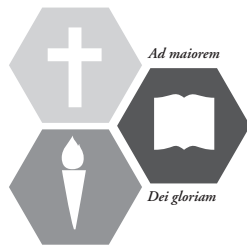# STREAMS OF CIVILIZATION

Volume Two

Cultures in Conflict Since the Reformation Until the Third Millennium After Christ

Garry J. Moes

Ad maiorem

Dei gloriam

Christian Liberty Press

Editors: Eric D. Bristley

Lars R. Johnson

Michael J. McHugh

Table of Contents

Foreword:
A Christian View of History

The meaning and interpretation of history is a vital and continuing concern for every Christian, whatever his calling may be. While some are very interested in prophecy and place an emphasis on future events, they may fail to see the relationship between the future and the past. Some may insist that history is a secular study since it is under the control of satanic power. Yet the Christian has the duty of rightly interpreting the events of history in the light of Scripture. He must not only ask himself what the meaning of history is, but must also face the problem of interpreting it in accordance with biblical principles. The Christian dare not accept the interpretation imposed on history by unbelievers who find their frame of reference either in man himself (humanism) or in nature (materialism).

Non-Christian Views of History. The result of non-Christian attempts to interpret history apart from the Bible demonstrates their inability to find any meaning and purpose in history. The pagan Greeks believed that history is a repetitive cycle of events, which lead to the conclusion that it is an irrational riddle. When they spoke of a god they referred to an impersonal force of fate which determined history in a mechanical way. The humanism of the Renaissance built upon these ancient pagan ideas and further developed a secular approach to history. Believing in the inherent goodness of man, humanist historians assumed that history was nothing more than the

story of man's increasing perfection. Eventually the fatalistic determinism of the ancient pagans was reworked in the Darwinian theory of evolution, and history was seen as being under the control of irrational forces. The conclusion was made that evolutionary progress was inevitable.

But the reality of human depravity could not be hidden, as modern culture produced two world wars and unspeakable mass murders. Some non-Christians began to embrace various forms of pessimism and became skeptical about the possibility of discovering any real meaning to history. Some even denied that a philosophy of history is possible since man is struggling with forces which he cannot understand. Yet Marxism, in the form of economic determinism continued to push evolutionary idealism forward.

Instead of abandoning the study of history because he could not find objectivity; the non-Christian historian began to reconstruct the past to promote a humanistic worldview. History is now used by many as a tool of manipulation and propaganda. The events of the past are merely occasions for redirecting public opinion in the present. And many secular writers explain historical events as the result merely of geographical, national, political, economic, or biological forces. Their secular worldview demonstrates a peculiar prejudice against the role of the Christian faith and the church in history.

The Biblical View of History

If the Christian dare not accept the optimism of such a humanistic view of history, neither may he accept the pessimistic conclusions to which it leads. The Christian student of history must not compromise with the view that the meaning of history cannot be known, and that men must interpret history as they see fit. The Christian student must learn to confront the unbelieving world with a biblical interpretation of history. He should emphasize anew that it has one purpose which God has decreed for it,

> He made known to us the mystery of His will, according to His kind intention which He purposed in Him with a view to an administration suitable to the fullness of the times, the summing up of all things in Christ, things in the heavens and things upon the earth (Eph. 1:9-10).

The Christian should endeavor to cleanse his mind by the Word of God from the spirit of the age. To help him, he may profit greatly from those Christians in the past who have sought to interpret history from a biblical perspective. With the fall of the Roman Empire, when pagan culture had reached the depths of disintegration, Augustine searched the Bible to understand the events of his time. He found that the Bible is the

key to interpreting the whole of history—the events of his time were to be understood as a part of God's comprehensive plan. In his book *The City of God* (410), Augustine set forth a biblical philosophy of history.

The Origin of History. The Bible teaches that God the Father originated history when He created all things. By His creation of time, and placing man on the earth He set history into motion. The Christian therefore views history by faith in the all-wise and sovereign God, who works all historical events after the counsel of His will (Eph. 1:11). The history of all men, all peoples, all nations, are held together by the unity of His decree. "It is He who changes the times and the epochs; He removes kings and establishes kings; He gives wisdom to wise men, and knowledge to men of understanding." (Dan. 2:21) While human actions form the bulk of historical events, God's acts are the center of its meaning. God is the primary actor in history, bringing his judgements and his salvation on men and nations. He redirects the course of events to fulfill His purpose.

The Direction of History. The providence of God in the affairs of men, as it is taught in the Bible, provides us with the understanding that all events are under His care and direction. The God of the Bible is clearly separated from any idea of fate or chance. There are no accidents in history, and all events are meaningful as part of his plan of the ages to sum up all things in Christ.

God gave meaning and purpose to human actions by creating man in His own image and defining his relationship to Himself and the earth by a covenant. The Scriptures teach us that the unity of humanity does not exclude, but rather includes, the differences of race, in character, in attainment, in calling, and nationality. The meaning of every man and nation is derived from the place assigned to them by God in his plan. The unity of the human race is a presupposition of all history, and this has been made known to us only in the Bible.

The Center of History. The Bible teaches that the center focus of God's plan in history is the cross of Christ. All events are moving, not in an endless cycle, but in a linear direction from creation to consummation. Herman Bavinck writes,

Furthermore revelation gives us a division of history. There is no history without division of time, without periods, without progress and development. But now take Christ away. The thing is impossible, history falls to pieces, for he has lived and died, has risen from the dead, and lives to all eternity; and these facts cannot be eliminated,—they belong to history, they are the heart of history. But *think* Christ away for a moment, with all that he has spoken and done and wrought. Immediately history falls to pieces. It has lost its heart, its kernel, and its center, its distribution. It loses itself in a history of races and nations, of nature and culture-peoples. It becomes a chaos, without a center, and therefore without a circumference; without distribution and therefore without beginning or end; without principle and goal; a stream rolling down from the mountains, nothing more. But revelation teaches that as God is the Lord of the ages, Christ is the turning point of these ages. And thus it brings into history unity and plan, progress and aim. This aim is not this or that special idea, not the idea of freedom, or of humanity, or of material well-being. But it is the fullness of the Kingdom of God, the all-sided, all-containing dominion of God, which embraces heaven and earth, angels and men, mind and matter, cultus and culture, the specific and the generic; in a word, all in all. (Herman Bavinck, *The Philosophy of Revelation* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979], p. 141.)

Because the incarnation of Christ is the focal point of history we must relate all historical events to Him. Every person and movement must be evaluated by how they respond to Christ.

The Conflict of History. This response to Christ creates a conflict in history. "Do not think that I came to bring peace on the earth; I did not come to bring peace, but a sword" (Matt. 11:34). The Bible teaches that the drama of history consists in the spiritual battle between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of Satan. The non-Christian knows nothing of this and fails to grasp the terribly tragic seriousness of the central conflict of history. While he sees history as the development of one human civilization evolving itself by a series of revolutions, the Bible presents history as the conflict between the City of God and the City of (unredeemed) Man. The essence of history lies in the mighty conflict between the kingdoms of darkness and light, between sin and grace, between heaven and hell. Augustine declared that grace and election are the mystery and essence of history, as all events redound ultimately to the glory of God. Thus all the events of history must be understood in relationship to church history and its conflict with the powers of darkness.

The Goal of History. Scripture concludes that the culmination of history occurs at the coming of Christ. Guided by the sovereign God, the conflict between the two kingdoms will end in the triumph of Christ, when Jesus Christ comes to judge unbelievers and vindicate His people. At that time He will judge the nations and bring a final resolution to all issues of history. If all events look backward to the incarnation, they also look forward to this final event (2 Thess. 1:6–10).

The Theological Interpretation of History

The interpretation of history is subject to Him who has revealed Himself during history in the Bible. The Bible, being an historical book, provides us with a clear example of how God interprets history. We should learn from it how to study the past in the light of His eternal truth. It is the Bible which enables the Christian to view history as something greater than a mere human or natural process.

The Christian acknowledges the complexity of history, that there are many factors at work in it. Yet he never loses sight of the One who directs all of these factors. He will therefore avoid the attempt to explain the entire process of history from purely biological, psychological, economic, or other factors. Does this mean that the Christian historian should ignore the other influences on the development of history? Not at all. He should pay due attention to all the factors that play a role. But all these factors must be subordinated to the fundamental principles of interpretation which we find in the Scriptures.

While the Christian student of history can understand the ultimate meaning of history he does not always know the role of every event in the historical process. We will never understand history perfectly now. But we must seek to be faithful in bringing the interpretation of history captive to the obedience of Christ (2 Cor. 10:5).

The Christian student is enabled by the Word of God to make great progress in evaluating history in the light of Scripture. For example he knows that the rise of Communist Russia, Nazi Germany, and other totalitarian states were not accidents but part of God's plan for the chastening of

an impenitent West and for the purifying of a church which had become apostate in great measure. He can learn that the decline of Western culture, as the fall of the Roman Empire, is not a tragedy but part of the sovereign purpose of God to bring to nothing the pagan philosophies and plans of the world. He can understand that this decline itself is the direct result of the triumph of the Renaissance over the Reformation in Western culture. He is under an obligation to make it very clear that the Enlightenment of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was only superficially a period of enlightenment, but in reality it was a period in which the latent darkness of the Renaissance was popularized. He affirms that the French Revolution was the result of a rejection of the Reformation and an expression of unbelief. It is not Christianity but modern secular thought in all of its varieties which is the source of the decay in Western civilization.

From the Bible, the Christian learns that one's relationship to God is the determining factor of life. Therefore understanding the intellectual and religious history of any nation becomes a valuable tool in evaluating a people's culture and politics. The Christian will therefore interpret history in a God-centered or theological manner. Says C. Gregg Singer,

> Too seldom have these historians given theology its proper place as a determining factor in intellectual life. The recognition of the importance of intellectual forces in the stream of history must be followed by one other step, namely, the realization that the intellectual development of a people is not an entity in itself, but, in turn, depends upon their theology, or lack thereof. (C. Gregg Singer, *A Theological Interpretation of American History* [Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1964] p. 5)

Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801–1876) was a Dutch Christian historian who published the archives of the House of Orange, and wrote a penetrating analysis of the French Revolution in *Unbelief and Revolution*, 1847.

Western Culture and Christianity. The period under study in this book treats the conflict between a culture which exalts Christ and a culture which exalts man. The constructive achievements of Western European culture resulted primarily from a Christian worldview and values.

Among these values is the belief that history is guided by a sovereign God toward the goal of the return of Jesus Christ. All things have been created by God and exist for His glory. Things visible and invisible were created by God, exist in God-defined relationships, and are equally affected by man's sin. Grace does not destroy creation but rather restores it.

Another Christian value is based on the teaching that men and women are created in the image of God. He placed them on the earth to serve as caretakers of His creation. They are so important to God that, when they sinned and were cut off from Him, He sent His only Son, Jesus Christ, to redeem men from every nation. This underlies the high regard given to the dignity of man and value of human life.

One key biblical value that has influenced Western civilization is that all men are subject to God's law. The biblical teachings on the sinfulness and depravity of man show that God alone can define the limits of human behavior. In addition, the Christian understanding of God's law is that it can be fulfilled only by God's grace out of a heart of charity. Those Western societies that have received the Christian covenantal perspective have been societies governed by a temperate system of law rather than by the arbitrary tyrannical display of raw power.

As these and other values flowed out of the biblical tradition, they came into conflict with pagan ideas and values flowing from the pagan Greco-Roman and Germanic societies. The Greco-Roman culture emphasized the autonomy of man and sought to idealize its humanism in political power. The deepest conflict in modern history is the struggle between these two world-views. This conflict is expressed at times in the power of paganism to dilute the impact of Christian values. We find then, at many points, the attempt to construct a synthesis from the key elements of the Christian (and Hebraic) and the pagan Greco-Roman (and Germanic) societies. In recent years, the influence of non-Western pagan societies, such as those from Asia and Africa, have further eroded the Christian influence in Western societies so that it is more and more difficult to identify that which is truly Christian. These non-Christian influences

explain why the church, as well as individual Christians, have so frequently acted in ways that deviate widely from the basic principles of the Christian faith.

By the twentieth century, most of these Christian distinctives had become so humanized and secularized that they were effectively cut off from their spiritual roots. Europeans, once so successful in gaining political, economic, and cultural mastery over the world, found themselves without an effective defense against the threats of human depravity—world war, totalitarian ideologies, enslavement to technology, and the destruction of the earth's environment. These factors explain the decline in Western power and order. Yet, through the spread of the gospel, many Christian values have been transmitted to other cultures. And God has continued to revive His church and awaken His people to the fact that they must be distinct from the world.

The Christian must not be naive. He must become aware that every historian interprets history on the basis of his own relationship to God. The Christian historian will seek by God's grace to interpret history in a God-honoring fashion and exalt Christ as the Lord of History. He will not seek to be neutrally objective, as if he had no faith. The Christian is able to be truly objective when he interprets history in the light of God's unchanging Word. Nevertheless, because the Christian historian is not yet perfect and is still beset with much sin and ignorance, he will never write a perfect history. Yet he must seek by God's mercy to fulfill his responsibility to God in presenting as faithful an account as he is able in order to equip Christian students to fight the good fight on the terrain of historical studies.

(Portions of this section were adapted from C. Gregg Singer, "The Christian View of the Philosophy of History," in *Christian Approaches to Philosophy and History*. [Memphis, TN: Christian Studies Center, 1978].)

This political poster appeared in the Netherlands in 1922 to promote the election of Dr. Hendrik Colijn. It reflected the view of the Christian Anti-Revolutionary Party which had as its motto "Against the Revolution, the Gospel." Colijn was prime minister from 1925–1926, and again from 1933–1939. He was arrested by the Nazis for resistance activities.

The Benefits of Studying History

The Christian student should be especially interested in a study of modern history. He can learn how God manifests His justice and grace in His providential direction of the course of human affairs. Believers gain encouragement for the present when they see how Christ has caused His eternal Kingdom to spread among the nations. And by looking at the lives of His people in the past the Christian student can find an example of how he should and should not follow Christ in the present. Also, by looking at the lives of those who are outside of Christ he is warned of the results of unbelief.

By studying history he will be enabled to more clearly evaluate biblically the various teachings and practices that he might find in the church today. This holds true for every area of study; politics, science, economics, etc. A knowledge of history demonstrates the axiom that ideas have consequences.

History provides the Christian student with the background to current events. Without a proper understanding of history the Christian student will be easily manipulated by modern opinion in the secular media. A Christian study of history will enable the believer to be prepared to act as a Christian citizen and properly promote the building of Christ's kingdom in his nation and throughout world.

It will help him to have compassion on those who do not know God. By studying the developments in culture since the sixteenth century he will be able to understand better why people think and act the way they do. In a time when transportation and communication technology has brought the peoples of the world closer and closer, it is vital to know the traditions, values, and background of the nations that we might reach them with the message of the cross of Christ.

Organization of the Book

This book covers the events of world history with an emphasis on European and American culture since the Reformation. Each chapter traces a particular theme within a particular time-period. The principal themes include the history of Christianity and philosophy with their results in culture, politics; economics, society, science, and technology.

Several features have been included to enhance the student's understanding. First, a time line at the beginning of each chapter will help the reader to see the chronological relationships between the events discussed in the text. Throughout the text, particular points of interest, focusing on specific individuals and events, provide further information. Maps and photographs, as well as artwork of a particular period, add to the overall impact of the book. Thought-provoking questions given at the end of each chapter will encourage students to think through the Christian implications of the material and its relevance for today's world. In addition, a list of important words and concepts at the end of the chapter will aid the student in focusing on the most significant ideas discussed in the chapter. Suggested projects can also enliven the topics being covered as a particular activity is carried out by an individual or a class. A reading list, found on the next page, is provided to suggest resources for further study.

An extensive index will also enable the student to use the book for reference in years to come.

Acknowledgments

It is difficult to sufficiently acknowledge the efforts of each individual who helped to make this world history text possible. It is only fitting that we begin by acknowledging the One who is the giver of all wisdom, knowledge, and grace—the Lord of history—Jesus Christ.

In addition, the publishers would like to thank the following staff members for their participation in preparing and finalizing this volume. The project coordinator and chief editor was Michael J. McHugh, from Christian Liberty Press. The text, originally written by Robert G. Clouse and Richard V. Pierard and edited by Mott Media, was thoroughly revised and supplemented by Garry J. Moes. General editorial work was done by Lars Johnson, who copyedited the text, maps, and timelines. The book was typeset by Edward J. Shewan who also prepared the timelines, maps, and index. Eric Bristley provided the layout and design for the book, handled the cover and text illustrations, and helped in the final review of the manuscript.

To all the others—named and unnamed—who played at least a minor role in the preparation of this history text, we are grateful.

Further Reading

Blair, William and Hunt, Bruce. *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1977. The story of 20th century missions in Korea.

Cook, Harold R. *Highlights of Christian Missions*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1967. A history of Christian missions.

Cryer, France, Legg, Miller, and Thornbury. *Five Pioneer Missionaries*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1965. This book includes short biographies of Brainerd, Burns, Eliot, Martyn, and Paton.

Douglas, J. D., ed. *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974. Provides useful information on the people, events, movements, and teachings that have shaped the Church throughout the ages.

Gray, Janet Glenn. *The French Huguenots: Anatomy of Courage*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981. A history of the Huguenot movement through the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Hooykaas, R. *Religion and the Rise of Modern Science*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1972. A consideration of the Christian origins of modern science.

Houghton, S. M. *Sketches from Church History: An Illustrated Account of 20 Centuries of Christ's Power*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1980. A short history of the Church, focusing on Europe and North America.

Hyma, Albert, Ph.D. *Renaissance to Reformation*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1951. This book provides background information to modern history.

Lee, Francis Nigel. *A Christian Introduction to the History of Philosophy*. Nutley, NJ: The Craig Press, 1969. A concise history of Christian and non-Christian philosophy.

Machen, J. Gresham. *Christianity and Liberalism*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1923. Shows the difference between historic Christianity and liberalism.

Morris, Henry M. *Men of Science–Men of God*. San Diego, CA: Master Books, 1982, 1988.

Morris, Henry M. *The Bible and Modern Science*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1951.

Murray, Ian. *The Forgotten Spurgeon*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1966.

Murray, Ian. *The Puritan Hope*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1971. A study of revivals and missions.

Noebel, David A. *Understanding the Times: The Story of the Biblical Christian, Marxist/Leninist, and Secular Humanist Worldviews*. Manitou Springs, CO: Summit Press, 1991.

Olasky, Marvin. *The Tragedy of American Compassion*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1992. An examination of welfare in America from the 19th century to the present.

Praamsma, L. *Let Christ Be King*. St. Catherines, Ontario, Canada: Paideia Press, 1985. Chronicles the life of Abraham Kuyper.

Reid, W. Stanford, ed. *John Calvin: His Influence In the Western World*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982. Describes one of the key influences on world culture.

Rian, Edwin H. *The Presbyterian Conflict*. Philadelphia: Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 1992 (1940). Chronicles the battle between modernists and evangelicals in the Presbyterian Church during the early part of the 20th century.

Rookmaaker, H. R. *Modern Art and the Death of a Culture*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1970. This is an analysis of modern art by a Christian art historian.

Rose, Tom. *Economics: Principles and Policy from a Christian Perspective*. Mercer, PA: American Enterprise Publications, 1986.

Rushdoony, Rousas J. *The Biblical Philosophy of History*. Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1979.

Rushdoony, Rousas J. *The Messianic Character of American Education*. Nutley, NJ: The Craig Press, 1963. Discussion of the history of secular education.

Rushdoony, Rousas J. *The One and the Many*. Fairfax, VA: Thoburn Press, 1971. Traces the impact of Christianity on the development of Western culture.

Ryle, J. C. *Christian Leaders of the 18th Century*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1978 (1885). Contains short biographies of men who were part of the Evangelical Awakening.

Schaeffer, Edith. *L'Abri*. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1969. The story about L'Abri and its formation.

Schaeffer, Francis A. *How Should We Then Live? The Rise and Decline of Western Thought and Culture*. Old Tappen, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1976. A Christian analysis of world history.

Schaeffer, Francis A. *The Complete Works of Francis A. Schaeffer: A Christian Worldview*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1982. Includes all of Francis Schaeffer's writings on religion, philosophy, culture, and history.

Scott, Otto. *Robespierre, the Voice of Virtue*. New York: Mason and Lipscomb, 1974. Explores a key figure in the French Revolution.

Singer, C. Gregg. *A Theological Interpretation of American History.*, Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1964. Interprets the theological forces in American history.

Smith, Gary Scott, ed. *God and Politics: Four Views on the Reformation of Civil Government*. Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1989. Considers theonomy, principled pluralism, Christian America, and national confessionalism.

Smith, Jane Stuart and Carlson, Betty. *A Gift of Music: Great Composers and Their Influence*. Westchester, IL: Good News Publishers, 1978. Short biographies of various composers.

Stonehouse, Ned B. *J. Gresham Machen: A Biographical Memoir.*, Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1987 (1954). A study on the life and times of J. Gresham Machen.

Tracy, Joseph. *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion In the Time of Edwards and Whitefield*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1976 (1842).

Van Dyke, Harry. *Groen Van Prinsterer's Lectures on Unbelief and Revolution*. Jordan Station, Ontario, Canada: Wedge Pub. Foundation, 1989. A Christian analysis of the French Revolution.

Van Til, Henry R. *The Calvinistic Concept of Culture*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1959, 1970. Discusses the historical background of developing a Christian view of culture.

1350	1400	1450	1500	1550	1600

Politics and Economics

Atlantic slave trade 1440s–Early 1800s

Development of capitalism
(double-entry bookkeeping,
credit, bills of exchange, joint-
stock companies) 1300–1500

Columbus discovers America 1492

Prince Henry's expeditions 1418–1460

Science and Technology

Navigational equipment invented or improved

Oarsmen replaced by sails 1400s & 1500s

Caravel developed 1400s

Movable type invented c. 1450

Cannon adapted for ships—Early 1500s

Religion and Philosophy

Work of Las Casas 1514–1566

Work of Xavier 1542–1552

Kongo king accepts Christianity 1480s

Work of Ricci 1579–1610

Culture and Society

Spread of knowledge accelerated
by printing press—Late 1400s

Watches begin creating time-consciousness 1500

Foreign products used in the West 1500s

1

European Exploration and its Motives

About 600 years ago, people from the continent of Europe began to move out to the rest of the world. They already knew that other continents existed, but they knew very few specific details. Travelers who had visited in distant lands brought back fascinating stories, exotic spices, and other products. Current technological advances made sea travel possible for traders wanting to acquire these goods faster and more easily than by land routes.

Some Europeans, from Spain and France, sought to spread Roman Catholic beliefs. Many went as proselytizing priests to bring pagan peoples into submission to Catholic traditions.

Still others were motivated by the possibility of great wealth, since trade and exploration could be very profitable. New economic arrangements in different parts of Europe caused improved financing of long-distance trade. As exploration and conquest continued, large amounts of gold were brought back from the New World.

This map, issued in the 1600s, shows the American continents as they were known at the time. Geographers thought that Australia lay just south of Latin America and stretched across the earth's southern part.

New Technology

In order to launch what we now call the Age of Exploration, we need to understand the development of Western **technology**. *Technology* is the science of applying knowledge to practical pur-poses. Several kinds of inventions affected social and intellectual life. More seaworthy vessels and reliable navigational instruments made long ocean voyages possible. Without these, East Asia and the Western Hemisphere would have been beyond reach.

All through the Middle Ages, people found ways to improve their tools and methods of doing

A peece mounted at 6. pointes or 72. minutes.
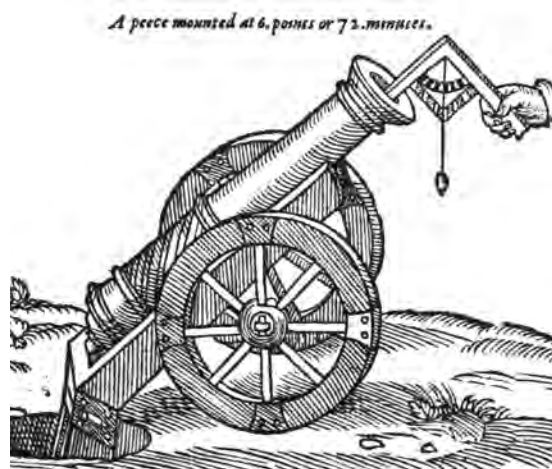
This early cannon is being raised to its maximum elevation. The gunner's quadrant is being used to determine the correct elevation for the desired range.

work. They invented the crank, the wheelbarrow, and the canal lock. A major breakthrough came with inventions that are now taken for granted. Windmills and watermills began to take over jobs like cutting wood, grinding grain, and draining swamps and mines. Also in this period came the nailed horseshoe and the **tandem** harness. With its hoofs now protected from breaking, the horse replaced slow-moving oxen for pulling plows and heavy loads. The tandem harness hitched pairs of horses, one behind the other, to a load. Animals pulled more effectively this way. Another invention, the heavy plow, made farming more efficient and cut down on the labor required. This tendency of Europeans to think of labor-saving devices helped shift the whole basis of their economy from human labor to machines.

Metals. During the Renaissance, Europe also made notable improvements in mining and metallurgy. By the fourteenth century, surface ores were exhausted, and it became necessary to dig shafts deep into the ground. Because under-

ground shafts often filled up with water, mine operators had to find some way to drain them. The drainage designs and machines that were developed brought a mining boom to central Europe. By 1525, more than 100,000 workers were employed by the mining industry in the Holy Roman Empire. People worked out better ways to smelt, cast, roll, and forge metals. They used water power to make metals and published illustrated books which aided the miners in this work. These changes greatly increased the amount of metal in Europe.

Clocks. Some of the new Renaissance technology caused dramatic changes in Europe's life-style. Take clocks, for example. Although people had used sundials and hourglasses to tell time for thousands of years, mechanical clocks did not become common in Europe until the fifteenth century. Installed in churches or city halls, these clocks struck on the hour or quarter hour, telling the townspeople the time of day or night. People began to regulate their lives by exact time rather than by dawn, noon, and sunset, which changed with the seasons. Because early mechanical clocks were driven by weights, they were too heavy to be moved. In about 1500, however, spring-driven watches were invented. These were much larger and heavier than modern pocket watches, and they gained or lost fifteen minutes a day, but they enabled each person who could afford to buy one to have his own timepiece. While early clocks did not immediately cause society to schedule everything precisely, they laid the groundwork for the unique time-conscious approach to our modern world.

Movable type. Even greater changes in the way people lived came with the invention of the printing press. As early as the sixth century, the Chinese had made prints by pressing linen paper against inked wooden blocks. It took centuries

Gunpowder and Guns

Just as guns enabled the West to conquer native peoples and dominate the world, these weapons hastened an enormous change in the West itself. The early discoverers of gunpowder seemed to sense its significance. When Roger Bacon first wrote down the formula for it, he used a code, so dangerous did he consider this substance. But the secret could not be kept. Someone invented the cannon. Historians do not agree on whom to credit for this development, but the first time these noisy, undependable weapons appeared in battle was in 1346 at Crécy, France.

After that, attackers pointed the great guns at castle walls, an act which helped bring the medieval way of life to an end. No longer safe within his castle, the noble had to join with other lords when he was threatened. The vast number of small kingdoms gave way to larger units, and these would later form nations. Since the serfs and villagers could no longer count on the lord's castle for protection, their ties to him weakened. Thus while guns and gunpowder changed the nature of warfare both on land and at sea, these weapons also helped change the structure of Western society.

All through history, people have used weapons to help them force their will upon others. As nations developed, they took up this practice on a larger scale. It is ironic that before nations made serious attempts to change this habit, a weapon powerful enough to destroy all life had to appear.

for this process to reach Europe, but by 1400 wood engravings and block-printed books were being produced. Each page had to be carved separately, which made books very expensive. Only the church or a few rich people could afford them.

About 1450, **Johann (John) Gutenberg** of Mainz, Germany, began to make individual

Printing in the 16th Century

helped by those in another. New insights can also be communicated by the printed word.

The Protestant Reformation clearly showed the new power of the press to bring changes. Martin Luther's ideas spread very quickly through the printed page. Calling the printing press one of God's greatest gifts to mankind, Luther published something every two weeks.

Besides the works of Luther and other Reformers, people could also own a copy of the Bible for themselves. Gutenberg's first Bible was very large, but soon copies were smaller and more affordable. From this developed a great interest in having the Bible in the **vernacular**, or one's own language, instead of only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

Navigation. As the Portuguese did more sailing, they began to modify their ships to cope with new conditions. During the fifteenth century, the Portuguese developed a sturdy ship that could sail down the west coast of Africa and then return to Europe. This was not easy because of the winds and tides. Combining features from Roman, Viking, and Arab ships, the Portuguese gave their *caravel* a long hull, or frame, and a stern-post rudder. Placing the rudder at the back made the ship easier to maneuver than other craft. The vessel had two types of sails, square and triangular, giving it unusual speed. By the sixteenth century, the Europeans were building larger *galleons* with bulging hulls to carry troops and cannons.

Besides these changes in the ships themselves, sailors could also use new instruments such as the *astrolabe* and the *quadrant*. These plotted a ship's position, direction, and speed. Accurate coastal maps called **portolani** were also drawn. Seamen had already charted the coast of the Mediterranean Sea on such maps. They noted exact compass bearings and careful details about landmarks,

Ship Building in the 16th Century

soundings, and harbors. The outstanding achievement of the Portuguese **mariners** who sailed under Prince Henry in the fifteenth century was their *portolan* of the west coast of Africa.

In order to gain control of Asia, the Europeans also needed good weapons. They used an invention of the Chinese—*gunpowder*. The Chinese had used gunpowder for firecrackers and for starting fires, not for weapons. The Byzantines borrowed it to make the "Greek Fire" used to defend Constantinople. During the thirteenth century, an English monk, **Roger Bacon**, carried on many experiments with gunpowder. By the fifteenth century, Europeans had designed cannons fired by gunpowder, but these were too heavy for ships. Then in the early sixteenth century, they made lighter cannons. The cannon balls from these could be effective at a range of 300 yards.

Cannons and the new ships built to carry them won the seas for Europe. Until the sixteenth century, most ships still used oarsmen and battering rams. In battle, commanders tried to ram the enemy ship and sink it or board it and fight hand to hand. Such slow, awkward, and risky methods

metal letters instead of wood-block pages. Since these letters were **interchangeable** and could be used many times, the process was much cheaper. Also, large numbers of books could be printed. Society soon felt the impact of this invention.

By 1501, there were printing presses in 110 European towns and cities. Printing with movable type enabled new ideas, art forms, and information to travel rapidly throughout Europe. In the past, it often took centuries for a change to become widespread. With such limited communication, only a privileged few were able to enjoy the work of poets, artists, and philosophers. However, once printing became common, the pace of change and progress speeded up greatly.

Sharing new information and ideas with other people is one of the significant *streams of civilization*. Diagrams of inventions or instructions for new procedures can be spread more easily than the inventions or the instructors themselves. In this way, people in one part of the world can be

still used in Asia were no match for the new technology of the Europeans.

The Missionary Motives of Catholicism

While considering the reasons Western explorers set out on their quest, one must not overlook religion, for it too played an important part. Many people knew that Christians were supposed to preach throughout the whole earth (Matthew 28:19-20). Some had specifically studied the Bible to see what it had to say about the rest of the world. Not only does the Bible teach *evangelization*, but, as Christian scholars, especially some of the Reformers, discovered anew, it also calls upon man to have general *dominion* over all creation—to discover it, explore and study it, use it for his benefit, and carefully husband, manage, steward, and replenish it (Genesis 1:27-28, 9:1-2,7).

Columbus and Prince Henry. The Italian-born, pre-Reformation mariner Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) was one explorer who sailed into new worlds partly because of a vision drawn from the Bible. He compiled verses from the Bible into his *Book of Prophecies*. It includes biblical teachings about the earth, the seas, undiscovered tribes, the spread of the Gospel, the second coming of Christ, and the nature of His Kingdom.

Columbus believed that the Kingdom of God would not come until all the lands of the earth had heard the Gospel. He felt that God had chosen him to discover the unreached tribes so that the Gospel could be preached to them. In order that he might complete this task, the Holy Spirit had given him special aid in understanding the Scriptures and the science of navigation. Later,

Christopher Columbus, 1451–1506

after he had discovered new lands, he wrote to Pope Alexander VI asking for priests and friars to help him teach the natives.

Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal (1394–1460) had previously become involved in exploration because of his Christian faith. Entrusted with the defense of the Portuguese foothold on the North African coast, he was convinced of the need to **outflank** Islam. Stretching in a great crescent from the Russian Steppe to the Atlantic coast of Morocco, Muslim lands hemmed in and threatened Christian Europe.

However, Europeans believed that beyond Islam to the east and south were non-Islamic peoples, many of whom were Christians. If the Europeans could work their way around the Muslims and contact the African Christians, it would be possible to take the enemy from the rear in a new crusade. The only way to do that was to sail down the west coast of Africa.

The Legend of Prester John. Henry, like other Europeans, believed that the Eastern Christians were led by a great king, Prester John. The legend of Prester (Priest) John probably began in the 12th century with some Asian Christian priest and king who was an enemy of the Muslims. Later, the story placed him in Ethiopia, which was ruled by a Coptic Christian. Some of this ruler's priests had chapels at Jerusalem, and his **envoys** occasionally came to Rome. Europeans were able in their thinking to transfer the king from central Asia to eastern Africa because both lands lay "somewhere toward the Indies: on the borders between myth and reality."

In the marvelous kingdom of Prester John one could find **unicorns**, giants, and men whose heads grew beneath their shoulders. In the midst of these wonders, the king lived in a fantastic castle surrounded by a moat of precious stones. His throne room contained a magic mirror in which he could see at will any part of the world. Dozens of lesser kings obeyed him. His army had millions of foot soldiers, hundreds of thousands of horsemen, and thousands of war elephants.

The descriptions of Prester John vary, but they have one central theme—he was extremely wealthy and powerful. Representatives of the Ethiopian emperor who reached the West encouraged this idea. As the Portuguese embarked on their voyages to the East, they wished to increase their knowledge, convert the heathen, and share in the riches of the Orient. But the main goal was to find Prester John and reunite broken Christendom in a great crusade to crush Islam.

Missionary motives. Most of the missionary zeal fueling early Western expansion came from the Spanish and Portuguese Roman Catholics. Columbus first sailed to the New World 25 years before the beginning of the Reformation. The Protestants were first busy in Europe, and later became involved in English colonies in North America. Beginning in the eighteenth century

and then increasing dramatically in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many Protestant groups also became involved in worldwide missions.

Catholic missionary activity had to face many non-Christian religions. It should not be surprising, then, that Christianity and Islam clashed, since the latter religion instructs its adherents to conquer territory for its God, Allah. By way of contrast, followers of most Asian religions did not try to win converts. Confucianism does not include the teaching that it should be spread to other cultures. So a follower of that system would have had no religious motivation to explore the rest of the world. But the beliefs of Christianity gave Europeans a drive to contact other peoples.

Kongo Kingdom. One of the earliest European missionary efforts of this period took place in the African kingdom of Kongo. Portuguese seamen came upon this realm in the 1480s, baptized the ruler, and helped him in struggles with neighboring tribes. When his son **Afonso** became king in 1507, the new ruler established close relations with the king of Portugal and asked for technical aid.

A strong Catholic, Afonso renamed his capital São Salvador, which means "holy savior." He made Catholicism the state religion and based his royal authority on it. He asked for more missionaries but few actually came. Because of Portuguese slaving in his domains and meddling in local politics, he soon grew disgusted with the Europeans. Vainly he protested to the pope and Portuguese king. He may have been one of the first Africans to learn that not all Europeans followed the Christian principles which they supposedly believed.

After Afonso's death in 1545, Roman Catholicism slowly declined in Kongo. His successor at

The Indians' Protector

A priest named Bartolomé de Las Casas was the strongest defender of the rights of the native people of the New World. Horrified by Spanish atrocities, he began to speak out against the colonial system which gave large grants of land to settlers. The Indians who lived on the land became virtual slaves of the new owners. In 1514, Las Casas gave up his own land and set his Indians free.

Father de Las Casas also protested the Spaniards' use of military conquest to Christianize the Indians. Rather than forcing the native people to become Christians, the priest insisted that the settlers should live among them and set an example, using love, reason, and persuasion. Twice he gathered groups of settlers to try to put this idea into practice, but circumstances were against him. The first attempt failed completely. The second was more successful, lasting for twenty years.

In 1540, Las Casas carried his fight for reform to Spain where he endlessly petitioned for a change in the laws. One day he read to the court from a book he was writing. With shocked dismay, the nobles listened to stories of the cruelty of "Christian" settlers.

Las Casas told of one Indian ruler named Hatuey who heard that the Spaniards were coming. Glancing at a basket of gold and jewels near him, he said, "Behold, here is the god of the Christians. Let us perform Areytos (worshipful dances) before him and perhaps we shall please him, and he will command that they do us no harm."

The people did as Hatuey suggested, but the Spaniards captured them anyway and prepared to burn Hatuey alive at the stake. Before lighting the fire, the conquistadors allowed a monk to talk to the chieftain about his soul. The monk explained heaven and hell.

"Do the Spanish go to heaven," Hatuey asked.

"Some do."

"Then I want to go to hell," declared the chief. "I don't want to be with such cruel people."

Stories like this caused such a sensation that the emperor changed the laws as Las Casas requested. Unfortunately, the New World was far away, and the colonial administrators did not enforce the new laws. To his death, Las Casas continued to fight for his beloved Indians, upholding the dignity and freedom of all men.

Material on Hatuey is based on "The Brevissima Relacion," in: Francis A. McNutt, *Bartholomew de Las Cases* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909) Appendix I.

first worked with the church, especially to obtain better schools; but the newly arrived Jesuit missionaries did not show him proper respect. Still, Kongo kept its diplomatic ties with the Vatican and won papal support in a quarrel with Portugal over nearby Angola in the 1620s. An Africanized form of Catholicism thrived for a short time in Kongo. The sect claimed that God and His angels were black and that Christ had lived in the area. Eventually, all that survived of that faith was the use of the cross and images of saints as charms.

Catholicism in the New World. The missionary outreach that began in Africa continued in other parts of the world. As the Spanish took control in the Western Hemisphere, a friar named **Bartolomé de Las Casas** came to the New World to preach to the Indians. Las Casas not only tried to win the native people to Catholicism, but he also taught the Spanish that the Indians were human beings who should be treated with kindness and consideration. Some of the other friars, however, did not join Las Casas in his crusade. Many were content to follow the practice of **Toribino**, archbishop of Lima from 1580 to 1606. Although he tried to defend the Indians, he must have spent most of his time baptizing and **confirming** them. Mass baptisms led to converts who had very little

knowledge of Christianity. By 1594, he claimed to have confirmed 800,000 people.

To deal with the problems caused by contact between Indians and Europeans, separate villages were set up for Catholic Indians. These villages resembled the reservations started later in the United States. In Paraguay, for example, there were 30 villages, each with a church, hospital, convent, and a school where children could learn Latin. Governed by priests, these communities offered Indians an eight-hour workday and recreational activities. Church attendance was required. However, most Indians of South and Central America did not live on reservations but attended parish churches modeled after those of Spain and Portugal.

Spanish friars were also active in Asia. A Spanish proselyte effort came to the Philippines, which by 1620 had an archbishop, a Catholic university, and more than 300,000 baptized converts. The success in this land raised hopes that other victories would soon follow.

St. Francis Xavier. Among those who tried to produce such miracles was the Basque priest Francis Xavier (1506–1562). One of the founders of the Jesuit Order, his work demonstrated that Roman Catholic proselyting was headed by the Jesuits. Formed with military patterns, the Jesuits were the key opponents in the Roman Catholic Church to combat the Reformation. This autocratic order stressed exact discipline and salvation by human effort. Their missionary or proselyting activity was marked by formalism and syncretism. Syncretism meant that they did not seek for the gospel to transform culture and society but to mix with pagan cultures as an supplement. As a result there was no real long term leavening influence of the gospel. Instead their defective form of Christianity was mixed up with pagan false religions. Xavier went on a mission to India in 1542

and later to Malacca in the East Indies and Japan. Although mastering none of the languages which he encountered, he felt at home among Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists. He used the technique of formalized mass **conversion**. Working under the protection of the government, he would gather a crowd to hear him. Then he would recite the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Rosary, and the Lord's Prayer. After repeating this process many times, he would baptize those who had simply memorized these statements and expressed faith in God. Then he would move onto another place, leaving behind some of his more dedicated followers to care for the new converts.

In the Orient, Jesuit missionaries faced the challenge of strong, competing religions. Often they found their worship welcome in the temples, but Hindu and Buddhist worship continued along with it. While the Bible teaches that idols must be destroyed and non-Christian worship stopped, in India and China, the Jesuits modified this view. They built on the idolatry of Roman Catholicism, as evident in the worship of the crucifix, images and mariolatry, and accommodated to other pagan forms of idolatry.

Jesuits also applied their syncretist approach to Asian beliefs and traditions, hoping that such action would aid the spread of Catholicism. These proselytizers analyzed Japanese, Chinese, or Indian customs. They determined which were merely social or civil and which had religious significance opposed to Christianity. Previous missionaries had condemned the old traditions of emperor worship and veneration of Confucius and forebears as pagan and incompatible with Christian faith. The Jesuits argued that many of these old rites were not religious but merely related to legitimate respect for one's ancestors. They contended that the Chinese and other Ori-

entals influenced by Confucian culture would never accept Catholicism if these rites were forbidden. The Jesuits made great progress, by the late 1600s, in converting the Chinese emperor, and they hoped that if the old traditions could be absorbed into Christianity, the whole of Chinese culture would follow the emperor into Christianity. One Italian Jesuit leading this effort in its early days was Matteo (Matthew) Ricci.

Matthew Ricci. Trained in science at Rome, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) spent four years in India before going to China in 1583. Typical of his accommodating approach, he began a lecture by showing clocks, scientific instruments, maps, and books. He then spent hours discussing with his hearers the areas of agreement between Confucian wisdom and Catholic Christianity. Hundreds of thousands of copies of his dialogue between a Chinese scholar and a European priest were distributed to the Chinese. By the year of his death, 1610, there were more than 2,000 converts to Roman Catholicism in China.

Jesuit missionaries found a great array of gods being worshipped in China and simply added Jesus Christ to the list.

For more than a century, the issue of adapting to ancient customs as Ricci had done was debated by church officials. There were occasional persecutions and occasional periods of growth in the number of Catholics in China. Finally, after 50 years of debate, Pope Clement XI declared it wrong to value Confucian tradition too highly or pay undue respect to one's ancestors. The next two emperors exiled most missionaries from China and intensified restrictions on Chinese Catholics. Because Chinese culture was so influential throughout the Far East, the decision of the pope effectively shut the door to Christianity in that part of the world for years to come.

Roman Catholics in Japan. Another major oriental land, Japan, seemed to offer a chance to repeat the Philippine success. By 1617, there were at least 300,000 Catholics in Japan. Fearing that the priests would help Westerners take over the land, the government halted the rapid spread of this religion. In a series of horrible persecutions marked by savage tortures, the Catholic church of Japan was all but destroyed. A decree in 1638 closed the land to all foreigners, and by the end of the century few Christians of any kind remained.

The fate of the Japanese church illustrates the problems of early Roman Catholic missions in the Orient. Despite early success, the work of winning people to the Catholic religion did not go as well in South and East Asia as it did in the Americas. The fundamental problem with such Jesuit missions was that it was not true biblical evangelism in its message or method. It was but an extension of the Roman Catholic formalism that sought to add religious ceremonies to culture rather than see the truth of Christ make all things new.

Golden Temple in Kyoto, Japan

Economic Motives

European technology and the desire to spread Christianity were significant factors in European expansion around the globe. But there were other reasons for the Western success—reasons that had to do with money, production, and trade.

All during the Middle Ages, European trade increased greatly. By the time the Renaissance started, many merchants had grown very rich. Farmers, craftsmen, and others had to increase production to supply this growing trade. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this increase in production and wealth in Italy led to a new type of economy—capitalism.

What is Capitalism? Capitalism is an economic system characterized by the voluntary exchange of goods and services among individuals who are free and self-governing. In a capitalistic economy, private individuals invest sums of money in commercial, industrial, and banking ventures. Under capitalism, private persons own property or the means of production. Capitalistic enterprises produce goods for sale on the open market, in contrast to the early medieval manor which produced only enough goods for its own use. In a capitalistic economy, decisions are in the hands of people most closely related to the individual enterprise—those whose resources have been invested in it. The capitalist expects to receive a profit on his investment. These ideas are based on the biblical concept that God created man to be self-responsible under His law and intends man to enjoy the fruits of his own productive efforts, which encompass his material investment and his labor.

During the Middle Ages, a master craftsman generally would not have been a capitalist. He did not have a large investment in his business, and he worked closely with his journeymen and apprentices. But the Médici bank of fifteenth-century Florence was definitely a capitalistic enterprise.

Italians' New Business Methods. The Italians worked out many of the techniques of capitalism during the Renaissance era. They developed **double-entry** (credits and debits) **bookkeeping**, which helped businessmen keep track of what they owed and the money owed to them. With these records, they could decide whether to take on new ventures. Italians also invented a kind of insurance for ships, which greatly reduced the risk of loss. They experimented with various types of companies, some of which became the forerunners of modern corporations. Earlier traders had gone from place to place to trade, but the new companies built a base of operations and stayed in one spot. Run by groups of merchants, these companies conducted business from a cen-
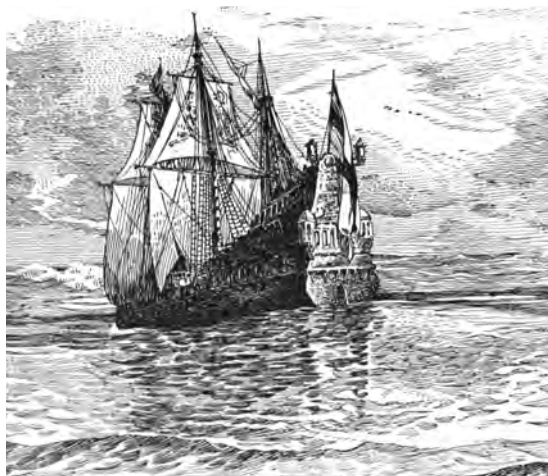
Spanish galleons carried much of the wealth taken from the New World to Spain.

tral office by means of agents or partners located in distant cities.

One of the largest of these early companies belonged to the Médici family. A series of partnerships, it operated three businesses in Florence and had several foreign branches. The Médici supplied more than half the capital to each partnership so that they could keep control. They traded in many types of goods, engaged in industry and mining, and operated large banks. **Foreign exchange** and credit also brought great profits for the Médici. The use of credit began during this period and made it unnecessary for merchants to carry large amounts of cash. Then too, credit made borrowing easier.

Since it was expensive and dangerous to move gold and silver from one part of Europe to another, the bill of exchange was created. If a merchant in London wanted to purchase goods in Florence, he could go to the Médici bank branch in London and buy a bill of exchange payable in Florence several months later. On the agreed date, he or his agent in Florence would make purchases in London with a bill of exchange, the one would cancel the other. Very little actual gold or silver had to be transferred. These bills of exchange, the beginning of paper currency, were also used by travelers just as people today use travelers' checks.

The papacy also had the Médici bank transfer funds from various parts of Europe to Rome. The bank made a profit on these operations due to the difference in the rate at which one currency could be changed into another. While the Roman Catholic Church forbade the charging of interest, Italian bankers used currency exchange and many other methods to dodge the rules.

Capitalism In Northern Europe. Capitalism spread from Italy to the rest of Europe when a series of crises swept across the continent. In 1315 and 1316, crops failed and famines resulted. Then the Black Death plague snuffed out countless lives in 1348 and 1349. These events caused changes in normal social activities. Many people also perished in the Hundred Years' War between England and France. Constant fighting made it hard to hold medieval trade fairs any longer. However, the new Italian money economy soon replaced both the fairs and the medieval barter economy.

Capitalism affected all aspects of European life. No previous society had dreamed so boldly of boundless growth. Most only wished to keep their present standard of living, not better it. But capitalism provided a new frame of mind. Driven by the profit motive, the capitalist reinvested his increase so that production would grow.

Jacob Fugger, the wealthiest man in sixteenth century Europe, expressed the spirit of capitalism: "Let me earn as long as I am able." Fugger got his wish. Compare the Fugger family fortune with those of earlier capitalist families.

Fugger	(1546)	$160,000,000
Médici	(1440)	30,000,000
Peruzzi	(1300)	3,200,000

The north Europeans improved on the Italian way of doing business. They developed joint-stock companies, which work something like our modern corporations. Few businessmen had enough money to acquire a ship, crew, cargo, and supplies for the long voyage to Asia. Moreover, many ships never returned from this dangerous journey. Such a loss would normally wipe out a merchant's whole fortune. So a great many merchants pooled their money for these voyages through joint-stock companies. By purchasing shares of stock, each became part owner in the business venture. Not only did this method provide large amounts of money, it also reduced the risk for each investor. He did not have to invest everything he owned, only a small part.

Joint-stock companies such as the Dutch, English, and French East India companies raised enormous sums of money this way. With few individual merchants able to compete, these

Bankruptcy

The word **bank** comes from the Italian word **banca**, which means "bench." In medieval times, an Italian moneylender sat on a bench in the marketplace to conduct his business. If he lost all his money, the people broke his bench. That is how the word **bankrupt** came into use. It means "broken bench."

By the time of the Renaissance, the money lenders had moved into buildings. As financial dealings increased in size and complexity, these new banks took an even more important place in a country's economic life.

The Fuggers

Although history gives few bankers more than honorable mention, the behind-the-scenes activities of these men of finance have often greatly influenced historical events. For example, the wealthy Fugger banking family of Germany put up money for bribes which affected the election of two popes and made Charles V the Holy Roman Emperor. Bishops, kings, businessmen, towns, and even European countries financed operations with enormous loans from Fugger banks.

Starting as cloth makers, the Fuggers, through several generations, expanded their business to include spices, metals, and jewels. They opened branches in all the large cities of Central and Western Europe and by 1473 counted the Hapsburg rulers of Austria among their clients. Under Jacob the Rich, the Fuggers gained control of the silver, copper, and iron production in much of Central Europe.

As his fortune increased, Jacob loaned money to businessmen and then to political rulers as well. He accepted deposits, handled foreign exchange, and transferred money over long distances. A major user of this last service was the pope, who needed money transferred from Northern Europe to Rome. The Fugger enterprises utilized the most advanced bookkeeping methods of the day, developed their own credit rating system, and kept careful watch on events in the business world. When Jacob died, he was the richest man in Europe.

In the following years, the loans to political rulers proved the Fuggers' undoing. Spain and France defaulted on their debts in 1557. Then other borrowers also failed to repay their loans. The firm went bankrupt in 1607.

firms became the tool by which Europe gained economic control of the globe.

From remote, mysterious lands came products to enrich European life and to spur even further growth of capitalism. In the sixteenth century, Eastern spices and American gold and silver filled the holds of most ships sailing from colonial lands. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries other items replaced these. Tea, coffee, cocoa, exotic dyes such as **indigo**, and new products such as tobacco began to change European patterns of **consumption**. Cotton and sugar, although known earlier, became widely available for the first time.

The Slave Trade. One branch of the new commerce was not admirable, because it dealt in human beings—the slave trade. Beginning in the 1440s, ships often returned to Portugal with a few African captives. They were used mainly as house servants and craftsmen. But before long, they were put to work on sugar plantations.

The production of sugar posed unusual problems. It was partly agriculture, growing cane, and partly manufacturing, making the cane juice into refined sugar. Moreover, the whole process required large numbers of people to work a small piece of land. Nowhere in Europe was the farm population large enough to provide workers for a plantation, so owners used slave labor. The slaves were usually war prisoners and black Africans. Unlike the other forms of slavery and forced labor in use at the time, the unskilled plantation workers were scarcely considered human beings.

As Europeans ventured out into the Atlantic, the plantation idea moved with them. Eventually, gold and silver in the New World began to run out. Then the colonists discovered that many areas were suitable for plantations. After first working American Indians on the plantations, the Europeans began bringing Africans over. Unlike the Indians, most of whom were hunters and gatherers, the Africans were experienced tropical farmers. They had had more contact with European diseases and thus did not die off as quickly as the Indians. Being black-skinned, they could not run away and blend into the population. Finally, Africa seemed to have an endless supply of human beings.

The flow of slaves across the Atlantic was not large until the middle of the seventeenth century. Then the Dutch took charge of supplying the rapidly growing plantations in the West Indies and Brazil. Soon British and French slave shippers displaced the Dutch. From about 2,000 slaves imported per year in the sixteenth century, the figures peaked at more than 80,000 annually in the 1780s. Close to 10 million Africans landed in the Western Hemisphere during the 400-year history of the Atlantic slave trade.

This traffic in human beings proceeded through several steps. First, ships from Europe carrying manufactured items, rum, cloth, and other trade goods came to the West African coast. There the captains exchanged these for slaves provided by African middlemen. The native middlemen had obtained the slaves from the interior either through kidnapping or by purchase. Forced to
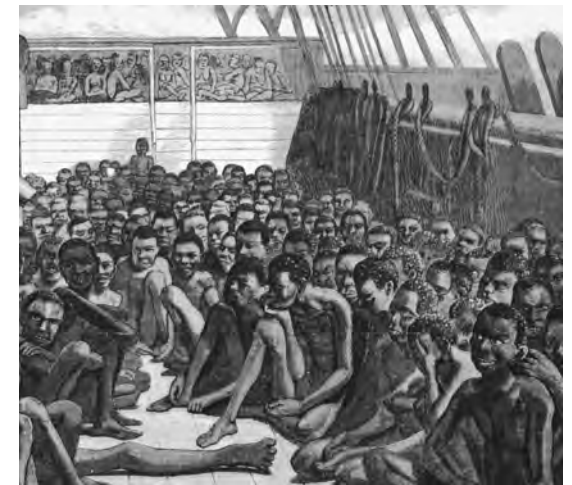
African slaves were brought to the New World under very inhumane conditions.

The Middle Passage

Capture by slavers was a frightening experience for Africans. But slaves faced their most terrible ordeal on the ships which carried them across the Atlantic, a journey called the Middle Passage. It lasted from three weeks to three months, depending on the distance covered and the winds. Inadequate food, disease, and overcrowding took the lives of about 13 percent of the slaves before they reached the Americas. Sometimes the ship would be attacked by competitors, and the slaves would drown during the fighting. If severe storms came up, the sailors often threw their captives overboard to lighten the ship. John Newton, an English slaver who himself became a slave of an African queen and later was converted to Christianity, becoming an evangelical minister, described conditions on these ships this way:

"Approximately 200 to 250 slaves can be carried in the hold of a 100-ton vessel. Their lodging rooms below deck are in three parts (for the men, the boys, and the women) and are around five feet high. They are divided toward the middle and the slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, on each side of the ship, close to each other like books upon a shelf. I have seen them so close that the shelf would not easily contain one more.

"The poor creatures, thus cramped, are likewise kept in iron chains which makes it difficult for them to turn or move or attempt to rise or lie down without hurting themselves or each other. Almost every morning instances are found of the living and dead fastened together."

Adapted from John Newton, *Thoughts Upon the African Slave Trade* (London: J. Buckland, 1788)

walk to the coast bound by heavy ropes or chains, the captives then waited in dungeons or floating prison ships until a trader came by.

After purchase, the slaves were crammed into the ship's hold, with scarcely room to move, and taken as quickly as possible to an American port before too many of them died. Deaths, of course, meant lost profits. Yet conditions on the voyage were dreadful. Chained together in the dank hold with its stale air and lack of sanitation, the captives suffered from hunger and brutal treatment. The shock of being torn from homes and loved ones still gripped them. During capture, journey to the coast, and shipment across the Atlantic, the loss of life was appalling.

When the slave cargoes landed in the New World, planters bought the Africans at auctions. Then the ships picked up plantation products, especially raw sugar and molasses, and returned to Europe. Merchants made a large profit at each stage of this three-cornered trade.

Growing Wealth. Above all of the world's exotic goods, Europeans hungered for gold and silver most. Said the conquistador, Hernando Cortez, "We, the Spanish, suffer an affliction (sickness) of the heart which can only be cured by gold.... I came in search of gold and not to work the land as a laborer." Between 1591 and 1595, the flow of silver pesos into Spain reached a peak of 35,184,863. Great quantities of gold also reached Spain and began to move through trade channels to the rest of Europe. Soon these precious metals flooded the continent and started a price revolution. During the sixteenth century, prices jumped fourfold, fivefold, and even sixfold.

Because prices rose more rapidly than wages, this inflation made capitalism grow even faster. Profits increased, giving capitalists more desire, as well as more money, to invest. The real income of workers dropped while the middle class grew wealthy. The growth of the middle class gave Europe a decided advantage in its economic conquest of the globe.

Not Altogether a European Innovation

To be sure, the African slave trade was not altogether a European innovation. Some form of slavery had existed in Africa, among Africans, for centuries. Prisoners of war and convicted criminals were often treated as "wageless labor," liable to be bought and sold. However, there was one important distinction. They were not chattels as they came to be in the mines and plantations of the Americas. In African society there was no clear and rigid division between bond and free. Every African was a working member of some domestic group, attached normally through the bond of kinship. The slave, too, was a working member of a group, but since he was not kin, his status was lower. It need not, however, remain so. A slave could advance through work; he could buy his freedom with the produce of the plot of land assigned to him for cultivation. Or he could advance through good fortune, by inheriting goods or marrying his master's daughter. Through such means it was not at all unusual for slaves to acquire positions of great influence and power.

But in many cases it was this reservoir of "captive labor" within African society that opened the gates to overseas slavery. African chiefs and kings sold their slaves to Europeans just as they had always sold them to one another. In this respect, moreover, they were behaving no differently from people in other cultures. For centuries the strong people in Europe had bought and sold their weaker brethren: even during the comparatively enlightened Renaissance, the pope more than once had occasion to excommunicate Venetian and Genoese merchants for selling Christian captives into Muslim slavery in Egypt and the Middle East.

From Basil Davidson, *African Kingdoms: Great Ages of Man—A History of the World's Cultures* (New York: Time-Life Books, Time Inc., 1966)

For your consideration

Questions

1. What effect did technology have on individual freedom?

2. How might the increase of metal in Europe have influenced progress?

3. Have you ever thought of any ideas for inventions? If so, list a few. What kind of thinking leads to new ideas? What other factors are necessary for the process of invention? What are some modern impediments to the spirit of invention?

4. In what ways may the invention of the printing press have aided the Age of Exploration?

5. Compare and evaluate the evangelistic approaches of Toribino, Xavier, and Ricci. Which do you think would have produced the strongest converts?

6. What actions of the Europeans may have hindered their missionary efforts?

7. What problems face a person who converts from one religion to another?

8. Does religion have any part in motivating people to attempt great projects today? Illustrate.

9. What are some strengths and weaknesses of capitalism?

10. Did the slave trade increase racial prejudice? Is any form of slavery justifiable?

11. Why did inflation in the sixteenth century increase business profits? How would inflation have affected craftsmen?

Projects

1. Choose one of the following headlines and write a newspaper article to go with it:

   Florence Bank Announces New Credit Services

   Local Merchant Concerned Over Trade Fair Decline

   Fugger Tells Graduates How to Succeed

   Inventor Demonstrates Windmill

   Old Timer Describes Life Before Clocks

   Caravels Sink Arab Fleet

   Pope Receives Protest from Kongo King

   Las Casas Scolds Conquistadors

   Japan Moves into Isolation

2. Create a newspaper advertisement for the new products brought to Europe by traders. Put together a bulletin board using the news stories above and the advertisements or actually put out a newspaper.

3. Do some research on one of the Asian religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, or Confucianism. Prepare a report explaining the basic beliefs and practices.

4. Imagine you are a sixteenth century missionary in South America. Write a letter to a friend in Spain telling about your experiences.

5. Make a model or drawing (perhaps cutaway) of one of the inventions mentioned in this chapter. Basic materials for models might be clay, pieces of wood, or paper. Explain to the class how the invention worked and why it was important.

Word List

tandem
interchangeable
vernacular
portolani
mariners
outflank
envoys
unicorn
confirm
conversion
evangelistic
foreign exchange
indigo
consumption

People and Groups

Johann Gutenberg
Christopher Columbus
Prince Henry the Navigator
Prester John
Afonso
Bartholomew de Las Casas
Archbishop Toribino
Francis Xavier
Matteo Ricci
The Jesuits
Jacob Fugger and the Fugger Family
Médici Family
Hernando Cortez
Roger Bacon
Alhazen
Pere Marquette
Hatuey

1945   1955   1965   1975   1985   1995

Politics and Economics

Cold War between East and West 1945–1970s

Conflict in Indochina and War in Vietnam 1946–1975

Communist regimes overthrown in
Eastern Europe and USSR 1989–1991

India and Pakistan
gain independence 1947

Nation of Israel formed 1948–1949

Great Leap Forward and Cultural
Revolution in China 1958–1969

Egyptian-Israeli peace initiative 1970s

Persian Gulf War 1991

Watergate 1972–1973

Communists take control of China 1949

Sub-Saharan Africa gains independence 1957–1970s

Israel, PLO, Jordan sign peace accords 1994

Korean War 1950–1953   Cuban missile crisis 1962   Arab Oil Embargo 1973   Black majority rule begins in South Africa 1994

Science and Technology

Atomic bombs
dropped on
Japan 1945

Manned space flights begin 1961

Russia launches Space Age with
Sputnik I earth satellite 1957

USSR explodes
nuclear bomb 1953

China explodes nuclear bomb 1964

Religion and Philosophy

Russia and other communist countries persecute Christians 1918–1989

Gandhi applies Hindu philosophy
to politics 1915–1948

World Council of
Churches formed 1948

Lausanne Conference on
world evangelism 1974

Archbishop Markarios becomes
president of Cyprus 1960

China closed to
missionary work 1949

U.S. National Council
of Churches formed 1950

Liberation Theology develops 1973–1980s

Culture and Society

The World Philosophy develops 1950s–1970s

Helsinki agreement 1975

Civil Rights movements
in America 1960s–1970s

Reagan restores U.S. patriotism 1980–1988

Communists restructure
Chinese society 1950s–1960s

Hippie counterculture
in America 1960s–1970s

Apartheid policy in South Africa 1960s–1980s

Western Decline and Third World Crisis

During the two decades following World War II, one-third of the earth's population broke free from colonial rule. At the same time millions of others—influenced, but not directly ruled, by Europe—came to a new awareness of their national identities. The era of unquestioned Western control ended as a tidal wave of nationalism swept through Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and even Europeanized Latin America.

Decolonization came so fast that one tends to lose sight of all the groundwork laid for it before 1945. The modernization of Japan and the efforts of **Sun Yat-sen** in China played an important part. Then, in World War I, Western nations granted greater freedom to their colonies hoping to gain more men and material for the war effort. With the spread of Western education, increased economic development, and the growing political awareness of colonial subjects, the basis for post-1945 nationalist movements was created.

The Russian Revolution presented the most important challenge to imperialism. Backed by the new Soviet might, Lenin's attack on Western colonialism packed dynamite. The activities of local communist parties and the Comintern swelled opposition to Western rule. By World War II, nationalism was well established in the non-Western world and European power had already started to shrink.

The Legacy of World War II

The most truly global conflict in history deeply affected the independence movement. For one thing the chief colonial powers suffered disastrous setbacks during World War II. France collapsed, but even after that it was able to hang on to its possessions in Indochina and North Africa for awhile. Holland was occupied by Germany, which left the Dutch East Indies to shift for itself. Great Britain's shattering defeat at Singapore in February 1942 not only cleared the way for Japan to occupy Southeast Asia and Indonesia, but also warned of the future collapse of the whole colonial system. It especially showed how much England had declined as a world naval power.

A Japanese propaganda slogan, "Asia for the Asians," also undermined Western imperialism. With ease they drove the surprised and ill-prepared Americans out of the Philippines and the British out of Malaya and Burma. By encouraging native military units to form in Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia and allowing local people some role in government in Java and Vietnam, the Japanese raised false hopes that independence was near.

To be sure, most nationalist leaders did not support the Axis cause, and colonial troops willingly joined the Allies. However, they gave their loyalty

Modern Hong Kong

with strings attached, demanding reform in return. Here was a chance for independence, and they wanted more than promises that it would follow after the war.

Nationalism in South Asia

India. In the struggle for Indian independence, **Mohandas K. Gandhi**, often called **Mahatma** or "great soul," provided important early leadership. After receiving his education in England, he practiced law for 20 years in South Africa. There he campaigned against what he called social and economic injustice and began to believe that racial prejudice was a world problem. When he returned home in 1915, he became disillusioned with what he saw as British repression. He began proclaiming a single message—Indians should stop cooperating with the British.

Gandhi's success came from his understanding of the Hindu outlook of the Indian people and from his use of religious terms to which he gave political meaning. He encouraged his followers to use nonviolent passive resistance. This included fasts, sit-down strikes, and other acts of **civil disobedience**. Masses of people followed his ideas in protest against British domination of political and economic life. Some of his views had been adopted from the nineteenth century American writer, **Henry David Thoreau**. Later, Gandhi's techniques were followed by many in the American civil rights struggle.

Gandhi urged the people to boycott British products and use domestic goods such as homespun cloth. He rejected modern technology and felt that Western industrialization was wrong for India. Other Indian leaders, such as **Jawaharlal Nehru**, saw science and technology together with socialism as the means to free people from their misery and ignorance.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the British allowed greater Indian participation in politics, provincial legislatures and cabinets. The Hindu nationalist

Mahatma Gandhi

He wore only a homespun loincloth and, to ward off the fierce heat, a wet Turkish towel piled upon his bald head. Thread wound continuously off the spinning wheel he operated. All the while he spoke to the steady stream of dignitaries filing into his hut. This frail man holding court in the poorest district of Bombay did not look like the most powerful man in all India. Yet with only a word, Mahatma Gandhi could send millions of men and women into the streets of India's cities to protest some British action. At his command Indians swarmed the police stations, demanding that the bewildered British arrest them. Many practically worshipped him.

Gandhi believed that a life devoted solely to the service of humanity must be free from possessions. Identifying with the poverty of India's masses, he gave away most of what he owned. His simple diet included no meat. On his many travels, he always went third class. Important trips required several third-class trains to carry him, his followers, and his goats. (Goat's milk was a mainstay of his diet.) An Indian poet once pointed out the high cost of keeping Gandhi in poverty.

The Mahatma's creed of nonviolence had no place for timidity. "I can no more preach nonviolence to a coward than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes," he said. "Nonviolence is the summit of bravery." The nonviolent person must also be humble and loving, Gandhi insisted. Once when in jail, he was ordered to find someone to clean the rest rooms. Instead, he did it himself. He taught his passive resisters that they must not have anger or hate, must not swear or fight back, and they must aid any British officials injured by Indians. According to Gandhi, the most efficient force is the most silent and subtle one. Nonviolence did not aim at destroying the tyrant, but in converting him. He idealistically believed that hard hearts could not fail to be touched by suffering without anger or malice.

After independence, a test greater than alleged British oppression came to Gandhi's philosophy. Indian Hindus and Muslims were killing one another. Could his passive philosophy conquer ancient religious hatred and fanaticism? Gandhi began a public fast for peace between the two groups. Frail and aged, he could not survive a long fast. Religious leaders met quickly and resolved some of their differences. However, this was the Mahatma's last struggle. He was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic a short time later.

party, the **Indian National Congress**, became increasingly powerful. During World War II, there were strikes and riots protesting Indian participation in that conflict and demanding that the British leave the country. The British put down this resistance. They needed a stronghold in that area because the Japanese had overrun most of Southeast Asia.

However, by the close of the war the British decided to grant independence. This posed a major problem because of the religious composi-

tion of India. By far the majority were Hindus, but a sizable minority were Muslims who had different beliefs and ways of life. The Muslims did not want to be part of a country ruled by the Hindus, but wanted to have their own instead.

The British tried to solve the dilemma by dividing the country into two states, **Pakistan** and the **Republic of India**. In July 1947, they both became free nations in the British Commonwealth.

The boundary divisions were unwise. Pakistan had the areas producing jute, cotton, and rice, while India had the factories to process these raw materials but lacked an adequate food supply. The political boundaries cut important canals and river systems. Each area contained large minorities, and a mass exodus of 10 million people occurred in late 1947. Untold suffering resulted as Hindus tried to move into India and Muslims into Pakistan. On both sides, religious fanatics committed terrible crimes that culminated in the assassination of Gandhi in 1948 because of his concern for the welfare of Indian Muslims.

The Republic of India cut its ties with the British crown in 1950 but remained within the "Commonwealth of Nations." (The term "British" was no longer used.) The new nation had a central government like that of Great Britain, and each state in the union also had legislatures and ministers. The constitution provided for the universal right to vote, equality of the sexes, civil rights, and the end of the **caste system**.

India functioned largely as a one-party system. The **Congress Party** dominated all branches of the government with Jawaharlal Nehru serving as prime minister until his death in May 1964.

After his death, the Congress Party lost its monopoly of power, even though Nehru's daughter, **Mrs. Indira Gandhi** (not related to Mohandas Gandhi), became prime minister in 1966. She was a skillful politician in her own right. In the years after 1966, political tensions and pressing social and economic problems chipped away at democracy in India. Though popular abroad, Mrs. Gandhi was unable to overcome these problems at home, and she was temporarily forced from power in 1977. She later returned and ruled with difficulty until she was assassinated in 1984 by two of her own bodyguards who opposed her government's treatment of **Sikhs**, a religious sect. Mrs. Gandhi was replaced by her son, **Rajiv Gandhi**, who was voted out of office in 1989 amid charges of corruption. While he was campaigning to regain office in 1991, he too was assassinated.

Since the murder of Rajiv Gandhi, control of the Indian government has vacillated between multiparty coalitions led by either the Congress Party or the Hindu-nationalist **Bharatiya Janata Party** (BJP). In March 1998, the BJP formed a coalition government led by Prime Minister **Atal Bihari Vajpayee**. Soon afterward, on May 11 and 13, 1998, India conducted a series of underground nuclear tests, resulting in the imposition of economic sanctions by the United States. In 1999 and 2001–2002, India and Pakistan clashed over **Kashmir** and Pakistan's support for Muslim separatists in Indian-controlled Kashmir.

Although India has great supplies of natural resources, most of its people suffer from a miserably low standard of living. Sluggish economic growth, overpopulation, and failure to make land reforms increase the grinding poverty. The Indian economy has seen in recent years, however, significant improvement due to liberalization of foreign trade and investment regulations. India has become a major exporter of software products and workers.

Indira Gandhi, 1918–1984

Pakistan. The problems of Pakistan were even greater. It began not as a nation but as a collection of racial and **linguistic** communities living in two territories separated geographically by 1,000 miles. Religion was the only common bond between East and West Pakistan.

After years of wrangling, a constitution was adopted in 1956 that defined Pakistan as an "Islamic republic." However, political democracy hardly existed here, as a series of strongmen ran the country. Under **General Mohammad Ayub Khan**, head of state from 1958 to 1969, some progress was made in economic development. But little was done to end the widespread political corruption or raise living standards.

Although more than half of the population lived in East Pakistan (formerly East Bengal) and most of the nation's income came from the jute industry there, the major part of the wealth went to

West Pakistan. East Pakistan contributed much to the expanding economy but did not receive its fair share of benefits. As the gap in personal income between the two widened, other problems arose. Political **discrimination**, social neglect, and West Pakistani contempt for the Bengalis further angered people in the East.

India-Pakistan War Creates Bangladesh. In 1971, the Bengalis revolted. In a deliberate campaign of **genocide**, the West Pakistanis murdered potential leaders among the Bengali population. This brought India into the conflict. A full-scale war between India and Pakistan followed, the bloodiest of the century there. Soon gaining the victory, India and the Bengalis set up a new government in East Pakistan in 1971 under the name of **Bangladesh** (Bengal Nation). Its leader, **Sheik Mujibur Rahman**, tried to make it a "secular, democratic, socialist state." So deep was the poverty that real economic development never took place. A famine of world-shocking proportions occurred not long after Bangladesh won independence. Rahman was assassinated in 1975 in a military coup led by **Khondaker Moshtaque Ahmed**, who was in turn overthrown by **General Ziaur Rahman**, who was assassinated in 1981. The nation sank even further into misery as the years passed and the government changed hands time and again through both violence and elections. A woman, **Begum Klaleda Ziaur Rahman**, widow of Ziaur Rahman, became the country's first female prime minister in 1991, the same year that a devastating cyclone left more than 125,000 dead and hundreds of thousands more threatened by famine and disease.

Angered by the British recognition of Bangladesh in 1971, **Pakistan** (the word "West" was dropped from the name) withdrew from the Commonwealth. A new leader, wealthy lawyer **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto**, emerged. Bhutto had held several cabi-

SOUTH ASIA TODAY
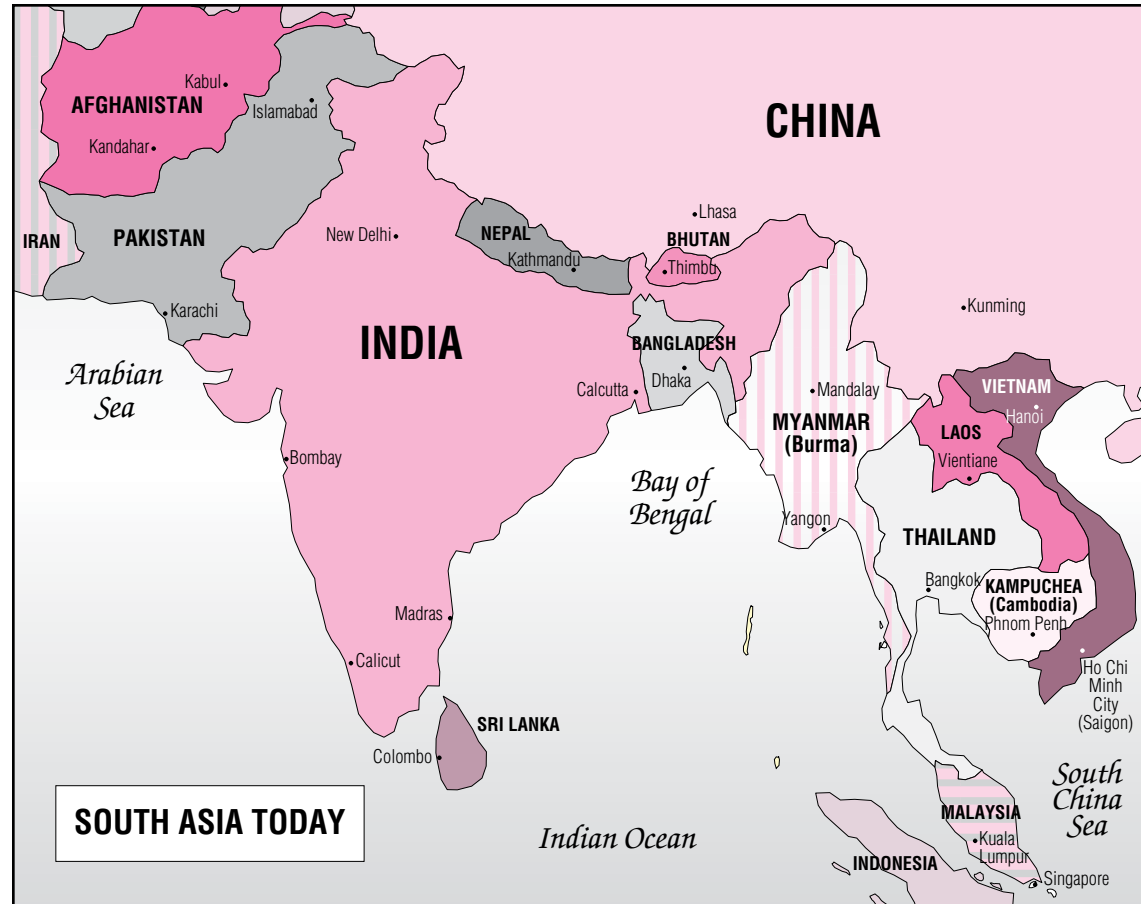
net posts under Ayub Khan and had created the opposition Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in 1967. When he came to power in 1971, he restored constitutional and civilian rule, announced a program of economic recovery that included land redistribution and nationalization of certain industries. He eventually **normalized** relations with India and Bangladesh. But political turmoil and economic uncertainty continued, especially in opposition to Bhutto's land redistribution and nationalization policies. He was finally ousted from power in a 1977 military coup led by **Muhammad Zia Ul-Haq**. Bhutto was tried for ordering the murder of a political opponent and later hanged.

Bhutto's wife, **Nusrat**, and his daughter, Benazir, assumed leadership of the PPP. Benazir was under house arrest or in exile from 1984 to 1986. In December 1988, after Zia's death and elections won by the PPP, **Benazir Bhutto** became prime minister and the first woman to head a modern Muslim state. She accomplished little and was dismissed by the president in 1990. Her party decisively lost the 1990 elections, but she

returned as prime minister after a narrow electoral victory in 1993. Her administration was dismissed again in 1996 over charges of corruption and mismanagement. The succeeding government proved to be unstable and was overthrown by the Pakistani Army. General **Pervez Mushareff** became ruler of Pakistan in 1999.

Pakistan's relationship with the United States in the late 1990s was rocky. Sanctions were placed on Pakistan after it conducted nuclear tests in May 1998—in response to India's earlier tests—and then more sanctions were added after the military overthrew the civilian government in 1999. However, Pakistan has provided significant help to the United States in its **War on Terrorism** since September 11, 2001, and so relations between the two countries have improved markedly.

Sri Lanka. In Ceylon and Burma, the British quickly accepted decolonization after World War II. At the outset, the island of Ceylon had a higher standard of living than India. Ceylon's successful economy was based on producing plantation crops—tea, rubber, and coconuts—for export. British rule had also left a good educational system. Ceylon had the highest literacy rate in South Asia.

The island had enjoyed considerable self-government since 1931, and in February 1948 it received independence and joined the Commonwealth. Then trouble arose between the Buddhist majority—known as **Sinhalese**—and the Hindu minority called **Tamils**, as well as between the rich and poor. When **S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike** was elected prime minister, he worked for socialism, nationalism, and trade with the communist bloc to increase exports. A great deal of violence followed, topped off by his assassination in 1959.

He was followed by his wife **Sirimavo**, the first woman in the world to hold the title of prime minister. Under Madame Bandaranaike, the socialist program unfolded, even as the economy weakened and the population mushroomed. She was defeated in 1965 but returned to power in 1970. The following year, her army and police put down a serious revolt led by young people. A new constitution was adopted in 1972, which renamed the country **Sri Lanka**. Since then little has been done to solve the nation's mounting social and economic problems. Ethnic violence between the Sinhalese and the Tamils emerged in the mid-1980s, with a group known as the **Tamil Tigers** fighting against the government to establish a separate Tamil state in Sri Lanka.

Burma (Myanmar). Burma had been part of British India until 1937 when it received a separate administration and a measure of self-government. In 1948, an independent **Republic of Burma** was founded. It was so strongly anti-Western that it refused to join the Commonwealth. While the strength of Buddhist tradition softened the harshness of this stand, the country looked to socialism to bring about modernization. Burma was deeply divided along political and tribal lines, and the central government was hard-pressed to hold the union together.

In 1962, **General U Ne Win** clamped military rule on the country and proclaimed the hard-line "Burmese Way to Socialism." All major trading and industrial activities and banks were nationalized under the management of army officers. The strict regime was unpopular, but the army was able to put down any revolts. Although politically independent of the great power blocs, it continued to be anti-Western. Even the Christian missionaries were sent home, but the churches thrived under national leadership.

A new constitution in 1974 strengthened the position of Ne Win and his then civilian government. He resigned in 1981 and turned power over to former army chief **U San Yu**, who was reelected in 1985. Ne Win retained his place as head of the ruling socialist party, the BSPP, until 1988. In that year, massive student and urban unrest began to surface. Ne Win stepped down and was replaced by a hard-liner who resigned 17 days later. Unrest continued and successive leaders cracked down hard on dissent.

In June 1989, Burma changed its name to **Myanmar** and its capital of Rangoon was renamed **Yangon**.

The opposition overwhelmingly won an election in 1990, but the military refused to turn over power. Opposition leader **Aung San See Kyi** was placed under house arrest.

From Nationalism to Communism in China

The fall of the Manchu (Ch'ing) Dynasty in China in 1911 marked the start of a long period of instability. A republican form of government was set up, but it had little effective control. Army commanders (often called warlords) divided the country among themselves. A state of anarchy resulted.

The republican leader and reformer, **Sun Yat-sen**, felt that help from the Soviet Union would be useful in rebuilding China. He agreed to remodel his **Nationalist Party** along communist lines in return for military aid. The Russians saw China as a good place to promote the worldwide revolution, so they encouraged the Chinese Communists to join with the Nationalists.

Soviet advisers helped the Nationalists set up a small but effective government in Canton. It was a "state within a state" that collected taxes, regu-

lated commerce, and developed its own army. The officers were trained at the Whampoa Military Academy headed by Sun's trusted friend and chosen heir, **Chiang Kai-shek**. Chiang had helped Sun in the revolution against the Manchus and had been sent to Moscow to learn Soviet skills and tactics. From the very beginning, the academy's secretary, **Chou En-lai**, trained Nationalist soldiers to organize the masses for class struggle, propaganda, and guerrilla warfare. After Sun's death in 1925, Chiang took over the Nationalist movement. In 1928, he led a successful campaign to crush the warlords in the north and finally unified China.

Principles of the People. Although he was not a successful political administrator, Sun became a legend and his ideas spread widely. His political philosophy can shed much light on the revolt of China and other non-Western peoples against the West. Sun believed in what he called the "**Three Principles of the People**." They were *nationalism, democracy,* and *livelihood*.

By *nationalism*, he meant the liberation of China from foreign influence and the transfer of people's loyalty from the family or province to the state. True freedom would come through the new national unity which would result. Lack of Chinese unity had allowed Westerners to control China's political and economic structure.

Democracy meant sovereignty of the people; in particular, government by those with ability. True democracy would come only at the end of the revolutionary struggle. First, military force would have to restore order. Then the people would have to be trained, but power was to be held by the party's revolutionary leaders. Only in the distant future would representative government become possible.

Chinese couple in Beijing

The principle of *livelihood* referred to the need for "material progress" and "social reform." Sun believed that something had to be done to divide China's land and wealth more equally among its people. He also wanted to end poverty and economic injustice.

Nationalist-Communist Conflicts. A split in the party occurred as the right-wing merchants, bankers, and officeholders became uneasy about excesses of left-wing radicals. Because Chiang needed financial help from the right wing, he decided to purge the left. He expelled the Russian advisers, drove the Communists out of the Nationalist Party, and took military action to crush communist groups hiding out in the mountains. Driven underground, the Communists sought support from the peasants with a program of land reform. In 1931, they proclaimed a "soviet republic" in southeast China. Chiang then launched a campaign against them. His forces surrounded them in 1934, but 90,000 managed to break out.

Led by **Mao Tse-tung** (**Zedong**), son of a well-to-do peasant and one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, the Communists carried out a trek of epic proportions. Known as the "**Long March**," it took 368 days and covered

6,000 miles of some of the most difficult terrain in the world. They fled to the safety of northwestern China and from there carried on a constant struggle against Chiang's Nationalists.

Chiang moved his capital to Nanking and set up a one-party dictatorship. In spite of the communist threat, he brought more unity to China than had existed since the eighteenth century. The Nationalists secured aid from abroad and worked to get rid of the treaties which had led to the control of China by Western nations. In this they succeeded.

But they did not carry out land reforms which many had demanded since the landlords who controlled the rural areas opposed any change. Chiang's authoritarian government prevented the growth of democracy and left little chance for expression of opposition. Government programs did not satisfy the land-hungry peasants and poverty-stricken city dwellers.

After Japan invaded China in 1937, the Nationalists and the Communists agreed on a temporary truce so they could fight their common enemy. However, the differences between them remained strong and the division became more obvious when Nationalist help slackened as the war against Japan drew to a close. They were saving resources and men for the struggle with the Communists.

The use of propaganda on both sides made it hard to evaluate the policies of Chiang and Mao. But it seemed that the Nationalists' program did not deal with corruption and self-seeking within their own ranks. Because the regime did not allow criticism, it further disappointed many of the intellectuals. Its soldiers, poorly commanded and undisciplined, terrorized the peasants almost as much as the Japanese had.

Communist Gains. The Communists, on the other hand, made a deliberate attempt to gain the backing of as many groups in Chinese society as possible. They were cautious about making outright attacks on landlords. But they created peasant goodwill by lowering rents and interest rates and starting small land "reforms" in areas under their control. Mao's forces took over many areas formerly held by Japan before the Nationalist government could reestablish its authority. Mao also gained large stocks of abandoned Japanese weapons.

After the Second World War, the United States tried desperately to bring the two groups together. **President Truman**, fearing that the Soviets would support the Communists, sent **General George C. Marshall** to China in December 1945 as a mediator. His efforts a failure, Marshall returned home a year later, frustrated and disillusioned. With the help of American forces, Chiang soon regained control over the main cities. But then he made a strategic blunder. Rejecting the counsel of his American advisers, he attacked the Communists entrenched in Manchuria.

A military disaster resulted. Chiang overextended his lines without gaining solid control over the rest of China. Throughout 1948 and 1949, the Communists rapidly pushed the Nationalist forces southward. After pouring in nearly $3 billion worth of military and economic aid, the United States had to give up. Chiang's armies collapsed and took refuge on the offshore island of **Formosa** (Taiwan). There Chiang resettled the government of the **Republic of China**, while in Peking (Beijing) on October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the start of the **People's Republic of China**.

In the years after 1949, the Communists rid China of all foreign influences and radically

Making a Society Communist

How can an entire society make a radical break with its past and move in a new direction? That was the challenge facing Mao when he took control of China. He decided to start with the nation's children.

Beginning in nursery school, students learned songs and verses about the goals and values of communism. In elementary schoolrooms decorated with red flags and pictures of Chairman Mao, teachers led their classes in getting rid of old ideas, customs, and culture. Students were encouraged to destroy the three powers of the past—husband's power, father's power, and religious power. If parents told their children anything contrary to the teachings of Chairman Mao, the children were urged to obey Mao and criticize their parents. Many young people persuaded their families to make changes such as replacing tablets of the ancestors (used in ancestor worship) with pictures of Mao. Young people taught their families what they had learned at school, and the revolution thus touched nearly every home in China.

Through constant propaganda and the carefully controlled mass media, people heard the new ideas. Workers had to attend evening classes in Maoist thought. Reeducation centers were opened to correct the thinking of people with "wrong ideas." Criticism by one's fellow workers or family members often caused a person to be chosen for "reeducation." In order to achieve equality in society and to acquaint young people with the basis of the revolution, all students spent two years working on a farm or in a factory. Professional people who showed any signs of bourgeois thinking often received the same assignment for a year or two.

These measures had a profound effect on Chinese life. The people paid a great price in the loss of personal freedom, but the communist revolution there was one of the most thorough in history.

transformed the state and society. Claiming that Christianity was tied both to Western colonialism and American anticommunism, Mao's people wiped out 100 years of sacrificial and fruitful missionary work. They closed the churches, took over the Christian schools and hospitals, and persecuted believers. The new political order extended its authority into every household. Collective farms and industrialization affected family life and economic structures. Confucian ideals were replaced by communist aspirations.

The fall of the Nationalist regime in China started a controversy in the United States. The "**China lobby**" argued for increasing arms and technical aid to Chiang, as well as sending troops to help him defend Taiwan and reconquer the mainland. Another faction wanted to accept the communist victory, recognize the Communist government (as Great Britain did at once), and give it the Chinese seat in the United Nations. They hoped that Chinese nationalism would ward off Soviet domination.

As the years passed, differences between Soviet and Chinese communism emerged. It is likely that the split was primarily a personal power struggle between Mao and Stalin for world leadership of the communist movement. This struggle for leadership intensified after Stalin died and Mao felt that, as leader of the largest communist nation on earth, he should be the helmsman. But there were ideological differences as well. Whereas the Russians clung to Lenin's idea that the urban *proletariat* must lead the movement, Mao assigned the leading role to the peasants. He also had a vision of a communist order where all people were equal and individuals were motivated by a desire to serve society rather than by personal gain. Mao attacked the Soviet Union because of its bureaucratic elite and the great differences in personal income there. During

China's **Great Leap Forward** (1958), and also in the **Cultural Revolution** (1966–1969), Russia was criticized through the use of slogans like "Organization Without Bureaucracy" and "Serve the People."

A major public break came in 1960 at a world conference of communist parties in Moscow. The Soviets withdrew their technical experts from China and all visible cooperation between the two came to a standstill. A propaganda war followed as each side hurled harsh words at the other.

The Chinese had a blueprint for revolution which rejected advanced technology and political caution. Chairman Mao accused the Russians of giving up the class struggle, and he called Nikita Khrushchev's "coexistence" ideas appeasement. "Man, not weapons, decides the issue of war," he declared. Russia had a cowardly and uncharacteristic fear of nuclear war and a selfish desire to rule the world. Chou En-lai even stated in 1973 that the Soviets had backslidden into "social imperialism."

Meanwhile, the prime domestic task of the communists, after coming to power, was to rebuild the country's economy. Severe austerity measures were imposed to slow inflation, restore communications, and impose social order. Collectivization of agriculture and reorganization of industry were given priority in carefully constructed short-term plans. By 1958, however, planning became less cautious; and Mao introduced the fast-paced **Great Leap Forward** campaign. The program was intended to demonstrate that China could catch up with British industrial output in 15 years and surpass the Soviet Union in achieving a perfected communist society. Mao exhorted the masses to heroic efforts. Massive dislocations of agriculture and industry took place as Mao attempted to blast modernization forward with all due haste. Rigid economic controls were imposed, but the

Great Leap was so disorganized and badly planned that the economy fell into chaos. Because farmers had been forced into large-scale and backyard industries, food production collapsed. Famines and other economic dislocations were so severe that more than 30 million Chinese lost their lives, making this experiment one of the worst cases of mass human destruction the world has ever known. Mao was discredited because of the fiasco and was replaced as head of state by **Liu Shaoqi**, although he remained head of the Communist Party.

The **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** of the late 1960s, the ideological counterpart of the Great Leap Forward, was Mao's attempt to regain

A Mao personality cult was spread throughout China during the 'Cultural Revolution.'

his former stature as a leading revolutionary. But it had similar disastrous results. By the mid-Sixties, Mao's influence had begun to diminish under competition from those who wanted a more reasoned approach to both economic and political problems. Mao and his supporters used the Cultural Revolution to finally eradicate what they believed to be the vestiges of *bourgeois* thinking within the revolution. Ideas, customs, and daily practices came under glaring scrutiny in every corner. Students calling themselves **Red Guards** sparked street demonstrations, riots, and other violent actions in order to stir up fervor for Mao's radical revolutionary doctrines. Large numbers of government, educational, cultural, political, and party leaders were purged or executed. Thousands of innocent people were saddled with trumped-up charges and often brutalized. Violence and bloodshed swept throughout the country as various factions battled one another. During the height of the radical revolutionary fervor, China tested a hydrogen bomb, sending nervous shivers throughout the rest of the world. Riots inspired by the Red Guards in Hong Kong also provoked fear in other countries of Asia. When some of the attacks were directed at pro-Soviet factions in China, Moscow denounced the whole affair, touching off new denunciations against the U.S.S.R. by Peking. Cross-border skirmishes followed.

As the chaos reached major proportions, the government finally called in **Lio Piao**, a close comrade of Mao, to begin restoring order. The army began to intervene in the street violence, and a network of "revolutionary committees" was set up within the central government and in the provinces and party to restore unity and reason. Red Guard units were disbanded. Yet Mao, who had touched off the fiasco, seemed to have consolidated his power and influence and gained new strength. In fact, his stature was raised to

near divinity within Chinese communism and his doctrines were institutionalized as tantamount to a religion. When Mao died, moderate leaders, including **Deng Xiaoping**, purged the most vicious of the Cultural Revolution leaders, whom they called the Gang of Four. These included Mao's widow, **Chiang Ch'ing** (Jiang Qing). She and **Zhang Chunqiao** were sentenced to death, but their sentences were later reduced to life imprisonment. Chiang Ch'ing was released in 1987, but committed suicide in 1991.

After the deaths of Chou En-lai and Mao in 1976, the Chinese tried to strengthen their position against the Soviet Union by establishing friendlier relations with the industrial powers, especially Japan and the United States. Late in 1978, this process reached a climax when U.S. **President Jimmy Carter** announced to a startled world that the United States and China had agreed to normalize relations after almost thirty years of suspicion and hostility. That step opened the door to increased trade and cooperation. In addition, China would receive American technological help in modernizing its industry. Western business interests poured in through the new open door, drooling over the prospect of new markets in the most populous nation on earth, a market with a massive pent-up desire for a better material life.

Renewed Repression. Along with this desire for material development, the new Chinese leaders seemed to be willing to make policy changes, including liberalization of political thinking. Encouraged by this perception, democrats, liberals, and dissidents within China launched new expressions toward reform. By the late 1980s, communist regimes in other parts of the world were beginning to topple and a new wave of hope for political freedom swept through China. Students called for changes in policy and began to

openly act on reforms. In April 1989, a large group of students began to gather in Beijing's (Peking) central **Tiananmen Square**, at first in quiet expressions of hope and soon in joyous outbreaks of democratic fervor. After several days, the hopeful crowd of youths and other citizens, by then numbering in the thousands, were astonished by the sudden appearance of military forces, including tanks. The guns erupted and more than 2,000 of the demonstrators were massacred. There followed several months and years of renewed political repression. Leaders of the democratization movement who did not manage to flee the country were arrested, harassed, tried and imprisoned.

The new crackdown brought cries of disappointment and protest for a time from Western leaders, who attacked China for its repression of human rights. But the earlier opening of China to Western commercial and economic interests had by then become too deeply entrenched, and the leaders of Western nations found it difficult to press the human rights issue too deeply. By the mid-1990s, economic liberalization was again growing substantially in China, especially in the southern provinces, where experiments with small-scale capitalism were again evident.

Some of the economic liberalization may have been related to China's negotiated takeover of the former European colonies of **Hong Kong** (British) in 1997 and **Macau** (Portuguese) in 1999. They have become two of Asia's most prosperous and highly technological free-enterprise centers and stand in stark contrast to much of China's backwardness and repression. Although both territories were given guarantees of a high degree of local autonomy, there are signs that China actually exercises considerable influence over them.

Economic liberalization in China does not seem to be matched by religious tolerance. Substantial

repression of unregistered religious activity continues and is periodically increased. The Christian church in China had been growing into the tens of millions despite decades of persecution. The government sought to control the growth and character of religion by establishing official Protestant and Catholic religious institutions. Unauthorized house churches sprang up by the thousands throughout the country, but a limited availability of Bibles, Christian literature, pastors, and teachers hampered the work of these churches. Christians have also resisted the government's forced-abortion and sterilization policies, all part of a program to limit family size to one child.

Communist Advances in Asia

The Korean War (1950–1953). What had originally caused American attitudes toward communist China to harden was the Korean question. Two generations of Japanese rule had left the Koreans without the needed experience for self-government. At the Yalta Conference, it was proposed that a **trusteeship** consisting of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China be set up for Korea. However, the Cold War froze relations among those powers, and the Far East now had its own version of the Iron Curtain, the **Bamboo Curtain**.

The Soviet-American division of Korea became fixed at the 38th parallel. In 1948, two rival Korean regimes appeared, each claiming sovereignty over the whole country and each supported by one of the superpowers. In the south was the **Republic of Korea** under **Syngman Rhee** and in the north the **Democratic People's Republic of Korea** led by **Kim Il-sung**.

General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964) was a brilliant military leader and Christian statesman.

In 1950, North Koreans equipped by the Soviet Union invaded South Korea. The United Nations Security Council quickly denounced the move and called upon U.N. members to aid the Republic of Korea. President Truman then ordered American forces into Korea. Eventually 40 countries sent some sort of aid, with 16 actually placing troops directly under U.N. command. The U.N. force was directed by **General Douglas MacArthur**, the hero of the American Pacific campaign during World War II.

At first it seemed that the U.N. forces would be driven out of the peninsula, but on September 15, 1950, MacArthur landed a marine division 200 miles behind enemy lines at Inchon. It recaptured the South Korean capital, Seoul, and cut North Korean communications. After the U.N. General Assembly ordered that a democratic government be established to govern all of Korea, MacArthur's forces moved north, seized the communist capital of Pyongyang, and

reached the Yalu River, the border of Manchuria. MacArthur wanted to carry the fight into Manchuria in an effort to defeat communism once and for all, but his proposals were rejected by President Truman, who preferred a negotiated settlement. Truman's military **Chief of Staff General Omar Bradley**, speaking for the administration, said MacArthur's plan to smash communism beyond Korea would escalate the conflict, provoking "the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." A disgruntled MacArthur stepped outside usual military protocol and publicly criticized the administration. An angry Truman relieved him of duties and replaced him with **General Matthew Ridgeway** as commander of the U.N. forces.

On October 4, 1950, the Chinese politburo decided to intervene in the Korean War, although a full-fledged Chinese attack on U.N. forces did not occur until late November. Over 300,000 Chinese troops, along with limited Soviet air support, came to the aid of North Korea. Long months of bloodshed followed, but eventually a stalemate set in at about the 38th parallel, where the war had begun. Fighting continued through the stormy negotiations until an armistice was signed in July 1953. A **Demilitarized Zone**, a buffer strip along the North-South border, was established in the end, but little else was accomplished by the tragic engagement. More than 54,000 Americans lost their lives in this conflict, the first major war operation conducted by U.S. troops without an official declaration of war, as the American Constitution requires. It was also the first major example of armed conflict under the banner of the new would-be world government, the United Nations.

The war left widespread devastation in the countryside and thousands of orphans, a tragedy

which prompted a number of Western charitable groups and missionaries to enter the country and begin works of mercy and evangelistic outreach. Evangelism progressed slowly at first against entrenched Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism. But important spiritual foundations were laid, and South Korea eventually acquired a large and active Christian population.

The Korean peninsula remained relatively quiet for the next four decades, although there were periodic disturbances across the Demilitarized Zone, leftist student demonstrations in South Korea, and an occasional crisis. One such crisis occurred in 1968 when North Korea captured an American intelligence ship, the USS *Pueblo*, and held its crew hostage for a time, until a committee of American patriots, led by Chicago-area clergyman **Paul Lindstrom** (1939–2002), pressured authorities into securing their release. Tensions increased again in the 1970s when the North infiltrated the South with secret agents in an attempt to establish a grass-roots communist uprising. The attempt failed, and the United States increased military aid to South Korea.

Suddenly in 1994, North Korea again precipitated a crisis when Western sources learned that the repressive and erratic communist regime was developing nuclear weapons, in violation of international accords which it had previously signed. Following threats from the United States, North Korea agreed to negotiate over the nuclear issue. The negotiations resulted in the United States and other nations agreeing to develop new, less dangerous nuclear power plants for North Korea. In exchange, North Korea had to shut down its current nuclear program, and pledge not to develop any nuclear weapons—from which it was already prohibited. In the middle of the crisis, the dictator **Kim Il-sung**, who had ruled North Korea with an iron fist since 1948, died.

He was replaced by his son, who was reputed to be equally repressive but mentally unstable. In October 2002, another nuclear crisis arose when North Korea admitted that it was running a secret nuclear weapons program, violating earlier agreements. North Korea went on to expel United Nations weapons inspectors and, in January 2003, to withdraw from the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty**.

North Korea's long decades of isolation from the rest of the world and its doctrinaire adherence to communist orthodoxy, revolutionary terrorism, and religious oppression resulted in severely stunted development for the country. In contrast, South Korea's economic and social development soared in the closing decades of the twentieth century, making it a major economic and technological power along the Pacific Rim.

NORTHEAST ASIA TODAY

Evangelical Christianity, finally reaping the fruits of the early missionary efforts, also experienced a period of massive growth in South Korea in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Some of the largest churches in the world, predominantly Presbyterian, were established in that country, and the church there developed a worldwide reputation for its powerful prayer ministries. Single evangelistic gatherings of more than a million people were reported. Regrettably, South Korea also spawned a troublesome and fast-growing international religious cult, the **Unification Church**, under **Sun Myung Moon**, a staunch anticommunist who considered himself a latter-day Christ figure. Moon became fabulously rich and bought or established major business enterprises, including a leading newspaper and news magazine in Washington, D.C., before he was arrested and imprisoned on various criminal charges. His followers were popularly known as "Moonies."

The Struggle for Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, the communist advance in Southeast Asia had been a matter of deep concern to the Western powers. Communists had been active in Malaya since 1948 and in French Indochina since 1946. The United States made mutual security pacts with the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand in 1951 and did its best to keep communist China isolated.

Southeast Asia was the flank still uncovered, and the situation there was very complex. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, the French decided to form a union of countries in French Indochina—Laos, Cambodia, and a new independent state to be called Vietnam. This area had rich resources, both human and natural. In the northern part of Vietnam, a nationalist leader with communist leanings, **Ho Chi Minh**, had seized control. Then in 1946, his party won an election there. The French, unwilling to deal with the idea of full

Vietnamese independence, rejected Ho and, in 1949, established **Emperor Bao Dai** (1913–1997) as ruler of Vietnam. Ho naturally refused to accept the new regime and started a long guerrilla war to gain independence from France. The war is known as the **First Indochina War**.

In 1950, the Chinese and Russians recognized Ho as the legitimate ruler of Vietnam, and the Americans began sending economic and military aid to the French. Even with U.S. aid, the French and Vietnamese forces could not stop the guerrillas. Disaster finally overtook the French effort at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. France then asked the United States for direct help, and **Secretary of State John Foster Dulles** even suggested using nuclear weapons. But **President Eisenhower** decided not to act so rashly.

In June 1954, France sought a cease-fire; and eventually, at a conference in Geneva, a settlement was worked out. Over American protests, even communist China came to the meetings. The United States later refused to sign the final agreement because Dulles did not want Vietnam placed under communist rule. However, the Americans did state that they would not use force to "disturb" the settlement.

The agreement divided Vietnam along the 17th parallel and called for French withdrawal from the entire area. The northern part became the **Democratic Republic of Vietnam** ruled by Ho Chi Minh, while the southern part, the **Republic of Vietnam**, remained under Emperor Bao Dai. Neither one was to join a military alliance or receive new military aid. An international commission was created to supervise the armistice and the all-Vietnam elections to be held in 1956. But in 1955, **Ngo Dinh Diem** overthrew Bao Dai and set up an authoritarian regime in the South. The elections never took place.

The Vietnam War

Soon the conflict turned into a hot war with American arms and advisers helping President Diem in his struggle against the southern-based communist **Viet Cong** guerrillas. Although greatly outnumbered at first, the Viet Cong were aided by public anger over Diem's harsh regime and by supplies from North Vietnam. In December 1960, the Viet Cong formed their own government, the **National Liberation Front**. It set up local councils to govern areas of South Vietnam under its control, built factories to make weapons, and secured ammunition, medical supplies, and money. Arms came from Russia and China over a system of roads and trails known as the **Ho Chi Minh Trail**.

The Viet Cong were so successful that **President Kennedy** stepped up military aid to South Vietnam. American statesmen feared that if the Communists were not stopped here, all the countries of Southeast Asia would fall under their rule like a row of dominoes. The idea became known as the **Domino Theory** and it was advanced as the primary reason for increasing U.S. involvement in the war. Then Diem was assassinated in November 1963 (the same month and year that Kennedy was assassinated), and South Vietnamese army generals put the country under military rule. In 1964, North Vietnamese patrol boats attacked two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. The United States forces sank two torpedo-boats and bombed their bases and oil storages in the first American attack on North Vietnam.

After this incident, **President Johnson** asked Congress for power to take all necessary steps to stop armed attacks against United States forces

Helicopter-borne troops were used extensively during the Vietnam War.

and to prevent further aggression. Congress voted overwhelming approval. Though it technically fell short of a formal declaration of war, the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution** became the chief legal basis for American involvement in Vietnam. From this point on, the action grew in intensity as the United States and North Vietnam brought in more and more forces. By 1968, more than a half million American troops were in Vietnam. More bombs had been dropped than in World War II, and large sections of the country had been laid waste. But the will of the North and its client insurgents in the South, the Viet Cong, had not been broken. By early 1968, they launched the dramatic **Tet** (New Year) **Offensive** that took the Americans and South Vietnamese by surprise. While the communist offensive was ultimately defeated, it contributed significantly to the war-weariness in the United States.

The "Revolution" Sweeps America. As the casualties mounted, the Vietnam struggle became increasingly unpopular in the United States. Eventually it became the longest war in American history. Left-wing critics insisted that American

imperialism and sinister business interests had brought the United States into the war, but it is difficult to take their arguments seriously. It is more correct to say that the Americans did not see this was essentially a civil war. Most observers agreed that the regime in South Vietnam was corrupt and undemocratic and had done little to win the hearts of the people. Even the Christian community in Vietnam was divided over which side to support. Supporters of the war were motivated by a desire to contain communism and thwart the revolutionary agenda of the international communist movement. Communist revolutionary spirit, in fact, was just at this time sweeping through the United States. Racial riots fanned by class-warfare rhetoric devastated several major American cities, including Los Angeles, Detroit, and Newark. Certain student groups and other radical youth organizations, such as the **Weather Underground** and **Black Panthers**, formed terrorist groups which carried out violent demonstrations and bombings. Leftist protesters calling for overthrow of the government and revolutionary changes to American society staged mass street actions and demonstrations on college campuses. At Kent State University, Ohio National Guard troops opened fire at demonstrators and several students were killed. The Kent State incident reverberated through society, raising to fever pitch the entire spectrum of volatile debate over the Vietnam War, civil rights, and a growing "counterculture."

This counterculture (or "hippie") was characterized by nonconformist dress, use of mind-altering drugs, depraved sexual attitudes and practices, unrestricted expression, youthful rebellion, nontraditional poetry, and hedonistic "rock 'n' roll" music. Similar disruptions occurred in Europe and other parts of the Western world. The Soviet Union stepped up its worldwide "peace movement" propaganda efforts against the United

States, as communist agents of influence infiltrated university campuses and faculties. A black university professor in California, **Angela Davis**, an avowed communist, became the focal point of the radical intellectual community when she was put on trial for her part in violent protests. Among the sympathizers and activists of the leftist movement were several celebrities, most notable and controversial of whom was Hollywood actress **Jane Fonda**. She outraged servicemen and supporters of the war by traveling to North Vietnam, meeting with communist leaders there, and denouncing American soldiers even as many of her captured countrymen were being brutalized in prisons nearby.

In March 1968, Johnson ordered a halt to bombing of the North and announced his retirement. During his Democratic Party's presidential nominating convention in Chicago that year, a massive violent demonstration broke out in the streets, adding to the nation's agonizing over the war. Pledging to spend his last months in office working for peace in Vietnam, Johnson began negotiating a settlement. In November, **Richard Nixon** was elected president on a platform of peace. He ordered the first withdrawal of American troops in June 1969. He called on the "Silent Majority" of Americans to support his initiatives toward an "honorable peace," but by then Americans were against the war by a ratio of 2 to 1, according to public opinion surveys. Reports of 300 civilian deaths at a village called My Lai at the hand of U.S. troops reinforced claims by opponents of the war that it was a brutal and pointless affair from which the United States should withdraw.

Announcing a new policy, Nixon stated that America would help defend its allies and friends, but would no longer "undertake all the defense." American ground combat troops in Vietnam were to be removed, the South Vietnamese forces strengthened, and more stress put upon bombing and technological warfare. The American strategy of *détente* (see chapter 13), which began to govern U.S. foreign policy at this time, was constructed to solve the Vietnam quagmire. Secretary of State Kissinger conceptualized the strategy, believing that by harmonizing relations with the Soviets through trade, cultural exchanges, and arms-limitations agreements, Moscow could be turned into a friend and give up its support for Hanoi. The "China card" overtures were also designed to give the United States an option in Southeast Asia if the Soviets demurred. Nixon and Kissinger believed that this diplomatic strategy would allow the United States to save face and extricate itself from Vietnam, producing "peace with honor." Peace talks over ending the war were set up in Paris; but the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives managed to stall and tied up the talks repeatedly. They refused every attempt to gain concessions. The South Vietnamese also showed little interest in negotiations, though the RVN (Republic of Vietnam) troops remained poorly motivated and ineffective on the battlefield.

Ultimately, the "**Nixon Doctrine**" failed to bring peace, and the war spread into Cambodia and Laos. As peace talks dragged on into 1972, the bombing of North Vietnam and Cambodia was resumed. Finally both sides agreed to a cease-fire on January 27, 1973, and the remaining American ground forces began to pull out. Although an international commission supervised the cease-fire, considerable fighting continued and the North and South both tried to seize territory before the peace terms were to be implemented.

Nixon's position was severely weakened beginning in 1973 when a scandal known as **Watergate** broke loose in Washington, D.C., implicating his administration and possibly himself in illegal political activities. Opponents in Congress took advantage of the situation and passed laws limiting the president's authority to prosecute the war. This virtually guaranteed an end to U.S. involvement, both in terms of military participation and economic aid to the tottering and corrupt South Vietnamese government.

In early 1975, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched a full-scale offensive. The American Congress rejected a request by the new U.S. president, **Gerald Ford** (who took office after Nixon resigned in disgrace), for more aid to the South. This loss of further aid was the crippling blow and South Vietnam's **President Thieu** was forced to capitulate. He resigned and fled the country. Communist troops captured Saigon, the South Vietnamese capital, and thousands of people fled into exile. As the victors were bearing down, the last remaining American personnel were evacuated by helicopter from the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon, a humiliating spectacle that was a sad ending to America's first outright defeat in wartime. The two Vietnams were then united into one country, with its capital at Hanoi. (Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City.) At the same time, Cambodia fell to the brutal communist insurgents, the **Khmer Rouge**. The communist **Pathet Lao** took over the government in Laos after South Vietnam fell. There seemed to be some momentary validity to the Domino Theory.

Aftermath of the War. The statistics of the war were bleak: 58,000 Americans were dead; 2 million to 3 million Indochinese were killed; three times more U.S. bombs were dropped than in both theaters of World War II; the countryside in Indochina was laid waste. The war cost the United States more than $150 billion, yet all was lost, even though American troops had never lost a major battle of the war.

At first American citizens seemed to reject the returning Vietnam War veterans as symbols of the nation's defeat in a mistaken war. By 1982, the wounds began to heal. A highly popular new president, **Ronald Reagan**, had been elected in 1980 and rallied the nation with new calls for old-fashioned patriotism. The dedication of a Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., finally began to bring veterans some belated recognition. Although the slogan "No More Vietnams" was still frequently voiced, Reagan returned the nation to a policy and active course of intervening against communism internationally. He referred to the Soviet Union as an "Evil Empire."

Although Vietnam itself had been officially unified, the country remained in turmoil. Some 200,000 supporters of the former Southern regime were interred in "reeducation camps," where up to 10,000 remained for more than a decade. Agriculture was collectivized, and the usual deepening impoverishment followed. In

After the Communists took all of Vietnam, many South Vietnamese attempted to flee by boat.

1978, China attacked Vietnam. More than 1.4 million Vietnamese, including many of Chinese descent, fled by sea. It was believed that as many as 50,000 such "boat people" perished in the process. Nearly three-quarters of a million Vietnamese resettled in the United States.

In Cambodia, the abjectly brutal despot **Pol Pot** took over after the war. His regime murdered or starved more than 1.5 million of the country's 7.5 million people. Pol Pot's guerrillas began harassing Vietnam, which invaded Cambodia in 1978 and installed a puppet government. The Vietnamese army occupied Cambodia, in violation of the U.N. Charter; the U.N. and many Western countries halted development aid. Vietnam turned for help to its longtime sponsor, the U.S.S.R., which had established military bases there. Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia and its slowness in accounting for 2,500 Americans still missing in action during the war prompted the United States to withhold recognition. In an effort to change recognition and secure aid, Vietnam withdrew from Cambodia in 1989 and agreed to cooperate on the MIA (soldiers "missing in action") issue. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Vietnam increased its effort to normalize relations with the United States, China, and other nations in Southeast Asia. It opened its war archives in 1992 to improve relations with the U.S. The trade embargo was lifted in 1994, and **President Bill Clinton** normalized relations with Vietnam in 1995. Yet Vietnam remained a thoroughly communist country, with an especially bad record on human rights. Christians and their pastors were frequently targets of persecution as enemies of the revolution.

Independence on the Pacific Rim

Australia and New Zealand. By World War II, only a few places in the southwestern Pacific and Southeast Asia were really independent. Australia and New Zealand were white-settlement areas which had developed much like Canada and the United States. The native people had all but disappeared from the scene, and Asian immigration was not allowed. With almost wholly British populations, the countries kept close economic and political ties with the mother country until recent years. Then they began drawing closer to the United States and Japan. The Australians, however, tended to be more nationalistic and independence-minded than the New Zealanders. Both were strongly committed to political and social democracy.

Thailand. A third independent nation was Siam, or Thailand (Land of the Free). During the 1920s and 1930s, it struggled with the problem of Chinese influence. Fearing its giant northern neighbor and the economic power of its large Chinese minority, it took an anticommunist stand after 1945 and leaned heavily upon American aid. This made the military regime extremely vulnerable to leftist criticism and **subversion**, especially with the end of the Vietnam War and American withdrawal from Southeast Asia. The Thais adopted a more neutral policy after 1975.

Internally, Thailand was a politically divided nation into the 1990s. The government changed hands several times, including through a bloodless coup in 1977 and another in 1991. A non-elected military prime minister was installed after elections under a new constitution in 1992. Widespread protests followed, but they were bru-

The Grand Palace in Bangkok, Thailand

tally suppressed by the army. That forced the prime minister to step down and the king appointed a transitional civilian prime minister to head the government. Pro-democracy parties won a majority in the 1992 elections and a civilian government was formed by **Chuan Leekpai**. In January 2001, telecommunications multimillionaire **Thaksin Shinawatra** won an overwhelming victory on a populist platform of economic growth and development.

The Philippines. After acquiring the Philippines in 1898 from Spain, following the Spanish-American War, the United States put down a bitter native rebellion. Then the Americans began preparing the country for independence. They gave the Filipinos a measure of self-government in 1916. Meanwhile, farmers in the United States, who resented Philippine competition, firmly backed moves to grant full independence. A congressional measure in 1934 provided for a transitional period of American rule which could lead to independence in 1945.

In the meantime, General MacArthur was directed to make the Philippine armed forces strong enough to defend their homeland. In late 1941, the Japanese attacked. Although they put up a good fight, the Filipinos were overwhelmed by the vastly larger Japanese force. The Japanese tried to pose as liberators, but they exploited the Filipinos. After the war was over, the Americans honored their promise by proclaiming independence in 1946, only one year behind schedule.

Although the Philippines received much American aid, powerful landlords and a long, drawn-out struggle with communist rebels slowed economic development. Only halting efforts were made to build real democracy. The country's close ties with the United States gradually loosened in the 1960s and 1970s as it pursued a more nationalist and neutralist course. After **Ferdinand Marcos** was elected president in 1965, the regime actually became more authoritarian in the face of a Muslim revolt in the south, student unrest, and a communist insurgency in many rural areas, particularly in the province of Mindanao. By declaring martial law, he was able to restore law and order as well as social and economic reforms. Martial law was lifted in 1981, by which time Marcos had amassed considerable power. His critics charged that he and his family were enriching themselves at the expense of the poor and the national treasury.

In 1983, Marcos' chief political rival, leftist **Benigno S. Aquino, Jr.**, was assassinated as he was returning from exile. A wave of popular protest arose and Marcos loyalists were accused of complicity in the killing. In legislative elections during 1984, the opposition gained ground. At the same time, the communist insurgency grew. Marcos called for elections in hopes of boosting his political mandate. Aquino's widow, **Corazon Aquino**, who had the backing of the Roman Catholic Church and the business community, claimed victory. But the National Assembly declared Marcos the winner. Mrs. Aquino launched a campaign of nonviolent resistance, and her supporters charged the Marcos regime with political fraud. In February 1984, both Marcos and Mrs. Aquino held presidential inauguration ceremonies. Crowds turned out to protect the dissident leaders, and the United States put pressure on Marcos to resign. Marcos left the Philippines for exile in the United States a few days later. The U.S. government immediately recognized Mrs. Aquino as the head of the government.

Despite popular support, Mrs. Aquino faced substantial obstacles in her attempts to restructure the government, restore civil rights, boost free enterprise, and recover public moneys which she claimed the Marcos family and political cronies had stolen. She was unable to control the insurgents or to halt government corruption. There were several coup attempts after Marcos died in 1989. A six-month state of emergency was declared in 1989, and dissidence was quelled with the help of the U.S. military. Since the Aquino administration, the Philippines has experienced a series of reasonably peaceful, democratic presidential elections.

In 1990, Mount Pinatubo, a volcano near the U.S. Clark Air Force Base, erupted, forcing the base to be abandoned. The Philippine Senate refused to renew a lease for the Subic Bay Naval Base, further loosening ties between the Philippines and its longtime patron, the United States. The last U.S. military and naval units left Philippine soil in 1992, ending nearly a century of presence. In 1996, the government and the **Moro National Liberation Front**, the major Muslim guerrilla movement, signed a peace treaty, ending a 20-year war in which over 50,000 people had died. Not all Islamist groups have made peace, however. The **Abu Sayyaf** Islamic group has continued terrorist activities in the southern islands of the Philippines. The United States has provided assistance to Filipino forces as part of the War on Terrorism.

Malaysia and Singapore. The British had ruled the Malayan peninsula, which was rich in tin and rubber, since the eighteenth century. Large numbers of Indians and Chinese moved there and produced a complex racial mixture. The Japanese captured the peninsula during World War II, but the British regained control after the war. A communist rebellion which began in 1948 was put down nearly a decade later, and an independent **Federation of Malaya**, including Malaya and Singapore, was created in 1957. This became **Malaysia** in 1963 with the addition of British possessions on the island of Borneo. **Singapore** withdrew two years later and became a separate state.

In 1969, rioting between Malays and Chinese brought down the government of **Tanku Abdul Rahman**. Sporadic Chinese-Malay tensions continued into the late 1980s, when the leaders of the unrest were outlawed and imprisoned. They were all released in 1989. A **New Economic Policy**, launched in 1971, was declared a success twenty years later, as the government announced it had alleviated poverty and brought about greater economic unity among rival ethnic groups.

Since 1959, Singapore's politics and government had been completely dominated by **Lee Kuan Yew** and his **People's Action Party**. In 1991, the constitution was revised to increase the power of the presidency. The power of the PAP was diminished somewhat in elections during 1991. In 1993, **Ong Ten Cheong** became Singapore's first directly elected president.

Since its independence in 1965, Singapore has become a major financial and industrial power. It has one of the highest living standards in Asia. The government closely manages the economy and takes a paternalistic approach to law and order. Singapore has maintained a strong pro-Western foreign policy, and its stature increased

SOUTHEAST ASIA TODAY

as the specter of Chinese communist takeover of the other main capitalist commercial center of Asia, Hong Kong, loomed in the late 1990s.

Hong Kong. The longtime British colony of Hong Kong had been eyed by China for many years. The Chinese staged riots there during the Cultural Revolution in 1967 and declared that treaties governing Hong Kong were invalid because they had been imposed by force. However, China did not disturb Hong Kong to any great extent, perhaps because 40 percent of its foreign exchange earnings came from trade and commercial transactions with the capitalist enclave.

In 1982, Britain and China opened negotiations about Hong Kong's future. A declaration was signed in 1984 stating that China would resume sovereignty over the colony in 1997. China guaranteed autonomy and agreed to allow capitalism to continue for another 50 years. Under the agreement, Hong Kong was to become a special administrative region of China and was promised a high degree of local autonomy; but only one-third of the municipal legislature was to be popularly elected and the chief executive was to be

appointed by the Chinese government. This agreement was put into effect on July 1, 1997, after China took control of Hong Kong.

Indonesia. Holland viewed its Asian colonial possessions as the property of the mother country and an important source of the nation's wealth. Authoritarian colonial rule exploited the islands economically, and problems existed between the Muslim majority and Christian minority. (One of the largest missionary churches in the non-Western world existed among the Batak people on Sumatra.)

Japan's successful war against Russia in 1905 sparked an Islamic revival and the growth of nationalism. In 1927, **Dr. Achmed Sukarno** joined other Western-educated activists in founding the **Indonesian Nationalist Association**. It tried to follow Gandhi's example by organizing massive noncooperation with the regime. The Dutch suppressed this and other political movements and banned the use of the name "Indonesia." Then Sukarno joined forces with the Muslim Socialist, **Muhammad Hatta**, during the Japanese occupation. On August 17, 1945, they proclaimed the **Republic of Indonesia**.

Holland was prepared to permit only internal self-government, keeping foreign policy, defense, and financial questions in Dutch hands. For several years, guerrilla warfare continued. Finally the Dutch agreed to pull out.

Under Sukarno's authoritarian leadership and "**guided democracy**," Indonesia came close to bankruptcy. He nationalized foreign-owned plantations and business firms and practiced his own brand of imperialism on Timor, Borneo, and New Guinea. The influence of the army grew as corruption, inflation, declining exports, and financial mismanagement added to Indonesia's economic problems. Sukarno named himself

president for life in 1963 and lived like a playboy, squandering vast sums on sports stadiums and monuments.

At the same time, Sukarno was developing ties with China, and the Indonesian Communist Party was growing in strength. Then in September 1965, a group of renegade army officers tried to seize power. However, forces led by **General Suharto** won a quick victory, accused the rival officers of taking part in a communist plot, and in the next few months killed more than 300,000 **alleged** Communists. The takeover was one of the most successful anticommunist **countercoups** in the postwar world.

Sukarno was gradually eased out of power, and Suharto finally took over as president in 1967. He tried to restore political and economic stability to Indonesia, a country rich in oil and other natural resources. However, the basic problems of unemployment, overpopulation, poverty, and political corruption persisted.

Indonesia's economic problems of the late 1990s brought with it rising economic and political turmoil. Less than three months after being reelected for the seventh time, Suharto resigned from office on May 21, 1998, and was replaced by **Vice President Habibie**. Reforms have been announced and presidential elections have since been held, but much remains uncertain as to what will become of this resource-rich region in the future. Since the fall of Suharto, there has been significant civil unrest, as well as conflicts between Christians and Muslims. In 1999, Indonesia was forced to give up control of the territory of **East Timor**, which it had occupied since the Portuguese left in 1975.

Nationalism and Conflict in the Middle East

Complex situations have faced the peoples of the Middle East in the twentieth century. The division of the Ottoman Empire into several different mandates and an independent Turkey was discussed in chapter 11.

Iran. Another important independent country was Iran, which provided leadership in contacts with the West. During the 1930s, Iran was friendly with Nazi Germany (45 percent of its foreign trade was with the Germans), but it remained neutral at the outset of the war. In 1941, the Allies demanded use of Iran's railroad to send supplies to the Soviet Union. Later they

The Muslim religion dominates life in Iran.

occupied the country. Although the Allies promised to respect Iran's sovereignty and give economic aid during and after the war, the Russians backed movements opposed to the shah in two northern provinces and refused to withdraw their troops. Through political maneuvers by the shah's son, **Mohammad Reza Pahlavi** (1919–1980, who became shah in September 1941), and pressure from the West in the U.N., the Soviets finally pulled out. Nevertheless, communism remained a serious threat.

A strong anti-foreign group then tried to end British ownership of the Iranian oil industry. Their influence peaked in 1951 when the parliament nationalized the huge Abadán oil production facilities. In 1954, Iran signed an agreement with the major companies to market the country's petroleum and share in the profits. After this, the shah aligned himself firmly with the Western bloc and joined the **Central Treaty Organization** (CENTO).

Oil money built irrigation and hydroelectric projects, expanded transportation and communication systems, created industry, and built schools—all part of a seven-year development program. With the help of women who had just been given voting rights, the shah pushed through a land reform measure. By using oil money to obtain the most modern weapons systems, he also made Iran the strongest military power in the Middle East.

However, he bullied the parliament and repressed critics both on the left and the right. Conservatives backed by the **Shiite** Muslim faction opposed his efforts at modernization and his more secular stand toward Islam. Leftists and students resented the shah's authoritarian methods. In 1978, members of both factions took part in the widespread riots that brought down his regime. The **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini**

Khomeini (1900–1989) placed Iran on a path toward Islamic radicalism.

returned from exile in Paris to Iran in 1979 to provide leadership in the establishment of a radical Islamic republic. Hundreds of the shah's supporters and suspected members of the shah's secret police force, the **Savak**, were arrested, tried, and executed. Khomeini denounced the United States as the "Great Satan" and put Iran on a course of undoing the shah's westernization programs. A new constitution imposed **Sharia** (Islamic law) as the legal system for Iran. Khomeini and other Islamic religious leaders became the political government as well.

In November 1979, the U.S. embassy in Tehran was seized and a number of hostages were taken by paramilitary students. The hostage situation became a prolonged international crisis which contributed to the election defeat in 1980 of U.S. President **Jimmy Carter** who appeared weak in his inability to free the American hostages. The hostages were released at the very moment his successor, Ronald Reagan, was being sworn into office in 1981.

A border dispute with neighboring Iraq erupted into a bloody war between the two countries in 1980. The war continued until 1988. Khomeini used both the hostage crisis and the Iran-Iraq

War to consolidate his domestic support, and the Muslim clerics in the government gained increased influence and control over civil affairs. Moderate **President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr** was dismissed in 1981, and his successor was assassinated. **Hojatolislam Ali Khamenei** was elected president in 1981 and reelected in 1985. The iron-hearted Ayatollah died in July 1989 and was succeeded by Khamenei as religious leader and **Hashemi Rafsanjani** as president.

The Islamic government continued to have strong support at home, despite economic problems and political repression, and disapproval abroad, largely due to of its links to **Hezbollah** ("**Party of God**") and other Islamic terrorist groups. Iran remained neutral in 1991 during the **Persian Gulf War**, after Iraq invaded Kuwait. Following that war, Iraq finally returned Iranian prisoners taken during the Iran-Iraq War. Since the Gulf War, Iran has sought investment from Western Europe and has been trying to develop a nuclear program with assistance from Russia. At the same time, many countries have been concerned about Iran's continued support for Islamic radicalism and the possibility that Iran might be attempting to develop nuclear weapons. Support for the hard-line Islamic government in Iran waned in the late 1990s. Efforts to foster liberalization within Iran through the election of reform governments and public demonstrations faltered, however, in the face of the Islamic clerics' continued influence over the election process, control over the security forces, and the lack of widespread public support beyond the cities and university campuses.

Arab Versus Jew. The focal point of much of the conflict in the Middle East since early in the twentieth century was Palestine, the ancient land of the Hebrews which had been turned over to Britain as a mandate by the League of Nations following World War I. Organized violence by

both Jews and Arabs wracked the country as the British were unable to serve the interests of both factions. The British wanted to create an independent Palestinian state which would protect the interests of the two groups, and both would take part in its government. This seemed more feasible in 1919 when less than 10 percent of the total population was Jewish. The **Balfour Declaration** of 1917 expressed Britain's support for a Jewish homeland, and the goals of the declaration were incorporated into a mandate governing Palestine in 1922. By 1947, Hitler's persecution had swelled the number of Jews in Palestine to 614,000 out of a total population of 1,851,000.

Zionists, with strong backing in the United States, kept demanding a separate Jewish state. At the end of World War II, the violence steadily increased as Jewish terrorist groups such as the **Haganah** and the **Stern Gang** acquired modern weapons. They struck at the British as well as at the Arab Palestinians.

Israel Becomes a Nation. Britain was caught between the Zionists with their American allies and the Palestinians supported by the six countries in the **Arab League**—Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Trans-Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. Exhausted and bankrupt from World War II, the British could not afford the large-scale military effort needed to keep the two groups apart. So Britain turned the matter over to the United Nations, which worked out a plan for partitioning Palestine. But neither the Jews nor Arabs were satisfied with it. On May 14, 1948, one day before the partition would have gone into effect, radical Zionists led by **David Ben-Gurion** proclaimed the creation of the independent state of **Israel**. In 1949, the new govenment adopted a constitution that provided for a strong cabinet and parliament (**Knesset**) to run the democratic republic. Both Jews and Arabs would have voting rights.

While the United States and Soviet Union quickly recognized Israel, the Arab League attacked the new nation. Although outnumbered, Israeli troops easily defeated them and captured even more territory than had been assigned in the original division. In July 1949, a U.N. mediator, the American diplomat **Ralph Bunche**, finally worked out a cease-fire. In 1950, he won the Nobel Peace Prize, the first black man in the world so honored. Israel and most of the Arab states remained officially at war, but efforts in the 1970s by Henry Kissinger, and later by President Jimmy Carter, did achieve a peace agreement with Egypt.

The kingdom of Trans-Jordan (independent since 1946 and now renamed **Jordan**) took over the **West Bank** region (west of the Jordan River) and the old part of Jerusalem. The **Gaza Strip**, a narrow territory along the Mediterranean just northeast of Egypt, went to Egypt. About 1 million Palestinians sought refuge in huge, makeshift camps in Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt, where they lived off U.N. relief and sought to recover their lost lands. Meanwhile, Israel, with massive American aid and contributions from Jews around the world, experienced rapid economic growth. The **kibbutz**, a type of agricultural commune, helped the Israeli people develop the desert lands.

Living under a state of constant siege, the Israelis in 1956 and again in 1967 launched wars to improve their defensive position and lessen the Palestinian threat. In the **Six-Day War** (1967) they overran the **Golan Heights** of Syria, the West Bank, and the Sinai region in a great show of strength. But this only brought more problems—such as an increase in Arab residents and worldwide condemnation by the Soviet bloc and Third World countries. Israel's image of strength was tarnished in the fourth conflict, the **Yom**

ISRAEL TODAY

Israel Proper

Palestinian Administrated

Occupied Territories

Kippur War (1973). At that time, Egyptian and Syrian forces temporarily drove the Israelis back and exhausted their reserves of manpower and weapons, although the Israelis managed in the end to hold off the Arab attack.

Strong opposition to the Israelis came from groups such as the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, its rival Palestinian terrorist factions, and other militant Islamic groups. Both the U.N. and Arab governments recognized the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people. The PLO and others worked actively to destroy Israel. In 1972, a terrorist massacre of Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich, Germany, shocked the world. Bombings continue to occur throughout Israel. In

response to such activities, the Israelis tried unsuccessfully to wipe out the Palestinian guerrilla units operating among the refugee camps in southern Lebanon.

In 1977, a right-wing government under **Menachem Begin** assumed power in Israel and, with assistance from Jimmy Carter, signed a peace accord with Egypt in 1979, which was denounced by Palestinians and Islamic militants. Begin proclaimed all of Jerusalem the Israeli capital in 1980, annexed the Golan Heights in 1981, and increased Jewish settlement in the West Bank. In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon to root out PLO guerrilla bases. A coalition government, which came to power in 1984, withdrew most Israeli troops from Lebanon in 1985; all Israeli troops were eventually removed from Lebanon in 2000. In December 1987, Palestinians began an increasingly bloody uprising known as the *intifada*, attacking Jews and Israeli soldiers with sticks, stones, bombs, and other small weapons in the West Bank and Gaza.

Israel remained officially neutral during the Persian Gulf War but was attacked by Iraqi SCUD missiles. Following the war, the United States stepped

Modern Tel Aviv is Israel's major metropolitan center.

up efforts to get regional peace talks moving. In 1993, Israel's new liberal **Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin** signed a historic peace accord with PLO leader **Yassar Arafat**. The agreement set up an autonomous Palestinian entity in the Gaza Strip and in the West Bank city of Jericho. Sporadic violence continued, but in 1994, Israel completed the withdrawal of its troops from Gaza and Jericho. This treaty was denounced by Iran and opposed by more militant Palestinians and other Muslims.

In July 1994, peace in the Middle East took another significant step forward when Rabin and Jordan's **King Hussein** signed an agreement in Washington, D.C., ending a 46-year state of war between their two countries. As the twentieth century drew to a close, there were increased international hopes that the Jewish-Arab conflict might soon develop into a full-fledged peace.

The Middle East peace process suffered a set back with the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin in 1995. The peace process stalled during a series of Israeli prime ministers after Rabin's murder. He was followed in short succession by **Shimon Peres, Benjamin Netanyahu**, and **Ehud Barak**. Barak attempted to broker a deal with Arafat with the assistance of President Clinton in late 2000, but negotiations failed.

Conflict between Israelis and Palestinians increased significantly after the second *intifada* began in September 2000, contributing to the election of Ariel Sharon as prime minister of Israel in 2001. In an effort to stop Palestinian terrorism, the Israelis began construction of a wall separating the Palestinian territories from Israel. Israeli forces also reoccupied much of the Palestinian lands.

It took changes within the **Palestinian Authority**, however, before any movement toward peace could begin. The position of prime minister for

Yassar Arafat, 1929–2004

the Palestinian Authority was established by the Palestinian Legislative Council in 2003, but it had little effect in helping the peace process or reforming the Palestinian government. It was not until the death of Yassar Arafat in November 2004 and the election of former prime minister **Mahmoud Abbas** as president of the Palestinian Authority in January 2005 that Israelis and Palestinians began to take small steps toward restarting the peace process.

Israel's determination to remain in Palestine is reinforced by the memory of the Holocaust. Jewish theologians regard this tragedy as an event second only to the Exodus in importance. Jews have resolved that they will never allow such persecution again. For nearly 2,000 years they had been a people without a land; now they had reclaimed their former homeland. Even though the majority of the world's Jews have not settled in Israel, most regard it as their spiritual home.

The Palestinian issue put some Christians in a difficult position. In the West, many liberals, especially among the Protestants, were tormented by a deep sense of guilt for the Holocaust. Yet they wanted the Palestinians who were driven from their homes to receive justice. They were

afraid to criticize Israeli policy lest they be considered anti-Semitic. Fundamentalist Protestants, however, were among the most enthusiastic supporters of the state of Israel, largely due to certain doctrinal beliefs that the rise of Israel signaled the imminent return of Christ to set up a supposed thousand-year earthly reign in Jerusalem. Even though Christian missionary work in Israel is forbidden, they saw events in Palestine as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy—proof that God is at work in history. On the other hand, almost all Eastern Christians—Assyro-Chaldean, Catholic, Coptic, Maronite, Orthodox, etc.—firmly back the Palestinians. Like Muslims, they considered Israel an outpost of Western colonialism.

Lebanon. Lebanon, to the north of Israel, has been a crossroads of history since ancient times. Christianity (including some offshoot Christian sects such as the Maronites and Jacobites) became well established there by the fourth century, but Islam (with its Shiite and Sunni divisions, and an offshoot cult called the Druze) also made major inroads. Lebanese Christians fought alongside European knights during the Crusades against the Muslims. From 1516 until 1918, Lebanon was part of the Ottoman Empire, under which the country developed religious, educational, and commercial ties with the West. These ties led to political rivalries among various powers, including France, England, and Russia, each assuming a role to protect certain ethnic and religious interests there. After World War I, Lebanon became a French mandate and remained so until 1946, when it gained independence.

For a time, Lebanon was a unified and progressive nation. But its many internal divisions began to unravel that harmony in the 1950s. The Arab-Israeli conflicts, from which Lebanon refrained directly, brought many Palestinians into the country, and it was used as a base of action against Israel. A revolt broke out in 1958, and the United States sent marines to establish order. A civil war erupted in 1975 between the **Nationalist Movement** (a mixture of socialists, communists, and followers of Egypt's Gamal Nasser) and the **Lebanese Front** (a group of right-wing Maronite-Phalange Christians and right-wing Muslims). The PLO sided with the Nationalists and nearly won the war until Syria, with the backing of the Arab League, intervened on the side of the Lebanese Front. The Arab League helped arrange a cease-fire in 1976. Syria continued to dominate Lebanon until 2005.

Syria's intervention failed to halt the violence and factional strife. Israel invaded southern Lebanon in 1978 in response to PLO attacks but withdrew when a United Nations peacekeeping force arrived. Israel again invaded in 1982, occupied Beirut, and forced the PLO out of its headquarters there. Another multinational peace force arrived in 1982 and a new Christian Phalange leader, **Amin Gemayel**, concluded a security agreement with Israel. Syria refused to withdraw, however, and the government was unable to halt fighting between the armed militias of Lebanon's various internal factions and between rival Palestinian groups. There were terrorist bomb attacks on the American-led multinational force (250 American marines were killed in a terrible explosion in October 1983), and the force was withdrawn in 1984. Gemayel backed out of the Lebanese-Israeli Accord and installed a pro-Syria cabinet, which did little after Gemayel rejected a Syrian peace plan in 1986. This rejection escalated the turmoil, and terrorist activities, especially by Hezbollah, increased. Prime Minister **Rashid Karami** was assassinated in 1987. In 1988, the legislature's inability to find a successor to Gemayel led to the formation of rival Christian and Muslim governments. However, an Arab-brokered peace in 1989 led to the election of Maronite **Rene Moawed** as president, but he was assassinated almost immediately. Christian Prime Minister **General Michel Aoun** launched a war against the Syrian forces in Lebanon. New hopes for peace arose when Aoun surrendered in 1990, political equality was granted to Muslims, the Lebanese militias were disarmed, and a number of Western hostages held by Shiite terrorist groups were released. Syria and Lebanon signed a treaty in 1991. A year later, parliamentary elections were boycotted by Christians, but the country began to rebuild under the leadership of **Rafiq al-Hariri**, who served as prime minister from 1992 to 1998 and 2000 to 2004. His murder in February 2005 led to widespread demonstrations, which led Syria to withdraw from Lebanon.

Egypt. After World War II, overall Arab unity encountered problems—growing nationalism in various countries, competition between the Cold War blocs, and new military regimes in many places. Egypt, the most populous nation and intellectual center of the Arab world, had a deep impact on other parts of the Middle East. It tried unsuccessfully to negotiate an end to British control of the Suez Canal and the Sudan. Finally in 1952, a military coup overthrew the corrupt and ineffective **King Farouk**. Among the group was **Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser**, who after two years would emerge as leader. He became the dominant personality in the Middle East until his death in 1970.

Nasser established single party rule and worked for economic development, socialism, and the end of foreign influence. He obtained agreements with Britain which led to the withdrawal of troops from the canal zone in 1955 and to the independence of the Sudan in 1956. Displeased with some of Nasser's actions, the United States canceled the loan it had promised for Nasser's grand scheme, the **Aswan High Dam**. The Egyptian

president then turned to the Soviet Union, even though he followed an anticommunist policy.

The Soviets helped him because they hoped to stop American influence in the Middle East. At the same time, Nasser formed close links with his Arab neighbors and used the Arab League to back revolutionary movements in the North African French territories. His status grew when he nationalized the Suez Canal (1956).

By joining forces with Syria in 1958, Nasser seemed finally to have found the way to Arab unity. But the **United Arab Republic** which they formed lasted only three years. Meanwhile, poverty in Egypt increased in spite of the Aswan project.

Nasser died in 1970 and was succeeded by his vice-president, **Anwar Sadat**. Two years later, Sadat ordered 20,000 Soviet military advisers and other experts out of Egypt because the Soviets, he believed, were not willing to supply modern weapons needed to roust Israel out of captured territories. When Sadat delayed actions against Israel, students agitated and clashed with police. Sadat assured the dissidents that he would soon take military action against Israel, which he did in the surprise attack on October 6, 1973, at the same time Syria attacked through the Golan Heights. The action raised Sadat's stature in the Arab world. However, it was he who eventually joined with Israel's Begin in signing the peace accord in 1979. That **rapprochement** soon isolated Egypt from the rest of the Arab world. Sadat found new opposition at home from militants and was forced to order a crackdown on them in September 1981. Some 1,600 religious (most Islamic fundamentalists) and secular dissidents were arrested. A month later, while attending a military parade, Sadat was assassinated by gunmen associated with a militant Muslim group.

Hosni Mubarak

He was succeeded by **Hosni Mubarak**, who was reelected in 1987 and 1993. Mubarak continued Sadat's policies toward Israel but also improved relations with other Arab states. He led Arabs to join the United States against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War of 1991. He also was active in promoting the 1993 peace accord between Israel and the PLO. While cracking down on radical Islamic fundamentalists, he sought to cooperate with Egypt's activist Muslim Brotherhood.

Iraq. As the position of Egyptian leaders diminished somewhat within the Arab world, that group lacked strong leadership. One figure who attempted to fill the void was Iraq's strongman, **Saddam Hussein**, who came to power in 1979.

Like Palestine, Iraq had become a British mandate under grant from the League of Nations following World War I. **Faisel I** of the **Hashemite** family was installed as king. The mandate was ended following disturbances in 1932, but the British remained a strong influence in Iraq until 1958. During the 1940s and 1950s, Iraq took a strong pro-Western stance under **Nuri es-Said**, who sought to modernize the country. Iraq joined CENTO in 1955, the only Arab state to do so. But radical nationalists caused trouble which led to a military coup under **General Abdul Karim**

Kassem in 1958. A pro-Communist republic was proclaimed and es-Said and the royal family were murdered. Violence continued until the Kassem regime collapsed in 1963. Another coup took place in 1968 when **Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr** took power. He was succeeded in 1979 by Saddam Hussein, a rising member of al-Bakr's **Ba'ath Party**. Saddam took a strident anti-Israel stand, participating in the Arab-Israeli War of 1973. Israel attacked an Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981, fearing it might be used to create atomic weapons.

In 1972, Hussein signed a treaty with the U.S.S.R. and received military aid. It resumed diplomatic ties with the United States in 1984, partly because it was fighting Iran, whose relations with the United States were highly strained. After the Iran-Iraq War ended with a United Nations-brokered cease-fire, Hussein's regime launched a chemical weapons attack upon Kurdish rebels in the north of Iraq. Two years later, in 1990, Hussein accused Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates of violating oil cartel regulations and driving oil prices down, thus reducing Iraq's all-important oil revenues. He also charged that Kuwait had stolen Iraqi oil, and he demanded that Kuwait and other Gulf States cancel about $30 billion in loans they had granted to Iraq during its war with Iran. He said they owed Iraq this consideration because Iraq had been fighting for the cause of all Arabs against the Persian Iranians.

When his demands were not met, Iraq invaded Kuwait. On August 28, 1990, Hussein annexed Kuwait. Nearly universal international condemnation followed, including from fellow Arab countries. The PLO and Libya supported Hussein's action, while Jordan tried to maintain its safety, being situated between Iraq and Israel, by both condemning Western reaction against Hussein and allowing vital movements by Western interests in Jordan.

The militaries of many nations fought in the war against Iraq.

In 1991, the Persian Gulf War began after Hussein failed to comply with United Nations' orders to withdraw from Kuwait. A coalition led by the United States under President **George H. W. Bush**, attacked Iraq with massive aerial bombardments and swift-moving ground troops, forcing it to accept peace terms within a month. Hussein remained in power and immediately turned on Kurds in the north and dissident Shiites in the south. "No-fly-zones" were established by U.S. and other allied forces in the north (1991) and south (1992) of Iraq to prevent Iraqi aircraft from attacking the Kurds and Shiites. The northern zone enabled the Kurds to establish an autonomous region in northern Iraq. Iraq continued to suffer under economic sanctions, as well as occasional allied air attacks for Hussein's failure to comply with all U.N. peace terms and violations of the "no-fly-zones." Hussein, in turn, periodically flexed his muscles in attempts to shake that embargo.

Hussein's failure to live up to the terms of the Persian Gulf War treaty and various U.N. resolutions—especially with regard to Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction—as well as Iraq's ties to terrorist organizations, eventually led to the overthrow of his government. In March 2003, the United States and Great Britain—with help from

MIDDLE EAST TODAY
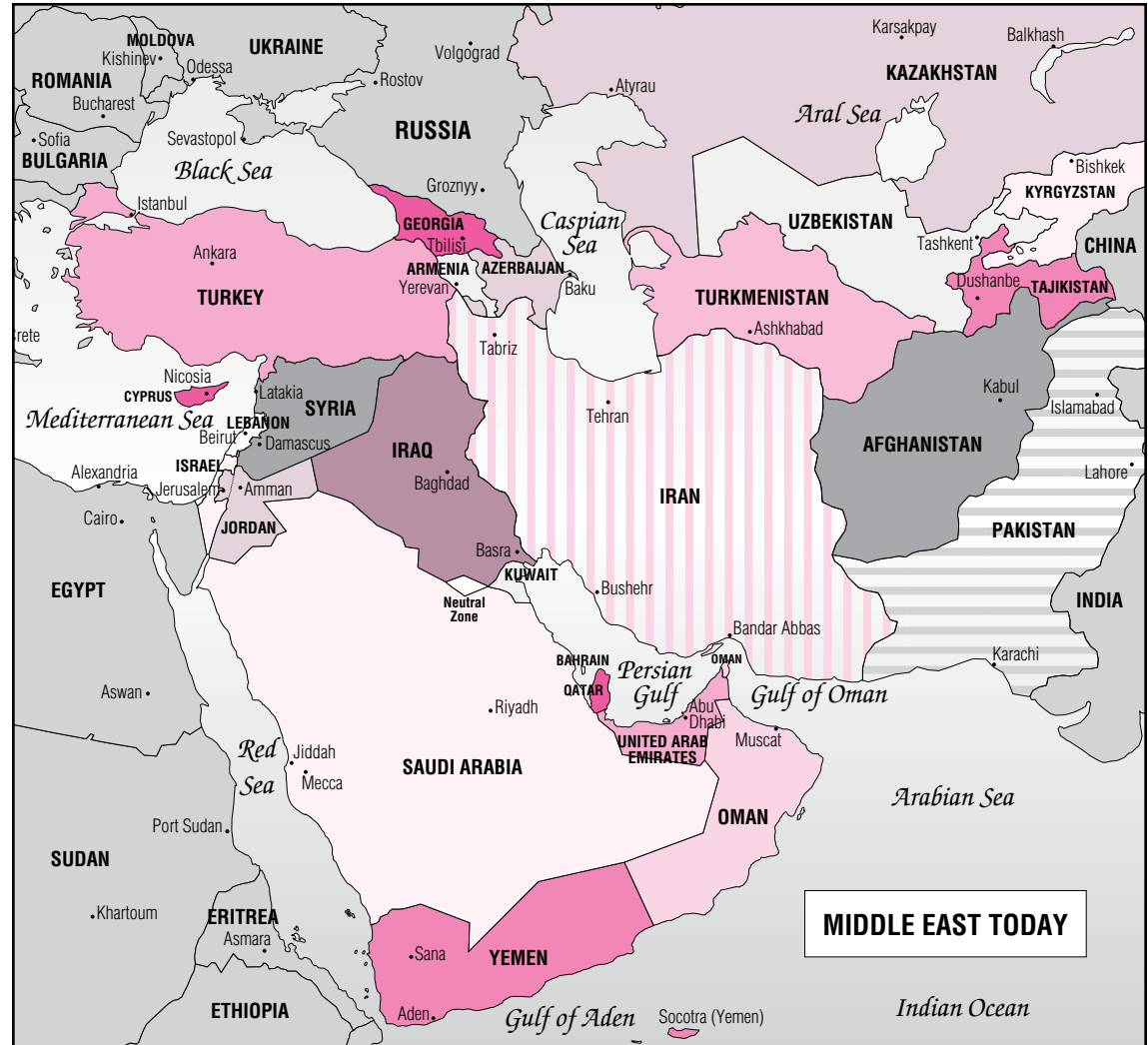
Australia, Poland, and Kurdish rebels—invaded Iraq, capturing Baghdad and all other major Iraqi cities in a month-long conventional war. Hussein was captured in December 2003, but a serious insurgency continues against U.S.-led coalition forces and the new Iraqi government. In spite of terrorist threats, a large number of Iraqis voted in parliamentary elections in January 2005.

Rest of the Middle East. Developments in some Middle Eastern and North African areas were marked by tensions while elsewhere decolonization went smoothly. **Turkey** aligned with NATO after World War II in order to check the growing Soviet threat, but still it suffered from political instability and low economic growth. **Cyprus** gained independence from Britain in 1960 with

Orthodox **Archbishop Makarios III** as president. The island republic was so torn by ethnic strife (the population was 80 percent Greek and 20 percent Turkish) that forces from Turkey invaded in 1974 and partitioned it. Both sides in the Cold War courted strategically located **Afghanistan** with economic aid. In 1978, a Marxist regime took power and moved the country closer to Russia. Resistance from its Muslim population and instability within the government provoked a Soviet invasion in December 1979. The Soviets became deeply embroiled in a protracted war against the Muslim rebels in Afghanistan, which proved to be so costly that they eventually pulled out of Afghanistan in 1989, in a manner reminiscent of the withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam.

However, fighting within Afghanistan continued; first against the remaining Afghan communists and then between Afghan factions. An Islamic movement known as the **Taliban** arose to bring order to the country, eventually gaining control over most of Afghanistan. It established a militant Islamic government and gave shelter to **Osama bin Laden** and his radical terrorist group known as **al-Qaida**. After the al-Qaida attacks on the **World Trade Center** and the **Pentagon** on September 11, 2001, the United States launched attacks on the Taliban and al-Qaida. With the assistance of local Afghan forces, **Kabul** was captured, the Taliban regime was overthrown, and many of the terrorists were captured or killed, although bin Laden has yet to be apprehended. A new Afghan government was established and the country's first democratic election was held in 2004.

The French tried to hold on to their North African empire, but nationalist movements in **Tunisia** and **Morocco** forced them to withdraw and grant independence in 1956. In **Algeria**, the situation was complicated by the presence of 1 million European settlers who regarded the territory

as their homeland. The result was a bloody eight-year-long conflict. It had a deep psychological impact upon the French, much like the Vietnam War was to have in the United States a decade later. Those who wanted "victory" in Algeria engineered General De Gaulle's return to power in 1958. However, he surprised them by stopping the bloodshed and permitting Algerian independence in 1962.

Libya, which received independence in 1951, was the poorest of the North African states. However, the discovery of rich oil reserves changed everything. In 1969, an army coup ended the monarchy and added another radical military regime, this one headed by the unstable, egocentric, hard-line Muslim leftist, **Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi**. He was known for his radicalism and hatred of Israel. He has been accused of interfering in the internal affairs of several African states, providing support for various revolutionary groups, engaging in terrorist activities, and developing weapons of mass destruction. He has been able to survive several coup attempts.

Colonel Qaddafi has been largely unsuccessful in his efforts to export his radicalism. He failed in his attempts to merge Libya with neighboring countries, and his activities have provoked international opposition. In 1986, President Ronald Reagan ordered U.S. warplanes to raid Libya after a Libyan-sponsored attack in Berlin killed two American servicemen. Qaddafi's palace was hit and members of his family were killed, but he escaped. He became an international outcast after Libya was implicated in the destruction of two civilian airliners and the resulting death of several hundred people in 1988 and 1989. Sanctions against Libya did not begin to be lifted until 1999 when the two Libyan security agents who were implicated in the deadly Pan Am airliner

bombing over Scotland were turned over for prosecution and compensation was agreed to for both airline bombings. All remaining sanctions were lifted in 2004 when Libya revealed its weapons of mass destruction program and agreed to give up all such weapons.

Along the Arabian coast, the British surrendered their protectorates, beginning with oil-rich Kuwait in 1961, followed by Aden in 1967, and Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates in 1971. Each of these nations joined the Arab League and backed the effort against Israel.

By 1989, the only Muslim population still under colonial rule was in the Soviet Union. In spite of communist talk about national liberation, in 1924 the Islamic peoples were divided into five "republics"—**Kazakhstan**, **Kirghiza**, **Tadzhikistan**, **Turkmenistan**, and **Uzbekistan**. The boundaries were drawn more or less according to language groups, but the republics lacked any national consciousness. Instead, many of the Muslims in Central Asia espoused an ancient ideology known as **Pan-Turanism** ("All-Turkism"), which included a vision for dominion of Turkic peoples from the Pacific to Europe. This vision was particularly strong in an ongoing conflict between Muslims (Azeri Turks) in the Soviet republic of **Azerbaijan** and neighboring **Armenia**, the oldest officially Christian nation on earth. During the Soviet period, the Muslim peoples were transformed overnight from "oppressed masses" into "younger brothers" in the struggle for peace and equality. Although they had the outward form of self-government, they were politically, economically, and culturally ruled by Moscow. But with the rising tide of Muslim identity following the revolution in Iran, it became clear that these territories might be the source of great weakness in the Soviet system. Following the breakup of the Soviet Union in late 1991, these Muslim republics gained independence, although

they remained part of the **Commonwealth of Independent States** which formed among the former Soviet territories.

Independence and Instability in Africa

Leading the struggle for independence in Africa were political parties modeled after European organizations. The party leaders were Western-educated, middle class, urban Africans who understood how the colonial state worked; and they believed that the way to independence was to work through that state and eventually take it over. They transformed what were originally elite black groups into mass parties by adopting goals which appealed to as many different ethnic groups and economic classes as possible. However, their chance to practice **electoral** politics in a democratic way had been limited. Africans learned how to use political groups to gain power, but they had no experience in the more difficult art of giving up power after an election defeat.

Many of the newly independent countries suffered internal struggles between different ethnic and linguistic groups. Earlier European colonial boundaries had not always followed ethnic divisions. Consequently, the new countries had difficulty trying to establish unity among diverse groups of people. Africa experienced numerous ghastly conflicts with the tragic results of widespread starvation, disease, and ethnic bloodshed. Several of them, the worst of which were in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia, and Rwanda, led to international crises.

Ghana. Decolonization south of the Sahara came first to the Gold Coast where more political development had taken place in the interwar years.

Kwame Nkrumah, left, exchanges views with Prime Minister Nehru of India before a U.N. General Assembly session in 1960.

Kwame Nkrumah, an American-educated Marxist and skillful politician, founded an organization in 1949 that took the lead. The British agreed to a constitution allowing self-government for the colony, and he campaigned from prison for the new assembly. Because the party won, he was released and later named prime minister. He used this position to negotiate independence for the country, renaming it **Ghana**. It became the first black African member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Once Ghana had gained freedom in 1957, Nkrumah set up a one-party dictatorship with himself as president for life. He argued, as many after him elsewhere have done, that having only one party would help national unity. A poor, developing nation could not afford the luxury of political opposition. He then tried to become the spokesman for all of Africa, but his lust for power and extravagant living proved his undoing. When a military group seized control in 1966, he fled into exile and died six years later.

The colonial dike rapidly crumbled. The British gave the rest of its African colonies independence in the 1960s. De Gaulle dismantled the vast French empire in west and central Africa between 1958 and 1960, and Belgium gave independence to its African territories in 1960 and 1961.

Nigeria. Nigeria, the most heavily populated territory in Africa, became an independent nation in 1960. Nigeria's government since then has been characterized by corruption and frequent military coups. Its society has also been plagued by ethnic and religious conflict. The worst example was the **Biafran War** during the late 1960s, which resulted from clashes between the Hausa and Ibo tribes. This war produced widespread starvation with as many as a million deaths before the Biafrans surrendered in 1970. Since the war, Nigeria has played an important role in regional affairs, championing the establishment of the **Economic Community of West African States** in 1975 and sending peacekeeping troops to help settle crises in other west African nations.

Congo. A dangerous crisis developed in the Belgian Congo. The Belgians had smothered any sense of Congolese nationhood, but people there could see what was happening elsewhere in Africa. By 1959, protest movements had become so widespread that the Belgian government realized it faced a long struggle. Even though they had done nothing to train the Congolese in self-government, the Belgians suddenly announced that independence would be granted on June 30, 1960.

Civil war broke out almost immediately, and anarchy spread through the land as the European army officers and civil servants fled. Belgian troops occupied the cities to protect Europeans and the copper-rich **Katanga** (Shaba) province which had declared itself independent of the rest of the country. Katanga's leader was **Moïse Tshombe**, who was backed by the mining interests. Then the Russians

threatened to step in on behalf of the elected government and its prime minister, **Patrice Lumumba**. However, Lumumba was removed from office and assassinated in 1961.

The United Nations sent a peacekeeping force (made up largely of Africans) which tried to bring the factions together. After five years of conflict, a military group led by **General Joseph Mobutu Sésé** seized power and gradually united the republic. It was renamed **Zaire** in 1971. By the 1990s, however, corruption became rife in Zaire and order began to break down.

In late 1996, a rebellion under the leadership of socialist **Laurent Kabila** began in eastern Zaire. On May 16, 1997, Mobutu gave up power and went into exile. Kabila declared himself president of Zaire and then renamed the country the **Democratic Republic of the Congo**. The removal of Mobutu, however, did not end the Congo's troubles. Kabila suppressed political opposition and hindered investigations of alleged human rights abuses. In addition, a falling-out with some of his earlier supporters led to another rebellion in eastern Congo. This rebellion, however, had an international flavor with Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Angola supporting the Kabila government, and Rwanda and Uganda supporting the rebels. Zambia sponsored peace talks, but the ultimate fate of the Congo remains uncertain.

Rwanda. In 1994, a vicious ethnic conflict broke out in Rwanda between members of the ruling majority Hutu and minority Tutsi tribes. A holocaust of killing resulted in nearly a million civilian deaths (mostly Tutsi), including infants and children who were massacred, burned, or thrown into rivers. As one missionary observed, "There are no demons left in hell. They are all in Rwanda." As Tutsi rebels gained the upper hand, up to two million of Rwandan Hutus fled to refuge camps in neighboring countries, where epidemics broke out

and even more thousands died daily. Western powers stood by for the most part, although private relief organizations stepped into the refugee camps to check the starvation and epidemics. Most Hutu exiles have since returned to Rwanda, but suspicion still lingers between the Hutus and Tutsis.

The "Horn of Africa." British and Italian Somaliland were combined into the republic of **Somalia** in 1960. In 1992, President George H. W. Bush sent American troops into Somalia to join a United Nations force in distributing food to starving people caught in a civil war between rival warlord factions after the collapse of its socialist government. The mission quickly turned into a military conflict when some of the local warring militias began attacking the U.S. and U.N. troops, killing a number of them. The U.S. backed out of the mission.

Tiny French Somaliland became the independent country of **Djibouti** in 1977. **Ethiopia** regained its independence from Italy as a result of Britain's conquest of the "Horn of Africa" during World War II. The monarchy was overthrown by Marxist military officers in 1974. A communist government was then established, but was eventually overthrown in 1991. **Eritrea**, a former Italian col-

American soldiers in Somalia

ony, was incorporated into Ethiopia as part of a federation in 1952. However, a war broke out in 1962 after the federation, with Eritrean local autonomy, was ended. Ethiopian forces were finally driven out and Eritrea was recognized as an independent country in 1993.

Uganda. In Uganda, several small strong kingdoms wanted to become separate states; instead they gained freedom as a single entity in 1962. In 1971, **General Idi Amin Dada** came to power. He launched a reign of terror against political opponents and Ugandan Christians that caused the world to view him as an African "Hitler." Eventually, in 1979, Ugandan exiles and **Tanzanian** troops overthrew Amin's tyrannical regime. Since the demise of Idi Amin, Uganda has been characterized by political instability and strife.

Tanzania. In the mandate territory of Tanganyika, the British were as committed to African self-government as they were in Uganda. The principal political figure was **Julius Nyerere**, a liberal Christian schoolteacher, who led it to independence in 1961. Three years later, it merged with Zanzibar and was renamed **Tanzania**. Nyerere was the advocate of "African socialism," a doctrine that emphasized cooperation within local village communities and the priority of rural development over industrialization.

Kenya. In Kenya, the situation was complicated by a large community of white settlers, by Indian and Arab minorities, and by African tribal jealousies. A serious conflict erupted in 1952 known as the **Mau Mau Rebellion**. Militant members of the Kikuyu tribe, angry at losing their ancestral lands to European settlers, struck against whites and Africans who sympathized with the colonial government. The bloodletting cost more then 13,000 lives, mostly blacks. It was basically a nationalist movement which aimed at African control of land use and government.

Jomo Kenyatta, a journalist and scholar, was the chief African political figure. He was blamed (falsely, it turned out) for the Mau Mau atrocities and spent seven years in prison. There he developed his philosophy of socialism which would involve all citizens fully and equally in public affairs and prevent individuals or groups with economic power from seizing political power. The British tried to move Kenya in the direction of a politically balanced, **multiracial** state, but Kenyatta's party called for African majority rule. After an election victory in 1961, he was released from jail and accepted the leadership of the new state created in 1963, which he retained until his death in 1978. Kenya became a fairly progressive one-party state but suffered from tribal jealousies and occasional political violence.

Sudan. In Sudan, the land known to antiquity as Cush or Nubia, ethnic conflicts and ancient religious rivalries have continued throughout Sudan's history. Christianity came to Sudan in the sixth century, but Arab Muslims moved in a century later. In the late 1880s, a self-proclaimed Muslim "messiah" conquered the country, but his regime was overthrown by British and Egyptian forces, and Sudan was jointly governed by them until independence in 1956. A succession of civilian and military regimes failed to resolve ethnic conflicts within the nation. A civil war began almost immediately between the south, inhabited by Christians and animists, and the north, which was under Muslim control. There was a coup in 1968 and a briefly successful communist coup in 1971. In 1972, ruler **Gaafar Mohamed el-Nimeiry** granted the south a regional government and some local autonomy, bringing peace to the country. But the south again rebelled in 1983 when he imposed Islamic law and ended regional self-government. Nimeiry was overthrown in 1985 after there were nationwide riots protesting his austere and erratic policies. A mili-

tary coup led by Muslim radicals known as the **National Islamic Front** occurred in 1989. The United States began to work toward bringing peace to southern Sudan in 2001, resulting in the signing of a peace treaty, with autonomy for the South and the possibility of independence in six years, between the Sudanese government and the southern rebels in January 2005.

Even as the war in southern Sudan was being settled, war erupted in the **Darfur** region of western Sudan. While not religious in nature, it involved a similar conflict between Arab and non-Arab tribes. Fighting began in 2003 when non-Arab groups attacked government forces. The Sudanese government responded by supporting attacks by Arab militias known as the **Janjaweed**. These militias have been accused by many of committing genocide against the black population of the Darfur. Many thousands have fled to refugee camps both within Sudan and in neighboring Chad.

Southern Africa. African nationalists in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia demanded one-man, one-vote rule from Britain. They finally received self-rule with African prime ministers in 1964. Nyasaland gained independence as the state of **Malawi**, and the copper-rich area of Northern Rhodesia became **Zambia**. The political leaders of both countries, **Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda** of Malawi and **President Kenneth Kaunda** of Zambia, eventually established one-party governments with democratic facades. Recently, however, unrest in both nations forced them to allow free elections, which resulted in their downfall.

But Southern Rhodesia, renamed simply Rhodesia, was ruled by a white African minority which refused to allow black Marxists any part in the government. To prevent Britain from granting black rule, the white minority led by **Prime Minister Ian Smith** declared Rhodesia independent of Britain in 1965. Britain protested; the United

Nations started a boycott to bring Rhodesia to its knees; and Africans began Marxist guerrilla warfare against the Smith regime. In 1979, black rule came to the country, now renamed **Zimbabwe**. Within a few years, this revolution, quite predictably, produced a "one-man, no vote" Marxist state in Zimbabwe. One of the leaders of the black revolt was a missionary-trained Methodist minister named **Canaan Banana** who espoused a socialist liberation brand of Christianity based on the thesis that all people should be the masters of their own destiny. In a book called *The Gospel According to the Ghetto*, Banana wrote a revision of The Lord's Prayer which read:

> Our Father which art in the Ghetto,
> Degraded is your name
> Thy servitude abounds,
> Thy will is mocked,
> As pie in the sky.
> Teach us to demand,
> Our share of gold,
> Forgive us our docility,
> As we demand our share of justice.
> Lead us not into complicity,
> Deliver us from our fears.
> For ours is the sovereignty,
> The power and the liberation,
> For ever and ever..., Amen.

South of the Zambezi River, the Portuguese ruled Angola and Mozambique and argued that they were not colonies but overseas provinces of Portugal. Nevertheless, they had to deal with increasing guerrilla activity.

The most startling development of the 1970s was the end of Portuguese colonialism. South Africa, which wished to see Angola and Mozambique stand as a barrier against spreading leftist African nationalism, strongly supported Portugal. Despite this backing, revolutionary activity increased in all Portuguese possessions. However, in April 1974, the Portuguese government back home was overthrown by a military coup. The new regime

Agestino Neto declared that within twenty years Christianity would be eradicate from Angola. Instead, Marxist rule died.

promptly negotiated settlements with African guerrilla leaders in **Angola**, **Mozambique**, **Guinea-Bissau**, and the offshore islands. For some time, a bloody civil war raged in Angola, with troops from communist Cuba fighting on the guerrilla side. The Cuban presence remained in Angola for a decade and a half, making Angola a base for other Marxist liberation efforts in Africa.

South Africa. After World War II, the **Nationalist Party** had come to power in the Republic of South Africa and started a far-reaching program of racial separation known as *apartheid*. This program denied political participation to nonwhites, legalized racial discrimination, and **segregated** employment, transportation, and public facilities. The government planned to move Africans from their homes in white areas (whites made up 19 percent of the population), to permanent homes in self-governing territories where they could work out their own destiny. In the late 1960s, the government began to carry out this idea. However, since South Africa's economy depended on black labor, only a token effort went into the project.

Antagonism against South Africa grew rapidly as more and more Asian and African nations became free. In 1961, the country withdrew from the Commonwealth of Nations because of the disapproval there of its racial policies. Criticism in the United Nations was intense, and most countries eventually joined a boycott against trade with South Africa. Anger mounted as a sense of black consciousness developed, largely through agitation by communists and leftists.

Partly through the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), established in 1963 for the promotion of African unity in the areas of government, defense, trade, and world affairs, the colonial era and white rule throughout the rest of Africa was brought to an end. South Africa was left to face the world alone. No longer able to withstand the pressure from within and without, the last chink in African solidarity was sealed with South Africa's modification of its *apartheid* policy.

The modifications failed to satisfy the South African Communist Party and its partners in the militant **African National Congress** (ANC) and other terrorist organizations such as the **Pan-African Congress**. In the 1980s, the ANC, financed by millions in grants from socialist Sweden, and other Marxist and liberal interests around the world, launched a massive international propaganda campaign aimed at overthrowing the white government. The organization's president, **Nelson Mandela**, had been in prison for insurrection since 1962, and had been portrayed as a martyr for the cause of economic justice and black rule in South Africa. The ANC lobbied successfully throughout the world to get other nations and businesses to withdraw or withhold investments in South African enterprises, an action which actually damaged the interests of black workers in those enterprises.

The ANC was first formed in 1912 under the name **South African Native National Congress** with the aim of representing the interests of black people in South Africa. It consisted of conservative tribal chiefs, clergymen, and educators who had a genuine Christian interest in the needs of native peoples. By the 1930s, however, members of the South African Communist Party began to take part in the affairs of the organization (renamed African National Congress in 1923) and gradually took it over, turning it toward revolutionary aims. In 1961, an agent of the Soviet KGB (secret police) and key operative within the South African Communist Party, **Joe Slovo**, organized a military wing of the ANC, **Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)** ("Spear of the Nation") and put it under Mandela's control. The MK and other violent elements within the ANC, along with other terrorist groups, launched a campaign of violence, resulting in thousands of deaths of both black and white South Africans. Propagandists and the international news media consistently blamed the violence on the South African security forces (ignoring the fact that most of the members of the police and defense forces of the country were blacks). The ANC also became involved in violence against blacks who refused to cooperate with its actions. Thousands of black town counselors, mayors,

Nelson Mandela

AFRICA TODAY
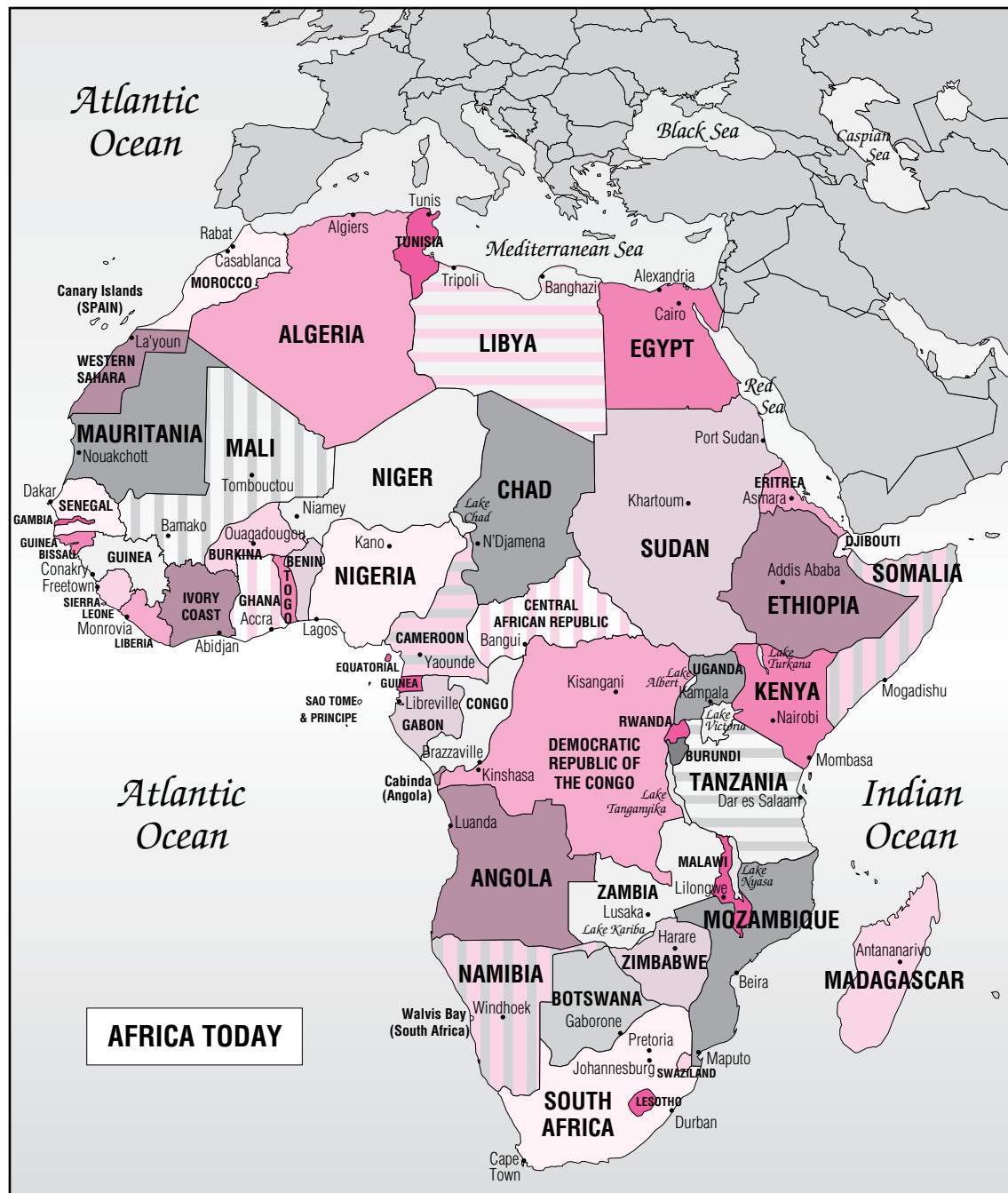
policemen, businessmen, and teachers were murdered. Special targets were members of the conservative black **Inkatha Freedom Party** under Zulu **Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi**. More than 800 of these victims were burned to death by the ANC's brutal "necklace" method—victims were trussed around the neck with a tire soaked in gasoline and ignited. More than 15,000 murders were committed per year after the campaign of violence began. Despite the fact that *apartheid* was substantially dismantled during the 1980s and Mandela was freed from prison, the campaign of violence and international propaganda continued. A Marxist Anglican bishop, **Desmond Tutu**; a leftist Reformed minister, **Allen Aubrey Boesak**; and the liberal South African Council of Churches were among the religious leaders supporting the revolutionaries. Tutu was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize by the Swedish Academy for his part.

In its effort to seize power, the ANC set forth four strategic goals: (1) convince the U.N. to support their cause and possibly intervene, (2) neutralize Inkatha, (3) neutralize the police and defense forces, and (4) secure a new constitution and the establishment of an interim government leading eventually to black majority rule. By 1994, the campaign harvested its fruits. In the first all-race national election, the ANC was swept into power and Mandela became president of the country. The change in government did not lead to any significant improvement in the economic condition of the poor in South Africa, and a year later Mandela found it necessary to call for further patience. The once rich and self-sufficient South Africa was soon becoming a subsidized client state of rich, liberal Western powers, demonstrating once again the hollowness of the socialist liberation claims. Mandela retired from public life in June 1999 and was succeeded as president of South Africa by **Thabo Mbeki**, who had already replaced Mandela as head of the ANC in 1997.

Dictators and Marxism in Latin America

Although Europeanized and having a large white population, Latin America, in the middle-to-late twentieth century came to identify with the Third World. To be sure, it shared some common characteristics of Africa and Asia: a low standard of living in some areas, domination of the economy by foreign interests, rapid population growth, widespread illiteracy, political instability, military dictatorships, and revolutionary guerrilla movements. The level of prosperity in some parts of Argentina, Venezuela, and Mexico was low. In Paraguay, Bolivia, and Haiti, people lived in utter poverty.

Racial Make-up. Latin America's history has been shaped by several factors. First, it has one of the most varied populations of any major section of the globe. Roughly 15 million whites from Europe and 10 million blacks from Africa reached Latin America and the Caribbean islands. There they mixed in with the existing Indian population. Intermarriage was so common that a new class of people known as **mestizos**, the offspring of Indians and Europeans, developed. Mestizos moved in the sphere of European culture even though some whites looked down on them. They had a lower social and economic standing than the whites, but a higher one than the Indians.

Economic Imbalance. Ever since the colonial period, a minority of whites owned most of the wealth while the vast multitude of peasants lived on the brink of starvation. Thus the peasants raised a clamor for a share of the lands belonging to the rich, and most revolutionary movements in the twentieth century have demanded land reform. Yet in 1970, at least 65 percent of the land was held by only 15 percent of the people.

In some places a central economic institution was the **hacienda**. This was a large piece of land on which a group of Indian peasants or slaves had been settled. The owner would allow them to use some of the land, providing them with simple houses, a store where they could purchase needed goods, and with spiritual care. The peasants, or **peons**, were required to work a certain number of days on the owner's land. The peons were also expected to build and repair such buildings on the hacienda as the owner's house and barns and the chapel. Peons received a home, some land, and the basic necessities of life. They were frequently in debt to the local store, as they received little pay for their labor. If peons were disloyal or disobedient they could be whipped or sent away from the hacienda.

Some economic problems have been blamed on foreign involvement. Capital from abroad developed Latin America's natural resources, such as bananas in Central America, tin in Bolivia, copper in Chile, oil in Venezuela, and timber in the rain forests. Critics of the foreign companies charged that little of the profit was plowed back into these countries to raise the economic and social level of the great majority. Thus foreign-owned firms became popular targets of revolutionary movements. It was difficult to develop industrial production because most people raised or made everything they needed and had little money to buy manufactured goods.

Roman Catholicism. A key element of Latin American life is the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. The Spanish and Portuguese who settled colonies in Latin America had made the native peoples a part of the colonial economies and converted them to Roman Catholicism. This church became a major landowner. After independence, it firmly supported the status quo in the various countries. With the growth of sec-ularism in the twentieth century, the church began losing economic and political power. But it still has enormous influence. Late in the century, Protestant evangelism through large-scale revivals began to have a major effect, and Protestantism grew rapidly in some South and Central American countries.

Unstable Governments. Political instability was also common. Almost every Latin American country has been torn by repeated "revolutions," which usually meant that one military clique was replaced by another. Further, the states have frequently waged bloody and destructive wars against each other. Most regimes allowed little freedom and brought little progress. Their huge military budgets and their use of force to wipe out any opposition drained the countries' resources. At the same time, guerrilla groups received aid from supporters in other countries and used terrorism in their efforts to overthrow the governments they disliked.

Dictatorships were frequently established. Some, such as that of **General Alfredo Stroessner** (elected president of Paraguay in 1954, 1958, and 1963), brutally exploited the people. But others, such as that of **Getúlio Vargas** in Brazil (1930–1945; 1951–1954), had considerable popular support. Vargas improved working conditions; built schools, highways, and airports; promoted coffee exports; and established the giant Volta Redonda steel mill complex, all at great cost and with soaring inflation. He committed suicide in 1954 after being forced to resign.

From 1946 to 1955, **Juan Perón** headed a fascist-leaning dictatorship in Argentina that appealed to the poor with promises of wage increases and land reform. In the later part of the century, a conservative government came to power and began a massive privatization program, with positive economic results.

Castro's Cuba. An idealistic group of young communist revolutionaries led by **Fidel Castro** overthrew the dictatorship of **Fulgencio Batista** in Cuba in 1959. At once Castro's regime nationalized American-owned property and launched a great land "reform" in which the state took over 40 percent of the cultivated land. He eliminated the wealthy upper class and the business middle class, most of whose members went into exile. After the Castro takeover and through the mid-1990s, more than 1.5 million Cubans left the country, most of them establishing themselves in southern Florida.

In 1961, Castro began openly calling himself a "Marxist-Leninist" and threw in his lot with the communist bloc. The United States, which at first had viewed him as a romantic liberator-hero, was uneasy about his socialist program, and tried to isolate his regime. President Kennedy inconsistently backed a poorly planned military action by exiles to overthrow Castro (**Bay of Pigs Invasion**). Following that, in the dramatic "missile crisis" of 1962, the United States made it clear that it would not tolerate the Soviet Union's use of Cuba as a base for offensive weapons in the Western Hemisphere.

Castro hoped to make agriculture, not industry, the basis of Cuba's prosperity and economic development. Manual labor was glorified over intellectual effort, and farm workers were considered the nation's leading citizens. Starry-eyed American liberals went to Cuba to help in the sugarcane harvests. Castro tried to slow the growth of cities, allowing once-beautiful Havana to fall into ruin. Thus his movement rejected urbanization as well as industrialization.

Castro actively exported his revolutionary ideas. Young Marxist fanatics throughout Latin America admired and copied him. Cuban aid went to

Fidel Castro

guerrilla movements in various places. His closest associate, **Ernesto (Ché) Guevara**, was killed in Bolivia in 1967 while leading a guerrilla band trying to overthrow the government there. The Cuban revolution was also exported to Nicaragua, where **Sandinista** rebels seized power in 1979 and drove the country into ruin before they lost their Soviet support and were voted out of office by democratic forces in the early 1990s. The Sandinista regime was under constant attack from right-wing **Contra** rebels who were supported, sometimes clandestinely, by the United States.

When Castro lost his Soviet sponsorship in the early 1990s, Cuba became poorer and more isolated. Most other Latin America countries had diplomatic relations with Cuba and they encouraged Castro to move toward democracy and a free-market economy. But Castro continued to

Ché Guevara, 1928–1967

reject fundamental change and remained blindly committed to communism. Cuban exiles in the United States were optimistic that communism would eventually collapse in Cuba as it did in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, in recurrent intervals, Cubans still on the island made attempts to escape to freedom and better economic opportunities. Using small boats and makeshift rafts, they tried to float across the Straits of Florida. While the United States once welcomed and encouraged refugees to escape communist countries, President Bill Clinton actually pressured Castro to keep his people in Cuba, reversing a 28-year-old policy of accepting nearly all Cuban refugees. The Castro government said in August 1994 that it would prevent the departure of refugees only if the United States would agreed to new talks about immigration

policy and lifting the long-standing U.S. trade embargo of Cuba. The Clinton administration agreed to process only 20,000 Cuban refugees annually but said that substantial democratic reforms in Cuba would have to be a prerequisite for any change in the economic embargo.

The United States and Latin America. To counter Castro's influence in the 1960s, Kennedy founded the **Alliance for Progress** in 1961, intended to be a kind of Marshall Plan for Latin America. However, it gave aid chiefly in the form of loans which were supposed to be used to buy U.S. exports. For this reason, the aid helped only the groups already controlling economic life in these countries. Instead of bringing development, the Alliance for Progress actually widened the gap between rich and poor and made governments more dependent than ever upon foreign investors. By the early 1970s, about three-quarters of Latin America's raw materials and one-half of its industry, banking, and foreign trade were controlled by North American corporations.

The United States also acted directly to stop Castro-like movements. In the **Dominican Republic** a long struggle took place after dictator **Rafael Trujillo** was deposed in 1961. President Lyndon Johnson sent American troops there in 1965 to keep order and prevent alleged Communists from taking over.

In another revolt, this time in **Chile**, the United States Central Intelligence Agency took part in a 1973 military coup which overthrew the elected Marxist government of **Salvador Allende Gossens**, who then reportedly committed suicide. The coup was led by right-wing **General Augusto Pinochet Urgarte**, who served as president from 1974 to 1990. His government instituted conservative economic policies, but it was accused by critics of stifling dissent and violating human rights, even with death squads. In 1981, Pinochet

was sworn in as president under a new constitution, but in 1988, he lost an election on a measure that would have allowed him to continue as president beyond the end of this term in 1990. The leader of the opposition party, **Patricio Aylwin**, replaced him and tried unsuccessfully to limit Pinochet's remaining power as chief of the army. **Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle** succeeded Aylwin in 1994 but faced a political crisis when courts ordered investigations into past government involvement in various murders and other crimes.

In 1983, United States troops again ventured into the Caribbean to overthrow a new Marxist government, which had opened the doors to another Western-hemisphere Soviet and Cuban military buildup. The action took place in the tiny island of **Grenada**, which had been under French or British rule alternately since 1650 (Columbus landed there in 1498). In 1979, the **Marxist New Jewel Movement** led by **Maurice Bishop** overthrew the Commonwealth-related government. Bishop set up a **People's Revolutionary Government**, but was ousted and murdered in 1983 by another New Jewel faction. U.S. intelligence sources discovered that a major military airport was being constructed there and alleged that the Soviets were attempting to do what they had tried to do in Cuba in the early 1960s—establish a military foothold near the United States. President Ronald Reagan ordered a U.S. military task force to invade the island. Within a few hours, the island had been taken and a new government installed. U.S. troops left within two months.

In 1977, the United States began to deal with another dangerous situation by agreeing to give up control of the **Panama Canal** by the end of the century. After a series of changes in the Panamanian government, military strongman **Manuel Noriega** came to power in the host country. Anti-American demonstrations took place in 1987,

and the United States suspended aid and imposed economic sanctions. In 1988, U.S. courts indicted Noriega on charges that he was involved in illegal drug trade and other forms of corruption. After a 1989 coup attempt failed, United States armed forces invaded Panama and, after a brief operation, deposed Noriega. He was arrested, jailed, and tried in the United States, where he remained in prison during the 1990s.

Another trouble spot is Haiti, a Caribbean country steeped in poverty and voodoo religion. The United States had occupied Haiti militarily from 1915 until 1934. In 1957, **Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier** came to power and established a brutal dictatorship until he died in 1971. Repression diminished somewhat under his lavish-living son, **Jean Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier**, but economic woes, civil rights abuses, and government corruption continued to produce popular resentment and international criticism. As protests mounted, Duvalier fled the country in 1986 and took up exile in France. Unstable military rule followed the Duvalier government until an election in 1990 brought a Marxist-oriented Catholic priest, **Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide**, to power. He was deposed and exiled in 1991 after eight months in office. A military junta took control, defying international condemnation and hemisphere-wide trade sanctions which followed. The United States led an effort through the United Nations to get the junta to step down. In 1994, the United Nations authorized the United States to take necessary actions to restore Aristide to power. The junta intensified its resistance to international intervention. U.S. President Bill Clinton announced that an armed invasion might be necessary. In September 1994, U.S. warships and aircraft headed for Haiti. As the invasion force neared the island, former **President Jimmy Carter**, retired **General Colin Powell**, and **Senator Sam Nunn** formed a last-ditch

negotiating team which succeeded in getting the junta, headed by **General Raoul Cedras** to step down and leave the country. U.S. troops landed in Haiti anyway and remained there as a security measure until they could be replaced by an international force which was supposed to assure the success of democracy. Aristide, by now defrocked as a priest, returned to complete his term of office. In 1996, **René Préval**, an ally of Aristide was elected president. Préval and Aristide soon became political opponents, leading to political turmoil in Haiti. Aristide ran for president again in 2000, winning an overwhelming election. Artistide was accused of corruption and using violence by his opponents. Finally, a revolt against Aristide erupted in February 2004; and by the end of the month, he had resigned from office and gone into exile. Some controversy exists about whether he resigned voluntarily or was pressured by the United States to resign. After Aristide left, peacekeeping troops from the United States and others in the region landed in Haiti to maintain order and help establish a new government.

The most complex and controversial U.S. involvement in Latin American affairs took place in **Nicaragua**. This Central American country had been the scene of revolutionary ferment since the late nineteenth century. A liberal revolution occurred in 1893, but in 1909 the United States supported another revolution which restored conservative rule. An uprising in 1912 led the United States to invade with marines who stayed until 1925 to complete training of a National Guard. U.S. marines returned a year later to halt another revolution. **General Augusto Cesar Sandino** conducted a guerrilla war against the U.S.-backed government until the marines left in 1933. He was killed in 1934 by the National Guard under **General Anastasio Somoza**, who seized power in 1936 and stayed in power until

he was assassinated in 1956. His two sons, **Luis** and **Anastasio**, followed him into power.

Nicaragua's economy improved under the Somozas but there was evidence of widespread corruption which produced growing resentment. When opposition leader **Pedro Joaquin Chamarro** was murdered in 1978, a nationwide uprising occurred. The United States tried unsuccessfully to negotiate the ouster of the Somoza regime while a Marxist guerrilla group, the **Sandinista National Liberation Front** (FSLN) waged a civil war. The Sandinistas took power in 1979 and set up a coalition government with a communist agenda. The Sandinistas conducted bloody repressions, especially against Christians. The Roman Catholic Church, moderate politicians, the business community, and the United States opposed the regime, which increasingly tightened controls. An opposition guerrilla military force known as the **Contras** continued attempts to bring down the Sandinista government, which by 1984 was headed by **President Daniel Ortega Saavedra**. The government channeled more and more of its scarce resources into the military effort against the Contras, further impoverishing the country. The Soviet Union and other communist regimes, especially East Germany, dominated Nicaragua's tottering economy, which was boycotted by the United States and its allies. In 1987, Ortega and leaders of four other Central American nations signed an idealistic regional peace plan (similar leftist guerrilla conflicts were occurring in countries neighboring Nicaragua). As international communism was toppling in 1989, Ortega agreed to elections. The Sandinistas were thrown out of power in the vote in 1990. They were replaced by a broad-based coalition government headed **Violetta Barrios de Chamarro**, widow of the slain Pedro Chamarro. She worked to reconcile the nation and end devastating economic problems. By 1993, however, her

efforts had had only limited success and there were new threats of civil war by ex-Contras who were angry at her conciliatory approach to the Sandinistas.

The Iran-Contra Scandal. Behind the open political turmoil in Nicaragua during the 1980s, the makings of an international scandal were brewing—at least it was called a scandal by critics of the operations involved.

In November 1986, President Ronald Reagan confirmed that the United States had secretly sold arms to Iran in an effort to improve relations with that country. He at first denied but later admitted that the deal had turned into an exchange arrangement for the release of U.S. hostages being held in the Middle East by various groups of Iran-backed terrorists. Critics of the Reagan administration, especially opposition party members in Congress, expressed outrage that the administration would provide arms to a hostile government. The affair was escalated when **Attorney General Edwin Meese** discovered that some of the profits from the arms sales to Iran had been diverted to aid the anticommunist Nicaraguan Contra freedom fighters. This allegedly occurred at a time when Congress had prohibited aid to the Contras. A special prosecutor was appointed to investigate the matter, and Reagan appointed a special review commission. The commission criticized Reagan for being too passive in controlling members of his administration's security agencies. Congress launched an investigation. The central figure of the investigations soon became **Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North**, a member of the National Security Council's staff, who appeared to have been the central link in the Iran-Contra financing exchanges. North's supervisor **John Poindexter** took responsibility for the affair and was later convicted of criminal charges associated with the affair, as were

other figures involved. North too was convicted of several alleged crimes, including lying to Congress; but his convictions were overturned in various court appeals. In 1994, he ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate, but in the interim, he had become a highly popular figure among conservative Christian political activists because of his outspoken interest in Christianity and in patriotism. President George H. W. Bush pardoned former **Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger** and other principals for their alleged parts in the affair. Critics charged that the pardons were intended to cover up Bush's own complicity in the Iran-Contra transactions. The so-called Iran-Contra Scandal seemed to weaken the otherwise popular presidency of Ronald Reagan and tarnished U.S. prestige abroad. The drawn-out investigation, which largely fizzled in the end, cost taxpayers many millions of dollars. By the time it was over, the Sandinistas were well out of power and the Middle East hostages had been released through other means.

The Growth of a Third World Consciousness

The term "Third World" began to be applied in the 1950s to the newly emerging non-Western countries. It implied they would not be tied to either the "First World" or "Second World," the blocs centering around Washington and Moscow, but would remain **neutral**, or "nonaligned."

Twenty-nine of these states from Asia and Africa held a general conference at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. The main idea behind the meeting was neutralism. Denouncing colonialism in all of its forms, the delegates implied disapproval of Soviet actions in Eastern Europe, as well as alleged

The United Nations has played an increasing role in policing third-world conflicts.

Western imperialism. They supported the complaints of individual members that did not cut across the interest of others—the liberation of French North Africa, the Arab states against Israel, Yemen against Aden, Indonesia against Holland. In addition, they called for general disarmament, recognition of all races and nations as equal, and economic cooperation. In most cases, leftist causes tended to get the support of the nonaligned group, betraying the thinly cloaked infiltration efforts of the communist bloc. Yugoslavia played a major role in influencing the **nonaligned movement**. Also, the prominent role played by Premier Chou En-lai at the meeting showed that China had again become a factor in the international power struggle. The "neutralism" of the 1950s was thus deceptive. With its strong anticolonialism and policy of taking Eastern aid in order to reduce dependence on the West, many Third World countries found themselves aligned much closer to the communist bloc than they publicly admitted.

Bandung was significant because it provided a meeting ground for nations which before had had little in common. Now they could think of themselves as a force in international affairs. Leaders could seek aid from both West and East without being officially tied to either. Instead of a negative refusal to take sides, neutralism became seen as a positive policy linked with nationalism. From this point on, neutralism attracted many newly independent states. It seemed to help them gain the maximum advantage from each side in the Cold War with a minimum commitment.

The nonaligned nations held other conferences after Bandung, but none was as important as the first. Although they regularly condemned Israel, supported revolts in white-ruled parts of Africa, urged world disarmament, and championed the right of underdeveloped countries to control their natural resources and take over foreign-owned companies, they could not agree on what **nonalignment** meant. And they could not agree on how to get the wealthier states to help the poorer ones.

In the 1960s, the political power of neutralism declined. However, by then the Third World nations had a large majority in the United Nations, and they concentrated their diplomatic efforts there. A focal point of Third World action was the **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development**. At the first UNCTAD meeting in 1964, a bloc of 77 countries, over the protests of Western participants, made what was supposed to be a one-time conference into a permanent organization. Through it they could challenge the developed states on economic issues. The group later attracted over 130 members (including the Palestine Liberation Organization) but continues to call itself the "**Group of 77**." It serves as a major means by which the

Third World exerts its power in the United Nations.

Many of the Third World powers are active in regional groups as well, such as the **Organization of African Unity**, the **Association of Southeast Asian Nations**, and the **Organization of American States**.

The Oil Weapon. In late 1973, a few developing countries in the Middle East did with one bold stroke what most had dreamed of doing for many years. An oil cartel they had formed, the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**, almost succeeded in bringing the industrial nations to their knees. First, Arab members stopped the shipment of oil to those nations which had sympathized with Israel in the Yom Kippur War. Then in just one year, the cartel raised the world price of crude oil fourfold.

The steep hikes in oil prices hurt developing countries more than the West, although retail prices for gasoline and other petroleum fuels and products skyrocketed in the industrial countries as well. The developing countries needed oil for making fertilizer and operating irrigation systems to increase food production. Also, in order to pay for oil, Western nations had to cut back purchases of raw materials and other goods, many of which would had come from the Third World. In only three years, OPEC's share of world trade rose from 7 to 13 percent. The so-called **Arab Oil Embargo** touched off significant inflation of prices and wages worldwide. In the United States, President Richard Nixon finally imposed nationwide wage and price controls, which further damaged the U.S. economy. Attempts by other producers of primary goods (except for aluminum ore) to use the potent weapon of price-fixing failed.

Third World Viewpoint. A Third World "philosophy" seemed to accompany the sense of identity

Market in Turkey shows that food distribution in many Mideastern countries has not been influenced by technology.

these peoples had. It was a mixture of anti-white racism; resentment against wealthier, developed countries; and a vague socialism. Using the idea of "class struggle" to justify their actions, they were prepared to eliminate traditional authorities, the educated classes, or any other obstacle to wielding power, in the name of the "people."

Nations of the Third World struggled to achieve and maintain their political independence. They expressed a concern over Western economic ties which have continued and even increased as the twentieth century moved toward its close. Some identified this problem as "neocolonialism" or "dependency." In order to resist what they considered Western exploitation, they wanted a "New International Economic Order" to reorganize the world's economic system so there will be less dependence on Western capital. Yet they continued to welcome giveaways of foreign aid from Western nations. Studies by Britain's **Lord P. T. Bauer** have documented how foreign aid severely hampered the natural economic development of Third World countries. He showed that hand-

outs have not promoted the interests of the donors but often were "counterproductive, by arousing suspicions of undisclosed motives or by encouraging recipients to thwart donors to show their independence." He argued that the best thing for the West to do would be to reduce trade barriers against Third World exports, thus encouraging Third World productive enterprises and investment, reducing unemployment, and increasing the spread of skills.

Marxism was an underlying idea in Third World thinking, but it was not identical to Western Marxism or Soviet communism. China's Mao Tse-tung developed one form, and liberation movements in Vietnam, Cuba, Peru, Algeria, and elsewhere adopted it. Maoism made the peasants, rather than the *proletariat*, the social basis of the revolution. The Communist Party takes the lead, but it is a people's "democracy" which unites the peasants, workers, lesser *bourgeoisie*, and intellectuals in a revolutionary organization. Using the tactics of closely organized guerrilla warfare, the movement chipped away at the existing order. But, according to studies by conservative Swedish economist **Sven Rydenfelt**, Third World socialism consistently harmed the economic and social development of emerging nations. When the Soviet Union collapsed and China grew more interested in involvement with the West, the concept of a "Third World" began to diminish in much of the world's thinking. The United States emerged as the single world superpower, and the world scene witnessed fragmentation into narrower and narrower national, ethnic, and tribal interests as the century drew to a close.

Religious Response to Third World Demands. One form of Third World belief joined Marxism and liberal Christian theology. It was called **liberation theology.** Held mainly by a number of important Roman Catholic thinkers in Latin

A cathedral located in the center of Cuzco, Peru. Roman Catholicism is one of the greatest influences in South America.

America, it saw salvation mostly as political and economic liberation. They argued that the gap between the rich and poor nations could never be closed by Western economic aid and the workings of the capitalist system. To these thinkers, China and Cuba demonstrated that Marxism was the key to the future. Cuba's deterioration and China's continued backwardness without capitalism tended to deflate that claim.

Some Roman Catholic priests in Latin America felt strongly that the church had been too closely tied to existing governments and European imperialism. A few actually joined revolutionary guerrilla movements. Others, such as **Archbishop Dom Helder Camara** of Brazil, publicly defended the rights of the poor but stressed nonviolent action.

Liberation theologians believed that one must begin not with theology or the Bible but with one's own place in the world. The Bible becomes relevant only when it speaks on practical world issues, they said. Thus they said the Exodus was an act of political liberation, and "salvation" means struggle against misery and exploitation. Also, they claimed that the teachings of the Old Testament prophets and Jesus attack private property. These theologians felt that Western Christians had failed to realize these things because they read the Bible through capitalist eyes and stressed theory rather than practical matters.

The **World Council of Churches (WCC)** had become thoroughly infiltrated by leftists and even communist agents by the 1960s, and it turned its prestige against the West, supporting scores of revolutionary causes in the Third World. WCC documents were laced with accusations that Western capitalist democracies were "colonial tyrants, capitalist aggressors, warmongers, oppressors, exploiters, imperialists, *bourgeois* class dominators, racists, bloody suppressors," and "scandlers of social, economic and political justice."

As Australian researcher-author Henry R. Pike described it in 1978,

> The WCC "experts" have taken hold of the biblical doctrine of "salvation" and its various relative terms, e.g., "reconciliation," "freedom," "forgiveness," "redemption," etc., and have emptied these terms of their original God-intended and [God-]given meanings. Now, in WCC pro-left theology, they have become instruments for "revolution," "change," "restructuring of society," "world socialism," "identity-finding," for "the humanization," for the "destruction of capitalism," etc. (From *Religion: Red and Rotten*.)

Most Protestant evangelicals would not go so far. However, at the **Lausanne Conference on World Evangelism** in 1974, Protestant leaders from around the world agreed that evangelism and sociopolitical action were part of their Christian duty. They recognized the task of spreading righteousness in an unrighteous world, and they condemned oppression and discrimination.

Although rejecting the Marxist basis of liberation, more and more Protestants in the West came to believe Third World demands were just.

Other Christians argued, however, that the very real plight of the poor nations of the world has a spiritual cause—they have been inhabited for generations by peoples who have spurned God's social and economic order as outlined in the Bible. As David Chilton has written,

> The central fact about the heathen is that they are living in willful rebellion against the one true God, and are therefore under God's curse. The economic issue is a symptom of their condition; but the problem with pagans is primarily religious and ethical. To neglect this central point in order to focus only on their poverty is radically unbiblical and immoral.
>
> If pagans are truly to be helped, they and their culture must be converted to the Christian faith. If we seek merely to neutralize the effects of God's righteous judgment upon them, we are manifesting contempt for Him, and our efforts will not be blessed. Our major concern must be to reconcile the heathen to God whom they have offended. The problem is religious; the solution is religious as well....
>
> The fact that the poor nations are suffering under the judgment of God does not mean we should disregard the real misery of these people. But it does require that we approach them carefully, with a biblical, theologically informed mind. Our actions toward them must be concerned with transforming their cultures by the Word of God. (From *Productive Christians in an Age of Guilt Manipulators*, ICE.)

For your consideration

Questions

1. How do a person's religious ideas affect his political and economic decisions? Would your answer be different if you were considering a Hindu, a Jew, or a Christian?

2. How do you feel about the idea of civil disobedience? Have you ever boycotted a particular product or company? Why or why not?

3. What are the advantages and disadvantages when a political party remains in power for a long time?

4. Why did newly independent countries experience political instability?

5. How does a dictator gain control of an army and government?

6. Why is Christianity often called a Western religion although it started in the Middle East?

7. If Marx were alive during the twentieth century, would he likely have sided with Russia or China? Explain. Is it wise to adapt a political system to conditions within different countries and to changing times? Explain. Does the Bible favor any particular type of political system for all men?

8. How should the United States relate to countries with authoritarian governments? What is the best way to deal with terrorists?

9. What causes poverty?

Projects

1. Read Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience" and report on it.

2. Use a recent atlas to locate countries mentioned in this chapter. Choose a country and study its geography, language, people, history, religions, and natural resources. Read some recent publications to find out what is happening there now.

3. Research and report on one of these female leaders: Golda Meir (Israel), Margaret Thatcher (Britain), Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan), Sirimavo Bandanaike (Sri Lanka), Eva Perón (Argentina), Begum Rahman (Bangladesh), Indira Gandhi (India), Corazon Aquino (Philippines).

4. Interview someone who served in the military in Vietnam. What are his or her feelings about the war?

5. Interview a missionary who has served in a Third World country. Find out his or her feelings about the struggles in that country and about changing social customs.

6. Do a report on the history of the African National Congress in South Africa.

7. View the film *China Cry* about the Christian evangelist Nora Lam's experiences during the Cultural Revolution, if it is available to you.

8. Research reasons for the West's failure to defeat communism during the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Word List

mahatma	kibbutz
civil disobedience	electoral
linguistic	multiracial
discrimination	*apartheid*
genocide	segregated
normalized	mestizos
trusteeship	hacienda
subversion	peons
alleged	neutralism
countercoup	nonaligned
caste system	Great Leap Forward
Three Principles of the People	Cultural Revolution
	Nixon Doctrine
Domino Theory	Sharia
guided democracy	Iran-Contra
Pan-Turanism	rapprochement

People and Groups

Mohandas Gandhi	Hezbollah
Jawaharlal Nehru	David Ben-Gurion
Indira Gandhi	Menachem Begin
Deng Xiaoping	Yassar Arafat
Chiang Ch'ing	Anwar Sadat
Red Guards	Jimmy Carter
Kim Il-sung	Gerald Ford
Ho Chi Minh	Ronald Reagan
Ngo Dinh Diem	George H. W. Bush
Jane Fonda	Bill Clinton
Viet Cong	Muammar Qaddafi
Khmer Rouge	Patrice Lumumba
Pathet Lao	Amin Dada
Pol Pot	Nelson Mandela
Ferdinand Marcos	The Duvaliers
Corazon Aquino	Sandinistas
Sukarno & Suharto	Oliver North
Ayatollah Khomeini	OPEC