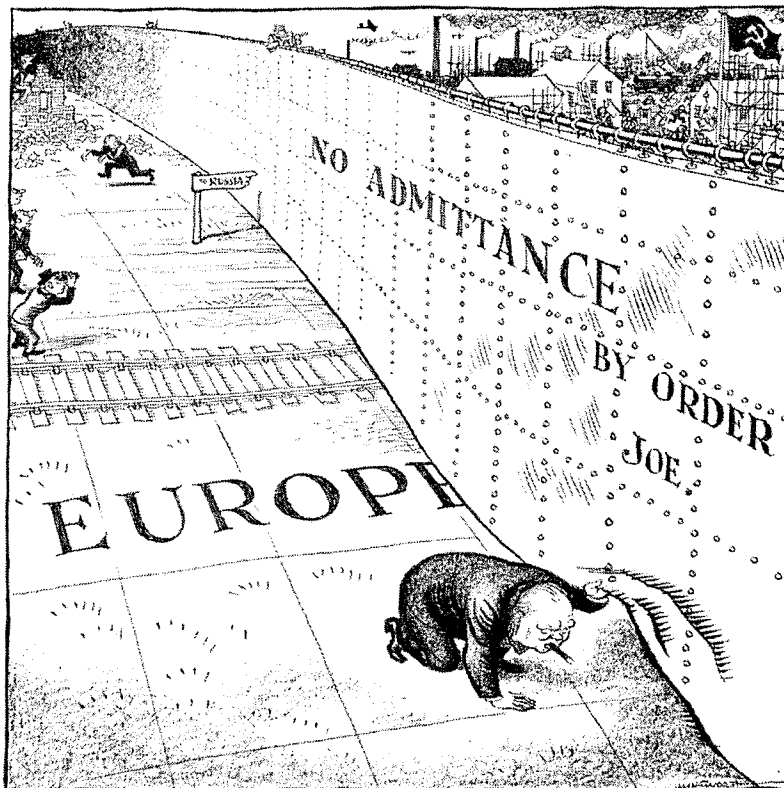


AP EUROPEAN HISTORY READINGS
CH. 28: COLD WAR AND NEW WESTERN WORLD, 1945-1965
CH. 29: PROTEST AND STAGNATION, COLD WAR 1965-1985

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The Truman Doctrine & Marshall Plan

the point where it was formalized in government programs and international policies; the Cold War had broken out. In the United States this was most clearly announced in two policy decisions excerpted here. The first is a speech delivered by President Truman on March 12, 1947, to Congress, concerning proposed aid to Greece and Turkey, which appeared in danger of falling under the influence of the Soviet Union. The principles contained in this speech became known as the Truman Doctrine. The second is a statement made by Secretary of State George C. Marshall on November 10, 1947, to Senate and House Committees on Foreign Relations, proposing massive aid to Europe. This proposal became known as the Marshall Plan.

CONSIDER: *The American perception of the Soviet Union and its allies; the purposes of this foreign policy; how the Soviet Union would probably perceive and react to this foreign policy.*

- Truman Doctrine:

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States had made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guaranties of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

- Marshall Plan:

As a result of the war, the European community which for centuries had been one of the most productive and indeed creative portions of the inhabited world was left prostrate. This area, despite its diversity of national cultures and its series of internecine conflicts and wars, nonetheless enjoys a common heritage and a common civilization.

The war ended with the armies of the major Allies meeting in the heart of this community. The policies of three of them have been directed to the restoration of that European community. It is now clear that only one power, the Soviet Union, does not for its own reasons share this aim.

We have become involved in two wars which have had their origins in the European continent. The free peoples of Europe have fought two wars to prevent the forcible domination of their community by a single great power. Such domination would have inevitably menaced the stability and security of the world. To deny today our interest in their ability to defend their own heritage would be to disclaim the efforts and sacrifices of two generations of Americans. We wish to see this community restored as one of the pillars of world security; in a position to renew its contribution to the advancement of mankind and to the development of a world order based on law and respect for the individual.

The record of the endeavors of the United States Government to bring about a restoration of the whole of that European community is clear for all who wish to see. We must face the fact, however, that despite our efforts, not all of the European nations have been left free to take their place in the community of which they form a natural part.

Thus the geographic scope of our recovery program is limited to those nations which are free to act in accordance with their national traditions and their own estimates of their national interests. If there is any doubt as to this situation, a glance at the present map of the European continent will provide the answer.

The present line of division in Europe is roughly the line upon which the Anglo-American armies coming from the west met those of the Soviet Union coming from the east. To the west of that line the nations of the continental European community have been grappling with the vast and difficult problems resulting from the war in conformity with their own national traditions without pressure or menace from the United States or Great Britain. Developments in the European countries to the east of that line bear the unmistakable imprint of an alien hand.

* The Cold War: A Soviet Perspective

B. N. Ponomaryov

The Cold War and indeed modern history were seen differently in the Soviet Union than in the West. The following excerpt is from History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1960), an official publication of the Soviet

SOURCE: B. N. Ponomaryov et al., *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Andrew Rothstein, trans. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960), pp. 599, 606-12.

government. Here the focus is on the end of World War II and the early Cold War period.

CONSIDER: *The elements of this interpretation most likely to be accepted by Western non-Marxist historians; how this interpretation differs from Truman's and Marshall's perceptions; how these differences help explain the existence of the Cold War.*

As a result of the war the capitalist system sustained enormous losses and became weaker. *The second stage of the general crisis of capitalism set in, manifesting itself chiefly in a new wave of revolutions. Albania, Bulgaria, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia broke away from the system of capitalism. . . .*

In their relations with the People's Democracies the Communist Party and the Soviet Government strictly adhered to the principle of non-interference in their internal affairs. The U.S.S.R. recognised the people's governments in these States and supported them politically. True to its internationalist duty, the U.S.S.R. came to the aid of the People's Democracies with grain, seed and raw materials, although its own stocks had been badly depleted during the war. This helped to provide the population with foodstuffs and also to speed up the recommissioning of many industrial enterprises. The presence of the Soviet armed forces in the People's Democracies prevented domestic counter-revolution from unleashing a civil war and averted intervention. The Soviet Union paralysed the attempts of the foreign imperialists to interfere in the internal affairs of the democratic States. . . .

The U.S.A. decided to take advantage of the economic and political difficulties in the other leading capitalist countries and bring them under its sway. Under the pretext of economic aid the U.S.A. began to infiltrate into their economy and interfere in their internal affairs. Such big capitalist countries as Japan, West Germany, Italy, France and Britain all became dependent on the U.S.A. to a greater or lesser degree. The people of Western Europe were confronted with the task of defending their national sovereignty against the encroachments of American imperialism. . . .

The radical changes that took place after the second world war substantially altered the political map of the world. There emerged *two* main world social and political camps: the Socialist and democratic camp, and the imperialist and anti-democratic camp. . . .

The ruling circles of the U.S.A., striving for world supremacy, openly declared that they could achieve their aims only from "positions of strength." The American imperialists unleashed the so-called cold war, and sought to kindle the flames of a third world war. In 1949, the

U.S.A. set up an aggressive military bloc known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). As early as 1946, the Western States began to pursue a policy of splitting Germany, which was essentially completed in 1949 with the creation of a West German State. Subsequently they set out to militarise West Germany. This further deepened the division of Germany and made her reunification exceptionally difficult. A dangerous hotbed of war began to form in Europe. In the Far East the United States strove to create a hotbed of war in Japan, stationing its armed forces and building military bases on her territory.

In 1950, the United States resorted to open aggression in the Far East. It occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan, provoked an armed clash between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and South Korea and began an aggressive war against the Korean people. The war in Korea was a threat to the People's Republic of China, and Chinese people's volunteers came to the assistance of the Korean people.

The military adventure of the U.S.A. in Korea sharply aggravated international tension. The U.S.A. started a frantic arms drive and stepped up the production of atomic, thermonuclear, bacteriological and other types of weapons of mass annihilation. American military bases, spearheaded primarily against the U.S.S.R., China and the other Socialist countries, were hastily built at various points of the capitalist world. Military blocs were rapidly knocked together. The threat of a third world war with the use of mass destruction weapons increased considerably.

The Berlin Wall

Jens Reich

Perhaps the most striking symbol of the Cold War that divided Europe was the Berlin Wall. In 1961, the East German government, under orders from Moscow, erected a 100-mile heavily armed wall in Berlin to keep its citizens from fleeing to the West. Berlin had served as an escape route for 2.6 million people, especially professionals and the well educated who sought a higher standard of living and broader cultural options in West Berlin and Western Europe. In the following selection, Jens Reich, a 22-year-old student in East Berlin in 1961, describes his reactions when the wall went up.

CONSIDER: *What Reich means by "Wall-Sickness"; the significance of the Berlin Wall to people such as Reich.*

SOURCE: Jens Reich, "Reflections on Becoming an East German Dissident, on Loosing the Wall and a Country," in *Spring in Winter, The 1989 Revolutions*, ed. by Gwyn Prins (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1990) (Dist. by St. Martin's Press), pp. 75-77.

I was a student in East Berlin before 13th August, 1961, before the day of "The Wall." I came to Berlin in 1956, as a boy of 17. I had lived in a rather dull provincial town and after Halberstadt, Berlin was like a revelation for me. . . . And then we had West Berlin. What a thrill! Cinemas, theatres, the Philharmonie. . . . I took everybody who came to visit me in Berlin. And I remember the coming of The Wall.

I mention all these details, which I remember so clearly, in order to give a sense of the shock that we suffered when The Wall came upon us one night. There we were in Berlin, at the crossroads between East and West, at the juncture of two fundamentally different cultures, and suddenly we were locked up like canaries in a cage. Literally from one day to the next, from being a vibrant and cultured city, Berlin subsided into the drowsy torpor of a midsummer afternoon in the provinces. We were imprisoned in a dull, flat country.

In the first years no foreign earth was available to us at all. Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union could only be visited by professional people. Bulgaria and Romania opened for tourists in the mid-sixties; but prices were steep and they were holiday resorts rather than centres of European culture. To reach West Germany was a venture that most probably ended in prison for *Republikflucht*, or worse, for the Border Guards shot mercilessly at people trying to climb over "The Wall."

To call it a wall doesn't really do it justice. It was an entire system of watch towers, barbed wire, searchlights, pierced steel plate (to call it "wire mesh" gives the wrong impression of what was called "The Wire" within "The Wall"), strips sown with land-mines, free-fire zones covered by automatic guns, dog runs with ferocious, hungry dogs, armed Border Guard launches on the river to stop swimmers—all this apparatus of containment as well as concrete walls and passages. . . .

"Wall-sickness" was the eternal, lamenting analysis of our life blighted and circumscribed by *Die Mauer*. It came from being in a cage in the centre of Europe. Wall-sickness was boredom. We felt condemned to utter, excruciating dullness, sealed off from everything that happened in the world around us. Wall-sickness was loneliness, the feeling that you were condemned to die without having ever seen Naples, or Venice, or Paris, or London.

Some people could not stand the prospect of a life of such tedium and literally went mad. People would sometimes do crazy irrational things. You might go to the border, for example, draw your identity card and announce that you wanted "to be rid of this shitty country," a gesture with the guaranteed outcome of years in prison, but done in the hope that West Germany would buy you out sooner or later (often later!). Wall-sickness was the anguish of deprivation of a whole generation born between 1930 and 1950. We knew what we had lost.

British Labor's Rise to Power

Harry W. Laidler

During World War II governments became involved in social and economic activities to an unprecedented degree. Although with the end of the war this changed to some degree, there was still significant acceptance of government involvement in society. In Great Britain this was combined with an increasing acceptance of the Labor party, whose strength had been growing since the end of World War I. In the elections of 1945, this party, made up of a combination of Socialist and trade-union groups, gained a majority and took office, replacing the Conservatives led by Winston Churchill. The new government initiated policies that substantially changed the relationship between the government and the people during the period following World War II. Excerpts from the Labor party platform set forth shortly before the 1945 elections are presented here.

CONSIDER: *The ways in which this platform constituted a major assault on capitalism and laissez-faire; how this platform might reflect the experience of the Great Depression and the world wars; how a Conservative might argue against this platform.*

The Labor party is a socialist party, and proud of it. Its ultimate purpose at home is the establishment of the socialist commonwealth of Great Britain—free, democratic, efficient, progressive, public-spirited, its material resources organized in the service of the British people.

But socialism cannot come overnight, as the product of a week-end revolution. The members of the Labor party, like the British people, are practical-minded men and women.

There are basic industries ripe and over-ripe for public ownership and management in the direct service of the nation. There are many smaller businesses rendering good service which can be left to go on with their useful work.

There are big industries not yet ripe for public ownership which must nevertheless be required by constructive supervision to further the nation's needs and not to prejudice national interests by restrictive antisocial monopoly or cartel agreements—caring for their own capital structures and profits at the cost of a lower standard of living for all.

In the light of these considerations, the Labor party submits to the nation the following industrial program:

1. *Public Ownership of the Fuel and Power Industries.* For a quarter of a century the coal industry, producing Britain's most precious national raw material, has

SOURCE: Harry W. Laidler, "British Labor's Rise to Power," in *League for Industrial Democracy Pamphlet Series* (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1945), pp. 24–25. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

been floundering chaotically under the ownership of many hundreds of independent companies. Amalgamation under public ownership will bring great economies in operation and make it possible to modernize production methods and to raise safety standards in every colliery in the country. Public ownership of gas and electricity undertakings will lower charges, prevent competitive waste, open the way for co-ordinated research and development, and lead to the reforming of uneconomic areas of distribution. Other industries will benefit.

2. *Public Ownership of Inland Transport.* Co-ordination of transport services by rail, road, air and canal cannot be achieved without unification. And unification without public ownership means a steady struggle with sectional interests or the entrenchment of a private monopoly, which would be a menace to the rest of industry.
3. *Public Ownership of Iron and Steel.* Private monopoly has maintained high prices and kept inefficient high-cost plants in existence. Only if public ownership replaced private monopoly can the industry become efficient.

These socialized industries, taken over on a basis of fair compensation, to be conducted efficiently in the interests of consumers, coupled with proper status and conditions for the workers employed in them.

4. *Public Supervision of Monopolies and Cartels* with the aim of advancing industrial efficiency in the service of the nation. Anti-social restrictive practices will be prohibited.
5. *A First and Clear-cut Program for the Export Trade.* We would give State help in any necessary form to get our export trade on its feet and enable it to pay for the food and raw materials without which Britain must decay and die. But State help on conditions—conditions that industry is efficient and go-ahead. Laggards and obstructionists must be led or directed into a better way. Here we dare not fail.
6. *The Shaping of Suitable Economic and Price Controls* to secure that first things shall come first in the transition from war to peace and that every citizen (including the demobilized Service men and women) shall get fair play. There must be priorities in the use of raw materials, food prices must be held, homes for the people must come before mansions, necessities for all before luxuries for the few. We do not want a short boom followed by collapse as after the last war; we do not want a wild rise in prices and inflation, followed by a smash and widespread unemployment. It is either sound economic controls—or smash.

Declaration Against Colonialism

The General Assembly of the United Nations

Most colonized peoples gained their independence from Western powers during the twenty years that followed World War II. This reflected both the weakness of Europe after the war and the strength of anti-imperialist sentiments around the world. Yet the process of decolonization was difficult in itself and was complicated by the ideological differences that divided nations. In 1960, after a bitter debate, the United Nations adopted the following "Declaration Against Colonialism." Although no nation voted against the resolution, Australia, Belgium, the Dominican Republic, France, Great Britain, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, and the United States abstained.

CONSIDER: Possible reasons these nations abstained; justifications used by nations for not giving up their colonial possessions; what this declaration reveals about the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations.

The General Assembly.

Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,

Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace,

Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories,

Recognizing that the people of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,

Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic cooperation, impedes the social, cultural and economic

development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace,

Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and the international law,

Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Welcoming the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognizing the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence,

Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory,

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end

Declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.
2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.
4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.
5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or color, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.
6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a

country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, noninterference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

The Balfour Declaration, U.N. Resolution 242, and A Palestinian Memoir: Israel, Palestine, and the Middle East

Since World War II, the Middle East has been a center of violent conflict as well as a source of great concern for the world. One of the main sources of conflict has been the struggle over the creation of Israel and the Palestinian problem that resulted. The roots of this Israeli-Palestinian struggle stretch back at least as far as the late nineteenth century when the Zionist movement—a movement to make Palestine the national home of the Jews—began. The struggle over the creation of Israel came to a head in 1948 when the British, who controlled Palestine, left it in the hands of the United Nations. A United Nations resolution and the first Arab-Israeli war resulted in the creation of Israel, a massive number of Palestinian refugees, and decades of conflict between Arabs and Israelis.

The first of the following three documents on this topic is the Balfour Declaration, a 1917 letter from British Foreign Secretary Balfour to Walter Rothschild, the representative of British Jewry. The letter was used by Zionists to support immigration to Palestine and to obligate the British to create a Jewish homeland there. The second document is Resolution 242 (passed by the United Nations in 1967), which recognized Israel's existence and its need for security but at the same time called on Israel to withdraw from the territories captured in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. The third document contains excerpts from a memoir of a Palestinian exile, Fawaz Turki. He describes the flight from Palestine in 1948, the years of exile that followed, and his continuing sense of Palestinian consciousness.

CONSIDER: *Why the Balfour Declaration was so important and why the Palestinians rejected it; why Israel has been reluctant to accept U.N. Resolution 242; the source and importance of Turki's sense of Palestinian consciousness.*

SOURCES: *International Documents on Palestine*, 1968, Zuhair Diab, ed. (New York, 1971); Fawaz Turki, *The Disinherited: Journal of a Palestinian Exile* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), pp. 43–45, 54, as excerpted.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,
Arthur James Balfour

U.N. RESOLUTION 242

The Security Council . . .

1. *Affirms* that that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:
 - (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
 - (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;
2. *Affirms further* the necessity
 - (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;
 - (b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
 - (c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones.

A PALESTINIAN MEMOIR

A breeze began to blow as we moved slowly along the coast road, heading to the Lebanese border—my mother and father, my two sisters, my brother and I. Behind us lay the city of Haifa, long the scene of bombing, sniper fire, ambushes, raids, and bitter fighting between Palestinians and Zionists. Before us lay the city of Sidon and indefinite exile. Around us the waters of the Mediterranean sparkled

in the sun. Above us eternity moved on unconcerned, as if God in his heavens watched the agonies of men, as they walked on crutches, and smiled. And our world had burst, like a bubble, a bubble that had engulfed us within its warmth. From then on I would know only crazy sorrow and watch the glazed eyes of my fellow Palestinians burdened by loss and devastated by pain.

April 1948. And so it was the cruelest month of the year, but there were crueler months, then years. . . .

After a few months in Sidon, we moved again, a Palestinian family of six heading to a refugee camp in Beirut, impotent with hunger, frustration, and incomprehension. But there we encountered other families equally helpless, equally baffled, who like us never had enough to eat, never enough to offer books and education to their children, never enough to face an imminent winter. In later years, when we left the camp and found better housing and a better life outside and grew up into our early teens, we would complain about not having this or that and would be told by our mothers: "You are well off, boy! Think of those still living there in the camps. Just think of them and stop making demands." We would look out the window and see the rain falling and hear the thunder. And we would remember. We would understand. We would relent as we thought "of those still living there."

Man adapts. We adapted, the first few months, to life in a refugee camp. In the adaptation we were also reduced as men, as women, as children, as human beings. At times we dreamed. Reduced dreams. Distorted ambitions. One day, we hoped, our parents would succeed in buying two beds for me and my sister to save us the agonies of asthma, intensified from sleeping on blankets on the cold floor. One day, we hoped, there would be enough to buy a few pounds of pears or apples as we had done on those special occasions when we fought and sulked and complained because one of us was given a smaller piece of fruit than the others. One day soon, we hoped, it would be the end of the month when the UNRWA rations arrived and there was enough to eat for a week. One day soon, we argued, we would be back in our homeland.

The days stretched into months and those into a year and yet another. Kids would play in the mud of the winters and the dust of the summers, while "our problem" was debated at the UN and moths died around the kerosene lamps. . . .

Our Palestinian consciousness, instead of dissipating, was enhanced and acquired a subtle nuance and a new dimension. It was buoyed by two concepts: the preservation of our memory of Palestine and our acquisition of education. We persisted in refusing the houses and monetary compensation offered by the UN to settle us in our host countries. We wanted nothing short of returning to our homeland. And from Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan, we would see, a few miles, a few yards, across the border, a

land where we had been born, where we had lived, and where we felt the earth. "This is my land," we would shout, or cry, or sing, or plead, or reason. And to that land a people had come, a foreign community of colonizers, aided by a Western world in a hurry to rid itself of guilt and shame, demanding independence from history, from heaven, and from us.

The Second Sex

Simone de Beauvoir

and

A Feminist Manifesto

Redstockings

It is increasingly recognized that women, both individually and in organizations, have been struggling for changes for a long time. The effort to gain consciousness and understanding of what it means to be a woman—politically, socially, economically, and sexually—has become central to women's struggles for change in the mid-twentieth century. The most important book in Europe and probably all of the West to explore this effort is The Second Sex, by Simone de Beauvoir, first published in France in 1949. In this book de Beauvoir, a well-known French novelist, social critic, and existential philosopher, argues that women have been forced into a position subordinate to men in numerous obvious and subtle ways. During the 1960s and 1970s women's struggle for change spread and took on a new militancy. Throughout the West, women were arguing for change in what came to be known, especially in the United States, as the women's liberation movement. Numerous women's organizations formed, and many issued publications stating their views.

The first of the following two selections on the liberation of women is from *The Second Sex*. De Beauvoir stresses the status and role of woman as the "Other" in comparison to man. The second selection is an example of one of the more radical statements of feminism. It was issued in July 1969 by Redstockings, an organization of New York feminists.

CONSIDER: How de Beauvoir relates women to "Negroes" and proletarians; the handicaps facing women according to de Beauvoir; the primary demands of the Redstockings; how this group justifies its demands; how men might react to this selection.

The parallel drawn . . . between women and the proletariat is valid in that neither ever formed a minority or a separate collective unit of mankind. And instead of a single historical event it is in both cases a historical

development that explains their status as a class and accounts for the membership of *particular individuals* in that class. But proletarians have not always existed, whereas there have always been women. They are women in virtue of their anatomy and physiology. Throughout history they have always been subordinated to men, and hence their dependency is not the result of a historical event or a social change—it was not something that *occurred*. The reason why otherness in this case seems to be an absolute is in part that it lacks the contingent or incidental nature of historical facts. A condition brought about at a certain time can be abolished at some other time, as the Negroes of Haiti and others have proved; but it might seem that a natural condition is beyond the possibility of change. In truth, however, the nature of things is no more immutably given, once for all, than is historical reality. If woman seems to be the inessential which never becomes the essential, it is because she herself fails to bring about this change. Proletarians say "We"; Negroes also. Regarding themselves as subjects, they transform the bourgeois, the whites, into "others." But women do not say "We," except at some congress of feminists or similar formal demonstration; men say "women," and women use the same word in referring to themselves. They do not authentically assume a subjective attitude. The proletarians have accomplished the revolution in Russia, the Negroes in Haiti, the Indo-Chinese are battling for it in Indo-China; but the women's effort has never been anything more than a symbolic agitation. They have gained only what men have been willing to grant; they have taken nothing, they have only received.

The reason for this is that women lack concrete means for organizing themselves into a unit which can stand face to face with the correlative unit. They have no past, no history, no religion of their own; and they have no such solidarity of work and interest as that of the proletariat. They are not even promiscuously herded together in the way that creates community feeling among the American Negroes, the ghetto Jews, the workers of Saint-Denis, or the factory hands of Renault. They live dispersed among the males, attached through residence, housework, economic condition, and social standing to certain men—fathers or husbands—more firmly than they are to other women. If they belong to the bourgeoisie, they feel solidarity with men of that class, not with proletarian women; if they are white, their allegiance is to white men, not to Negro women. The proletariat can propose to massacre the ruling class, and a sufficiently fanatical Jew or Negro might dream of getting sole possession of the atomic bomb and making humanity wholly Jewish or black; but women cannot even dream of exterminating the males. The bond that unites her to her oppressors is not comparable to any other. The division of the sexes is a biological fact, not

SOURCES: Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, H. M. Parshley, trans. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., pp. xvii–xxii, xxvii. Copyright © 1952 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.; Redstockings, July 7, 1969, mimeograph.

an event in human history. Male and female stand opposed within a primordial *Mitsein*, and woman has not broken it. The couple is a fundamental unity with its two halves riveted together, and the cleavage of society along the line of sex is impossible. Here is to be found the basic trait of woman: she is the Other in a totality of which the two components are necessary to one another. . . .

Now, woman has always been man's dependent, if not his slave; the two sexes have never shared the world in equality. And even today woman is heavily handicapped, though her situation is beginning to change. Almost nowhere is her legal status the same as man's, and frequently it is much to her disadvantage. Even when her rights are legally recognized in the abstract, long-standing custom prevents their full expression in the mores. In the economic sphere men and women can almost be said to make up two castes; other things being equal, the former hold the better jobs, get higher wages, and have more opportunity for success than their new competitors. In industry and politics men have a great many more positions and they monopolize the most important posts. In addition to all this, they enjoy a traditional prestige that the education of children tends in every way to support, for the present enshrines the past—and in the past all history has been made by men. At the present time, when women are beginning to take part in the affairs of the world, it is still a world that belongs to men—they have no doubt of it at all and women have scarcely any. To decline to be the Other, to refuse to be a party to a deal—this would be for women to renounce all the advantages conferred upon them by their alliance with the superior caste. Man-the-sovereign will provide woman-the-liege with material protection and will undertake the moral justification of her existence; thus she can evade at once both economic risk and the metaphysical risk of a liberty in which ends and aims must be contrived without assistance. Indeed, along with the ethical urge of each individual to affirm his subjective existence, there is also the temptation to forgo liberty and become a thing. This is an inauspicious road, for he who takes it—passive, lost, ruined—becomes henceforth the creature of another's will, frustrated in his transcendence and deprived of every value. But it is an easy road; on it one avoids the strain involved in undertaking an authentic existence. When man makes of woman the *Other*, he may, then, expect her to manifest deep-seated tendencies toward complicity. Thus, woman may fail to lay claim to the status of subject because she lacks definite resources, because she feels the necessary bond that ties her to man regardless of reciprocity, and because she is often very well pleased with her role as the *Other*.

Now, what peculiarly signalizes the situation of woman is that she—a free and autonomous being like all human creatures—nevertheless finds herself living in a

world where men compel her to assume the status of the Other. They propose to stabilize her as object and to doom her to immanence since her transcendence is to be overshadowed and forever transcended by another ego (*conscience*) which is essential and sovereign. The drama of woman lies in this conflict between the fundamental aspirations of every subject (*ego*)—who always regards the self as the essential—and the compulsions of a situation in which she is the inessential.

- I. After centuries of individual and preliminary political struggle, women are uniting to achieve their final liberation from male supremacy. Redstockings is dedicated to building their unity and winning our freedom.
- II. Women are an oppressed class. Our oppression is total, affecting every facet of our lives. We are exploited as sex objects, breeders, domestic servants, and cheap labor. We are considered inferior beings, whose only purpose is to enhance men's lives. Our humanity is denied. Our prescribed behavior is enforced by the threat of physical violence.

Because we have lived so intimately with our oppressors, in isolation from each other, we have been kept from seeing our personal suffering as a political condition. This creates the illusion that a woman's relationship with her man is a matter of interplay between two unique personalities, and can be worked out individually. In reality, every such relationship is a *class* relationship, and the conflicts between individual men and women are *political* conflicts that can only be solved collectively.

- III. We identify the agents of our oppression as men. Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination. All other forms of exploitation and oppression (racism, capitalism, imperialism, and the like) are extensions of male supremacy: men dominate women, a few men dominate the rest. All power structures throughout history have been male-dominated and male-oriented. Men have controlled all political, economic, and cultural institutions and backed up this control with physical force. They have used their power to keep women in an inferior position. *All men* receive economic, sexual, and psychological benefits from male supremacy. *All men* have oppressed women.
- IV. Attempts have been made to shift the burden of responsibility from men to institutions or to women themselves. We condemn these arguments as evasions. Institutions alone do not oppress; they are merely tools of the oppressor. To blame institutions implies that men and women are equally victimized, obscures the fact that men benefit from the subordination of women, and gives men the excuse that

they are forced to be oppressors. On the contrary, any man is free to renounce his superior position provided that he is willing to be treated like a woman by other men.

We also reject the idea that women consent to or are to blame for their own oppression. Women's submission is not the result of brainwashing, stupidity, or mental illness but of continual, daily pressure from men. We do not need to change ourselves, but to change men.

The most slanderous evasion of all is that women can oppress men. The basis for this illusion is the isolation of individual relationships from their political context and the tendency of men to see any legitimate challenge to their privileges as persecution.

- V. We regard our personal experience, and our feelings about that experience, as the basis for an analysis of our common situation. We cannot rely on existing ideologies as they are all products of male supremacist culture. We question every generalization and accept none that are not confirmed by our experience.

Our chief task at present is to develop female class consciousness through sharing experience and publicly exposing the sexist foundation of all our institutions. Consciousness-raising is not "therapy," which implies the existence of individual solutions and falsely assumes that the male-female relation-

ship is purely personal, but the only method by which we can ensure that our program for liberation is based on the concrete realities of our lives. The first requirement for raising class consciousness is honesty, in private and in public, with ourselves and other women.

- VI. We identify with all women. We define our best interest as that of the poorest, most brutally exploited woman.

We repudiate all economic, racial, educational, or status privileges that divide us from other women. We are determined to recognize and eliminate any prejudices we may hold against other women.

We are committed to achieving internal democracy. We will do whatever is necessary to ensure that every woman in our movement has an equal chance to participate, assume responsibility, and develop her political potential.

- VII. We call on all our sisters to unite with us in struggle.

We call on all men to give up their male privileges and support women's liberation in the interests of our humanity and their own.

In fighting for our liberation we will always take the side of women against their oppressors. We will not ask what is "revolutionary" or "reformist," only what is good for women.

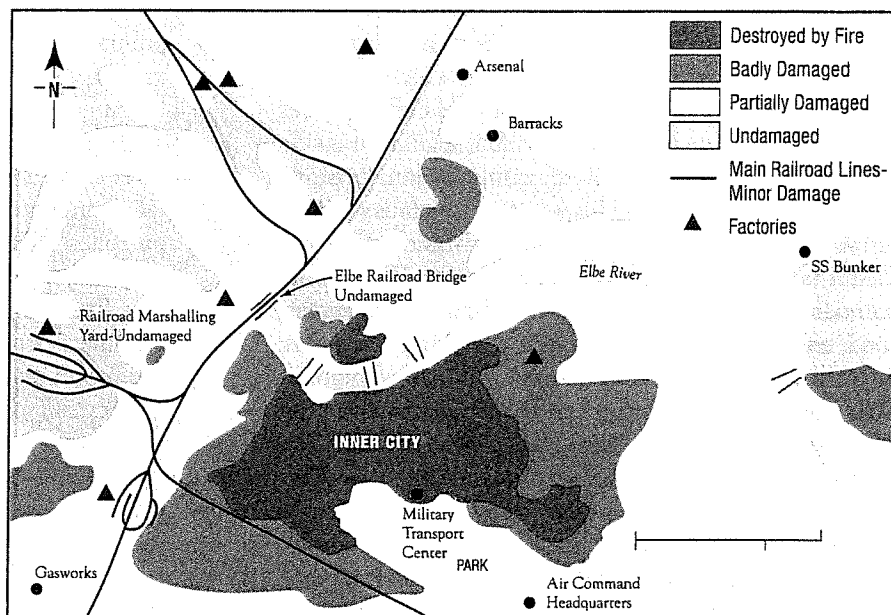
The time for individual skirmishes has passed. This time we are going all the way.



Visual Sources

The Destruction of Europe

The following map (map 18.1) shows the destruction inflicted on Dresden in the Anglo-American bombing raid of February 13–14, 1945, during the last stages of World War II. As in other "area bombings" made by Allied forces during the war, thousands of civilians were killed in this raid. This shows the blurring of civilian and military targets and the growing use of terror in modern warfare. Military targets such as factories, railway bridges, railway marshaling yards, main railway lines, troop bunkers and barracks, arsenals, and command headquarters were



MAP 18.1 Dresden, 1945

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such as the Benelux Customs Union, the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community (Common Market), and the European Free Trade Association; the East joined in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon). Although military cooperation and economic cooperation were not always linked together, such linkage often did take place.

CONSIDER: The geographic logic, if any, of the political and economic decisions that were made by the various countries; how maps of the world indicating regional economic cooperation, military alliances, political upheavals, and international "hotspots" might show the extent and intensity of the Cold War and regional cooperation even more fully than this map of Europe.

Decolonization in Asia and Africa

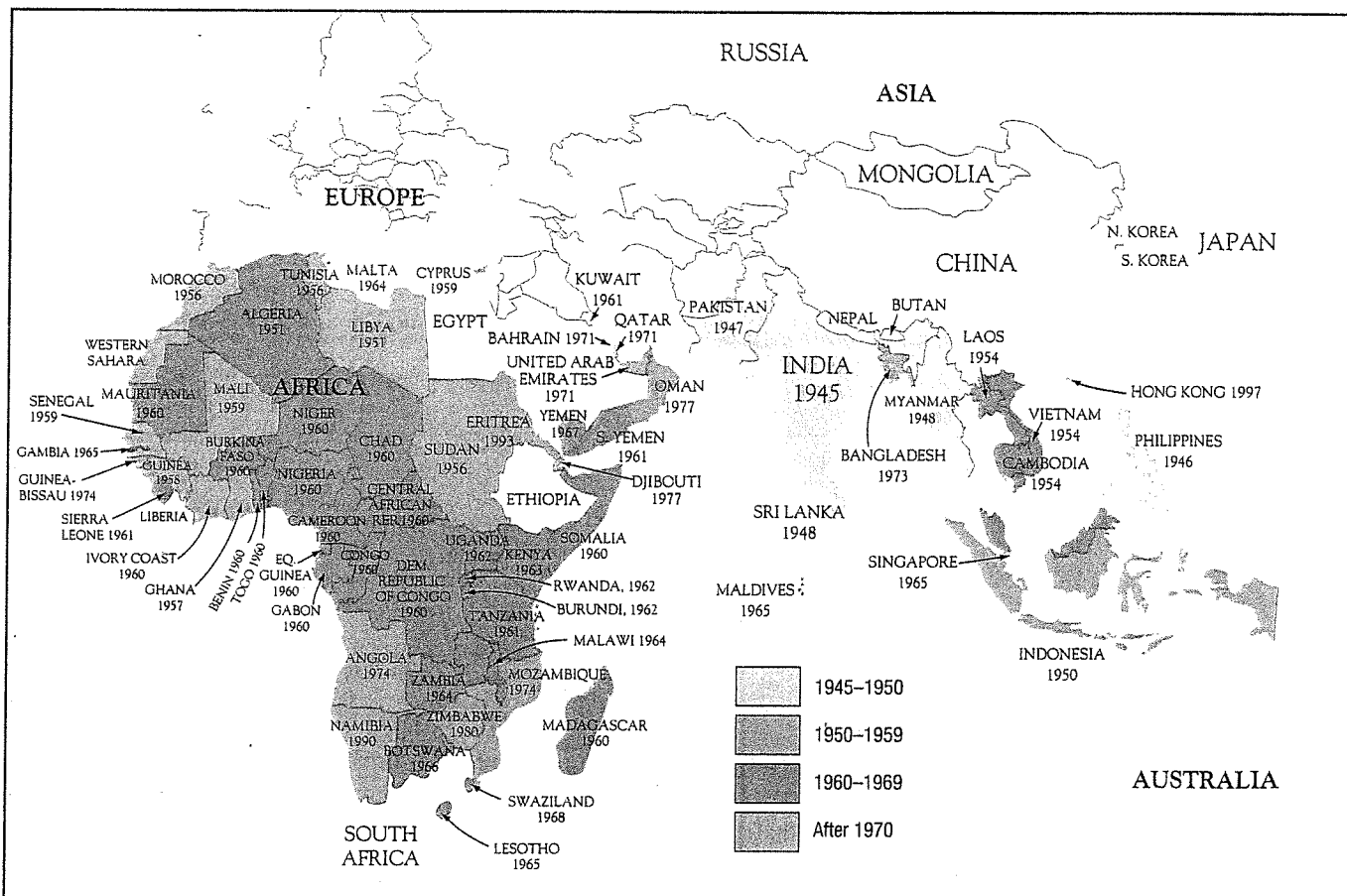
Weakened by World War II and faced with growing movements for national liberation, Western imperial powers were forced to start giving up their colonial holdings in the late 1940s. As indicated by map 18.3, the process of

decolonization was in some ways rapid—witness the large areas that gained independence in the few years around 1960—and in some ways delayed—it took some three decades for the process to be almost complete with some areas (e.g., Namibia, Hong Kong) still under external control into the 1990s.

CONSIDER: Possible explanations for some areas gaining independence sooner, others later; possible problems new countries faced following independence.

Televised Violence

Most observers agree that television has had a great impact on the lives of people within Western civilization and throughout the world, but exactly what that impact has been is open to debate. The following picture (figure 18.1) illustrates one of the most controversial issues that have been raised. It shows a television camera crew filming the live action in Vietnam. Here the crew and troops surround a nine-year-old girl burned by an aerial napalm attack in 1972. The images filmed by such crews were displayed on daily newscasts in America and elsewhere, giving civilians a



MAP 18.3 Decolonization in Asia and Africa

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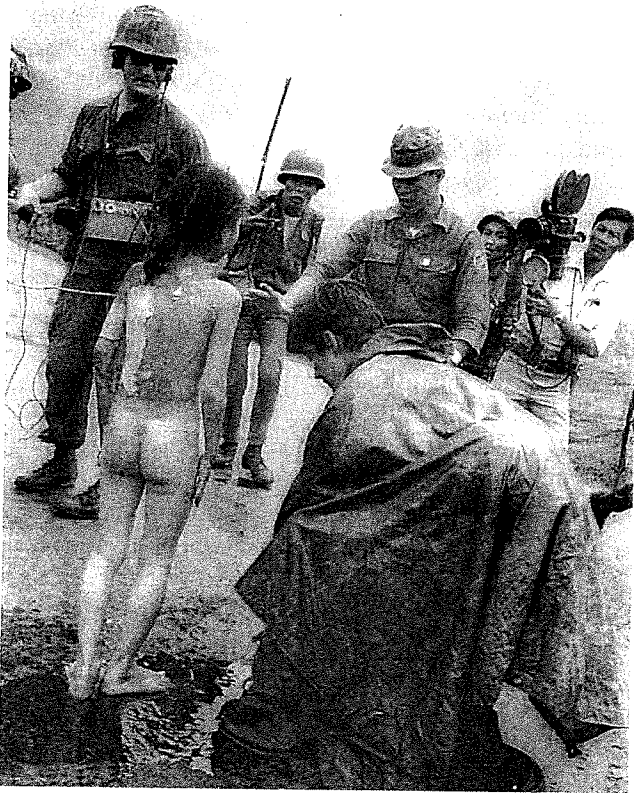


FIGURE 18.1 (© AP Photo/Nick Ut)

virtual firsthand, up-to-the-minute, perhaps overly realistic impression of what the war was like. However, critics argue that because such images became so common, because they were displayed just before and just after the most mundane of other television shows (typically, situation comedies), and because they were viewed so often from the comfort of a living room, the image of a very real war may have come to seem unreal. Indeed, one must wonder whether this picture itself is not part of a staged scene for a movie (as was the case with a scene the audience sees being filmed in *Apocalypse Now*, a major movie of 1979–1980).

CONSIDER: Other ways in which the media in the twentieth century have affected people's perception and understanding of war.

Number 1

Jackson Pollock

Twentieth-century artistic styles have tended to become increasingly removed from popular tastes and from what the general public has been used to expecting from art. This was particularly the case

with the style of action painting or abstract expressionism, which came to the fore shortly after World War II. The leading painter in this school of art was Jackson Pollock (1912–1956), who executed this work (figure 18.2), entitled *Number 1*, in 1948. In 1950 Pollock was interviewed by Francis V. O'Connor, a well-known art critic; a selection from that interview follows.

CONSIDER: How Pollock's statements and this painting reflect some of the trends of twentieth-century history.

Mr. Pollock, in your opinion, what is the meaning of modern art?

Modern art to me is nothing more than the expression of contemporary aims of the age that we're living in.

Did the classical artists have any means of expressing their age?

Yes, they did it very well. All cultures have had means and techniques of expressing their immediate aims—the Chinese, the Renaissance, all cultures. The thing that interests me is that today painters do not have to go to a subject matter outside of themselves. Most modern painters work from a different source. They work from within.

Would you say that the modern artist has more or less isolated the quality which made the classical works of art valuable, that he's isolated it and uses it in a purer form?

Ah—the good ones have, yes.

Mr. Pollock, there's been a good deal of controversy and a great many comments have been made regarding your method of painting. Is there something you'd like to tell us about that?

My opinion is that new needs need new techniques. And the modern artists have found new ways and new means of making their statements. It seems to me that

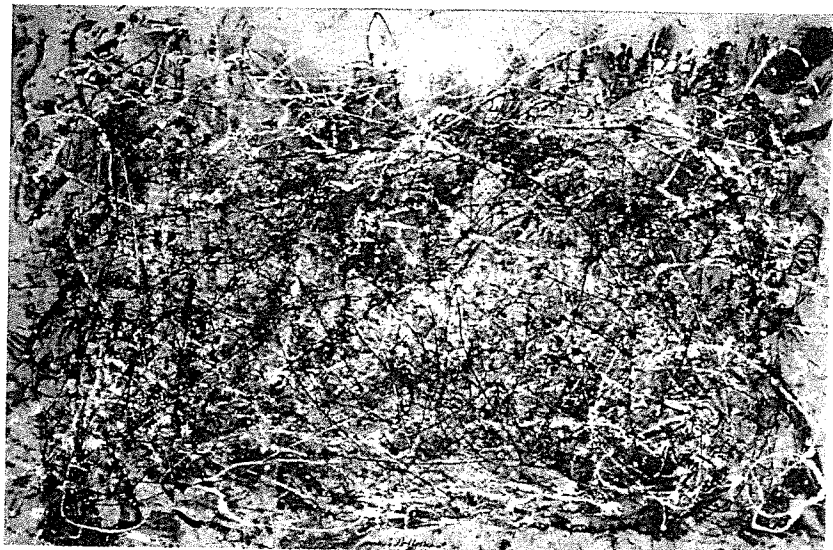


FIGURE 18.2 (Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by Scala/Art Resource, NY. © 2010 The Pollock-Krasner Foundation/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York)

the modern painter cannot express this age, the airplane, the atom bomb, the radio, in the old forms of the Renaissance or of any other past culture. Each age finds its own technique.

Which would also mean that the layman and the critic would have to develop their ability to interpret the new techniques.

Yes—that always somehow follows. I mean, the strangeness will wear off and I think we will discover the deeper meanings in modern art.

I suppose every time you are approached by a layman they ask you how they should look at a Pollock painting, or any other modern painting—what they look for—how do they learn to appreciate modern art?

I think they should not look for, but look passively—and try to receive what the painting has to offer and not bring a subject matter or preconceived idea of what they are to be looking for.

Would it be true to say that the artist is painting from the unconscious, and the—canvas must act as the unconscious of the person who views it?

The unconscious is a very important side of modern art and I think the unconscious drives do mean a lot in looking at paintings.

Then deliberately looking for any known meaning or object in an abstract painting would distract you immediately from ever appreciating it as you should?

I think it should be enjoyed just as music is enjoyed—after a while you may like it or you may not. But—it doesn't seem to be too serious. I like some flowers and others, other flowers I don't like. I think at least it gives—I think at least give it a chance.

Well, I think you have to give anything that sort of chance. A person isn't born to like good music, they have to listen to it and gradually develop an understanding of it or liking for it. If modern painting works the same way—a person would have to subject himself to it over a period of time in order to be able to appreciate it.

I think that might help, certainly.

Mr. Pollock, the classical artists had a world to express and they did so by representing the objects in that world. Why doesn't the modern artist do the same thing?

H'm—the modern artist is living in a mechanical age and we have a mechanical means of representing objects in nature such as the camera and photograph. The modern artist, it seems to me, is working and expressing an inner world—in other words—expressing the energy, the motion, and other inner forces.

Would it be possible to say that the classical artist expressed his world by representing the objects, whereas the modern artist expresses his world by representing the effects the objects have upon him?

Yes, the modern artist is working with space and time, and expressing his feelings rather than illustrating.



Secondary Sources

Appeasement at Munich Attacked

George F. Kennan

The traditional view in the debate over who was responsible for the outbreak of World War II is that Hitler was emboldened by the unnecessarily weak policy of appeasement pursued by the Western democracies during the 1930s. One element of this appeasement was the Munich Conference of 1938 at which England and France agreed to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in return for Hitler's promise to demand no further territories. In the following selection George F. Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union and Pulitzer Prize winner for a two-volume work on Soviet-American relations, presents the traditional view of appeasement.

CONSIDER: *From the point of view of the French and British statesmen actually participating in the Munich*

SOURCE: George F. Kennan, *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1961), p. 322. Reprinted by permission of Little, Brown and Company.

Conference of 1938 whether Kennan's criticism is justified; the implications of the argument about the causes of or blame for World War II.

The Munich agreement was a tragically misconceived and desperate act of appeasement at the cost of the Czechoslovak state, performed by Chamberlain and the French premier, Daladier, in the vain hope that it would satisfy Hitler's stormy ambition, and thus secure for Europe a peaceful future. We know today that it was unnecessary—unnecessary because the Czech defenses were very strong, and had the Czechs decided to fight they could have put up considerable resistance; even more unnecessary because the German generals, conscious of Germany's relative weakness at that moment, were actually prepared to attempt the removal of Hitler then and there, had he persisted in driving things to the point of war. It was the fact that the Western powers and the Czechoslovak government did yield at the last moment, and that Hitler once again achieved a bloodless triumph, which deprived the generals of any

be, however, no agitated discussion this time, as there had been after the crisis of 1914, of the question of who was responsible for the outbreak of war. It was all too clear that Germany had taken the initiative and that others had tried, perhaps too much, but certainly very hard, to avert another great conflict. There would be no second "war guilt" debate.

Life and Death in the Third Reich

Peter Fritzsche

During World War II, the Nazis went to great efforts to murder Europe's Jews. Historians have long investigated why. In the following selection, Peter Fritzsche argues that Nazi Germany carried out its murderous program "in order to realize its utopian project of reorganizing the continent along racial lines."

CONSIDER: *Why the Nazis focused so much on Jews; why the Nazis continued the murder of Jews even after Germany was losing the war.*

Nazi Germany murdered Europe's Jews in order to realize its utopian project of reorganizing the continent along racial lines. The Nazis did not simply consider the Jews racially different or inferior but feared them as agents of social decomposition who threatened the moral, political, and economic health of the nation and its empire. According to the Nazis, Jews would not be allowed to compromise Germany's ability to fight a war, as had allegedly been the case in 1914–1918. Jews were also understood to be the main basis of support for Bolshevism and for international finance capitalism, a contradictory position that was no less firmly held for being illogical. This made Jews across Europe nothing less than enemy combatants to be seized and eliminated. It is important to realize that Hitler genuinely believed that Jews in Germany and everywhere else in Europe presented a direct danger to the new Reich. Without "the extermination of the Jewish people," Himmler admitted in 1943, "we would most likely be where we were in 1916–17."¹³¹

As Germany began to lose the war, the Nazis tirelessly extended their murderous reach and spread the knowledge of the murder of the Jews so that Germans and their allies would realize that they had burned the bridges behind them. In other words, Nazi propaganda reframed the crime in conventional moral terms and suggested to perpetrators how the Allies perceived them in order to fuel the determination to fight to the bitter end. As a result, the Nazis spared no effort in the spring of 1944 to

kill hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews who had survived the war until then. Over the course of the war, the murder of the Jews became an increasingly desperate policy in which the "final solution" would not follow a final victory, but rather final victory depended on the "final solution." In the summer of 1941, it was the megalomania of Nazi imperialism which encouraged Hitler and Himmler to abandon the idea that the "final solution" had to wait until the end of the war and to implement it in the Soviet Union immediately. Soon thereafter, the realization that the world war would not be over "next spring" and that German authorities would not be able to deport the Jews whom they had impoverished and ghettoized pushed planners to contemplate killing the Jews under their control. As the war entered its third year and expanded into a world conflict, the Nazis believed that the immediate destruction of European Jews was necessary if Germany was to emerge victorious. And finally, in 1943 and 1944 the "final solution" was regarded as the only way for Germany to hold onto its crumbling position of strength. The logic of the Nazis' anti-Semitism led them to the ultrarevolutionary "position from which there is no escape." . . .

In sum, World War II was not the fearsome context for pogroms and atrocities. It was something even more terrible: an existential war waged by the national Socialists in order to build a new racial order in which the cultivation of the healthy German body rested on the physical annihilation of Europe's Jews and the destruction of non-German nations throughout eastern Europe. What we now know as the Holocaust is what made World War II so awfully different and undermined attempts to establish moral symmetry between victors and vanquished as had been the case in previous wars.

Origins of the Cold War

James L. Gormly

The period between the end of World War II and the mid-1960s was marked by the Cold War between the two superpowers emerging from World War II, the United States and the U.S.S.R. Initially American historians analyzed the Cold War with assumptions not too different from policy-makers': The United States was only responding defensively to an aggressive Soviet Union intent on spreading its control and Communist ideology over the world. But by the 1960s other interpretations were being offered, most notably a revisionist position holding the Cold War to be at least in part a result of an aggressive, provocative American foreign

SOURCE: Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 213–214, 295–296.

SOURCES: From James L. Gormly, *From Potsdam to the Cold War*, pp. 220–223. Copyright 1990 by Scholarly Resources, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Scholarly Resources, Inc.

policy. In the following selection James Gormly describes the competing interpretations and suggests how the controversy might be analyzed.

CONSIDER: *Whether the Cold War was inevitable or could have been avoided; how the speeches by Truman and Marshall support one side or the other; which view makes the most sense to you.*

Those who place the major responsibility for the Cold War on the Soviet Union argue that Stalin, as dictator and leader of a totalitarian system, easily could have moderated the nation's interests to meet U.S. objections and ensure peace. According to this view, if the generalissimo was not an expansionist wanting to overrun central and Western Europe, he should have articulated the defensive and limited nature of his goals to the Truman administration and the American public. Instead, the Russians would not accept the U.S. vision for a stable and prosperous world or trust that Washington accepted the legitimacy of the Soviet Union and recognized its need for some degree of influence over regions along its borders. Moscow needed "a hostile international environment" to maintain control and the integrity of the Soviet state. Thus, Stalin was either an expansionist or unwilling to communicate his aims, and the United States, supported by Britain, had no other option than to react aggressively. . . .

Other analysts place a large amount of the blame on the United States and its unwillingness to accept expressed Soviet needs and to articulate to the Russians and Stalin that Washington trusted them and recognized the legitimacy of their system and state. Some explain U.S. behavior as an outgrowth of the American Open Door ideology, which sought to ensure for the nation's businesses access to world markets. Still others credit U.S. actions to a general arrogance of power that translated the country's tremendous economic and military strength and accomplishments into a moral, ideological superiority. According to this theory, many Soviets feared that the West still hoped to destroy their state. To convince them that America intended to be a friend and thereby avoid the Cold War, the United States should have shelved its presumptuousness and global goals and demonstrated an affirmation of the Soviet Union's right to rule and enjoy the fruits of its victory. To ease fears and mistrust, Washington needed to recognize Russia's new borders, its diplomatic equality, and its spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. Instead, the U.S. government continued to follow the path suggested by Ambassador Harriman, who stated that the administration should supply assistance to the Soviets only if they "played the international game with us in accordance with our standards." . . .

Given the situation, the belief that U.S. actions divided the world into two camps and necessitated a rapid Sovietization of Eastern Europe seems as logical as the view that Russian expansionism forced the United States to institute its containment policy. To evaluate and assess either theory fully and to determine if the Cold War international system could have been avoided requires an examination of Soviet records, but, even without such information, and using existing American and British documents, one can conclude that U.S. policymakers made few efforts after the Potsdam Conference to reassure Moscow that mutual cooperation was possible and that Washington had no intention of seeking the destruction of the Soviet state.

The Collapse of European Empires

John Springhall

During the years after the end of World War II, Western powers rapidly lost almost all of their overseas holdings. Various explanations for this development, from the weakness of the colonial state to the strength of the struggle for liberation, have been proposed. In the following selection, John Springhall analyzes the main interpretations of the collapse of European Empires after 1945.

CONSIDER: *The differences between the "nationalism," the "international," and the "metropolitan" explanations; the legacy of colonial rule.*

One of the problems in writing about decolonization is that we know the end of the story. Whether self-government is seen as either the result of deliberate preparation/abrupt withdrawal by a colonial state ('decolonization') or as a triumph wrested from the colonizers by nationalist movements ('liberation struggle'), the story allows itself to be read backwards in order to privilege the process of ending colonial rule over anything else that was happening in the postwar years. Firstly, those favouring a *nationalist* or – to use Euro-centric terminology – 'peripheral' explanation (Easton, 1964; Grimal, 1978; Low, 1993), emphasize that indigenous upheavals invariably set the pace for decolonization, while the disappearance of collaborative elites also made continued European colonial rule unworkable (see Chapter 8).

Secondly, those historians who favour the *international* explanation of imperial disengagement (McIntyre, 1977; Lapping, 1985) point out that, in the new bipolar world after 1945, both the United States and the Soviet Union were hostile to old-style imperialism, although for differ-

ent ideological reasons. Newly independent Third World states like India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka since 1972) also exerted international pressure through the United Nations (UN) to accelerate the process of decolonization. Thirdly, a focus on the domestic consequences of international relations, the *metropolitan* or domestic constraints approach (Kahler, 1984; Holland, 1985), illuminates how empire was fast becoming too burdensome and served no strategic or economic purpose for the mother country. From this perspective, loss of the 'will to rule' led to a belief that it was not worth expending men and money to preserve what were perceived as colonial liabilities by the middle-class taxpayer.

Empires are now topics largely of interest to the historian, for they do not exist in the present. The collapse and disappearance of European empires from 1945 onwards changed the nature of the world we live in – no longer was mere possession of a white skin, and the scientific, military and technical knowledge it signified, sufficient to authorize command over others. The legacy of colonial rule has cast a long shadow, however: independence often meant multi-ethnic, fragmented states that were too small to be economically viable, and cut off from the rest of the world. While many former European colonies embarked on self-government with high expectations and a relatively healthy bank balance, not many of these hopes were fulfilled. The record of post-colonial Africa, for example, suggests that, judged by Western standards, the commitment of many new states to democratic values and human rights was precarious and soon nearly all were heavily in debt.

The Wretched of the Earth

Frantz Fanon

*When discussing colonialism in the decades following World War II, most historians focus on its political and economic consequences. Some observers, however, point to the deeper psychological consequences of colonialism. The best known of these observers was Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), a French psychiatrist from the French West Indies whose writings supported the Algerian rebels in their struggle for independence from France after World War II. In his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Fanon argues that colonialism had its greatest impact on the people physically involved in it: the foreign occupiers (settlers) and the colonized (natives). In the following excerpt from that book, Fanon emphasizes the great physical and psychological gap between these two groups.*

CONSIDER: *What connections there are between the physical and the psychological gaps separating settlers and natives; the attitudes of the settlers toward the natives; the attitudes of the natives toward the settlers and their institutions.*

The colonial world is a world cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. In the colonies it is the policemen and the soldier who are the official, instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression. . . .

It is obvious here that the agents of government speak the language of pure force. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression, nor seek to hide the domination; he shows them up and puts them into practice with the clear conscience of an upholder of the peace; yet he is the bringer of violence into the home and into the mind of the native. . . .

The settler's town is a strongly-built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly-lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage-cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about. The settler's feet are never visible, except perhaps in the sea; but there you're never close enough to see them. His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easy-going town; its belly is always full of good things. The settler's town is a town of white people, of foreigners.

The town belonging to the colonised people, or at least the native town, the negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers and dirty arabs. The look that the native turns on the settler's town is a look of lust, a look of envy; it expresses his dreams of possession—all manner of possession: to sit at the settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed, with his wife if possible. The colonised man is an envious man. And this the settler knows very well; when their glances meet he ascertains bitterly, always on the defensive "They want to take our place." It is true, for there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of setting himself up in the settler's place.

This world divided into compartments, this world cut in two is inhabited by two different species. The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality and the immense difference of ways of life never come to mask the human realities. When you examine at close quarters the colonial context, it is evident that what

parcels out the world is to begin with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species. . . .

It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply described as a society lacking in values. It is not enough for the colonist to affirm that those values have disappeared from, or still better never existed in, the colonial world. The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values. . . .

The Church in the colonies is the white people's Church, the foreigner's Church. She does not call the native to God's ways but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor. And as we know, in this matter many are called but few chosen.

CHAPTER QUESTIONS

1. To what extent do the trends described in this chapter give further support to the argument that Western civilization has been on the decline since World War I in comparison to the heights it reached in the nineteenth century? What developments might be cited to refute this argument?
2. How might one make an argument that the fundamental historical shift in the last two hundred years did not come with World War I but rather with World War II, as indicated by the consequences of that war and the developments of the postwar period?
3. Do you think the Cold War was caused primarily by developments related to World War II or by the ideological differences between Communist and non-Communist countries? Were there any ways in which the Cold War might have been averted?