Shamir is a university student in Jerusalem. She used to believe that peace was possible with the Palestinians, but now she is no longer sure.

One year ago her brother, who was in the Israeli army, was killed by a Palestinian at a military checkpoint. Rachel explained, “He was only 19 years old and he was my only sibling.” My parents have not gotten over his death and are really angry. They think we should just send all the Palestinians out of Israel forever.”

Six months later, Rachel was at a restaurant popular with university students. “I went to this restaurant like I usually do every week.” However, this time the restaurant was chosen as the target of a Palestinian suicide bomber. “I remember the ear splitting sound of the explosion and then the screams and people wailing. Blood was splattered everywhere.” Four people died in the bomb blast but Rachel was lucky, she only suffered a few scratches and cuts from shattered glass. Rachel asks, “Why do they attack innocent people?”

Ever since that day, Rachel doesn't go out in public very often. She tries to hurry from place to place, never stopping too long at any one spot. She is frightened and confused. “I believe there must be some compromise with the Palestinians but I don't know how anyone can trust them.”

Majdi Dana, a Palestinian youth worker in the West Bank town of Hebron, spends a lot of time trying to persuade young Palestinians there are other things besides violence.

But avoiding snipers to get to work, he understands only too well why many youngsters end up on the front-line throwing stones at Israeli soldiers.

“I did it too. I went with the daily marches, which started from the main street, down to the city centre and ended in clashes with the Israeli soldiers. I still throw rocks sometimes, but only if I think it is really necessary,” he told me.

“It's the frustration ... I go past the stage of fear like I'm not afraid if I see a helicopter shooting. But I think all the time for the children in the city. I hear many stories about my nephews and my nieces. My sisters tell me that they cry all night long because of the noise of the shooting and the rockets.”

Since the start of the latest round of violence, life for Majdi has meant either sitting at home 24 hours a day and making do with what's left in the cupboard, or leaping over garden walls to get to work without getting shot: “You lose weight but you also lose your mind,” he said.

At night Majdi lies awake listening to the sound of missile and rocket attacks on the neighbourhood. “Sometimes they aim, sometimes not.” He says the Israelis fire randomly: “My friend told me this morning there were 4 bullets in the kitchen and one of the bullets went into the leg of her younger brother. He couldn't get to the hospital right away because the Israeli soldiers had blocked the main road. Fortunately, he survived. He was one of the lucky ones.”

2.4 THE TRAGEDY OF IRAQ

A BRITISH CREATION

- Brainstorm** What do you know about the recent history of Iraq?
What is happening there now?
Who is involved in the Iraq crisis? Why are they involved?

KEY WORDS

province (*n*) – regional area within a larger state, country or territory

sect (*n*) – subdivision of a main religion

distinct (*adj*) – particular, unique

protectorate (*n*) – a kind of colony with some independence

Before World War I, the place we now know as Iraq was a part of the Ottoman Empire. After the Ottoman Empire split up at the end of WWI (1918), Great Britain took control of Iraq. However, this area was never considered to be one country before the British got involved. In 1920, the British combined the three separate Ottoman **provinces** of Mosul in the north, Basra in the south and Baghdad in the centre to create the new colony of Iraq. Each of these three provinces had its own **distinct** culture. In the north were the Kurds, the south the Shi'as (a **sect** of Islam) and Baghdad was mostly Sunnis (another sect of Islam). When the British drew the new boundaries, they excluded oil rich Kuwait from the new Iraq. During

the time of the Ottoman Empire, Kuwait was part of Basra. After WWI, Kuwait remained a British “**protectorate**,” though completely separate from Iraq. The British appointed King Faisal to rule the new Iraq. Unfortunately Faisal was not from the area, but was from Arabia. All of these decisions by the British led to many future resentments, conflicts, difficulties and problems in the region.



King Faisal (front right) was selected by the British to rule the new colony of Iraq

Comprehension

1. Who controlled Iraq before the British?
2. Name the main ethnic and religious groups in Iraq.
3. List three things the British did in Iraq, which made it difficult to govern.

Discussion

Skills: Cause and effect, forming an opinion

What could be some consequences of appointing an outsider (King Faisal) to rule the new Iraq?

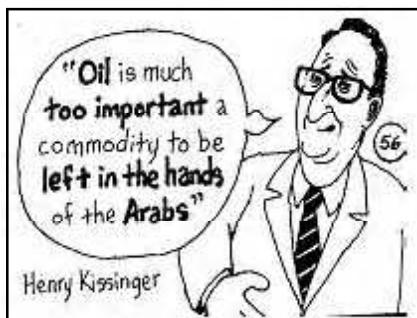
The paragraph says that decisions made by the British led to many problems in Iraq. Do you agree? Why or why not?

Preview

Look at the map of Iraq. What prominent geographical features can you see? What importance do you think they have played in Iraq's history?

OIL AND WATER

The combination of these two valuable resources has been at the root of years of conflict and foreign interest in the Middle East. Two major rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, flow through Iraq, and provide a useful transport route and also a source of fresh water in a generally dry land. But it is oil which has been the most interesting resource for outside countries. In the early 20th century, the British established themselves as primary controllers of the Mosul and Kuwaiti oil fields. From 1920 until an Iraqi military takeover in 1958, the British remained in Iraq. Protecting the oil fields was one of the main responsibilities. Even after "independence" was given to Iraq in 1930, the British kept a military presence in Iraq. This form of occupation also helped to create an anti-Western feeling among many Iraqis. These feelings would re-appear during the



next occupation in 2003. Britain

was responsible for governing Iraq and therefore had the advantage in access to its rich oil supplies. But Britain was not the only country interested in Iraqi oil. France, Germany, Russia and especially the United States all struggled to keep a presence in Iraq because of oil. Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world (after Saudi Arabia). Access to and control of Middle Eastern oil proved to be one of the most important international political issues during the entire twentieth century. It still is today.

Comprehension

1. Why did the British keep a military presence in Iraq even when it became independent?
2. Why did many Iraqis have anti-Western feelings?

Discussion

Why is oil so important? Name all the uses of oil/petrol. What role does oil play in most economies?

Exercise

Skills: Creating a graph

Bar Graphs: Make a bar graph comparing the top six oil producing countries in the world.

Country	Oil Reserves (in billion barrels)
Saudi Arabia	265
Iraq	115
Kuwait	99
Iran	96
United Arab Emirates	63
Russia	54

Discussion

Skills: Developing opinions

Was it a good idea for the British to keep a military presence in Iraq after the country became independent?

NATIONALISM AND THE BIRTH OF A TYRANT

KEY WORDS

revolt (*n, v*) – forcefully try to change a current situation

ruthless (*adj*) – will use any methods to achieve goals, merciless, brutal, violent

secular (*adj*) – not religious

After nearly forty years of foreign occupation in Iraq, in 1958 a nationalist military **revolt** replaced the **monarchy**. The new Iraqi leaders were also anti-Western. The new nationalist government in Iraq had three major goals:

- 1) Uniting Arabs from all over the region to work together.
- 2) Removing Zionists from Palestine and
- 3) Reclaiming Kuwait (remember, Kuwait was not included in the new British Iraq).

The military continued to control Iraqi politics for the next two decades. In 1979, Saddam Hussein, an officer in the army, seized power and remained in power until the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. Saddam Hussein was an authoritarian and **ruthless** dictator. Saddam's political party was called the

Ba'ath party. Its membership was mostly Sunni Muslims who were a minority in Iraq. However, they controlled both the military and the government. The Ba'athist party was a **secular** party and it developed positive relations with Western countries as well as the Soviet Union. There was virtually no political opposition in Iraq. Political opponents were sometimes imprisoned, tortured and even murdered. In particular, the Kurds in the North and the Shi'as in the South suffered extreme persecution from the Sunni controlled Ba'athist regime. Many refugees and exiles left Iraq during the reign of Saddam.



Saddam Hussein

Discussion

1. How is it possible for a minority group (like the Sunnis in Iraq) to control a country?
2. During the British military presence there were anti-Western feelings developing in Iraq. However, Saddam Hussein's government was interested in establishing friendly relations with the West. How can you explain this? Why was Saddam Hussein interested in friendly relations with the West?

WAR WITH IRAN

KEY WORDS

strict (*adj*) – exact, inflexible, orthodox

intelligence (*n*) – information about secret activities of groups and governments

militarisation (*n*) – build-up of weapons and military

disputes (*n*) – disagreements, arguments

Preview

Find Iran on the map. What countries does Iran border? What do you know about Iran and its people? Do you know who started the war between Iran and Iraq?

In 1980, Iraq attacked its neighbour Iran and began a war, which lasted eight years. The year before, in 1979, there was an Islamic Revolution in Iran. In other words, a government came to power, which was based on a **strict** interpretation of Islamic principles. Secular Iraq did not want this ideology to spread. Also, old border **disputes** between Iraq and Iran were unresolved. Many powerful Western countries, especially the United States and Great

Britain also feared the spread of this "Islamist" ideology. In addition, the Islamic revolutionary government in Iran was extremely anti-Western. There was a good chance that Western access to the rich Iranian oil fields would be restricted. Therefore, during the eight years of the Iraq-Iran war, Iraq received large amounts of military and financial aid from the US, Britain, France and Germany. The aid was in the form of weapons, technology and

intelligence. During the war, both Iran and Iraq used chemical weapons on each other. Although this was a clear violation of international law, Iraq continued to receive support from its Western 'friends.' As the war continued, the casualties grew on both sides. By war's end, over a million Iraqis and

Iranians had died. Iraq and Iran had both suffered great loss and finally agreed to a cease-fire in 1989. One very important result of the Iraq-Iran war was the **militarisation** of Iraq. This new weapons technology came mainly from Western countries.

Comprehension

1. Name three things the nationalists hoped to achieve.
2. True or False? The new military government in Iraq supported European countries.
3. True or False? Saddam Hussein's ethnic group was in the majority in Iraq.
4. True or False? Saddam Hussein's government was anti-Western.
5. How did Saddam Hussein's government respond to political opposition?

International "Friends"

In the world of international relations, countries often develop 'friendships' or alliances based on current political needs. If the needs change, so do the 'friendships.' Iran and Iraq are a good case in point. Before the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Iran was a strong ally of the US. As a Cold War balance to the

US friendly Iran, the USSR supported Iraq. However, the new government in Iran was very anti-American. So, going by the old saying, "The enemy of my enemy is my friend," the US supported Iraq in its war against Iran.

Comprehension

1. List two reasons Iraq started a war against Iran.
2. List two reasons the US and Britain supported Iraq against Iran.
3. How did the Western countries support Iraq?
4. Did the West stop supporting Iraq after it used chemical weapons?
5. Who won the Iraq-Iran war?

Discussion

Discuss the meaning of: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend." Can you think of other examples where this has been true?

Role play

Group A is the government of Iran. Group B is the government of Iraq. Group C is the US government. Have a role play about the conflict situation and war between Iran and Iraq.

INVASION OF KUWAIT AND THE GULF WAR

KEY WORDS

annex (v) – officially take claim and possession of land
withdrawal (n) – leaving; ending an occupation

Preview

What do you know about the Gulf War? Why is it called the Gulf War? Who fought in the Gulf War? Who won?

Find Kuwait on the map. Is it a large country? Why do you think Saddam Hussein was interested in controlling Kuwait? Do you think its geographical location had anything to do with it?

Pushing the Boundaries

In 1990, Iraq was still recovering from the effects of the long war with Iran. But, Saddam Hussein had plans for another neighbour: This time it was Kuwait. Iraq had a long history of border disputes with Kuwait. Kuwait had been a part of the Ottoman province of

Basra before the British took control. The Iraqi government believed that Kuwait was a part of Iraq. Kuwait's oil and access to the Persian Gulf made it very attractive to Iraq. In July 1990, Iraq invaded, occupied and **annexed** Kuwait.

International Crisis in a New World Order

The international community reacted strongly, condemning the invasion. The collapse of the Soviet Union the year before and the end of the Cold War had left the United States as the sole superpower. This crisis with Iraq was the first opportunity for the US to show its new dominant position within the UN and the international community. When the UN suggested resolutions against the Israeli occupation of Palestine, the US vetoed these resolutions. However, the US supported the UN sanctions against Iraq. The United States led the world in aggressively

speaking out against the Iraqi invasion. The UN quickly passed a resolution demanding an Iraqi **withdrawal** from Kuwait. Negotiations for a peaceful settlement between Iraq and the UN had provided some hope but failed when the United States decided it would not wait any longer. In fact, the US Congress had already given approval for an attack of Iraq with or without UN approval. The US managed to influence and convince several countries to join in a military attack against Iraq. The attack began on 16 January 1991.

Saddam Down, but not Out

This military force was mainly American but did have minor participation from Britain, France and several other countries. The US-led "coalition" easily forced the much weaker Iraqi army out of Kuwait. The Iraqi military was never a serious threat to the powerful US-led forces. Tens of thousands of Iraqi troops were killed as well as thousands of Iraqi civilians. At the end of this very short (about three weeks) war, known as the *Gulf War*, the US encouraged and helped organise a rebellion inside Iraq. The two persecuted ethnic groups, the Kurds and the Shi'as, tried to overthrow the Iraqi government. Unfortunately, when they did revolt, the US did not provide the military support needed for a successful overthrow.

The result was a disaster and many Kurds and Shi'as were killed. It wasn't long before Saddam was firmly back in power, however, now he was no longer a friend of the West.



A burning Iraqi oil well during the Gulf War

Exercise

Skills: Making comparisons

1. Compare the US reactions to Israeli occupation and Iraqi occupation.
2. Why do you think there were differences?
3. Compare the Iraqi military to the US-led forces.
4. Compare what the Kurds and Shi'as hoped to get from the Americans with what they did get?

Debate

The US should not encourage rebellion and the overthrow of other governments.

BETWEEN TWO WARS: SANCTIONS AND “NO-FLY ZONES”

KEY WORDS

sewerage (*n*) – a system for disposal of wastewater
economic sanctions (*n*) – blocking import/export of goods to and from a country; making it difficult for one country to trade with another

elite (*adj, n*) – privileged, high ranking, high status
extensive (*adj*) – very involved, widespread
patrolling (*v*) – close monitoring, watching activities
sovereign (*adj*) – independent country



US and UK controlled most Iraqi airspace for twelve years

Iraq suffered extreme damage and casualties because of the Gulf War. US-led forces destroyed a great deal of Iraq's *infrastructure* (roads, bridges, ports, communications, power supply, etc) during the war. Many Iraqis were without power, access to clean water, safe **sewerage** and transport.

Many public facilities like schools and hospitals were damaged or destroyed.

Before the war, the UN voted to put **economic sanctions** on Iraq to try and pressure it to withdraw from Kuwait. These sanctions remained for the next 12 years. Because of these sanctions, a very **extensive black market** (goods sold illegally without any government regulation) was created. However, for common Iraqis without lots of money or connections (to officials or business), life became very difficult. The destroyed infrastructure needed rebuilding. Sewage and public water supplies needed repair. Many supplies were blocked by the sanctions. This led to the spread of diseases like cholera. Especially dangerous was the fact that hospitals had difficulty getting supplies and equipment.

The Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein chose to rebuild its military after the Gulf War. Money used for military spending could have been used for fighting the effects of the sanctions. UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) estimated that over 500,000 Iraqis died because of sanctions: over half of them children. Many countries tried to pass UN resolutions

to end the sanctions but each time the US and Britain would veto the resolution.

The US and Britain claimed the sanctions should remain until Iraq had followed all of the UN demands. Especially important was a UN resolution, which demanded that Iraq destroy all of its weapons. UN weapons inspectors were sent to Iraq to confirm that the Iraqis were following their orders. The Iraqi government did not always co-operate and do as they were told which made the inspection and disarming process extremely difficult. At the same time, the US and Britain (and France in the beginning) began **patrolling** Iraq with military aircraft and declared two “no-fly zones” over northern and southern Iraq. This meant that no Iraqi aircraft could fly in these zones. These zones covered more than half of all **sovereign** Iraqi air space. The US and Britain claimed that the purpose of the zones was to protect the Kurds and Shi'as from being persecuted by the Iraqi military. Any Iraqi activity considered threatening within these zones would receive immediate and severe US/British military response. The Americans and British made hundreds of attacks on alleged Iraqi military targets. However, some of these attacks involved more than military targets. Hundreds of innocent Iraqi civilians were killed due to US/British bombing raids.

The “no-fly zones” were never approved by the United Nations. Despite these hardships on Iraq, the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein still had the resources to rebuild its army. The **elite** political and military leaders did not suffer like the majority of Iraq's population. However, worse fortune was still to come for the Iraqi people.

Comprehension

1. Name two direct effects of the Gulf War.
2. What was the purpose of the economic sanctions on Iraq?
3. Who suffered the most from the sanctions?
4. Why did so many people die as a result of sanctions?
5. Where were the no-fly zones located?
6. Who approved the no-fly zones?

Group work How effective are economic sanctions? What are the effects—on a government and on the people of that country? Do you support economic sanctions? Explain.

Role play Each group will play a role of one of the countries in the UN. Role play a UN meeting, where the countries discuss the issue of the sanctions on Iraq.

THE IRAQ WAR

Preview Why did the Iraq War happen? What were the factors?
What is your opinion of the Iraq War? Explain

KEY WORDS

emphasise (*v*) – to give special attention, to stress
credible (*adj*) – believable, probable
expel (*v*) – to force out, to remove forcefully
misleading (*adj*) – not truthful
liberate (*v*) – to free
legitimacy (*n*) – influence, power, authority
defiance (*n*) – to oppose, to disobey

insufficient (*adj*) – not enough, unsatisfactory
comprehensive (*adj*) – complete, thorough
exaggerated (*v*) – over stated, over done, distorted
chaos (*n*) – confusion, disorder
irrelevant (*n, adj*) – meaningless, not important
intensify (*v*) – to increase in strength or size

At the end of the Gulf War there were many powerful people in Washington DC who were very disappointed. For them, the war wasn't finished until Saddam Hussein was removed from power. Besides, these people felt America had many interests in Iraq. Over the next 12 years, much effort, money and preparation went into achieving this goal of "regime change" (changing the government in Iraq). The following methods were used to achieve regime change:

- the bombing raids in the "no-fly zones;"

- CIA activities to overthrow and/or kill Saddam;
- maintaining economic sanctions
- funding and training opposition groups inside and outside of Iraq;
- increasing public relations (influencing opinions by providing specific anti-Saddam information to the media—newspapers, magazines, radio, TV).

Between 1991 and 2003, the US spent billions of dollars to try and change the Iraqi government.

A Case for War

Until the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, there was little public or international support for a second war with Iraq. After these attacks, an atmosphere of fear and worry about terrorism resulted. From early 2002 until the attack in March 2003, the US government attempted to convince the world that Saddam Hussein was a major threat to global security and peace. The fact that Saddam was one of the most outspoken critics of America was **emphasised**. Some US politicians tried to make a link between Saddam and the international terrorist organisation, Al Qaeda, despite **insufficient** evidence.

There were also claims that Iraq had nuclear weapons and might be willing to use them or, more likely, sell them to terrorist organisations. The US accused Iraq of having large quantities of chemical weapons as well. After the Gulf War, UN weapons inspectors spent years in Iraq trying to disarm the Iraqi regime. The Iraqi government's lack of co-operation made this task difficult, but UN inspectors found little evidence of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs). Up until this date there has been no evidence found that Iraq was still in possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction.

The final argument used to justify "regime change" was to **liberate** the Iraqi people. This last reason had a lot of support since the human rights abuses in Saddam Hussein's Iraq were well known.



US tanks in Baghdad

Exercise

Skills: Creating a timeline

Make a diagram to represent the events described in the previous section.

The UN is Tested

Those supporting the UN process and international law believed there was a legal and peaceful solution to the Iraq problem. They argued for:

- 1) Continuing sanctions
- 2) Increasing political pressure/negotiations
- 3) **Intensifying** weapons inspections to insure Iraq was not a threat.

The American government (with the support of British Prime Minister Tony Blair) argued that 12 years of sanctions and other pressure on Iraq had not stopped Saddam from resisting UN demands. Therefore, only through the use of force could there ever be a change in Iraq. Like in the Gulf War, the American government decided that they would go to war with or without the UN approval or participation.

The US president, George W. Bush challenged the UN to either support the forceful removal of Saddam Hussein or else become, “**irrelevant**”. The power and **legitimacy** of the UN was tested like never before. There was much discussion, debate and negotiation at the UN in the tense months before the March 20, 2003 attack of Iraq. In the meantime, the

Americans and British began moving large numbers of combat troops and equipment to the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar) in preparation for war. The US/British increased the now regular bombing of Iraqi military and communication targets in the “no-fly zones.”

If we need to act, we will act, and we really don't need the UN's approval to do so... We really don't need anybody's permission.



US President GW Bush, 2003

World public opinion, the United Nations and most governments strongly opposed war at that point. Even Iraq's Arab/Muslim neighbours in the Middle East, who should have felt the most threat from Iraq, did not support a war against Iraq. The largest anti-war demonstrations ever seen since the Vietnam War were held all over the world.



Protests against the US invasion of Iraq happened around the world

War and the Effects

But in the end, as in the Gulf War, the American government would not wait any longer for a peaceful settlement. Along with Britain, Australia and Spain (known as “the Coalition”), the United States attacked, invaded and finally occupied Iraq—in clear **defiance** of the UN, international public opinion, and international law. Once again, the poorly trained and poorly equipped Iraqi military was easily defeated by the most powerful military force in history. This

time, the US-led forces did not stop until they had the entire country under their control.

The initial damage to Iraq and its people was great. In the first month of fighting over 3000 Iraqi civilians were killed. The number of civilian deaths would continue to rise. The destruction of Iraq infrastructure and the ongoing fighting between the occupying forces and the Iraqi resistance, kept Iraq in a state of **chaos**.



US soldiers fighting an urban guerilla war



Many Iraqis prefer control of their own country

War in Iraq: The Aftermath

On May 1, 2003 US president George W Bush announced an end to major military action as well as victory in Iraq. One year later, more than 11,000 Iraqi civilians, several thousand Iraqi soldiers and well over 1000 US and “Coalition” soldiers had been killed (over 700 since Bush’s “victory” speech). After the most careful and comprehensive search by American weapon’s inspectors, no evidence of any weapons of mass destruction has been found in Iraq.

The US and the UK government special enquiries to investigate pre-war intelligence found that the threat from Iraq was exaggerated and that intelligence had been used selectively (not using all of the information, just the parts which are wanted) by politicians to justify their position. Saddam Hussein was caught alive and is being held by the Americans. The US-led forces are involved in a guerrilla-style war against Iraqi resistance.

Before the war, there was little evidence of the presence of international terrorist groups in Iraq, but now the American occupation has attracted many terrorists who have come to expel the occupiers. Iraq has become a land of suicide bombings, rocket attacks, patrolling tanks, helicopter gunships, sniper and other constant gunfire. Journalists, aid workers, private contractors (in Iraq for reconstruction), US-trained Iraqi security forces and newly appointed Iraqi politicians have all been victims of kidnapping, abuse and murder.

The US government is trying to install a government in Iraq so that it can begin to withdraw some of its military troops - as of October 2004 there are still over 130,000 American soldiers in Iraq. A new Iraqi interim (temporary) government was chosen by the US occupation government to take over power on 30 June, 2004. Even with the new Iraqi interim government, the attacks continue. Many see this new government as controlled by the Americans and therefore illegitimate. The Americans have made it clear that they do not intend to leave Iraq completely. Military bases are being established in Iraq to prepare for a long term US military presence. Opposition to the US occupation is extremely strong in Iraq and throughout the Middle East. Most Iraqis were very happy to see the end of Saddam Hussein’s regime but - as with Britain over 80 years ago - the Iraqi people do not want outsiders coming into their country to take over their land, resources and futures.



Iraqi victims

Comprehension

1. Why were some US officials dissatisfied with the result of the Gulf War?
2. What were the reasons the US government gave for war with Iraq in 2002/2003?
3. Were these reasons agreeable to everyone?
4. Explain How did the UN believe the Iraqi crisis should be resolved?
5. Was the UN able to prevent war in Iraq? Why or why not?
6. Did US actions in Iraq (2003) have the majority of the world’s support?
7. What was learned after the US attack about the so-called ‘Iraqi threat’?

Debate

Choose the side of the United States government or the United Nations. Debate the issue of war in Iraq. What were the reasons given for going to war? What were the risks? What were the costs? What were the results? What is the current situation? Was it worth it?

3. The War on Terror



At the end of this chapter you will be able to:

- Define terrorism
- Discuss why people use terrorism
- List how democratic countries have changed since the start of the 'War on Terror'
- Describe how international law and the UN have been affected by the 'War on Terror'
- Discuss some of the results of recent actions to combat terrorism

Brainstorm

What is a “terrorist?” What are some recent examples of terrorism?

KEY WORDS

hijacking (*n*) – taking over a vehicle (car, airplane, train) by force and making demands

hostage (*n*) – person held and used to make demands

inspiration (*n*) – reason to do something, motivation

sabotage (*n*) – act of destroying or stopping something

tactic (*n*) – plan, strategy

3.1 TERRORISM: SOME DEFINITIONS

Terrorism has a long history. Individuals, groups and States have used violence for political and religious reasons for thousands of years. The most common forms of terror have been: assassinations, **sabotage**,

guerrilla warfare and **hostage** taking. More modern terrorist tactics include: suicide bombing, **hijacking** and biological warfare. It is important to know that terrorism is as old as traditional war.

What sets terrorism apart from other violence is this: terrorism consists of acts carried out in a dramatic way to attract publicity and created an atmosphere of alarm ... terrorism is theatre.

~ Christian Science Monitor

The use of unlawful violence to create fear, intended to influence or intimidate governments or societies for goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.

~ US Defence Department

... terrorism is a way people wage war when they don't have F-16's or armored divisions.

~ William Pfaff,
International journalist

If they do it, it's terrorism. If we do it, it's fighting for freedom.

~ Anthony Quainton, Former US Ambassador to Nicaragua

Exercise

Match the examples of terrorism on the right with the tactic on the left.

Hijacking

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

Suicide bombing

Iraqi oil supply pipes destroyed by rebels

Sabotage

Deadly germ Anthrax sent in letters to politicians

Hostage taking

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

Assassination

A car filled with explosives slammed into the US embassy killing six, including the driver

Biological warfare

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

3.2 TERRORISM AND NATIONALISM

WHY IS THERE TERRORISM?

Preview

1. What are some other examples of terrorism that you know? What were the reasons, or motivation for these acts?
2. Write down as many reasons for terrorism you can think of

Religion and politics have been the main **inspirations** for most acts of terrorism throughout history. Terrorism has been a popular method for nationalist groups trying to end colonial rule. Some examples of nationalist groups who have used terrorism since World War II include:

- the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in Ireland
- Irgun in Israel
- the Mau Mau in Kenya
- ETA in Spain
- ANC (African Nationalist Congress) in South Africa
- Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka
- PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation) in Palestine/Israel
- the Viet Cong in Vietnam

Many of these groups actually succeeded in achieving exactly what they wanted. They have removed a colonising force from their country:

- The Irgun fought against the British in Palestine and eventually many of their members became the ruling party in Israel.
- The Mau Mau resistance helped to convince the British to leave the East African country of Kenya.
- The Viet Cong were successful in driving out first the French and then the Americans from Vietnam.
- The ANC fought for years to remove the racist system of apartheid* and the minority white government of South Africa.

Many individuals accused of being terrorists have become leaders of countries. Former President of



Irish resistance has been fighting for over 200 years to remove the British from Ireland

Kenya Jomo Kenyatta; Former Israeli Prime Ministers Yitzhak Shamir, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin and Menachim Begin were all accused of belonging to terrorist organizations. Nelson Mandela served 26 years in prison for terrorism and then became President of South Africa. Yasser Arafat is the President of the Palestinian Authority. Four of these successful “terrorists” were even awarded the Nobel Peace Prize when they eventually became respected world leaders.

**Apartheid* is a Dutch word meaning *separate*. Apartheid was a social system in South Africa where different races had different rights. Black people were not given the same rights as white people.



Jomo Kenyatta



Nelson Mandela



Yasser Arafat



Menachim Begin

Comprehension

Is terrorism a successful tactic? Explain/give examples

Research

Find out why four former “terrorists” were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

3.3 SEPTEMBER 11

KEY WORDS

alleged (*adj*) – supposed, accused

plot (*n, v*) – plan to do something

disrupt (*v*) – stop, interrupt

suspect (*n*) – possible guilty person

evidence (*n*) – proof, something that makes you believe something has happened

IN PERSPECTIVE

Preview

What happened on September 11, 2001?

Can you name some reasons for what happened?

How have people around the world reacted to this terrorist attack?

The current “War on Terror” was declared by US President George W Bush following the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001. About 3000 people were killed on that day. The response world-wide was mixed. Some people reacted with shock, horror, grief and support for



Hitting the symbol of US economic power, The Twin Towers, was the start of the War on Terror

America and Americans, some thought that this was nothing special compared to what other people in other countries have to endure every day. Others thought that America and Americans deserved this. There have been other “wars on terror” in recent history in many other parts of the world. Before the September 11 attack, countries such as Russia, France, UK, Israel, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Spain and Lebanon had been battling terrorist attacks for years. September 11 had the highest number of deaths for one attack. However, all of these other countries have each lost far more people to terrorism than the 3000 who died on September 11. In fact, the US had experienced far less terrorism than most places in the world.

Other examples of terrorism in the US are: the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Oklahoma City Bombing in 1994. There have been few terror attacks in the US. Perhaps this is why American government and people were so shocked at the September 11 attack. The American response to September 11 has been very different to previous responses to terrorism in the world.

Debate

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: “America and Americans do not deserve any extra sympathy regarding the September 11 terror attacks because other countries have suffered much more.”

THE RESPONSE

Preview

Do you know how the US has responded to the September 11 attacks?

Immediately after the September 11 attacks, the US began preparing for a strong response. For years it was well known that various terrorist organisations had been **plotting** and planning to attack US targets. In particular, the Saudi born Osama Bin Laden (see box below) had made it clear that he was organising terrorist activities against the US. He is accused of participation in the following acts of terrorism against the US:

- 1993 World Trade Centre bombing
- The 1998 bombing of US embassies in East Africa
- The 2000 bombing of the US Naval ship the USS Cole in Yemen.

Bin Laden was the obvious **suspect**. In 2001, Bin Laden and many in the terrorist network Al Qaeda were based in Afghanistan as guests of the Taliban Afghan government.

In Search of Justice

The US began final preparations for an attack on Afghanistan immediately after the September 11 attacks. Meanwhile, the US demanded that the Taliban hand over Bin Laden to face justice. The Taliban response was that if the US provided **evidence** for Bin Laden's **alleged** crime they would co-operate. The US refused and repeated their demand. The Taliban then offered to turn over Bin Laden to a third country so he could have a fair trial for the crimes he was accused of. The US refused this offer.

Discussion

Why did the US decide to attack Afghanistan as a result of the September 11 attacks?

Role play

The US government wants the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden. The Taliban demand evidence for the crime Bin Laden is accused of. The US government refuses to provide evidence. What happens next? What arguments do you think the two sides exchanged? Have a role play.

The Suspects

Who is Osama Bin Laden?

Osama Bin Laden and the United States government began their relationship during the Afghan-Soviet War (1979-1987). Osama was a leader of one of the many opposition groups or Mujahideen trying to remove the Soviets from Afghanistan. The American CIA provided money, equipment and support to these groups. Later, after the Gulf War, Bin Laden was angered by the permanent presence of US soldiers in his native country of Saudi Arabia. He also opposed the US-led sanctions against Iraq as well as the US support for Israeli occupation and war against the Palestinians. Osama Bin Laden comes from a very wealthy Saudi family whose ties to the oil industry and US business are strong. He has used his own great wealth to fund terrorist operations around the world, especially



The Taliban's Mullah Omar and Osama Bin Laden were former allies of the US

those directed at the United States and its foreign policy.

Who are the Taliban?

The Taliban are a strict Muslim fundamentalist group. They came to power in Afghanistan in 1996 at the end of the long Afghan civil war. Under the Taliban, there were many limits to freedom and human rights abuses. Most countries in the world criticised and condemned the Taliban.

Discussion

If someone commits a crime, they usually have a reason or motivation for it. What motivation do you think Osama Bin Laden had for attacks on the US?

War and Its Results

Three weeks after the September 11 the US military preparations were complete. Afghanistan was a country still recovering from twenty-five years of civil war. Millions of refugees were still in camps along the Pakistani and Iranian borders. The country was one of the poorest in the world. On 7 October 2001, the US attacked Afghanistan.



Afghan President Hamid Karzai is a former Unocal (US oil company) employee

Over the next several months, the US bombed and destroyed most of the terrorist training camps as well as cities, towns and villages inhabited by Afghan civilians. Over 5000 Afghan civilians were killed and tens of thousands were made homeless and displaced. The Taliban were removed from

power and the US supported a new government led by Hamid Karzai. Many Al Qaeda operations in Afghanistan were destroyed and **disrupted**. Many key Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters and officers were killed or captured and imprisoned. Afghanistan was once again left in ruins by the US bombing and invasion. But the person who was the supposed main purpose of the “war” was still alive. The hunt for Osama would continue.



Many more Afghan civilians were killed in the War in Afghanistan than were killed on September 11

Discussion

Looking at Alternatives :What other ways could the US have responded to the September 11 attacks? Many felt that the terrorist attack was a “crime against humanity.” What would be other possible ways to achieve justice? Which international organisations could have been involved in solving this conflict?

Group work

Skills: Analysis

In your group discuss if you think the 2001 war with Afghanistan was a success. What has this war achieved? What has it failed to achieve? Organise your answers into this chart:

Successful points	Failure points

Debate

Do you think the US was right to attack Afghanistan in 2001? Have a debate in your group. Before you start, list all the arguments you can think of for and against the attack.

Review

1. What are some reasons for the terror attacks on the United States?
2. Why was Osama Bin Laden first suspected as responsible for the September 11 attacks?
3. Who were the Taliban?
4. What did the US government demand of the Taliban after the September 11 attacks?
5. Were the Taliban willing to cooperate with the US? Explain.
6. How did the Americans respond to the Taliban's offer?
7. Why was Afghanistan attacked by the US in October 2001?
8. Was the war in Afghanistan a success for the United States? Explain.

3.4 THE BUSH DOCTRINE

KEY WORDS

dispute (*n*) – disagreement, argument

negotiation (*n*) – discussion to find agreement

retaliation (*n*) – fight back, revenge

pre-emptive (*adj*) – acting before something happens

scourge (*n*) – something that causes suffering

strategy (*n*) – a plan, design

succeeding (*adj*) – coming after, next, following

The US responded to the September 11 attacks in two ways:

- 1) **retaliation** (the attack on Afghanistan).
- 2) By changing US defence, security and foreign policy

Solving Conflicts the Old Way: International Law

Previously, most countries, including the United States, believed that good security meant being well prepared for the possibility of attack or threat. Being secure required having a strong military, intelligence and diplomatic capability. Diplomacy, or using **negotiations** to resolve possible conflicts, was seen

as the way modern civilised countries acted in times of conflict. In fact, the United Nations was created after World War II in order for the nations of the world to have an organisation to resolve conflicts peacefully. The UN Charter states that the main purpose of the UN is to prevent war.

... we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self defence by acting pre-emptively against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country... we cannot let our enemies strike first.

~ from the National Security Strategy 2002



...save **succeeding** generations from the **scourge** of war," and to settle international **disputes** using peaceful means and with respect to international law.

~ United Nations Charter

Discussion

1. Can you see any contradiction between these two quotes? The quote on the right expresses the position of the United Nations. The quote on the right is the "Bush Doctrine" You will learn more about the "Bush Doctrine" in this section. According to these quotes, does the US government at present agree with the objectives of the UN? Why? Or Why not?
2. Can you use any examples from the previous sections of this unit that demonstrate some of the aspects of the quote from the US National Security Strategy?

Solving Conflicts the New Way: “Pre-Emption”

In September of 2002, the US announced its new official policy regarding security called the National Security Strategy (NSS). This **strategy** came to be known as the “Bush Doctrine.” In this new policy, the US will use “pre-emption” against a possible enemy, in other words, *attacking before being attacked*. In this new policy the US does not have to be attacked or even have proof of a threat. It just has to *believe* there is a threat and then attack.

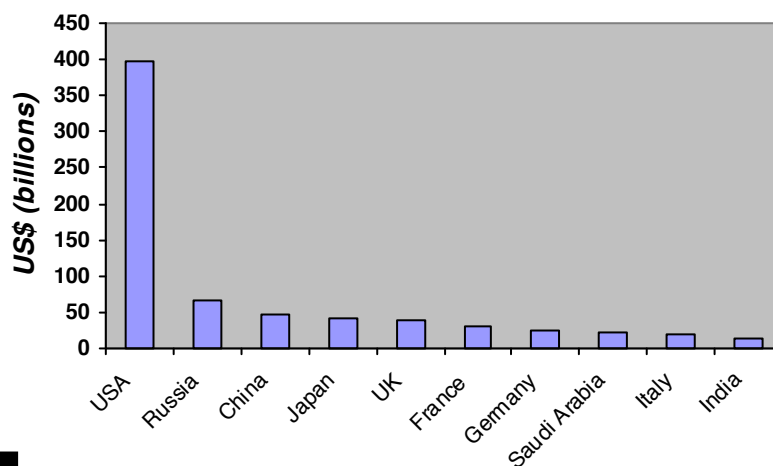
In this policy, the US does not have to go to the United Nations to try and resolve the conflict or threat peacefully. This new policy of “pre-emption” was tested when the US attacked Iraq in 2003.

Another important goal of the Bush Doctrine is that the US will build up its military strength to be much stronger than other nations. The US will also try **prevent** any other nation from building their own military strength if it should challenge the US in any way (see box below). One way to achieve this strength is to have military bases all over the world. The US military has over 1000 bases or shared bases in over 130 countries in the world. Since September 11, 2001 the number of bases and planned bases has greatly increased, especially in Central Asia and the Middle East. The Bush Doctrine challenges many aspects of international law and established forms of international relations.

Pax Americana (‘American Peace’)

The US military budget before 2001 was already the largest in the world. However, after September 11 it rose even more. For 2003 the US budget, not including the costs of the Iraq War, was about 400 billion US dollars. The cost of the Iraq War up until June 2004 is estimated to be over US\$120 billion. The US spends more on defence than the combined defence budgets of the next fifteen highest spending countries.

Top 10 Military Spending 2003



Comprehension

1. What are some ways countries try to resolve international conflicts?
2. Why was the United Nations created?
3. How is the new Bush Doctrine different to former ways of resolving international conflicts?

Discussion

Skills: Inferring

What are some possible consequences of the Bush Doctrine?

Do you think the ‘pre-emption’ policy of the Bush Doctrine was invented by the US?

Do you think other countries and governments have ever used similar policies to resolve conflicts with other countries and inside their own countries? Can you name any examples? What have their policies been?

3.5 SECURITY AND DEMOCRACY

KEY WORDS

charges (n) – accusations of guilt

convict (v) – find someone guilty

combatant (n) – soldier, fighter

violate (v) – break the rule or law, disobey

detention (n) – prison, not allowed to leave

tribunal (n) – court

genocide (n) – trying to destroy an ethnic group

Preview

Read the two paragraphs below quickly and answer this question:

There is a good point and a bad point about the US leading the ‘War on Terror’ and attempting to increase international security. What are they?

The Bush Doctrine is a kind of plan or overview of how the US government will fight its “War on Terror.” It proposes co-operation with countries to create a more secure world and to fight terrorists and terrorist networks. Since September 11, 2001 there has been a great effort by the police and intelligence agencies of many different countries to work together to share information about terrorist activities. Many terrorists and their activities have been stopped due to this increased international effort.

However, at the same time, the US government is not cooperating with international agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross or more importantly with international agreements such as the Geneva Conventions and the International Criminal Court. The US does not accept the authority of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The only other countries which do not recognise the ICC are Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Qatar, Israel and China.

The Rules of War

The Geneva Conventions are rules for protecting people involved in war. A convention is an international agreement between countries, like a treaty. The first Geneva Convention (in Geneva, Switzerland in 1864) concerned the sick and wounded in times of war. The four Geneva Conventions of 1949 describe how soldiers and civilians should be treated during a war. This includes the humane treatment of prisoners of war. Almost every country in the world has agreed to honour the Geneva Conventions.

Case study

GUANTANAMO BAY

Since the US attack on Afghanistan in 2001, several hundred suspected terrorists from all over the world (mostly from Afghanistan) have been held at a prison run by the United States at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Although the US President continually uses the words “war on terror” the US refuses to call the Taliban and Al Qaeda prisoners in Cuba, “prisoners of war.” If the prisoners were considered as “prisoners of war” they would be protected from abuse by the Geneva Conventions.

Instead, the US refers to the prisoners as “enemy **combatants**”. Because they are not in the United States, these prisoners are not protected by any laws. Prisoners have been held at Guantanamo Bay for over two years without any formal **charges** being laid. They have not been allowed to see lawyers and even the International Red Cross has not been

permitted to make regular visits. The US has said that it will hold military **tribunals** to determine the guilt or innocence of the prisoners. The US military can then carry out the sentence which will include the death penalty. Legal experts and lawyers all over the world have been arguing against this kind of **detention** which **violates** agreements in the Geneva Conventions.

In June 2004, the US Supreme Court said that these prisoners must be given access to lawyers and that it is illegal to hold them in prison without charges and legal due process. After that decision, many prisoners were released and found to be not guilty of any crime. There has never been any formal charge against them.

Discussion

The previous section of this book talks about the US not co-operating with international organisations and violating some international agreements. How do the two paragraphs above demonstrate this?

Discussion

1. Why wouldn't the US want to call the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay prisoners of war?"
2. Why doesn't the US cooperate with the rest of the world on some issues?



The prisoners at Guantanamo Bay are not protected by any international law

THE 'COST' OF SECURITY IN A WORLD OF FEAR

KEY WORDS

censorship (n) – official inspection of information

deport (v) – officially send someone back to their home country for breaking a law

restrict (v) – to control access to something

warrant (n) – special order which allow authorities to search property or arrest people

wiretapping (v) – using a secret device to listen in on someone's phone

Preview

What 'cost' do you think increasing security can have for people in democratic countries? How can governments use the threat of terrorism and the need for security to limit people's freedoms? Do you think the same rule about the balance of security and freedom works for countries like Myanmar? How can you describe the situation in Myanmar in relation to security and freedom?

A consequence of the 'war on terror' has been the loss of various freedoms and rights found in most democratic countries. In the US, for example, the US Congress agreed to laws (as part of the so-called "USA Patriot Act") which gave new increased powers to police, intelligence and government officials. The new powers include:

- Searching, questioning and detaining suspects without **warrants**
- increased **wiretapping**
- looking into personal email accounts
- forcing schools, hospitals and libraries to give the government personal and private information.

In America, Britain and other countries, political groups which oppose the government can be named

as a "threat to national security" and forced to stop activities. Their members can be questioned and sometimes they are arrested. In America, right after September 11, hundreds of Arabic and/or Muslim men were detained by police without charges for months. Most have been released and found to be innocent of any crime. Many were **deported** back to their home countries for various minor visa problems. In public places, people are regularly searched for weapons.

Since the "war on terror," people in many democratic countries have been more afraid to speak out against their government. There has been more **censorship** of the news and information which the government believes is threatening. The government's reasons for **restricting** freedom are that many terrorists live,

plan and carry out their crimes in countries which allow much freedom of movement. Therefore, the governments of these “free” countries believe they must take away the freedoms in order to make it

harder for the terrorists to operate. They believe that more government control will keep its citizens safer from danger. What has also resulted, though, is a loss of freedom for all people.

Discussion

How do you think the citizens in democratic countries feel about the new security situation?

Debate

“Security is more important than freedom.” Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

3.6 ALLIES IN THE WAR ON TERROR

KEY WORDS

authoritarian (*adj*) – strict, harsh

biased (*adj*) – to favour one point of view more than another

extra-judicial (*adj*) – outside the law

harass (*v*) – to continuously treat badly

tyrant (*n*) – dictator

Since the War on Terror, the United States government has strengthened some old alliances and created many new alliances. Some of these alliances are with countries that have **authoritarian**-type governments and reputations of excessive human rights abuses. However, these countries border Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Israel. Therefore the US sees them as important allies to help control the spread of terrorism.

After September 11, the US increased its number of military bases, especially in the Middle East and Central Asia. New bases were built in Qatar, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Georgia. In addition, the US has begun sharing local military bases as well as providing military aid and training with the following new allies: Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Closer military co-operation has been happening with long standing allies like Pakistan, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait.

All of these countries have been guilty of various forms of human rights abuses such as:

- **Harassing** and arresting people because of their political views
- Limited press freedom with little or no independent media - (censorship)



- Religious persecution
- Lack of national independent human rights institutions
- **Biased** and politically appointed judges
- **Extra-judicial** executions (assassinations) and torture.

Many of these countries are considered to be among the worst human rights abusers in the world. They have been condemned by international human rights organisations (such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch) as well as the United States government.

Discussion

With the new 'War on Terror' some governments are limiting some freedoms and becoming more authoritarian. How can you explain the connection between authoritarian governments and promoting 'war on terror'?

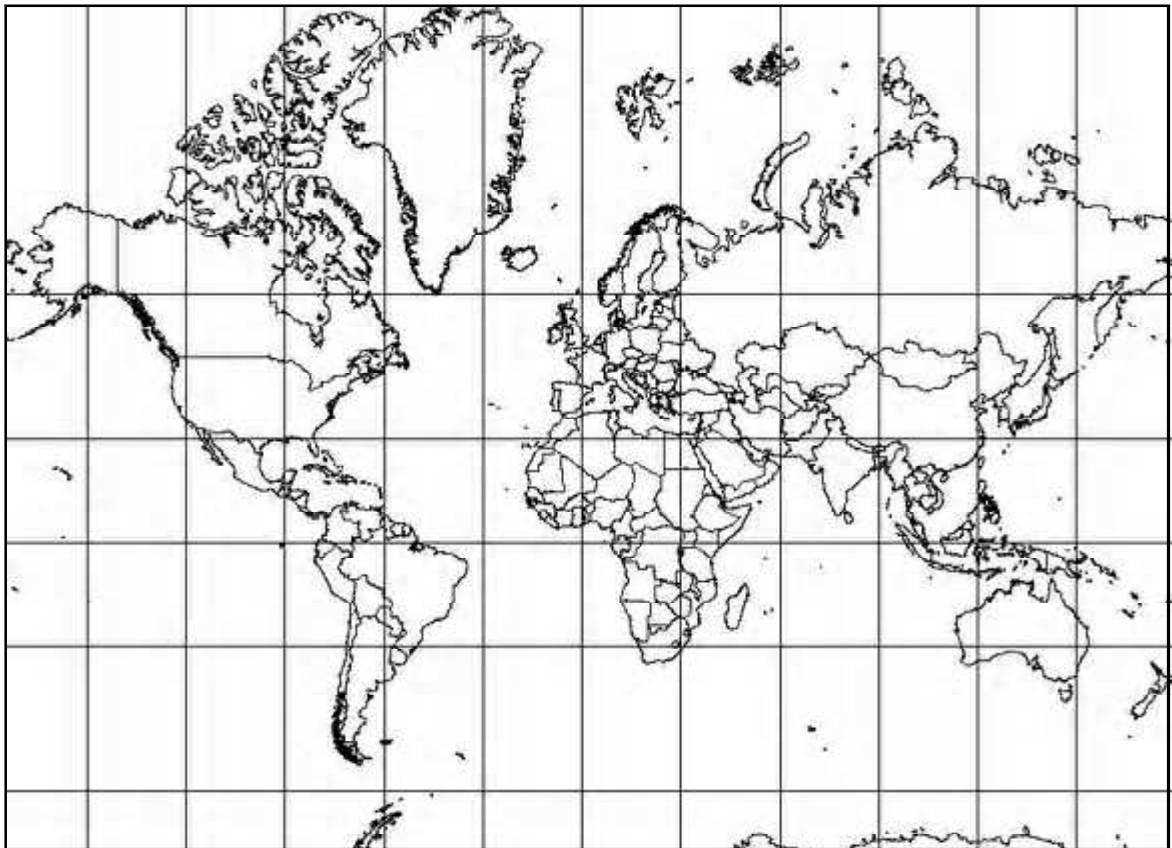
Group work

Skills: Argument

Why is the US forming alliances with many countries whose authoritarian governments commit human rights abuses? Is it a good idea for the US government to be doing this? What is the opinion of everyone in your group? Discuss your arguments.

Map work

On the world map colour all of those countries where the United States has either a base or shared bases. Include the long standing bases and facilities in UK, Germany, South Korea, Japan, Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. Include a key and give the map a title.



3.7 EXPANDING THE WAR ON TERROR

KEY WORDS

commission (*n*) – official group looking at information to make a judgement

investigate (*n*) – to examine critically

link (*v*) – to make connections or to relate closely

separatist (*n*) – group wanting to break away and make a new country or state

In January 2002, US President George W. Bush declared that in his “war on terror” there were some countries which were responsible for, and contributed to, global terrorism. He spoke of an “axis of evil” and named Iraq, Iran and North Korea as the most dangerous. With these words he tried to **link** old political conflicts to the tragedy of September 11 and the new “war on terror”. However, there has never been any evidence to connect September 11, Al Qaeda and these three countries.

In the case of Iraq, the Bush administration used the idea of the “axis of evil” to justify going to war in 2003. In 2004, UK and US government independent **commissions investigated** all the information collected before the Iraq war. This commission found out and announced that there was never any connection between Al Qaeda, September 11 attacks and the government of Saddam Hussein. However, Bush



Philippino separatists fought for independence long before September 11

continues to call Iraq a victory in the “war on terror.” Other governments around the world have now started using the war on terror to justify their military actions:

in Russia, there has been a nationalist war for many years in the province of Chechnya. This war of nationalism has recently been renamed by Russian authorities as part of the global war on terror. In the Philippines, a guerrilla war between government forces and Muslim **separatists** - which started many years ago - is now considered another battle in the global terror war.

Many Israelis claim the long and bitter struggle between the Palestinians and Israelis is an example of Muslim terrorism. Previously, it was seen as a war of nationalism or independence. As the most powerful military in the world, the United States provides military support in the form of troops, equipment, training and funding to any country actively involved in trying to stop terrorism. Many economic and political benefits can be gained by joining the world’s only superpower in fighting its global war.

Exercise

Mark the statements in the chart as true or false.

1. The Independent Commission has found evidence that Saddam Hussein participated in planning the September 11 attacks.
2. Most countries in the “axis of evil” have democratic governments.
3. When the war in Chechnya first started, everyone was calling it terrorism.
4. The US has the most powerful military in the world.

Comprehension

1. What is the ‘Axis of Evil’?
2. What was the job of the Independent Commission?
3. How can governments around the world use the War on Terror’?

Discussion

1. Why do you think some governments have renamed local wars of nationalism as part of the global War on Terror?”
2. What kinds of “economic and political benefits” can be gained by helping fight the War on Terror?
3. Why does Bush call Iraq a victory in the War on Terror”?

3.8 WAR WITHOUT END

KEY WORDS

desperation (*n*) – hopelessness

interim (*adj*) – temporary

publicly (*adv*) – in public, in front of many people

outrage (*n*) – extreme anger

recruit (*n*) – new person to join a group

regroup (*n*) – come together again

Preview

Do you think we can call the War on Terror a war without end?

WHO'S WINNING SO FAR?

It has been just over three years since the tragic day of September 11, 2001 and the start of the US governments “war on terror.” Is the world a safer place? Some say ‘yes’ and many say ‘no.’ Here are some of the results so far:

- Many top Al Qaeda leaders have been either arrested or killed.
- Communication between the law enforcement agencies of many countries has improved.
- Several terrorist plans have been discovered and prevented from causing harm to innocent people.
- Since September 11, the US has attacked two countries. In those countries more than 20,000 civilians have died. Many thousands

of soldiers have died as a result and continue to die.

- The hunt for Osama Bin Laden and other al Qaeda members goes on but there have not been any convictions in relation to the September 11 attacks.
- In Iraq, Iraqis opposing the US supported interim government fight along with members of known terrorist groups—groups who were not in Iraq before the war. In Iraq daily bombings, suicide attacks, hostage taking and public executions of foreign hostages continue.
- The Israeli-Palestinian situation is as bad as it has been in years.
- There have been major terrorists attacks in Bali (Indonesia), Jakarta (Indonesia), London (UK) and Madrid (Spain).

REACTION TO THE WAR ON TERROR

In the Muslim world, there is **outrage** over US actions. It is said that Al Qaeda has **regrouped** since the Afghanistan war because of US actions in the Middle East. Al Qaeda has easily found new **recruits**. Anti-American feelings are strong in the Muslim world and many believe that Osama Bin Laden has succeeded in gaining more support for his cause.

In the West, popular support for the Iraq War declined after it became obvious that there were never any weapons of mass destruction or any connection between Iraq, Al Qaeda and September 11. In much of the world, citizens are still nervous and fearful of the next terrorist attack. Their governments offer regular warnings of possible terrorist attacks.



Anti-US feelings are high all over the world, especially in the Muslim world

Group work**Skills:** Analysis

What are the good and bad results of the War on Terror so far? Put them in this chart:

Possible good results of the War on Terror	Possible bad results of the War on Terror

WAR WITHOUT END

When US president George W. Bush declared War on Terror he made it clear that this war would be unlike any war fought before. He spoke of an enemy which “is not a single political regime or person or religion or ideology.” He said that this would be a war not easily fought or won. He said there was no way to predict how long it would take to win. The US Vice President and Secretary of Defence have said **publicly**, many times, that this War on Terror could go on for years and years.

The ‘enemy’ in this war wears no uniform, has no flag and will always feel intense **desperation**. This could mean a war without end. Some say that terrorism is not an enemy, it is a method - a method

of violence used by desperate people. Poverty and injustice are realities for most of the world’s population, and some people feel that terrorism is only one way to change this situation.

Terrorists say that the political, economic and social conditions in many places around the world are unacceptable and unfair. The new War on Terror began three years ago but these conditions still exist. The powerful countries of the world do not acknowledge these concerns. So far, no solution has been found to solve this conflict. The Cold War lasted for over forty years. There is no end in sight for the War on Terror.

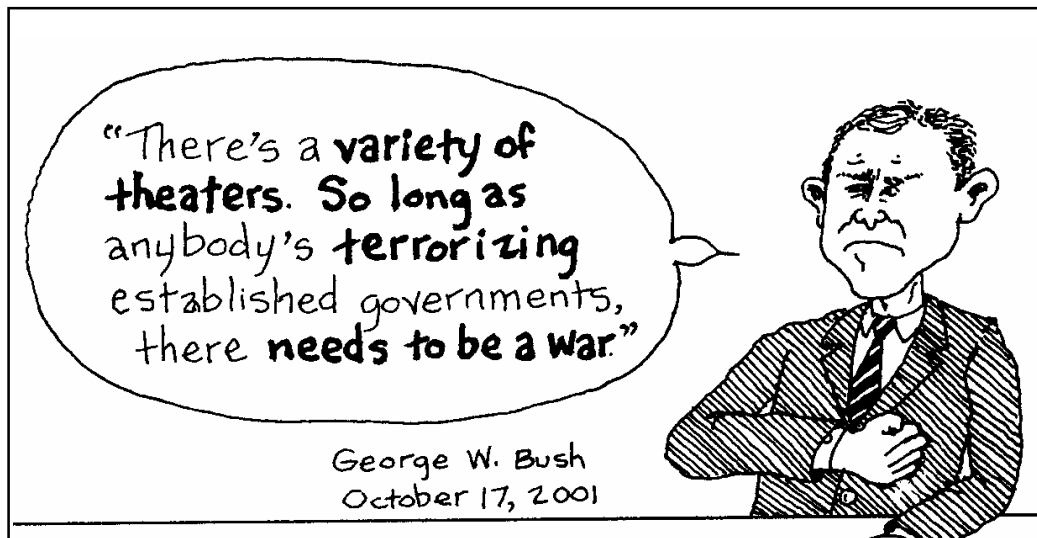
Discussion

1. How have certain US actions in the War on Terror helped al Qaeda find new recruits?
2. What are the main political, economic and social conditions in the world that many terrorists say are unacceptable? How do these conditions affect the success or failure in the War on Terror?

Exercise

What are the similarities and differences between the War on Terror and the Cold War? Put them into this chart:

similarities	differences



Exercise

A Letter to the Most Powerful Person in the World.

Write a letter to President of the United States. Tell him what you think about this new "War on Terror." Explain to him how you think the world has changed because of this war. Tell him if you feel safer and why. Or why not. Give him some suggestions on what you think should be done to make the world safer.