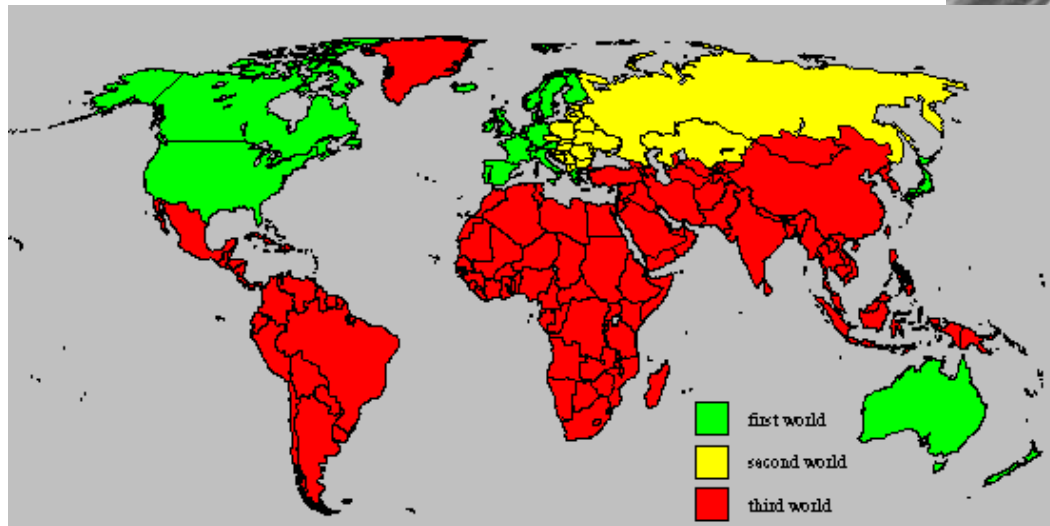
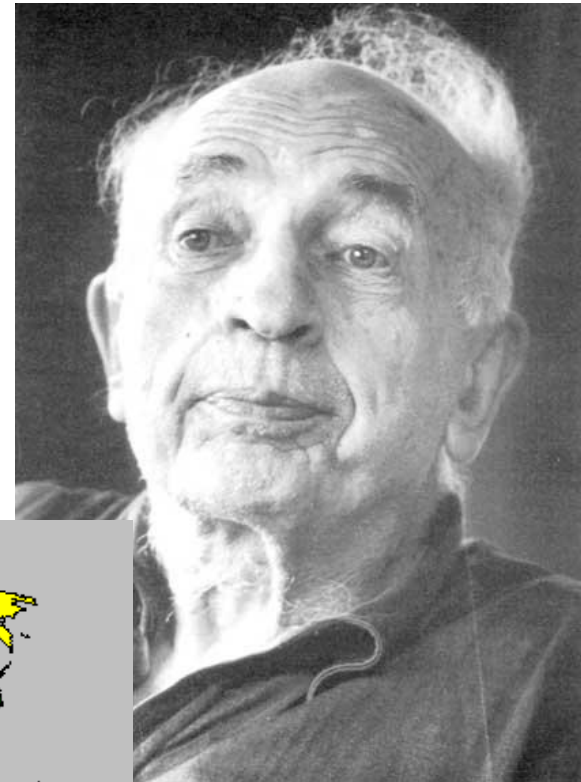


GLOBAL COLD WAR

Week 4: Fall of Colonialism; Limits of Empire

“Tiers Monde” (third world)

- coined by Alfred Sauvy, 1952
- nations aligned with neither the Communist or Capitalist blocs
 - “That Third World, ignored, exploited, scorned, like the Third Estate” - Sauvy



Per capita income; first versus third world

- First World people enjoy five times a Third World income in 1850
 - six times in 1900
 - *ten times* in 1960



The Atlantic Charter, 1941



Franklyn Roosevelt and Winston Churchill

the United States and United Kingdom:

- seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;
- desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned
- respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live;

FDR's Four Freedoms
via Norman Rockwell



the Japanese Empire, 1942



August 15, 1947: India declares independence



LARGEST NET SALES of any Daily Newspaper printed in Northern, Southern, Central or Western India.

REGD. No. B111

The Times of India



NO. 195, VOL. CLX.

BOMBAY: FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1947

PRICE TWO ANNAS

DU NOT PAY MORE

BIRTH OF INDIA'S FREEDOM



Pandit Nehru

NEW CABINET OF INDIA

Fourteen Members

PANDIT NEHRU TO BE PREMIER

NEW DELHI, August 14. The new Cabinet of India, which will function from August 15, announced tonight, will consist of the following: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—Prime Minister, External and Commonwealth Relations; and Scientific Research.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—Home Information and Broadcasting; States.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad—Food and Agriculture.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—Education.

Dr. John Mathai—Railways and Transport.

Sardar Baldev Singh—Finance.

NATION WAKES TO NEW LIFE

Mr. Nehru Calls For Big Effort From People

"INCESSANT STRIVING TASK OF FUTURE"

Assembly Members Take Solemn Pledge

WILD SCENES OF JUBILATION IN DELHI

From Our Special Representative
NEW DELHI, AUGUST 14.

ENTIRE DELHI KEPT AWAKE TO WITNESS THE HISTORIC EVENT OF USHERING IN THE FREEDOM OF INDIA AT THE HOUR OF MIDNIGHT.

Unprecedented scenes of enthusiasm were witnessed both inside and outside the Constituent Assembly Chamber, where seething, stony humanity wildly cheered the momentous event, heralded with the blowing of conches.

Raising to the height of the occasion, Pandit Nehru made a speech in the Assembly which was at once notable and a masterpiece of literature.

"Years ago we made a trust with destiny," he said, "and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. . . At

STATE VISIT TO KARACHI



Their Excellencies Lord Mountbatten and Lady Mountbatten on their way to Karachi.

LORD MOUNTBATTEN GREET'S PAKISTAN

Mr. Jinnah Re-Affirms Firm Friendship With Britain

From Our Staff Correspondent.

KARACHI, August 14. "TOMORROW two new Sovereign States will take their place in the British Commonwealth of Nations, not young nations but heirs to old and proud civilisations," said Lord Mountbatten, addressing this morning the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

EARLDOM FOR LORD MOUNTBATTEN

This was the last act Lord Mountbatten performed a few hours before he ceases to be

FRENZIED ENTHUSIASM IN BOMBAY



May our dream of a new tomorrow come true for us...

Happy Republic Day!

parade of tongues, which turned the city at midnight into a babel. Bombay in the early hours of Friday morning was a picture of a madhouse. Cars either drove on the pavement, if they got the right of way, or were mired there. Rushing crowds held the streets and all traffic came to a standstill. Trams and buses were not only packed to doors, but carried passengers on their roofs. Everyone cheered as the spirit of the occasion spread insistently through the city. And the sleep of hands held and trumpets sounded in wild acceptance throughout the memorable night.

ELLENMONTIONS A million lights over Bombay's public buildings made the Gateway of India a city of light and beauty. Floodlighting was effectively employed to illuminate all the archway of the railway terminal and hundreds

The message says: "This is the Appointed Day. At midnight last night the Indian Independence Act came into operation and today India has freedom, full and complete. To go with it, to break her shackles, and to declare her future relationship with all countries in accordance with the wishes of her people. On this day I send my heartfelt

to the people of the new States. I am sure that the friendship between the United Kingdom and the new States will be a firm and lasting one."

At midnight last night the Indian Independence Act came into operation and today India has freedom, full and complete. To go with it, to break her shackles, and to declare her future relationship with all countries in accordance with the wishes of her people. On this day I send my heartfelt

to the people of the new States. I am sure that the friendship between the United Kingdom and the new States will be a firm and lasting one."

Mood

the 74-year-old when the citizens are with solemn m-

BOMBAY OSOPER

or's Message

WISHES TO E INDIA

Colville, Governor of Bombay Province and India's first full-fledged Dom-

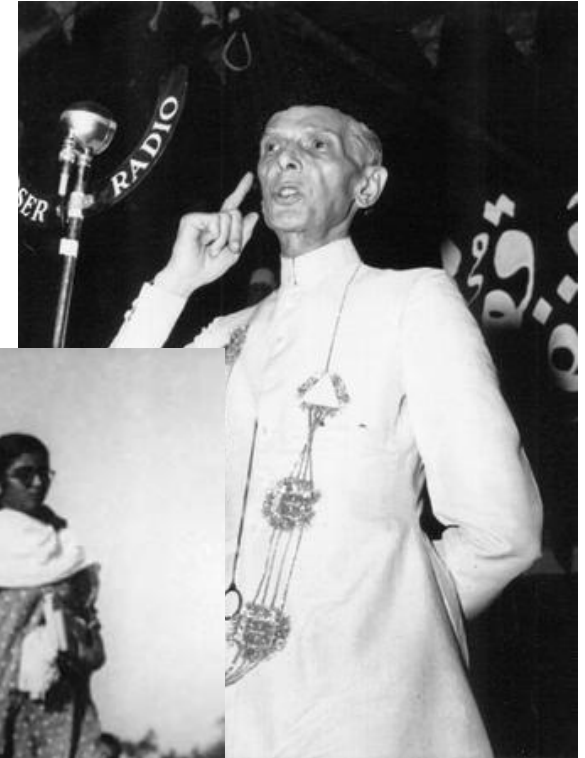


Mr. J. A. S. Curzon

“At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom.”
- Jawaharlal Nehru, August 15, 1947



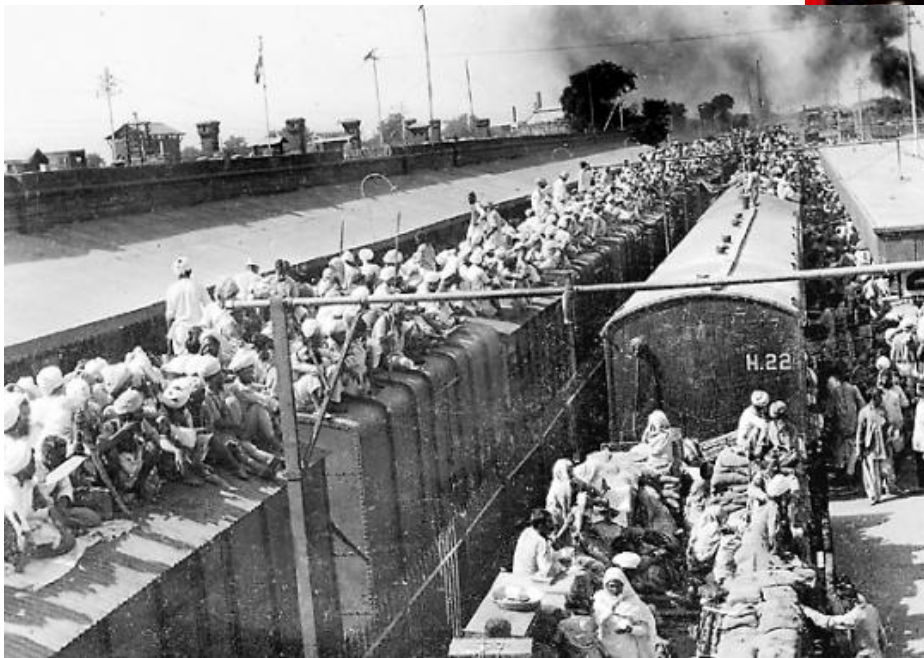
“People are dying of hunger everywhere around. Do you wish to hold a celebration in the midst of this devastation?”
- Mohandas Gandhi, August 15, 1947



Architects and opponents of partition. Right: Mohammad Ali Jinnah; Left: Lord Mountbatten; Middle: Gandhi pleading for peace in Bengal, 1947.

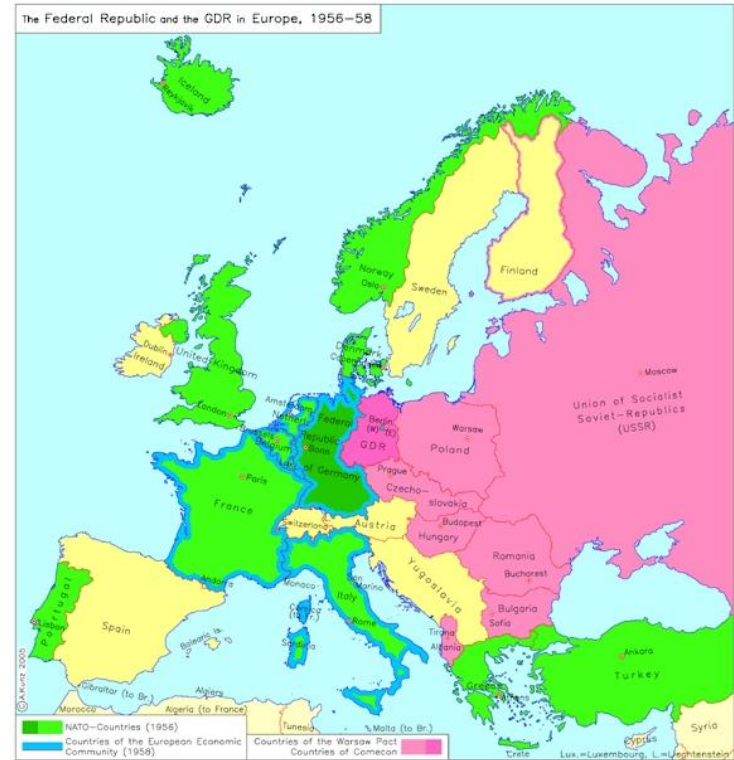
the partition of India, 1947

- the largest mass migration in history
- 13 million people relocated between India and Pakistan



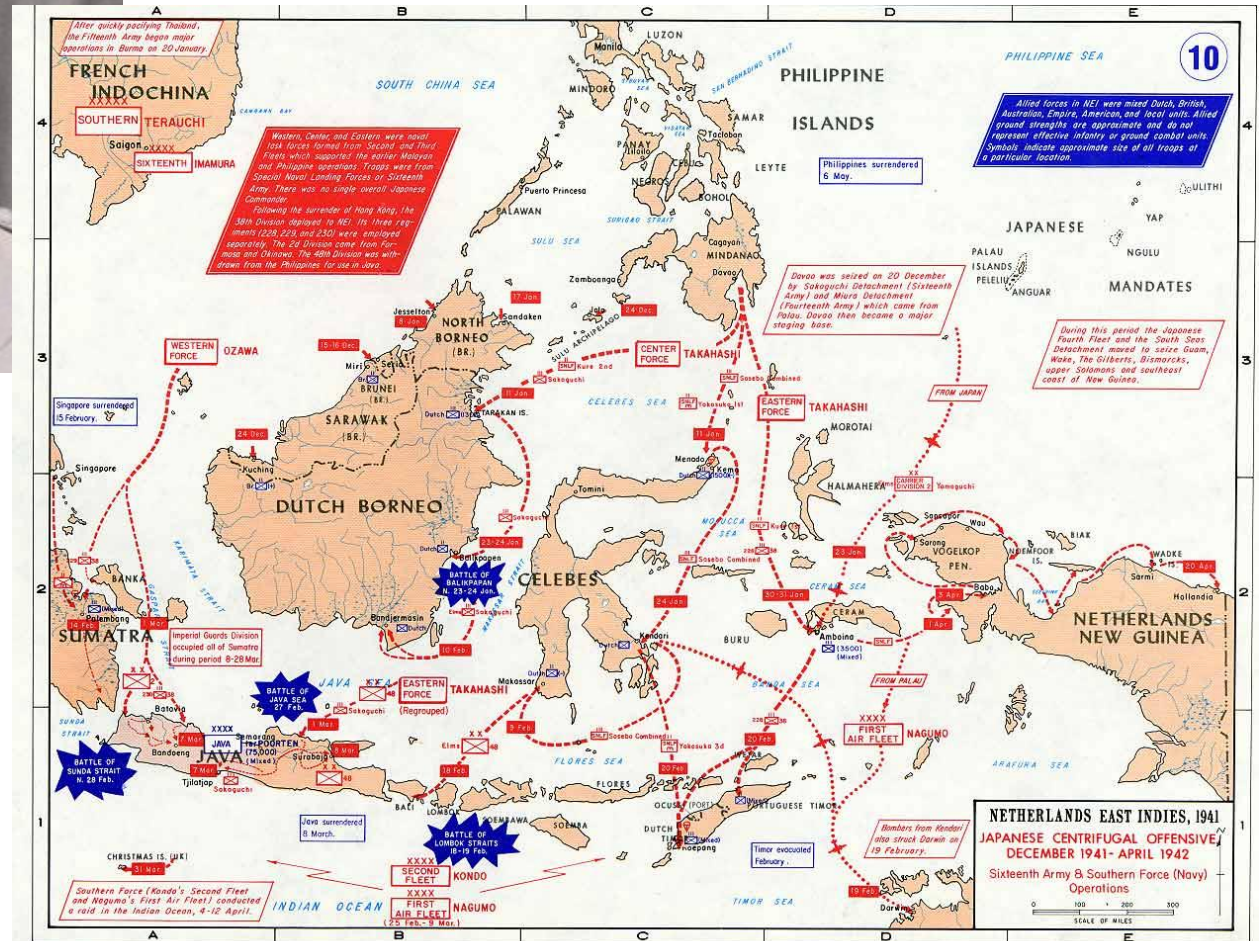
1950s: Europe transformed

- Major European countries abandon colonialism
- Abandon illusions about the Soviet Union
 - Begin to look to other European countries as economic partners rather than rivals

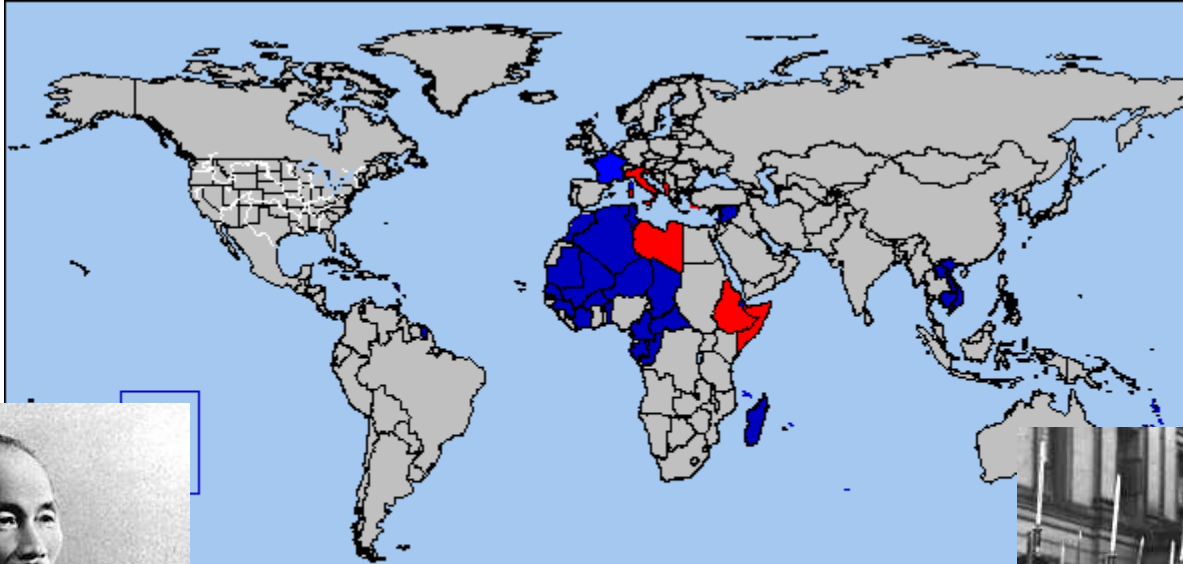




above:
Sukarno;
right: the
Dutch East
Indies, circa
1941



the French Colonial Empire, ca 1954



Ho chi minh

Geneva accords, 1954:

- temporary division of Vietnam
- North and South
- Supervised elections in 1956



Charles de Gaulle

French colonize Vietnam

- 1600s Viet kingdom splits into two subgroups
 - North and south
- the Khmers move to the east (establish modern Cambodia)
 - 1612 Europeans reach Viet kingdoms
 - 1825 Vietnamese refuse to allow more Catholics into country
- 1859 French capture Saigon
 - 1887 establish the “French indochinese Union”



Napoleon III of France as vulture, lampooned by Harpers Monthly, 1872

Ho Chi Minh (“he who enlightens”)



- Born in 1890 as Nguyen That Thanh
- Circulates a petition in Paris to Woodrow Wilson calling for Vietnamese independence
- Joins the Communist Party; lives in China
- 1930s returns to Vietnam to organize a liberation army: the Viet Minh

French fall at Dien Bien Phu

- 1940 Japan attacks Vietnam
 - 1942 the OSS establishes alliance with Ho Chi Minh
- 1945 Ho's forces have taken partial control of North Vietnam
- France reestablishes itself in Vietnam
 - 1953-1954 Ho's forces defeat French at Dien Bien Phu



Ho's forces waive the Vietnamese flag at Dien Bien Phu, 1954

the 1954 Geneva accords

- temporary division of North and South Vietnam
 - the North under Ho's control
 - a border between the two areas at the 17th parallel
- with a small strip of land called the Demilitarized Zone (the "DMZ")
- temporary until national elections in 1956



1954 Geneva conference

French Algeria



Albert
Camus



The Algerian independence struggle polarized France into pro- and anti-independence factions.



De Gaulle tackles the Algerian crisis



1958: “Je vous ai compris” (“I have understood you”)

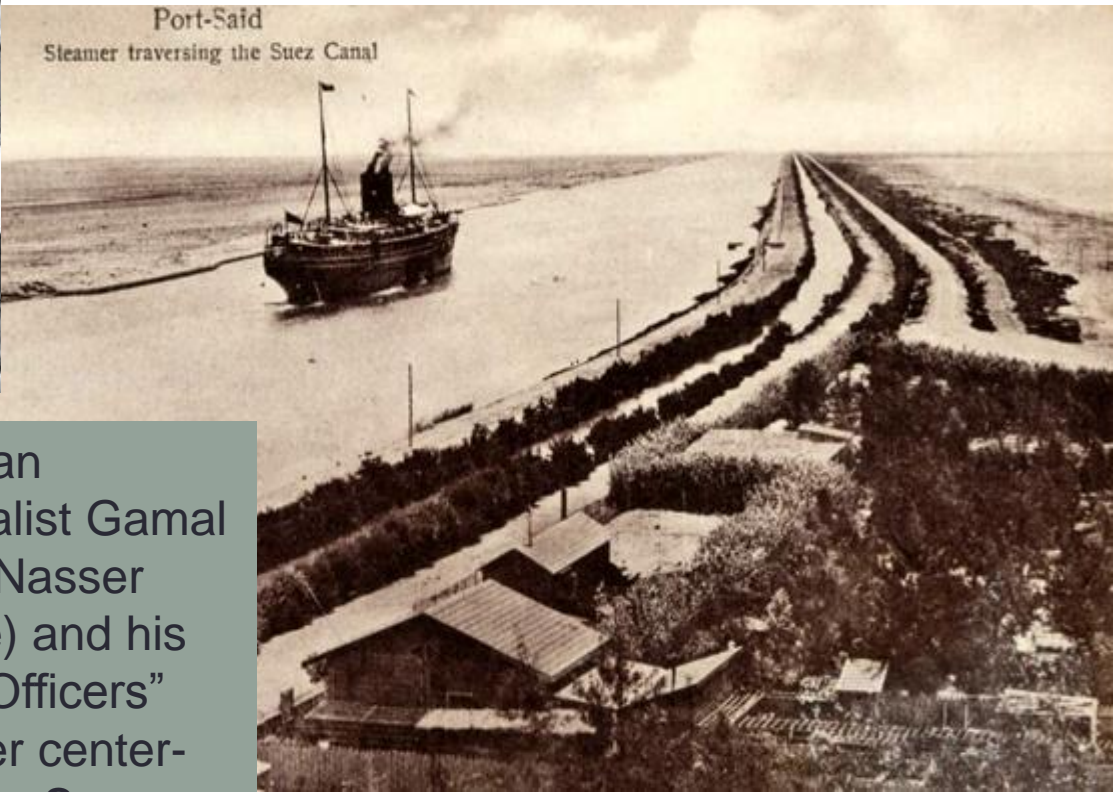


Algerians achieve independence by 1962.

Palestine: the contested land

- 1917: Balfour declaration, “national home” for Jewish people
- 1917: Britain takes over Palestine
- 1936-1939: Anti-zionist riots result in British “white paper” limiting Jewish immigration to 75,000
- 1947: UN approves partition and Israel statehood





Egyptian nationalist Gamal Abdel Nasser (above) and his "Free Officers" (Nasser center-left); the Suez canal

the Bandung Conference, 1955



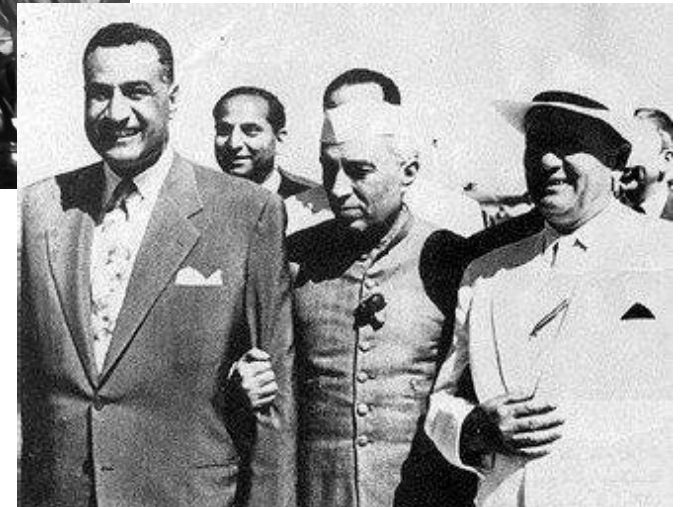
Top right: Nehru and Sukarno;
above: the Bandung conferees at
dinner (Gamal Nasser on right).



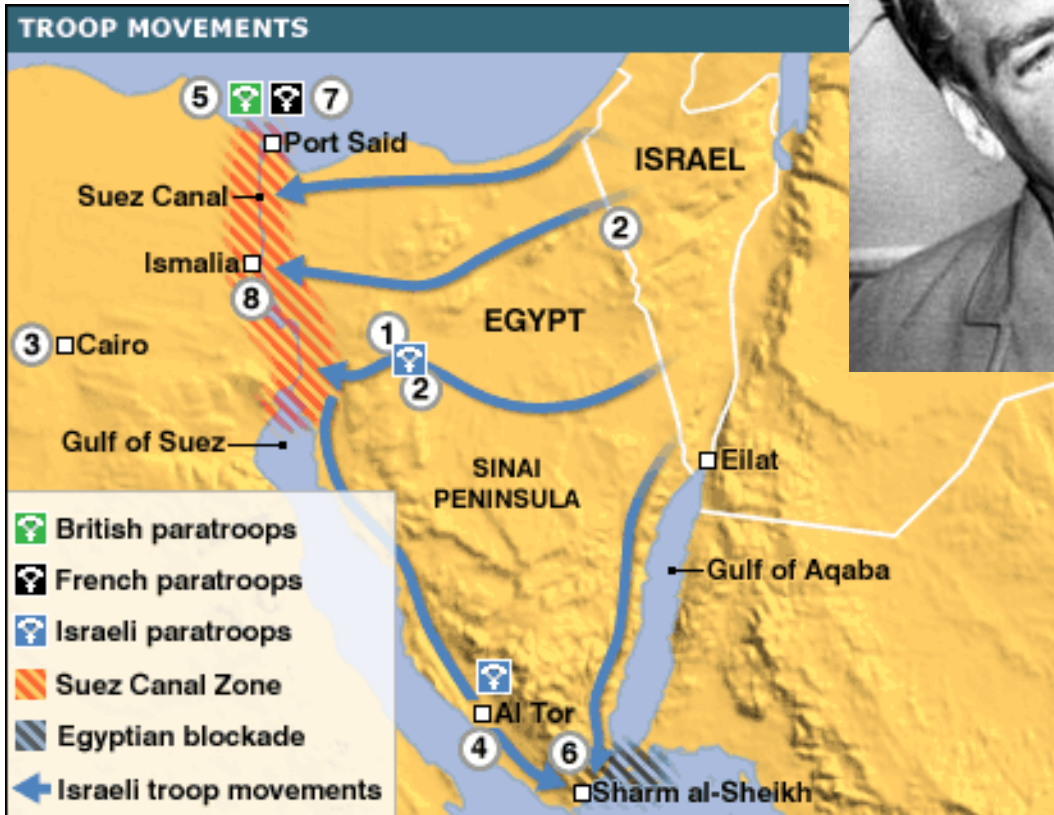
“We are often told ‘Colonialism is dead.’ Let us not be deceived or even soothed by that. How can we say it is dead, so long as vast areas of Asia and Africa are unfree?” – Sukarno, 1955



Left: Nasser cheered after announcement nationalizing the Suez canal, July 1956; a month later he signs non-alignment statement with Nehru and Tito (below).



the Suez Crisis: 1956



The Suez crisis was the last hurrah for old school great power European colonialism; above: Britain's Anthony Eden and France's Guy Mollet; below: Dwight Eisenhower of the US

The Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957



- US Congress must provide economic aid to protect states in Middle East against “overt armed aggressive behavior from any nation controlled by International communism.”

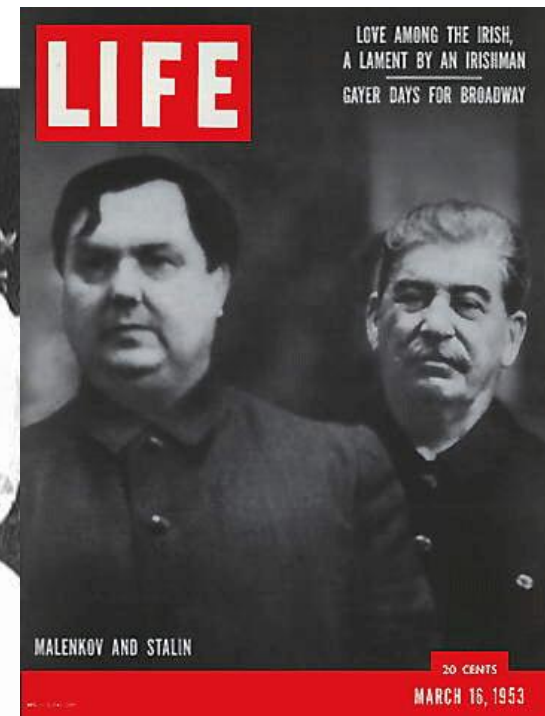
Left: US marine enjoys Lebanese beach during 1958 invasion; right: Eisenhower signs his doctrine.



March 5, 1953: Josef Stalin is dead



Left: Stalin's successors: Lavrenti Beria; Georgy Malenkov, Nikita Khrushchev



The Politburo family, circa 1953; clockwise: Beria and Stalin; Malenkov and Stalin; Malenkov and Khrushchev

Nikita Khrushchev, the last Marxist utopian



de-Stalinization



June 17, 1953: East German workers go on strike against inhuman “socialist” working conditions;



“Stalin originated the term ‘enemy of the people’. This term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin.” – Nikita Khrushchev, 1956

new leaders in Eastern Europe



above: Wladislaw
Gomulka of Poland;
right: Hungary's
centrist Enro Gero
standing; reformer
Imre Nagy on right;
Stalinist Matyas
Rakosi on left



Above: The rigid Stalinist Rakosi (seated second left), forcibly seized power for the Communists remarking that he had cut away his opponents 'like slices of salami'.

revolt in Hungary, 1956

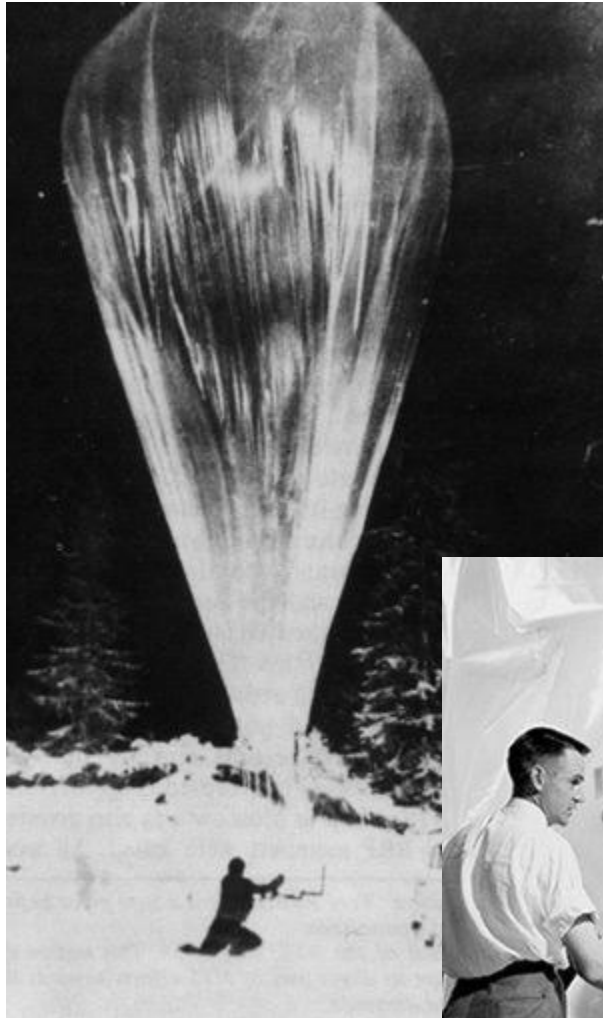


above: Imre Nagy, reform Prime Minister of Hungary, murdered following the Soviet invasion.



Scenes from
Hungary,
1956

Operation Prospero, 1950-1956



Millions of balloons dropped over Eastern Europe exposed Stalinist crimes and called for Iron Curtain nations to revolt. "Svoboda" means "freedom" in Czech.

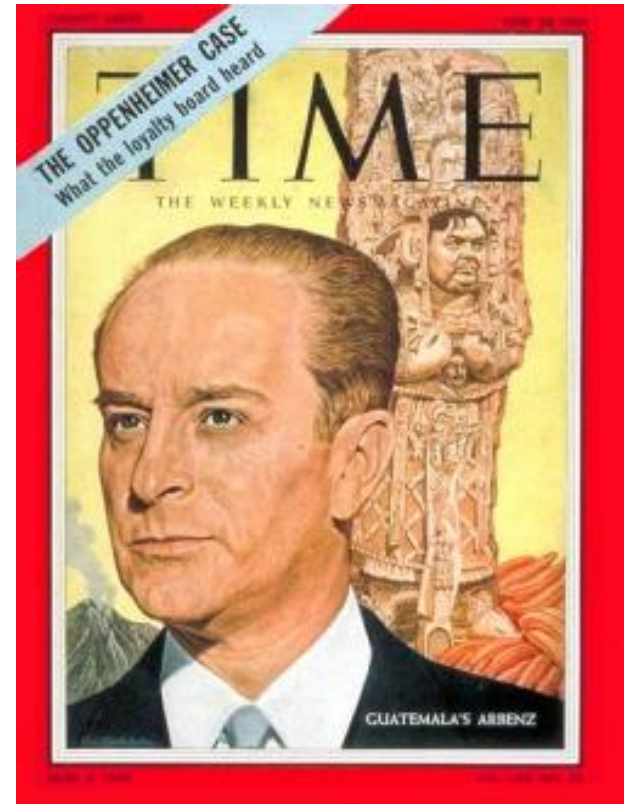


Communism and colonialism: Europe's lost illusions



- “In our time, political speech and writings are largely the defense of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations . . . can indeed be defended, but only by arguments that are too brutal for more people to face . . . “
—George Orwell, 1946

Latin America



July 26, 1947: National Security Act creates the Central Intelligence Agency

- Created to correlate, evaluate, and disseminate intelligence
 - But could perform “other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security.”



From left: CIA boss Allen Dulles; Secretary of State John Foster Dulles; CIA counterintelligence chief James Angleton; his deceiver, Kim Philby



CIA's first victory: Iran, 1953



Clockwise: a pensive
Mohammed
Mossadegh; Reza
Shah Pahlavi; the
Shah's backers in
1953; his sister,
Princess Ashraf



CIA's second victory, Guatemala, 1954



Above: CIA pick Castillo Armas speaking from the Presidential Palace after the coup; right: Arbenz Guzman. "I am definitely convinced that if the president is not a communist, he will certainly do until one comes along." –Jack Peurifoy, US State Department, 1954

Cuba, prize of the Caribbean, circa 1958; clockwise, the young Fidel Castro, Ernesto “Che” Guevara, dictator Fulgencio Batista; center: Havana, 1958





Clockwise: If at first you don't succeed . . . Castro under arrest in 1953; trying again in 1955; triumphant in 1958; seeking refuge with the USSR in 1960; thwarting the CIA at the Bay of Pigs; facing the ire of Kennedy by 1961

The Kitchen Debate,



US Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev sparring at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959



Khrushchev's Virgin Lands campaign, 1954



By 1956, the USSR brought 89 million acres of land into wheat cultivation in southern Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan (roughly the size of Canada)

Soviet grain harvest doubled in three years

Right: nighttime harvest in Kazakhstan; below: Virgin Lands propaganda poster



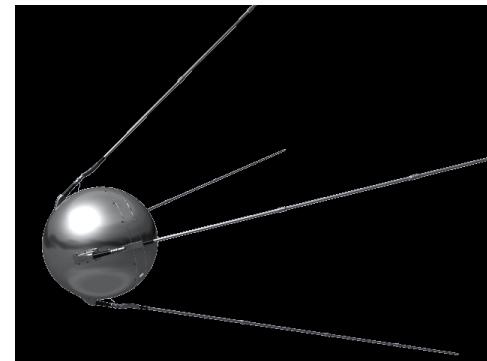
Khrushchev's reforms

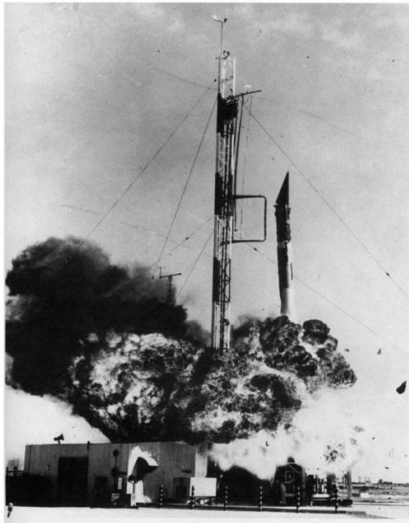


Encourages construction of
private apartments
Expands hospital care
Permits publication of
Alexander Solzhenitsyn's
*One Day In the Life of Ivan
Denisovich*

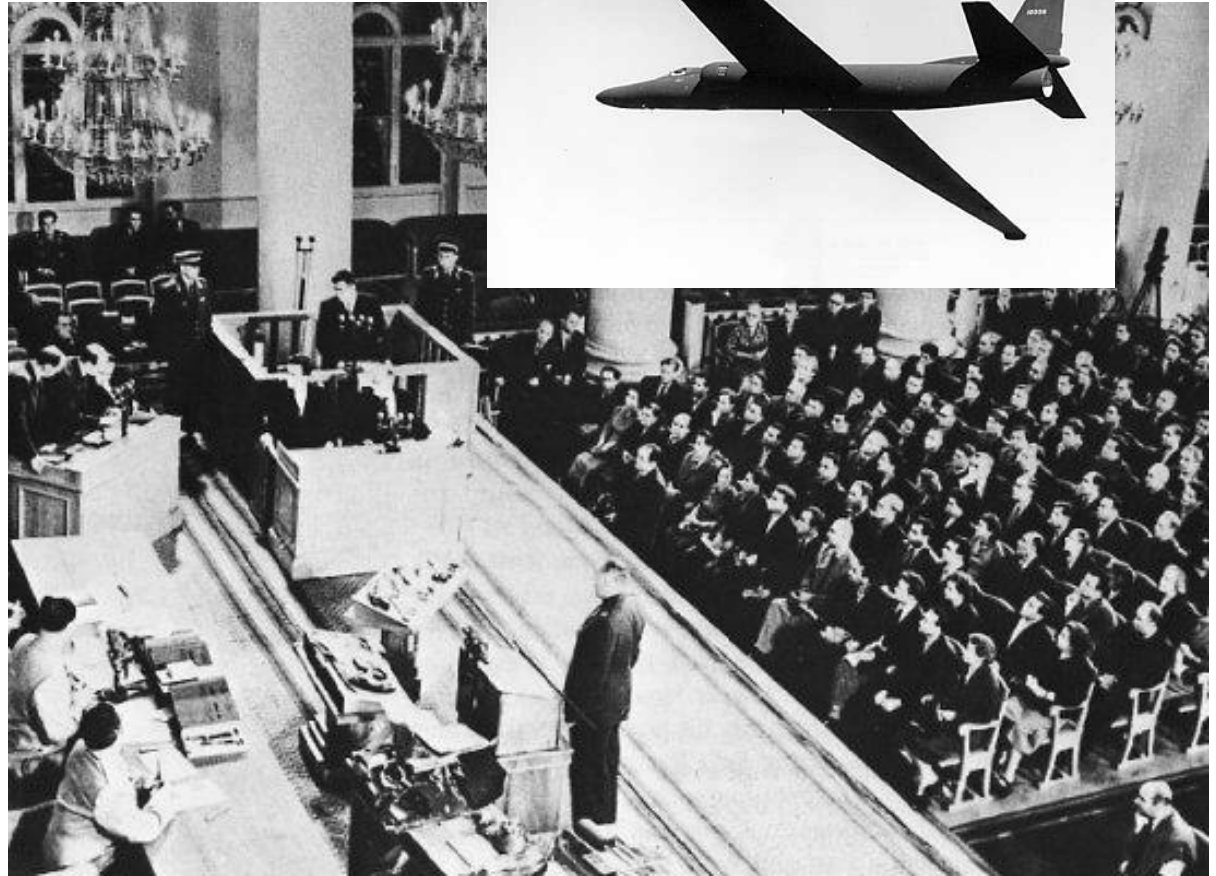
Sputnik launches into space, 1957

- Soviet launch of Sputnik satellite sets off existential panic in the United States
- “We meet today in the atmosphere of another Pearl Harbor. We are in a race for survival.” – Senator Lyndon Johnson at Senate hearing on Sputnik, 1957





The US's initial high altitude success was not the Vanguard rocket (above), but the U2 spy plane. In 1959, the Soviets shot a U2 down, and put its pilot, Gary Powers, on trial.



John F. Kennedy, 1917-1963



John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon;
Kennedy and Marilyn Monroe; Kennedy and
his father, Joe Kennedy; Kennedy and
Khrushchev



U2 Surveillance photos over Cuba, 1962. *“Let us put a hedgehog into the pants of those next door.”* –Nikita Khrushchev



Above: Kennedy's Excom crisis planning group; below, a US Navy plane tracking a Soviet freighter in the Caribbean.

“We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth, but neither will we shrink that risk at any time it must be face.” – John F. Kennedy, 1962

Cuban missile crisis settlement, October 1962

- Soviets publicly withdraw weapons from Cuba
- US (privately) promises not to invade Cuba
 - US (quietly) withdraws Jupiter missiles from Turkey
- Within two years, Kennedy assassinated; Khrushchev stripped of his powers



The limits of empire



The Hungarian uprising of 1956 and the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 defined the limits of the Cold War imperial duopoly.