

WESTERN CIV. 2H

World War II

Page 5

Cold War

Page 14

**Terror & the New
World Order**

Page 20

THE TOTALITARIAN AGE

The 1930s represented an amazing decade. The great depression alone would have made it truly remarkable, but it also witnessed some fantastic political and social experiments and some truly demonic personalities.

What I am going to do in this lecture is talk about Adolf Hitler, and also two of the other amazing political personalities of the time, Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union and Benito Mussolini of Italy. Since I want to save the worst for last, we are going to begin with Mussolini (1885-1945).

Benito Mussolini

One of the reasons I want to talk about Mussolini is because he was the model for Hitler. Hitler truly admired Mussolini — even when Mussolini was down the drain as a political leader — and he tried to copy many of things from Mussolini, and for that reason alone Mussolini needs some attention. Mussolini was the founder of something called Fascism. Fascism is one of those “isms” that is rather hard to define because, while Mussolini created the movement, he never gave it an ideological framework that one could point to and say, “that is true fascism.”

Nonetheless, we can say a few things about it that should make it understandable. One is that it was a form of extreme nationalism. If there was one thing about Mussolini that was true, he was a real nationalist. He wanted Italy to be like ancient Rome: he wanted Italy to be respected; he wanted Italians to take pride in military values, he wanted Italy to have an empire, he wanted the Italian people to be strong and tough like their Roman ancestors.

And Mussolini believed he should set the example. He wore military uniforms, he strutted around a lot, he gave impassioned speeches, he organized military parades, he paraded his followers — the black shirts — and tried to instill military values in them.



Benito Mussolini of Italy with Adolf Hitler. Mussolini created Italian Fascism — a combination of totalitarian anti-democratic, one-party government with a nationalistic ideology. Hitler, who admired Mussolini, molded Italian Fascism into the German variety.

Mussolini also had no use for democracy, and he did not come to power through constitutional means. Before WW1 he was a socialist, but he had strongly favored Italy entering the war to get land. He gave speeches in favor of Italy entering WW1, fought in the War, and was wounded in the leg. After the war was over, he was not particularly pleased with the way the Italian people responded to the War, and he wanted to instill a new toughness into them. He organized his political movement into what he called the *Fascio di Combattimento*, which means “bundle of fighters,” and his party thugs were known by the nickname “black shirts.” In the early days they were made up in great part of war veterans. And he used very undemocratic methods on his opponents — he had them beaten up, a few he had killed, he had his black shirts break up opposition political rallies.

In 1922 he organized what was called the “March on Rome,” in which his black shirts converged from all over Italy on Rome and threw out the government. He persuaded the king to make him prime minister, and from then on he organized his Fascist state.

But the Italian Fascist state was nothing resoundingly spectacular. It did not have a unifying ideology. One of the jokes was that at least Mussolini got the Italian trains to run on time, not something Italian trains were famous for. Mussolini did use public works to make certain that the Depression did not have the impact it had elsewhere, and he made war against Ethiopia in 1935 as part of his efforts to make Italy a bit like Rome. But he did not have a program that he implemented in any consistent way. He was also not even the famous dictator of his time; there were two others far more famous, or infamous.

Joseph Stalin

As a man of power and ruthlessness, Mussolini, one could argue, was not even in the same league as the leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin.

Stalin was born the son of a shoemaker in the province of Georgia in the Russian Empire in 1879. His

parents wanted him to become a priest in the Orthodox Church, but he was expelled from a theological seminary in 1899. He then joined the Russian Social Democratic Party and became one of Vladimir Lenin’s supporters in that party. He actually gained some notoriety by robbing banks to get money for the Party.

He participated in the Russian Revolution as a good Communist, and, in the civil war that followed it, he was put in charge of keeping his homeland of Georgia in the new soviet union. He did so with considerable violence, which actually worried Lenin. Lenin planned to do something about Stalin, although no one is sure what, when in 1922 Lenin had a stroke which incapacitated him and led to his death in 1924. Upon Lenin’s death in 1924, a struggle for control of the Party set in, a struggle that

Stalin won at the end of 1927 when the Fifteenth All-Union Congress of the Party declared that no one could disagree with the Party line which would be determined by Stalin. That gave Stalin full power in the Soviet Union.

With that full power, stalin set out to transform the Soviet Union. Stalin firmly believed that the Soviet Union would always be threatened by the capitalist West, and he was determined to make certain that the Soviet Union could defend itself.

And that meant turning the Soviet Union into an industrial power. In 1928 Stalin announced the First Five-Year Plan, which called for the building of steel mills, manufacturing plants, electrical power, everything associated

with economic and military strength. But who would pay for all of this? Stalin’s answer was that the peasants would pay. They would give up their private farms and become members of collective farms, where their production, labor, output, and all the rest could be organized and channeled for the good of the state. And the surplus population from the farms would go to work building the factories and infrastructure.



Joseph Stalin was the absolute dictator of the U.S.S.R. from 1927 until 1953,

The peasants were not keen on any of this. They did not want to give up their farms, they did not want to be part of some collective where they would be told what to do, and they did not want their children taken away to work somewhere in the vastness of the country. In fact, they even burned their fields and killed their livestock rather than turn them over to the state. Stalin struck with great violence. It is estimated that, between 1928 and 1933 five million peasants “disappeared,” killed either outright or by starvation.

And that was just the First Five-Year Plan. At the end of the first Five-Year Plan in 1933 he announced the second, and at the end of that one he announced the third. By 1941 agriculture in the Soviet Union was thoroughly collectivized, the Soviet Union had indeed become a great industrial power, and it is estimated that the cost in lives was 21-26,000,000.

Stalin, as head of the Politburo, the Soviet central committee of government, consolidated near-absolute power in the 1930s with a Great Purge of the party. The Great Purge was justified as an attempt to expel “opportunists” and “counter-revolutionary infiltrators.” In fact, the Purges were primarily engineered to eliminate all political and personal competition that might cause Stalin trouble either as the ruler of the U.S.S.R. or the absolute authority of international Communism.

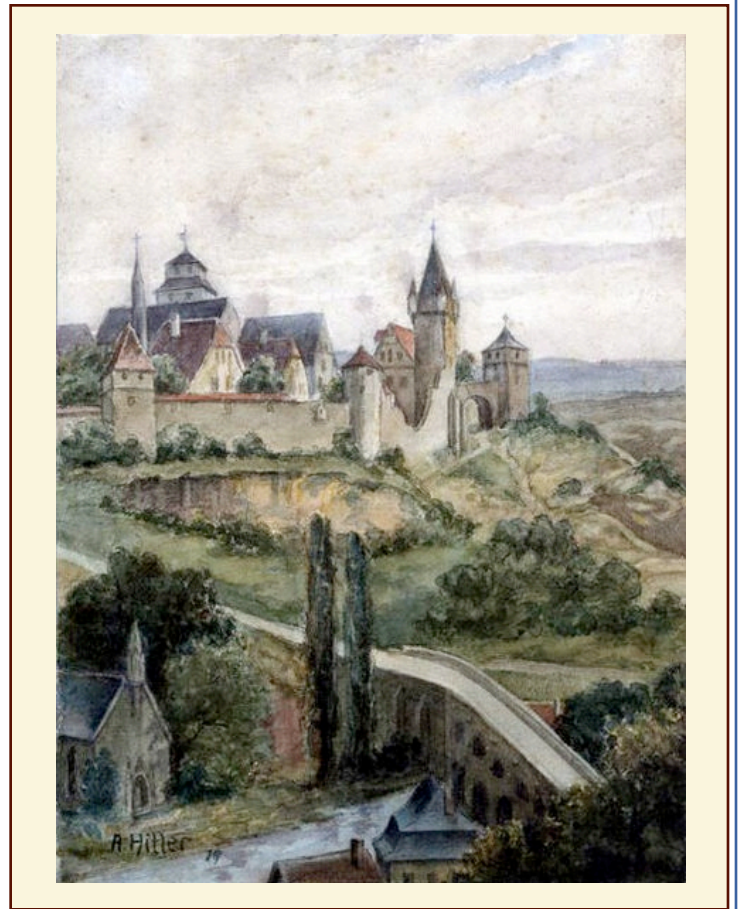
The Purges commenced after the assassination of Sergei Kirov, the popular leader of the party in Leningrad. Stalin blamed Trotsky supporters for the assassination, but it is just as likely that Stalin had Kirov killed because the handsome and charismatic Kirov was a likely replacement for Stalin. Kirov was considered a very close friend to Stalin and his assassination sent chills through the Bolshevik party. Stalin, using the Kirov assassination as an excuse, began tightening security, (and in effect began to remove those who might have threatened Stalin's leadership) by seeking out alleged spies and counter-revolutionaries. But, he didn't stop with there. He killed top Party officials, annihilated over half of the senior officers in the Soviet Army, “invited” foreign communists to the Soviet Union for “reeducation” and killed them, as well. In the late 1930's, as part of the Great Purge, Stalin began to use NKVD (Soviet secret police) assassins to even the score with old political enemies who were living in exile. In 1940, a Soviet agent assassinated Stalin's old rival Leon Trotsky in Mexico.

Of the 21-26 million Russians killed in the 1930s, eight million died in the purges.

Adolf Hitler

One of the fads that have marked the end of the century is who was the most important man in the 20th century. I have no doubt that the most important man in the 20th century was Adolf Hitler; but one really cannot say that since Hitler was certainly not a force for good. But he set events in motion that have dominated our century. Not even counting the cold war to which he contributed, Hitler dominates our historical imagination. How could this man have done what he did?

To begin with, Hitler was not born in Germany; he was born in Austria in the time of the Hapsburg Monarchy (1889). His father was an Austrian civil servant, who died when he was fairly young. He wanted to be an artist and in his teen-age years he went to the Austrian capital of Vienna to compete for a place in the Academy of Art, the great state art school of the Monarchy. The admissions committee rejected him — he could not paint people — but recommended that he apply for architecture school because his drawings of buildings were pretty good (see water color landscape below). But he could not apply for that school because a high school diploma was necessary and he did not have it.



A landscape painted by Hitler

He made his living in Vienna doing odd jobs and painting postcards, but those days were far more important for him because in Vienna before WW1 he picked up his anti-Semitism. Vienna was a hotbed of debate about Social Darwinism and lots of other things, and it was the place where the first modern politicians ran on platforms of anti-Semitism. And it is safe to say that Hitler absorbed it all.

In 1913 he left Vienna for Germany, and he was in Munich when WW1 erupted. He enlisted in the German army and served in the front lines with considerable distinction. He was deeply saddened by Germany's defeat, but he was also exhilarated by the experience. He was one of those guys who had little sense of purpose before the war, and he loved the war's adventure, danger, and the comradeship it created between him and his fellow soldiers.

After the war he got a job as a police spy with the Bavarian police. His job was to infiltrate small, radical political parties in Munich and report on them to police headquarters. One of the ones he infiltrated he joined and then became its leader. This was the National Socialist German Workers' Party, known for short by the first two syllables of the first word — the Nazis.

As you can undoubtedly know, the party grew under Hitler's leadership. His message was one of extreme nationalism: the German people were the best on earth; they had been betrayed by traitors in WW1, mainly Jews; and they would again become great.

As mentioned before, his model was Mussolini, and in 1923 he staged his own version of Mussolini's march on Rome by staging a "march on Munich." It was a disastrous failure, Hitler was arrested and sentenced to jail.

While in jail, Hitler wrote — or rather dictated — a book in which he set down his ideas and his plans for the future. This book is called in German *Mein Kampf*, and one would have to admit it is one of the most influential books of the 20th century mainly because Hitler acted upon it. He stuck to the plans in that book.

What was in this book? First and foremost, to understand Hitler, you must appreciate that he was a racist in every sense of the term. He believed completely in Social Darwinism. He believed that the races of the world were in a hierarchy of fit to unfit, and he had no doubt that the Germanic races were at the top. At the bottom were the Jews and the Gypsies, and these people were not just at the bottom. They were actually dangerous to the great races, and, since they were dangerous, they had to be exterminated.

Hitler was also a thoroughgoing Romantic. He believed that the greatest era for Germany had been under

Charlemagne in the Middle Ages. He also believed that there is a mystical bond between farmers and the soil. He combined Romantic ideas with Social Darwinism, arguing that the biologically best human beings were farmers. He believed that there was an even stronger sacred bond between the blood of Aryan farmers and the soil. He argued that the German nation faced two serious problems. It was being squeezed into far too small a space in Europe, and, in that small space, it was being increasingly urbanized and being corrupted by that urbanization.

To preserve and strengthen the German bloodline, Germany needed farmland where a new, biologically superior German people could make their way and establish that sacred bond between blood and soil. Well, where could that farmland be found? Hitler declared that it would have to be found in Europe (no colonies), and it would have to be the best farmland in Europe. And that was the Ukraine in the Southern Soviet Union. But, you might say, that farmland belongs to the Soviet Union and is occupied by Ukrainians. Hitler declared that it would have to be conquered and the people there would have to be exterminated. Survival of the fittest. Simple.

Hitler's Rise to Power

Without the depression, Hitler would probably have remained a marginal player on the German political scene. But there was the Depression, and he had a message that many Germans found very appealing: He promised jobs and he blamed the problems Germans were having on the Treaty of Versailles, the Communists, and the Jews.

There were a number of elections in the early 1930s in Germany, and the Nazis never won a flat-out majority in any free elections. But in January 1933 a few conservative leaders asked Hitler if he would lead them in a coalition of parties. He did and quickly pulled off some parliamentary maneuvers that gave him full power in Germany.

Unlike Mussolini, Hitler had a definite program. First and foremost he wanted to put Germans back to work, and he did so with enormous public works projects of all kinds, especially rearmament, which was forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles. And soon his policies took a sinister turn. His government established concentration camps where he put what he called enemies of the state, which were Communists, Socialists, and anyone else who opposed him. In 1935 his government issued the *Nuremberg Laws* that deprived Jews of German citizenship. He then encouraged his party toughs to beat up Jews in the streets, to harass Jewish merchants, all of which came to a head in November, 1938 with *Krystalnacht*, the destruction of synagogues in Germany.



Left, Adolf Hitler makes the cover of Time Magazine in March of 1933. He would make six Time covers in all. In the same issue, the Oxford University student body vowed never again to fight for King and country. Below, Hitler marches to the podium at a Nazi Party rally in Nuremberg



But probably the most portentous event of this time occurred in November, 1937 when he called together the senior commanders of the German army and announced that the time was rapidly approaching to put into effect his plans for the future. He declared that he would begin with the conquest of Eastern Europe but it would be done not all at once but carefully and methodically. He did not want to drive the western European powers of Britain and France into war. And, when that was completed, he would set forth on the achievement of his dream — the conquest of the Soviet Union and the building of his new Germany in the East. He told his generals that he would begin when the time was right but in any case no later than 1945. As we shall see, events mainly of his own making would severely change the Fuhrer's timetable.



WHEN I TALKED ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR I, I STRESSED THAT ONE OF THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES WITH THAT WAR WAS ITS BEGINNING. IT SEEMED TO BEGIN FOR NO GOOD REASON, AND THERE HAVE BEEN DEBATES ABOUT ITS ORIGINS EVER SINCE. WORLD WAR II DOES NOT HAVE THAT PROBLEM. WE KNOW WHO STARTED WW2 IN EUROPE — ADOLF HITLER.

HITLER HAD NO HESITATION ABOUT MAKING WAR, BUT THE OTHER GREAT POWERS OF EUROPE CERTAINLY DID, AS DID THE UNITED STATES. In 1933 the student body of Oxford University passed a resolution that its members would not fight for their country under any circumstances. The French, in shock from the sacrifices of World War I, approved the construction of an elaborate defensive system on its eastern border facing Germany called the Maginot Line, which, instead of providing security, essentially paralyzed their ability to react to anything the Germans might do militarily.

HITLER DECIDED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THAT PACIFISM IN EUROPE. Between 1936 and 1939 he achieved a number of diplomatic successes that were truly astonishing. In 1936 he remilitarized the parts of Germany that the Treaty of Versailles specifically said could not have troops. In 1938 he annexed Austria, which the Treaty of Versailles specifically said Germany could not do. Then in September 1938 he annexed the German-speaking part of Czechoslovakia called the Sudetenland. Then in March, 1939 he took over the rest of Czechoslovakia. At each stage, the major powers of Europe, Britain and France, simply protested Hitler's actions, but they did not do much about it, and in the case of the Sudetenland, allowed Hitler to take that part of Czechoslovakia.



German Expansion – 1938-39

In 1938 and 1939, Hitler enlarged his "Greater German Reich" by annexing Austria and Western Czechoslovakia. Both were culturally German, so appeasers could rationalize to themselves that they became German as an act of national self determination.

IN THE SUMMER OF 1939 HITLER PLANNED A MOVE THAT HE KNEW WOULD GENERATE OPPOSITION: THE INVASION OF POLAND. He knew it would generate opposition from the Poles, but he thought that the only power that might join the Poles in opposing him was the Soviet Union.

Now, as I have told you before, his ultimate aim was the destruction of the Soviet Union to make way for his new Germany, but he was not ready to undertake that adventure in the summer of 1939. In fact, what he needed in 1939 was to find a way to neutralize the Soviet Union, to make certain that the Soviet army would not come to the aid of the Poles.

So, he offered an agreement to Stalin. He would attack the Poles from the west, and he would permit the Soviets to attack the Poles from the east. Germany and the USSR would then divide Poland not down the middle but in a way that would give Germany about 2/3rds of the country and the Russians 1/3rd. He also agreed to give the Soviets the opportunity to pick up a few other places in Eastern Europe.

In August, 1939 Hitler and Stalin reached the agreement to divide Poland, and Hitler believed that his way was now clear to attack. On September 1, 1939 his forces poured into Poland. On September 3, 1939 Britain and France declared war on Germany. Hitler was stunned

WHY IN THE WORLD WOULD FRANCE AND BRITAIN DECLARE WAR ON GERMANY OVER POLAND, WHEN THEY WOULD NOT DECLARE WAR OVER AUSTRIA OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA? The reason rests in the policies and attitudes of the British prime minister at

the time, a man named Neville Chamberlain.



Prime Minister and notable appeaser, Neville Chamberlain.

When Hitler remilitarized Germany and when he took over Austria, Chamberlain believed that, Hitler might be violating the letter of the Treaty of Versailles, but he was not really violating the spirit of the Treaty because Hitler was annexing German-speaking territory. So Hitler really was following the principle of self-determination since in both places the people involved were happy with the results.

Even when Hitler demanded the Sudetenland, Chamberlain believed he was following the spirit if not the letter of Versailles, because the Sudetenland was inhabited overwhelmingly by Germans. In exchange for the Sudetenland, Hitler agreed that he would not make any more moves on the international scene, that he was satisfied, and he even signed an agreement to that effect. When Chamberlain returned to Britain with that piece of paper, he declared to the press that it meant



The German Reich and the Soviet Union conclude a non-aggression treaty in Moscow on 23 August 1939. In a secret addendum the two countries define their spheres of influence in Europe: Kremlin leader Josef Stalin claims hegemony over Finland and over the Baltic nations (with the exception of Lithuania). Poland is to be partitioned between the two ideological arch-enemies. Adolf Hitler has now acquired the necessary backing for his imminent attack on Poland. In addition he hopes that this pact will enable him to deter the western powers of Great Britain and France from fulfilling their assurances of military support for Warsaw.

“Peace in our Time.”

The turning point was in March, 1939 when Hitler marched into Czechoslovakia. The Czechs and Slovaks were not Germans, and Chamberlain realized that all along he had been trusting a man who was just another conqueror. He decided then that, no matter where Hitler turned next, Britain and its French allies would stop him. And that place was Poland. So, when Hitler invaded Poland, Britain and France declared war. That was not the war Hitler wanted to fight. He wanted to fight the Soviet Union eventually. But now he had to turn his attention to the west.

THE PERIOD FROM SEPTEMBER 1, 1939 TO APRIL 1940 WAS CALLED THE PHONY WAR. THE GERMANS AND THE SOVIETS OVERRAN POLAND IN SIX WEEKS, BUT THE BRITISH AND FRENCH DID NOT ATTACK. THE FRENCH WENT INTO THE MAGINOT LINE TO WAIT AND THE BRITISH PUT THEIR FORCES IN BELGIUM IN CASE THE GERMANS WOULD ATTACK THERE. AND THEY WAITED.

BUT IN APRIL, 1940 THINGS GOT INTERESTING. In April the Germans attacked Norway and Denmark. The British said, “Aha, we know what the Germans are going to do; they are going to attack down from the north just like they did in WW1. So, the British and French got ready.

They were right. On May 10 the Germans launched their attack on Belgium and Holland (tell strategy). On May 12 they struck the Ardennes forest, which split the British armies in Belgium from the French in the Maginot Line. The British and French were stunned, and the Germans moved with lightning speed — no trench warfare this time. In fact, the speed of their attacks were so impressive that German warfare was called lightning war, Blitzkrieg.

Within three weeks the Germans had bottled up the British army on the beaches of Dunkirk, where they were evacuated by everything British that could float by June 4. Paris, which had held out for four years against the Germans in WW1, surrendered on June 13, and the government of France surrendered on June 22. The war in the west was over in six weeks, the same amount of time it took Germany to conquer Poland. In World War I the French and the British on one side and the Germans on the other had fought with frightful losses for four years on the Western Front. This time the Western Front lasted six weeks. The world was amazed.

THE QUESTION NOW WAS WHAT WOULD HITLER DO NEXT. He had but one enemy remaining and that was Britain. Britain was a problem because it was an island and because now it had new leadership. When the Nazis launched their Blitzkrieg in May 1940 Chamberlain stepped down as prime minister and was replaced by one of the truly great, good men of the 20th century, Winston Churchill. And Churchill made it clear from the outset that, no matter what happened, Britain would never surrender. Hitler tried to get Britain to surrender. He launched a fierce air attack on Britain and the war from August to December is called the Battle of Britain, and he threatened to invade Britain.

BUT HITLER WAS NOW TURNING TO HIS GREAT DREAM, THE ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION, AND THROUGHOUT THE SPRING OF 1941 HE FOCUSED ALMOST ALL OF HIS ATTENTION ON PREPARATIONS FOR THAT GREAT EFFORT.

BY LATE SPRING HE WAS READY AND ON JUNE 22, 1941 HE LAUNCHED HIS ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION. At first it looked a repeat of Poland and France. His air force caught the Soviet air force on the ground and destroyed it. His armored divisions penetrated deep into Soviet territory, causing not only death and destruction but great confusion in the Soviet army. It was an unbelievable undertaking. The Germans threw into the Soviet Union a force of 3 million men along a front 2000 miles long. The world had never seen anything like it.

Hitler believed that he could crush the Soviet Union in a fairly short time, and for reasons that I hope you now can understand. He regarded the people of the Soviet Union — Russians, Ukrainians, various Turkic peoples — as deeply inferior biologically to the Germans. They were unfit races compared to the blond, blue-eyed Germans. Moreover, they were Communists; who was the founder of Communism? Karl Marx. What was Karl Marx? A Jew. In Hitler’s mind

there was no way a group of inferior peoples following a Jewish idea could withstand the onslaught of the greatest people on earth.

For a while it looked like he was right. The Germans launched their attack in three directions against three of the great cities of Russia: St. Petersburg in the north, Moscow in the center, and Kiev in the south. By December, 1941 the German army had laid siege to St. Petersburg, was in the suburbs of Moscow, and had overrun Kiev. It did not look as if the Russians could take much more.

But in December things began to go sour for Hitler. Despite the Blitzkrieg and the crushing defeats of the Soviet army in the summer and fall of 1941, the Soviet Union was actually pretty well prepared for a long war. Stalin, as I mentioned before, believed that the Soviet Union would someday be attacked from the West. So, part of his five-year plans was to move Russian industry from west to east, from the industrial areas around St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev to the Ural Mountains and beyond. So, despite the vast amount of territory the Germans conquered, they did very little damage to the Soviet Union's industrial capacity.

Moreover, on June 22, 1941 the best troops of the Soviet Union were not in the West; they were on the Manchurian border. Manchuria had been conquered by the Japanese, and in 1939 the Japanese decided to fight a fairly small, undeclared war with the Soviets to see what the Soviet army was made of. The Japanese were shocked at the fighting spirit and power of the Soviet troops, and they backed off. In fact, Japan from then on never declared war on the USSR, and the USSR declared war on Japan only at our insistence in the summer of 1945. Anyway, to make a long story short, when the Nazis invaded, Stalin ordered these troops to the West. But they were not thrown into the battle piecemeal (explain strategy).

THE BATTLE BEFORE MOSCOW ENDED THE YEAR'S FIGHTING IN RUSSIA. Russia's climate is so hostile that it is very difficult to fight except in the summer and fall. In the winter everything is frozen, and in the spring everything turns to mud.

Hitler was determined to continue his assault in 1942. He no longer had the strength to attack on three fronts, so in 1942 he decided to launch his principal assault to the south. The reason was that he wanted to take the oil fields of the Caucasus, which he could then not only use for his own troops but deprive the Russians of them. The attack began in June 1942 and was a repeat of 1940 and 1941. The Germans drove hard and fast and by September his forces were entering the Caucasus. But then he made a fatal error: Stalingrad. The prolonged campaign by Hitler to take the city of Stalingrad was a German fiasco of monumental proportions. The Germans lost over 300,000 troops in the campaign.

Red Army troops assault a German position in Stalingrad Campaign.



FROM JANUARY 1943, WITH SOME FITS AND STARTS, THE SOVIET ARMY PUSHED THE NAZIS OUT OF THE USSR AND BACK TO GERMANY. WELL, WHAT WAS GOING ON IN THE WEST?

BRITAIN WAS STILL IN THE WAR WHEN HITLER LAUNCHED HIS MIGHTY ATTACK ON THE USSR IN JUNE 1941. But Britain was also considerably weaker than it had been at the start. Its army having lost virtually everything at Dunkirk, it could not provide the Soviet Union with much help, and it was in no condition to create a second front to provide some relief to the Soviet army fighting for its life.

BUT THINGS PICKED UP IN DECEMBER, 1941. Not only were the Nazis stopped before Moscow, but on December 7, 1941 the Japanese attacked the American Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor. On that same day the Japanese launched general offensives against British and French possessions throughout the Far East. And, on December 11, Hitler declared war on the United States for reasons that to this day are not very clear. When Churchill heard the news that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor, he commented, “Now we have won the war!”

AMERICAN POLICY BEFORE PEARL HARBOR HAD BEEN OFFICIALLY ONE OF NEUTRALITY, BUT IT WAS HARDLY NEUTRAL IN FACT. The president of the United States at the time, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had been convinced for some time that Hitler was a truly evil and dangerous man.

Hitler’s Blitzkrieg into western Europe astonished FDR, and he tried very hard throughout the latter part of 1940 and most of 1941 finding ways to help the British. Pearl Harbor was not quite the Godsend that FDR was hoping for, because he considered the Japanese significantly less dangerous than the Germans. In fact, when he gave his famous “Day of Infamy” speech to Congress on December 8 asking for a declaration of war, it was only against Japan, not against Germany. When Hitler declared war on the USA on December 11, FDR promptly declared that the defeat of Nazi Germany, not Japan, was the first priority of the United States.

THE BRITISH AND THE UNITED STATES WERE NOW DEDICATED ALLIES, BUT NEITHER ONE IN DECEMBER 1941 HAD MUCH TO OFFER IN THE WAY OF MILITARY POWER. Britain had not only lost all of its military equipment at Dunkirk and had poured all of its industrial energy into building airplanes to drive back the German air attack during the Battle of Britain. The United States had begun preparing for war in 1940, but it was a long way from having the men and material to send overseas. As I mentioned in the lectures on WW1, then the USA just sent men and the British and French gave them all of the stuff they needed. In WW2, Britain had no stuff left and France had fallen to the Nazis. We now had to make our own. We could do it with no problems, but we still needed time to do it.



Dec. 7, 1941: Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor

Yesterday, December 7th, 1941 — a date which will live in infamy — the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7th, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese empire.

FDR, Message to Congress, Dec. 8, 1941

ONE OF THE SORE POINTS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES ON THE ONE HAND AND THE SOVIET UNION ON THE OTHER — A POINT THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE COLD WAR THAT FOLLOWED WORLD WAR II — WAS THE TIME IT TOOK FOR BRITAIN AND THE USA TO INVADE EUROPE.

STALIN AND THE SOVIETS INSISTED THAT WE OPEN A SECOND FRONT TO RELIEVE PRESSURE ON THE EASTERN FRONT, BUT WE COULD NOT OPEN A SUCCESSFUL ONE UNTIL WE HAD ENOUGH MEN AND EQUIPMENT IN PLACE TO SUCCEED. And that took time. In the meantime the British wanted help fighting in North Africa. Now, you might wonder what North Africa had to do with anything, and the answer is that in 1941 the Germans and Italians were threatening the Suez Canal, which the British considered the lifeline of their empire. If the Suez Canal fell to the enemy, the British would have a whale of a time transferring men, ships, and equipment back and forth between the European theater and their positions in places like India and the Far East. So, while the Americans were trying to build up enough resources in the West to invade France, the British persuaded us to help with Africa. The first major landing of the Americans took place not in Europe proper but along the African coast in November, 1942. The Americans coming from the west and the British from the east managed to defeat the Italian/German forces, and those forces surrendered in May 1943.

ANOTHER CONCERN OF THE BRITISH WAS CONTROL GENERALLY OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN SEA. The Suez Canal might now be secure, but enemy planes could attack Allied shipping from Italy itself and from Italian- and German-held positions in the Balkans. So, the British persuaded us to help with an invasion of Italy, which we began in July 1943 with the invasion of Sicily. The Italian theater proved a lot tougher than we thought it would be, and the German forces did not surrender until the end of the European war in May, 1945.

BUT THE GREAT EVENT IN THE WEST WAS EASILY THE INVASION OF FRANCE, WHICH TOOK PLACE ON D-DAY, JUNE 6, 1944, ONE OF THE TRULY GREAT EVENTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. I hope that most of you have seen “Saving Private Ryan,” because the first twenty minutes are, according to veterans who were there, about as realistic an account of the worst part of the invasion beaches on that day.

D-Day was a monumental undertaking. From February to the invasion day there were constant rehearsals in England for the American, Canadian, and British troops who were going to land. When the armies went forth, there were 10,000 aircraft flying bombing runs or dropping paratroopers, 4000 landing ships of various kinds, and 80 warships to shell the coast prior to the invasion.

D-Day was a resounding success. “Saving Private Ryan” focused on the very worst sector of Omaha Beach, which was far and away the worst beach in the whole operation. The other major American beach was Utah Beach, at which only about 250 men were killed or wounded, and the British and Canadian forces, while encountering more opposition than we did at Utah, did not suffer the losses as did the Americans at Omaha.

The Allied forces quickly secured a stretch of beach about 60 miles long and began pouring in men and equipment. During the first 100 days after June 6, the Allies landed 2,200,000 men, 450,000 vehicles, and 4,000,000 tons of supplies at Normandy.

BUT IT WAS NOT PARTICULARLY EASY FOR THE ALLIES TO MAKE PROGRESS FROM NORMANDY. The hope of the Allies was to get off the beaches and get into the countryside fairly quickly before the Germans brought up enough reinforcements to cause problems. But it did not work out as easily or as quickly as they hoped. The Germans put up a ferocious defense, and the Allies did not break through like they wanted until July 9.

But then it was gangbusters. On August 24 the Allies took Paris, on September 2 they took Brussels, and on September 12 American units crossed into Germany proper for the first time. But then things came to a halt. German resistance got much stiffer, and the Allies decided to build up their forces more before taking the final plunge into Germany.

But there was one more major battle left for the Americans to fight and to take serious casualties. On December 16 a powerful German army launched an attack in Belgium and began what is known as the Battle of the Bulge. From

December 16 to December 25 there was serious concern that the Germans would break the British and American forces in two. But through some magnificent fighting (Troy Middleton was a Corps commander of Third Army and was quite famous at the Bulge), the Americans and British halted the Germans and drove them back.



On December 16, 1944, the Germans launched an attack in Belgium, throwing all that they had left against the Allies. The allies were saved by their refusal to give up, and the fact that the Germans were short on fuel.



AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE, IT WAS INTO GERMANY FOR THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS, AND THERE WOULD BE NO MORE GREAT BATTLES ON THE WESTERN FRONT. The Eastern Front was quite different. IN the East the warfare was a lot more savage than in the West. Neither the Germans nor the Russians liked to take prisoners, and both knew that, if captured by the other side, they would like face death, either quickly by being shot or slowly by starving to death. Therefore, battles in the East were often fought to the bitter end by both sides. By the time the Americans and the British landed at Normandy on June 6, 1944, the Russians had driven the Germans out of Soviet territory and were now ready to drive them back to Germany.

We have the usual litany of dates that really do not do justice to the ferocity of the fighting that took place. In August, the Soviet forces began their advance into southeastern Europe with the invasion of Romania, and in that same month reached the Vistula River line in Poland.

They spent the fall and early winter pressing forward in the south and then in January (can you imagine?) launched an offensive toward Berlin. The Battle of Berlin was the great titanic climax. The Russians entered Berlin on April 20 and engaged in terrific combat against everything the Germans had left, including 12-year-old boys and old men. On April 30 Hitler killed himself while the fighting raged around his bunker, and on May 7 a group of German military leaders surrendered to the Allies. The then president of the United States, Harry Truman, proclaimed the end of the war on May 8 — VE Day.

THE WAR CONTINUED AGAINST THE JAPANESE BUT NOT FOR MUCH LONGER. When Germany surrendered, the Americans had already landed on the island of Okinawa, about 325 miles south of Tokyo and were fighting to secure it so that Okinawa could be the launching point for an invasion of the home islands of Japan. But that invasion was not needed, for on August 6 we dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and on August 9 dropped another on Nagasaki. On August 10 the Japanese declared that they wished to surrender. On August 14 (V-J Day) they accepted the Allied terms.

THE WAR WAS OVER! In terms of total deaths, it was far worse than WW1. In WW1 estimates are that there were 9,000,000 dead, almost all military deaths. In WW2 there were 15,000,000 military deaths in all of the theaters and at least that many civilian deaths. Some put the number of civilian deaths — caused by such factors as the Holocaust, the terrific amount of killing by the Japanese in China, the extensive aerial bombing by both sides of civilian targets — at 40 million. Amazing totals.

We are back to the old question: What will western civilization be like after this latest catastrophe?



COLD WAR

The Second World War came to an end in August, 1945. You know how the other great wars of the last two centuries ended. When Napoleon was finally defeated, the great European powers gathered in Vienna to see if they could create a European system that would have enough flexibility in it so that people would be reasonably happy and that countries would not make war on each other.

After World War I, the allies met in Paris to see if they could make certain that World War I was the war to end war. But there was no great peace conference at the end of World War II. In fact, practically from the time the war ended, a new rivalry emerged, with the Soviet Union on one side and the United States on the other. This was the cold war, which dominated western civilization from the end of World War II to 1989.

As I am sure you know, the cold war was a contest between ideologies. That had been true of the 1930s as well when Communism represented one view of how society was organized and Fascism and Nazism represented another view. The idea then was that these views were not only incompatible but one had to destroy the other. In this way World War II took on the quality of a religious war, a war between belief systems.

When World War II ended, there were still two ideologies opposed to one another, but instead of being Communism and Nazism, they were communism and democratic capitalism represented by the United States. The antagonism between these two belief systems and the countries representing them had its roots in World War I, but they were put to rest in World War II so that both countries could fight the one power they felt was a greater threat than either one — Nazi Germany.

One could easily make the argument that competition between the United States and the Soviet Union was inevitable, that these two now superpowers with their ideologically opposite social and political systems would naturally oppose one another. Still, there are always triggers for these things, no matter how inevitable they might seem, and the trigger for the Cold War was a dispute between the USA and the USSR over the future of Poland.

Poland meant a lot to Russia. For one thing, Poland is a flat country — no mountains to speak of — and is the natural invasion route to Russia by countries to the west, particularly Germany. Stalin wanted to make certain that he controlled Poland for the security of the Soviet Union. But Poles hated Russians; the Poles were ruled by Russia throughout the 19th and early 20th century.

In fact, Poland only secured her independence at the end of World War I and then only by fighting a particularly vicious war against the Russian Communists. Moreover, the USSR had invaded Poland in 1939 after the Nazi-Soviet Pact, had overrun Poland in 1944 and 1945 on its way to defeat Germany, and both times had killed a lot of Poles. The Polish people would never accept a home-grown government that had at its primary foreign policy helping the Soviet Union protect itself. Given this hatred of Russians by Poles, Stalin decided that Poland could never really be free; he had to control Poland and that meant a Communist government which he could tell what to do.

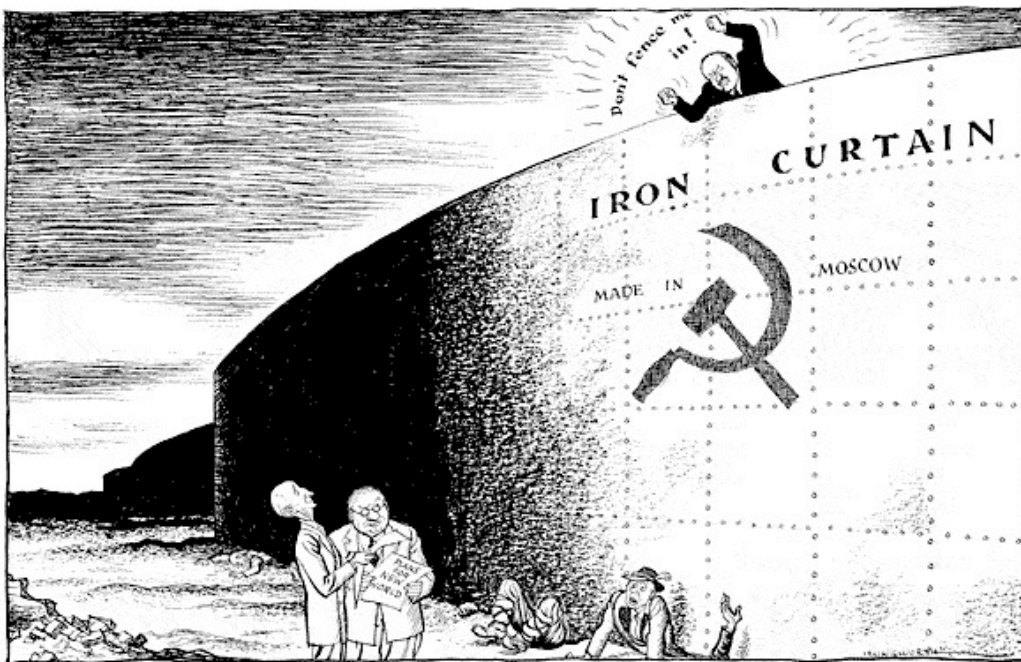
But Poland meant a lot to Britain and the United States. After all, formally at least it was to defend Polish independence that Britain had gone to war in 1939. The British certainly did not want to say that they went to war to protect Poland from the Nazis only to turn it over to the Soviets. The United States also had gone to war to free Europe from oppression; it also did not want to free Europe from Nazi oppression only to turn parts of it over to Stalinist oppression. Besides, FDR had other reasons for making sure Poland was free that we Americans can understand: when Stalin asked FDR one time why he cared so much about Poland, FDR responded, "Because I have one million Polish voters in Chicago."

Disagreements between the USSR and the Western allies over the future of Poland began as early as 1943, and

they just could not be resolved as the war came to an end and the post-war period began. And then both sides discovered that there were a lot of other issues that they disagreed about as well. One could say that the "declarations of Cold War" came in February and March, 1946.

The first came from Stalin. In February, 1946 in a major radio broadcast all over the USSR, Stalin said that dealing with the United States and Great Britain was just like dealing with Nazi Germany. The Soviet people, he said, had to prepare for war against the USA just as they had prepared for war against the Nazis. The western response came the very next month when President Harry Truman invited Winston Churchill, who was no longer prime minister of Britain but enormously respected, to give a speech at Westminster College in Fulton, MO, Truman's home state. Truman himself introduced Churchill and called on him "to speak his mind." Truman gave one of the most famous speeches in his career, in which he said that an "iron curtain" had fallen across Europe and that it was the responsibility of Britain and the United States to pry it open — using nuclear weapons if necessary. Quite a speech.

With that the Cold War was underway, and it had a profound impact on Europe and the rest of the world. But all this stuff was doubly disappointing because it happened after a meeting between Churchill, FDR and Stalin at Yalta in February of 1945.



The Yalta Conference

The Big Three – FDR, Churchill, and Stalin – met to discuss what would happen after the fall of Germany. The main questions were: (1) What would be the fate of the countries of Eastern Europe that were occupied by the Soviet Union; (2) How would Germany be treated; (3) How would an effective peace-keeping body be created (the United Nations)?

Western Europe could do little about Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe. Stalin promised free elections in Eastern Europe. These were just words. He wanted sympathetic governments in Eastern Europe as buffer states against the West. In reality, he established a Russian empire, controlling all of Eastern Europe.

Initially, Germany was to be de-Nazified and then allowed to reunite. However total reunification did not occur. Germany was divided into zones of occupation – American, British, French and Russian. The Soviet Union created a puppet state in East Germany. In 1946, Churchill, realized the danger posed by the Soviet Union. In a speech in Fulton, Missouri, Churchill described Stalin’s expansion of Communist totalitarian regimes as an “Iron Curtain” that separated the captive peoples of Eastern and Central Europe from the rest of the world.

Ultimately, Stalin wanted the Allies out of Berlin, which was in the heart of the Soviet zone. In 1948, he blockaded the Allies zones in Berlin, and in response, the United States organized the Berlin Airlift. It sent supplies – food, medicine, fuel – into the city by plane. The only way for the Soviets to stop the airlift would have been open war, and Stalin was unwilling to take this step. The airlift lasted one year with planes constantly taking off and landing. Finally, the Soviets lifted the blockade. In 1949, the Allies abandoned their goal of a unified Germany and agreed to unify their three zones. This area became West Germany – the Federated Republic of Germany. Later that year, the Soviet Union proclaimed that East Germany would be known as the German Democratic Republic. East Germany remained a Soviet satellite, and Berlin remained a divided city in the middle of East Germany.

To lessen the threat of future world wars, the United Nations was created. Its charter went into effect on 24 October, 1945. The U.N. consisted of a General Assembly of all member nations, and a Security Council of Allies



The Yalta Conference

Churchill, FDR and Stalin mug for the press at the Yalta Conference in February, 1945. It wasn't all fun and games though. The Soviets had bugged the other allies rooms and the fate of the post-war world hung in the balance.

(U.S., Britain, U.S.S.R., France, China) and a few elected nations that rotated. Although the United Nations could deploy military peacekeeping forces, the permanent members of the Security Council could exercise their vetoes on such actions. The Soviets used their veto 103 times between 1946 and 1964 compared to the 4 or less vetoes employed by the other permanent members.

The Fate of Germany

It had an especially important impact on the future of Germany. One of the common arguments one reads in history books is that the Treaty of Versailles that ended the First World War was a harsh peace that, if the Allies had been more lenient with Germany, the conditions that gave rise to Hitler would not have occurred and we would not have had World War II. On the one hand, the Allies realized the stupidity of strapping Germany with the entire cost and guilt for the war. On the other, none of the allies especially trusted the Germans. So a way had to be found to control Germany without punishing all Germans.

After World War I the Allies disarmed Germany and hoped it would remain weak. After World War II they simply occupied it, dividing into four zones with a great power responsible for each one. After World War I the Allies insisted that the Emperor be removed and that the Germans create a democratic government to replace the old one. After World War II the Allies arrested the German leaders, put them on trial, sentenced bunches to jail, executed a few, and declared that they would set up a new German government.

The plan was that after a while Germany would be united again, but it was clear by 1946 that the Soviets and the western Allies would not be able to agree on how that would be done. In 1947 we became convinced that the struggle with the USSR was going to be a long one, and that we would need to adopt some plans with that in mind. In February 1947 Harry Truman announced what he called the Truman Doctrine, which declared that the USA would help any country fight against a Communist takeover, with military force if necessary. He had in mind Greece, and we sent troops and supplies to Greece right then.

But even more important than the Truman Doctrine was the Marshall Plan, named after the great American military strategist from World War II, George C. Marshal, who was secretary of state at that time. Announced in June, 1947 the Marshall Plan called for extensive American investment in rebuilding the European economy along western lines. The philosophy was that a Europe that was strong economically would better resist Communism. That began the great recovery of Europe. The Marshall Plan was not meant to be applied only in Western Europe, but it worked out that way because Stalin refused to allow any Marshall plan aid to enter those areas of Europe controlled by the Soviets.

The Cold War Ramps Up

The Cold war Intensified after that. In 1948 the British, French, and Americans decided to unify their zones of occupation in Germany and in doing so created the Federal Republic of Germany, which became known as West Germany. In 1949 the Soviets responded by creating the German Democratic Republic out of their zone, which became known as East Germany. In 1949 the Western countries created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO, which became the principal anti-Soviet alliance throughout the Cold War and is the principal world-wide alliance today. In 1950 the United States and United Nations and the Soviet Union battled each other indirectly in the Korean War.

During that time Europe solidified into Western (the First World) and Eastern Blocs (the Second World). Each side imposed its political and economic system on the areas it

controlled. The West was already primarily democratic and had essentially Capitalist economies. Stalin imposed his style of Communism on Eastern Europe with all political and economic activities controlled by the Communist Party.

Soviet Realities

But in the 1950s there began what, looking back on it, was the long trip of the Soviet Union to 1989. In 1953 Stalin died. For the next couple of years there was a low-profile struggle for power in the Soviet Union and the man who emerged as the head of it was Nikita Khrushchev. It was Khrushchev who first realized that the Communist system was not working.

Here was the problem: Communism was supposed to be the workers' paradise, the place where the workers were taken care of, where everyone was happy because there were no class differences and everyone helped one another. It was also supposed to produce goods that the workers needed and would use, unlike capitalism which produced goods only for the benefit of the rich and powerful. But that was simply not happening. It was Communism that had to use force to keep people under control; it was Communism that could not allow people to speak or write freely; it was Communism that was unable to produce the basic goods people needed and wanted. People were fleeing from the Communist east to the capitalist west, but that was not the way it was supposed to be. If Communism worked properly, the working classes of all countries should be escaping the capitalist west to go to the Communist east.

Khrushchev saw that was the problem and that he had to do something about it. And he did a number of things. For one, he denounced Stalin. In February 1956 he gave a famous speech in which he declared that Stalin was not a great war leader as he was proclaimed to be; he was a murderer and his own savagery had made the Soviet Union more, not less, vulnerable to the Nazis. And, from now on, Khrushchev implied, Communism would be different.

Then he declared that the Soviet economy would no longer focus on making weapons and heavy machinery but would produce consumer goods to satisfy the needs of the people. He did not want to change the nature of the economy — it would remain a command economy — but he wanted to change its focus. His belief was that the Soviet Union did not have to change the structure of its economy — an economy controlled by the centralized government — it just had to focus on providing for the people rather than investing so many resources into military goals.

All he asked was that people not think of changing or criticizing the government. But Communism is a system where it is impossible to separate the economy from politics because the entire economy is controlled by the government. So, how can one introduce changes in the economy without changes in the government? And that was a problem.

Krushchev was also a devoted anti-Westerner, though. He wasn't about to give up the Cold War, which meant that some very sizable chunk of the Soviet economy had to be devoted to keeping up militarily with the West. And here was his problem. The Soviet economic system did not work well enough to provide both enough consumer goods to make Soviet citizens happy *and* enough resources to keep up militarily. So, Krushchev still spent most of the Soviet resources on military stuff.

Just about from the time he started, Krushchev faced criticism of Communism itself. In the summer of 1956 Poland rose up against Communist rule and especially Russian domination. Krushchev was able to work some compromises that defused the Polish situation, but right after that, in October 1956, Hungary rose in revolt, demanding that Communism end and that Hungary be allowed to withdraw from the Soviet system. This time Krushchev could not work any compromise, and he sent in Soviet armed forces that fought for a week before they were able to crush the uprising.

Needless to say, the Hungarian revolution put a real damper on Krushchev's reform efforts, but he still could see no other way to salvage Communism than to continue them. But the economy did not get much better, and in 1964 he was overthrown by a group led by a man named Leonid Brezhnev, and the reason he was overthrown was because his economic plans had failed.

Breshnev and Reform

But Brezhnev faced the same dilemma. The economy still was not working. He and his advisers came up with something different: a derivative of capitalism. Brezhnev

and company decided that, to provide a better life for the average Russian, the economy had to decentralize its decision-making, at least a little. He advocated more responsibility for factory managers to make policy for their factories, more attention to supply and demand, pricing based on market forces rather than rules from the central planners, and all kinds of other innovations quite familiar to us in the West.

And, as part of these reforms, it was essential to encourage the exchange of information. It was necessary for people to share views and thoughts on what worked and what did not work. But, like Krushchev, Brezhnev declared that the one area that really should not be discussed was whether or not there should be political as well as economic reform. But, when political forces control the economy, one

cannot discuss the economy without discussing politics. And the same thing happened to Brezhnev as happened to Krushchev. In 1968 the people of Czechoslovakia began to criticize openly the whole Communist system and to demand that system be changed. Brezhnev in Czechoslovakia, like Krushchev in Poland and Hungary, tried to reach compromises with the Czechs, but finally in August 1968 he ordered the Soviet army into Czechoslovakia to crush the Czech movement toward liberalization. But, the Communist economy still was not working, so what would Brezhnev do now?

Czechoslovakia proved to Brezhnev that the market-style changes he had introduced were too risky; they also led to demands for political reform, so he abandoned them. But, the

economy of the Soviet system was still terrible and not getting any better. What now? Brezhnev and the other Eastern European leaders spotted another opportunity to transform their economies in the early 1970s.

That was the time when the USA was recovering from the catastrophe of the Viet Nam War, and one of the ways it was trying to recover was to improve relations with the Eastern bloc. People like Henry Kissinger and President Richard Nixon believed that, if relations between the USA



Time Magazine cover shows Krushchev after he had been refused admission to Disneyland. No, really!

and the USSR could get better, then maybe other Vietnams would not occur.

So relations between East and West got a lot better in the early 1970s (Détente), and, as part of that improvement, western money markets opened to the Communist countries. Here seemed the great opportunity. The Communists would borrow capital from the west, upgrade their factories, produce better goods, sell those goods to their own people but also to westerners because now quality would be a lot better. Then they would use the profits they made in the west to pay off the loans.

Great idea and total disaster. The Communist countries could not make anything of sufficient quality to sell in the West; they could not get directors of their plants to work on improving their products; they could not get the workers to work better; and they could not stop Communist officials from skimming money off the top when the loans came in.

By the late 1970s the Communist countries faced the worst of all possible economic worlds: their economies were still no good, but now they were deep in debt with no obvious way out. Tell story of Polish leaders. The disastrous situation in Poland gave rise in 1980 to an independent trade union called Solidarity. The leader of Solidarity was a welder named Lech Walesa, who won the Nobel Peace Prize and was hailed in the West as a great hero.

The Beginning of the End

By the 1980s the Communist system had just about reached the end of its rope. The economies were now in absolutely woeful condition. It was difficult to find food without standing in line for hours; products were shoddy when one could get them at all; there were periodic shortages of electricity and gas; and the whole of the soviet union and the eastern European communist countries were environmental basket cases.

To make matters worse, relations between the soviet bloc and the west rapidly deteriorated with the presidency of Ronald Reagan. Not only did Reagan declare Détente over and the Cold War on again, but he called upon American scientists and industry to develop an anti-missile defense system, which was nicknamed by the press “Star Wars.” AND, perhaps more important, he convinced the Russians that the U.S. was on the verge of creating this anti-ballistic missile system. It was a monumental bluff on Reagan’s part, but sometimes bluffs work. Reagan attended a summit conference in Iceland in October 1986, and when Gorbachev, the new leader of the U.S.S.R. offered a rather one sided proposal, Reagan simply walked out of the

meeting. The Soviets now faced a technological challenge that it really had no chance of matching. They were now looking at the very real possibility of becoming completely vulnerable to western military power.

In addition to having to keep up militarily with the United States, the Soviets were faced with a population that had come to realize that folks in the West, even the workers, had a better quality of life, standard of living and more cool stuff (VHS, color TV, computers, blenders, blue jeans, cars for workers not just Party members, and so on). Soviet citizens wanted the same material goods and comforts that Westerners took for granted.

Gorbachev, Glasnost, and the End

Gorbachev, just like Krushchev and Breshnev, realized that, for Communism to survive, its economy had to get better. But he also knew that every effort to change the economic structure of communism without touching the political structure would likely fail. So, Gorbachev set out on a two-step policy: The first step he called *Glasnost* or openness. He said that the first thing that the Russians and Eastern Europeans must do is discuss openly what was wrong with Communism. Only with freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly could the government and the people come up with ideas of how to improve the economy and society so that they could survive.

Once these discussions had led to some general goals there would occur the second step, *Perestroika*, which would be restructuring of the system. But it turned out that *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* converged rather suddenly together. With *Glasnost* people did not just discuss what was wrong with Communism, they discussed getting rid of Communism. That occurred this time not only in Eastern Europe but in the Soviet Union itself.

To Gorbachev’s considerable credit, he did not back away from these reforms, even though they did not lead to an improved Communism as he wished. Instead of marching Soviet troops into Eastern Europe in 1989 as Krushchev had done in 1956 and Breshnev had done in 1968, Gorbachev told the Eastern European countries that they were on their own. By the end of 1989 almost all of the old Eastern European Communist governments had fallen. And by August 1991 the Soviet Union itself had collapsed. That did not lead to peace and prosperity everywhere, but it did end the Communist world in Europe. And, just as the western civilization was trying to adjust to such amazing new conditions after WW1, so it is trying to do the same thing after 1989.



The fall of the Soviet Union made it unlikely that civilization would end with a nuclear bang, but increasingly, the growth of terrorism made it even more likely that civilization might be eroded by a series of terrorist whimpers. So, where did 20th century terrorism come from? This lecture, by its nature, is a bit sketchy. But remember that we are now entering the world of maybe, based on current evidence, and not history. So here goes.

Throughout the 20th century groups of discontented people who had no means of achieving their goals through diplomacy or national warfare, came to rely on acts of terror to get their grievances into the spotlight and achieve their aims. A couple of examples:

We have already looked at terrorists in Bosnia—remember Gavrillo Princep, 1914, he killed Ferdinand and Sophia. Then there was Ireland. Remember that throughout the period of this course Ireland was a colony of Britain. The Irish were one of those groups that wanted an independent nation state, wanted to be free of English control, and in that late 1800s the Irish began to work toward freeing themselves. The Irish Republican Army was founded in the late 1860s as a paramilitary organization, and worked to free Ireland, primarily in the late 1800s by means of protests. There was an uprising in Ireland in April of 1916 (Easter Rising). Although the IRA did not organize the most violent part of the rising, the British government blamed the IRA and tried and executed 16 members of the IRA leadership. The person left in charge of the organization was named Michael Collins. Between 1919 and 21, under Collins' direction, the Irish Republican Army used terrorist acts against the British to free Ireland. The IRA was partially successful. As a result of Irish resistance and terror, the Republic of Ireland was created. The IRA continued its terrorists in Northern Ireland—still a part of Great Britain—even to present. To some folks, it seemed that violent terrorist acts had been more successful in achieving a free Ireland than protest and political action.

Now let's look at Palestine. Between 1860 and 1904, a nationalist movement grew up among European and American Jews called Zionism. Western Jews sought a nation state of their own in Palestine at the site of ancient Israel. Jewish settlers began to immigrate to Palestine in the late 1800s, and found settlements.



Cartoon above argues that world sympathy for a Jewish state was stretched thin by the King David Hotel Bombing of July, 1946.

Front, who do stuff like burn car lots and new homes and apartment complexes to publicize their grievances.

Groups with grievances began to believe that terrorist acts could be used successfully to gain recognition and publicity for their cause. Past events in Ireland, Israel and elsewhere seemed to indicate that a relatively small group of people could achieve success for their cause through terrorism. By the 1960s terrorist groups were generally committed nationalists. In the 1960s, the Palestinians organized terrorist activities all over the world against Israel and her allies and as a means of publicizing their goal of creating a Palestinian nation state.

Terrorism and Palestinian Nationalism

The most important of the Palestinian groups was al Fattah, whose leader was Yasser Arafat. Fattah's goal was the creation of an independent Palestinian state and the destruction of Israel. It was both Nationalist and Socialist in its ideology and contained both Muslim and Christian Palestinians. Palestinian terrorist groups with ties to al Fattah and the Palestinian Liberation Organization began to commit terrorist atrocities in the 60s. The most spectacular of these was the Munich Massacre at the Olympics in 1972. Members of a splinter group affiliated with Al Fattah attacked a dormitory for athletes and took Israeli athletes hostage. By the end of the ordeal the hostage-takers had killed eleven Israeli athletes and one German police officer. Police killed five of the eight hostage-takers during an abortive rescue attempt.

Zionists bought land from the local Arabs and from the Ottoman government. After World War II and the Holocaust even larger numbers of Jews immigrated to Palestine, and their leaders began to call for the creation of an independent Jewish nation state. Between 1946 and 1948, Jewish settlers in Palestine fought for an independent state of Israel. The British troops who occupied Palestine were generally more sympathetic to the Palestinians who already lived in Palestine than the Jewish settlers.

On July 22, 1946, members of a Jewish terrorist organization, the Irgun, used explosives to destroy the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. Ninety-one people were killed in the explosion, among them a number of British officials. The state of Israel was created in March of 1948. Many people, especially in the Middle East, at the time believed that the bombing had been an important factor in the Jewish victory. It wasn't but, many Jews and Palestinians believed that it was—and that's what's important here.

More Terrorism

I could go on and on—Marxist terrorists in South America like the Shining Path employed terrorist tactics to call attention to the plight of the poor... Basque separatists in Spain... recently eco-terrorists, like the Earth Liberation



Yasser Arafat, PLO and al Fattah leader - d. 2004.

Since the PLO and al Fattah are both now technically committed to bring about a peaceful solution in Palestine, terrorist activities are attributed to their groups. The older Nationalist/Socialist Palestinian organizations that have largely given up terrorism have been supplanted by Islamist terrorist groups who regard terrorism as a tool to use against Israel and the West. Islamist groups, like Hamas and Islamic Jihad, are popular among Palestinians and devoted to the destruction of Israel. These groups are well organized and funded and supplied by Middle Eastern nations that, for one reason or another, like to see the area in chaos, or nations like Iran, that are dedicated to spreading Islam via jihadist principles. The most important of these Islamist organizations is Hamas, a Palestinian Sunni terrorist organization that gained a majority in the 2005 Palestinian Parliamentary elections. Another is the Islamic Jihad organization. Both of these groups are different from the PLO and Arafat inspired movements. Although they are dedicated to the destruction of the state of Israel, their ideology is as radically religious as it is nationalistic. Hamas, for instance, asserts that a struggle (*jihad*) to regain control of the land from Israel is the religious duty of every Muslim. Hamas does not recognize Israel as a sovereign state, unlike the PLO, which has recognized it since 1988. Hamas's charter calls for an end to Israel. During the Palestinian Parliamentary election campaign, Hamas did not mention its call for the destruction of Israel in its electoral manifesto. But several Hamas candidates insist that the charter is still in force and have often called for Israel to be "wiped off the map" in campaign speeches.

Islamist Terrorism and the West

With the growth of radical Islamist ideology since the 1970s and the creation of Islamist states in Iran and Afghanistan, a new breed of Islamic terrorist has made the scene. Unlike the Palestinians, they have no really rational nationalistic or political goals. One historian recently explained that, while earlier terrorist groups used terror to gain seats at the negotiation table, the new Islamist terror groups simply want to destroy the table. They despise the West and all of its ideas and technology (except modern weaponry). They want to return to the "good old days" of the 8th century.

After 9/11 Osama bin Laden published a list of conditions that, if met, would stop his attacks against the West. They included demands that the West ban gambling, promiscuous sexual behavior, homosexuality, alcohol consumption, and lending money at interest. Now, there are plenty of Christian fundamentalists who might agree with some of those demands. But, bin Laden also demanded that

the whole world convert to Islam and that every nation use Islamic law.

Islamist terrorist groups include Hezbollah (Shiite) and Islamic Jihad (Sunni) who are primarily trained and funded by Iran and Syria. These groups operate mostly in Palestine. Their avowed goal is the destruction of Israel, but increasingly their hostility has come to include the US and other Western states.

Other Islamic fundamentalists have widened the scope of their hatred to include the West in general and the U.S. especially. One such is Al Qaeda. Founded by Osama bin Laden, Al Qaeda is responsible for some really nasty, world-wide terrorist acts including the bombing of the USS Cole (2000), bombing of U.S. embassies in Africa (1996), and the September 11th destruction of the World Trade Center in New York City. These international groups were convinced that the U.S. was a safe target because they didn't believe that the U.S. would retaliate against their attacks. They believed that the U.S. was incapable of finishing a long-term foreign campaign to wipe them out. Bin Laden and other radical Islamists have often cited a list of evidence to support their contention of American weakness in the face of dedicated attacks. Here are a few that are often given:

The Vietnam War (1965-1973): In order to contain Communism, the U.S. fought a protracted war with the Republic of Vietnam (South) against the Peoples Republic of Vietnam (North) supported by South Vietnamese Viet Cong. As U.S. popular support for the war flagged, and as the war became more and more politicized in the U.S. Richard Nixon pulled U.S. Troops out, and the North invaded and annexed the South.

Iran – the U.S. Hostage Crisis. The Iran hostage crisis was a 444-day period (approximately 14 months), during which Islamic students in Tehran held the U.S. Embassy (an act of war under international law). The standoff lasted from November 4, 1979 until January 20, 1981. The United States launched a rescue operation, Operation Eagle Claw, which failed and caused the deaths of eight servicemen. President Carter, did nothing further to help the hostages.

The Beirut Bombing –1984—Reagan. On October 23, 1983, around 6:20 am, a yellow Mercedes-Benz delivery truck drove to Beirut International Airport, where the 1st Battalion 8th Marines, under the U.S. 2nd Marine Division of the United States Marines, had set up its local headquarters. The truck turned onto an access road leading to the Marines' compound and circled a parking lot. The driver then crashed through a barbed wire fence around the parking lot, passed between two sentry posts,

crashed through a gate and barreled into the lobby of the Marine headquarters. The Marine sentries at the gate were operating under their rules of engagement, which made it very difficult to respond quickly to the truck. By the time the two sentries had locked, loaded, and shouldered their weapons, the truck was already inside the building's entry way. In response to the bombing, Reagan removed U.S. troops from Lebanon.

First Gulf War (1991)—Under President George H.W. Bush. A coalition of nations under U.S. leadership drove Iraqi forces out of Kuwait but didn't finish the job and oust Saddam Hussein.

Operation Restore Hope, Somalia (1992-1993)—Americans saw news pictures of starving Somali kids in 1992 and public opinion began to demand that we act to save the starving Somalis. In December 1992, the U.S. responded to popular pressure by sending troops to help feed Somalis in a United Nations venture called Operation Restore Hope. 25,000 U.S. troops, mostly Marines, were sent to Somalia by George H.W. Bush with orders to distribute food among that fraction of the populace that were being starved. In the fall of 1993, Bill Clinton changed the nature of the campaign to attempt to disarm warlords and build Somali state. On October 3-4 a battle took place between warlords and U.S. Marines that resulted in the deaths of 18 U.S. soldiers. Clinton believed that the U.S. casualties would sour his popularity among voters, so by the end of October in 1993 he withdrew most of the U.S. troops, leaving Somalia in the same shape it had been in prior to U.S. incursion.

First World Trade Center Attack. 1993— In the World Trade Center bombing (February 26, 1993) a car bomb was detonated by Arab Islamist terrorists in the underground parking garage below Tower One of the World Trade Center in New York City. The 1,500-lb car bomb killed six and injured 1,042 people. It was intended to devastate the foundation of the North Tower, causing it to collapse onto its twin. The administration arrested a couple of people involved in the bombing, but did not respond aggressively against the overseas terrorist organizers. It was, according to President, a criminal matter.

The U.S.S. Cole Bombing, October 2000— On October 12, 2000, USS Cole set in to Aden harbor for a routine fuel stop. A small craft approached the port side of the destroyer, and an explosion occurred, putting a 40-by-40-foot gash in the ship's port side. Seventeen sailors were killed and 39 others were injured in the blast. The attack was the deadliest against a US Naval vessel since the Iraqi attack on the USS Stark (FFG-31) on May 17th, 1987. The attack

was organized and directed by Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terrorist organization. The U.S. response to this act of war was virtually nonexistent.

Embassy bombings: In the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings (August 7, 1998), 257 people were killed and over 4,000 wounded in simultaneous car bomb explosions at the United States embassies in two East African capitals. The attacks, linked to local members of the al-Qaeda terrorist network headed by Osama bin Laden, brought bin Laden and al-Qaeda to international attention for the first time, and resulted in the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation placing bin Laden on its Ten Most Wanted list. Clinton's response was to tighten restrictions on countries that gave aid to terrorists and fire a cruise missile at a possible Al-Qaeda site in Afghanistan. Neither act had much direct effect against the terrorists who planned and carried out the operation

9/11 and After...

From Western responses to terrorist acts, Bin Laden concluded that the West, and especially the United States, did not have the stomach for long anti-terror campaign or even a substantial comprehensive military response to



sporadic acts of terror. In fact, he was surprised when President George W. Bush launched substantial retaliatory action against Al Qaeda and nations that gave it aid and comfort after the attacks of 9//11, but still believes that the U.S. actions will be short lived as the U.S., and democracies in general, cannot stomach long-term operations against the Islamist movement. Islamists also believe that they are directed by God to convert, by whatever means necessary, all peoples and nations to Islam. This must be accomplished before there can be an end to the world and last day of Judgment. (Qu'ran VIII, 37-40) So, while the West makes only short-term, half-hearted gestures against the Faithful, Islamists have lots of time and no fear of the outcome of their acts.

There are other groups, some affiliated with Al Qaeda, wherever there are Muslims. In the past, many liberal thinkers and leaders believed, and some still do, that terrorists represent the “have-nots” in the world, so terrorism can be stopped by giving them at least some of what they want. Recent study of suicide bombers, though, tends to indicate that bombers are not “have-nots.” Seventy percent of the identified actors in the 9/11 attacks came from the Arab middle to upper class; 50 percent have some college education; their average age is 24. Bin Laden himself comes from one of the wealthiest families in Saudi Arabia. The new Islamist terrorists are part of a violent evangelist movement who simply want the end of Western Civilization and the rise of a new Islamic world. They renounce wealth, material stuff (except weapons and video cameras), and comfort for religion, terror and destruction. Their acts will certainly be a trial for Western Civilization into the new millennium. Whether the biggest—who can say...