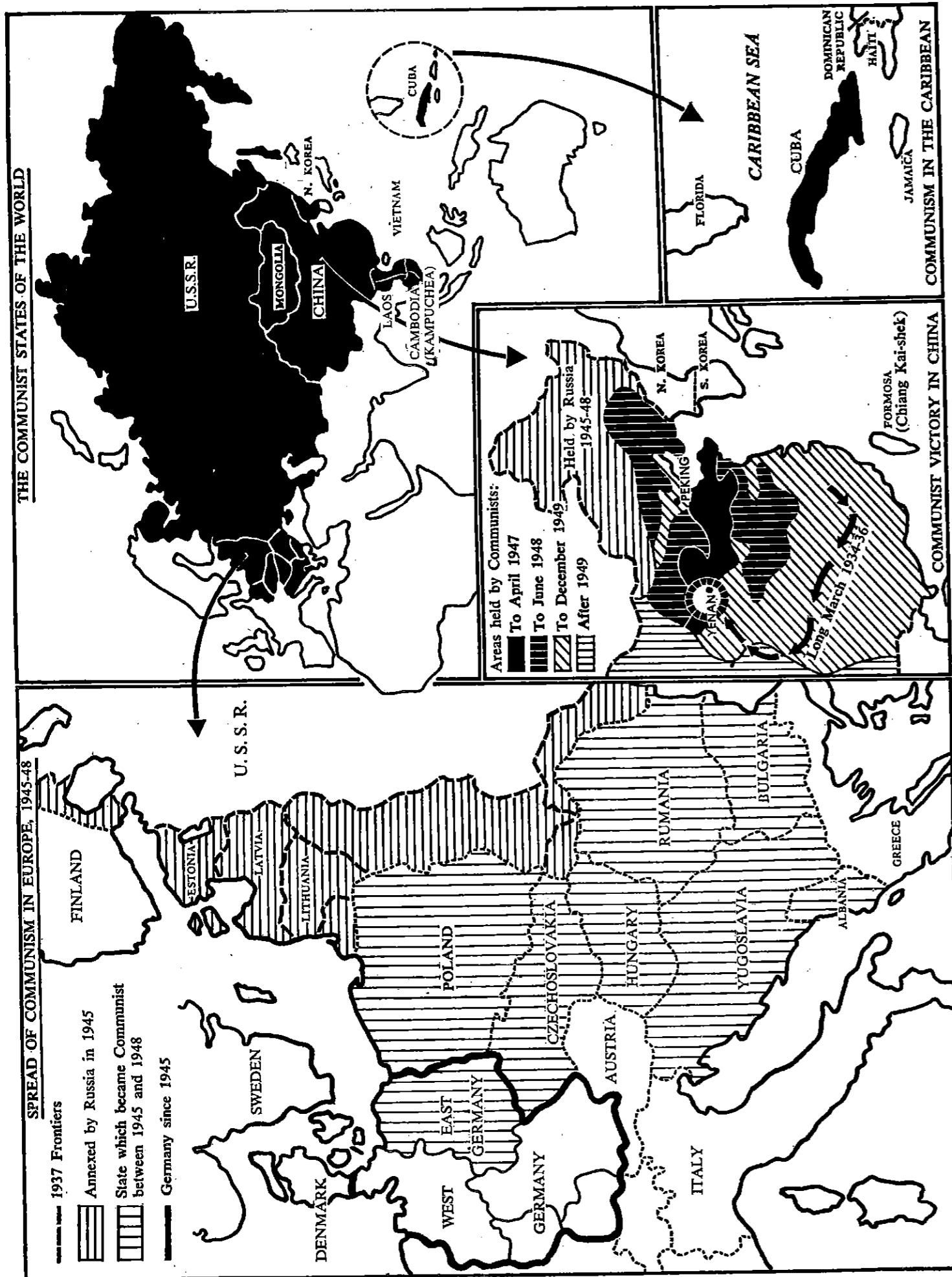


40. THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM



Only One Communist State 1917-44. Lenin's Bolshevik Party (see Map 31) seized power in November 1917 in Petrograd (now Leningrad) and Moscow. Early in 1918 it took the name 'Communist Party'. Karl Marx had believed socialism would come by working class revolution in advanced industrial countries, but Russia was mainly agricultural, with a numerous peasantry. In a civil war, 1918-20, the new regime was consolidated, but it had lost certain parts of the Tsarist Empire as result of World War I—notably Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and (to Rumania) Bessarabia. Most of the countries bordering Russia were hostile to Lenin. Communist parties sprang up in many countries throughout the world after 1917 and were guided, and sometimes directed, by the Communist International (1919-1943) whose headquarters were in Moscow. In 1924 Lenin died; by 1928 Stalin was virtually dictator of Russia and of the International. By World War II, communist Russia had evolved a system of one-party rule, state-owned industry, and collectivised farming: its industry advanced rapidly, but its agriculture languished and its political system was oppressive.

Spread in Europe, 1940-48. The victories of the Red Army greatly extended Russian influence, especially into central and eastern Europe. In 1940 the U.S.S.R. had regained Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and parts of Finland and Rumania (Bessarabia). To these were added in 1945 territory taken from Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Between 1944-47 communist governments emerged in five countries occupied by the Red Army—East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria. They were clearly 'satellites', subservient to Stalin. A communist coup in 1948 added Czechoslovakia to this group. In Yugoslavia and Albania, communist regimes had established themselves by anti-Axis guerrilla struggle in 1943-44, and despite strong Russian pressure they were able to maintain considerable independence. A communist uprising in Greece (1944-49) was suppressed by monarchists with British and American aid.

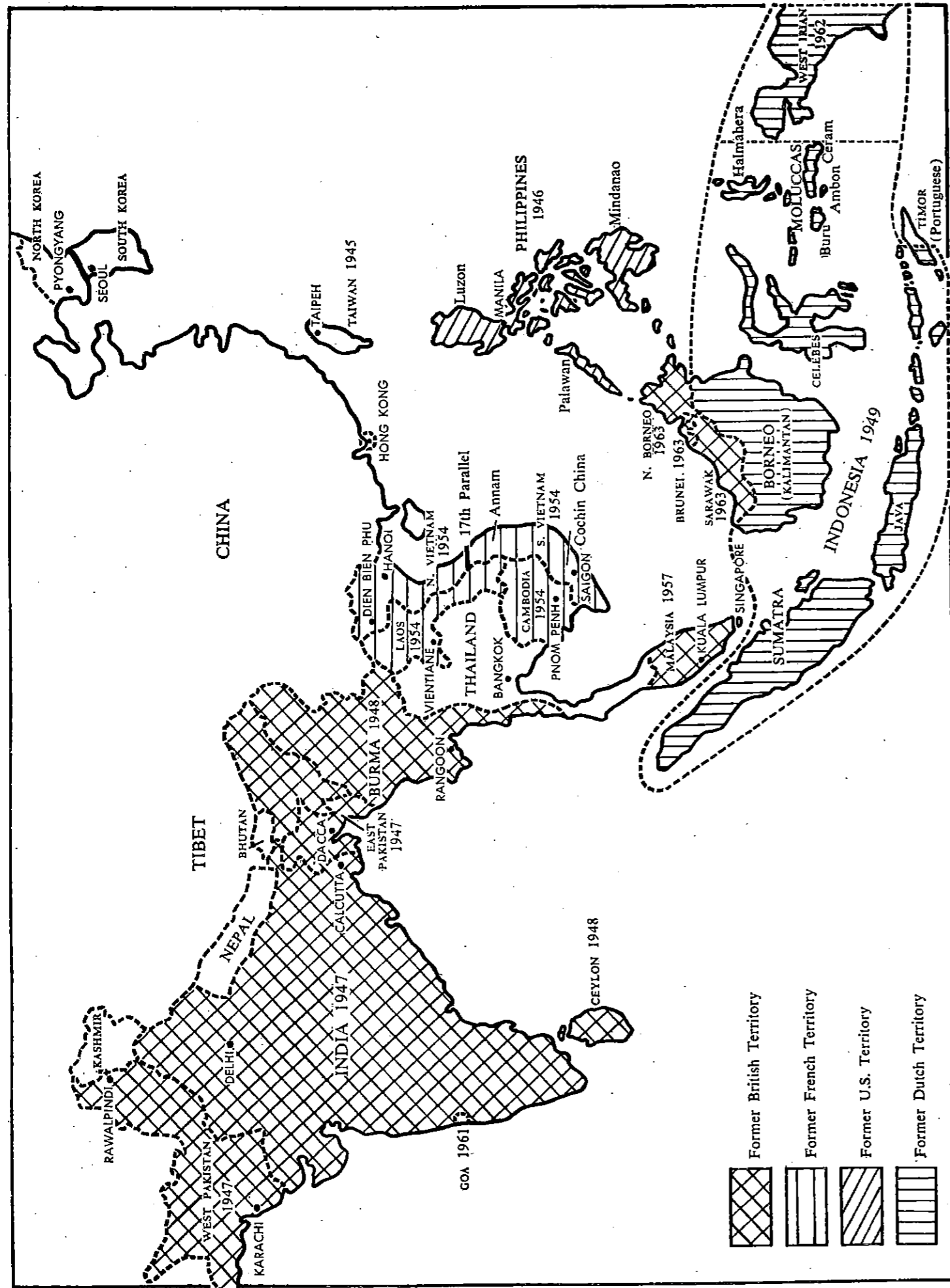
Spread in Asia, 1948-54. Certain Western initiatives—the Marshall Plan; Berlin Airlift and N.A.T.O.—helped to 'contain' the spread of communism in Europe (1948-49), but at this time a rapid expansion began in Asia. * *China.* The Chinese communists' guerrilla movement, begun in 1927 and consolidated by a 'Long March' to the Yenan area (1934-36), grew stronger during World War II

* *Mongolia*, or Outer Mongolia, is an exception here. This sparsely populated area—a border area of traditional Russian-Chinese rivalry—has been communist since 1921 with an 'independent' government which in reality has been a satellite of the U.S.S.R.

and succeeded in 1948-49 in driving the forces of Chiang Kai-shek from China and Manchuria to take refuge on Formosa. *North Korea.* When the Russians withdrew their occupation forces from North Korea in 1948 they left a Korean communist government in control. American occupation forces left South Korea in 1949. In June 1950 the North attacked the South and almost overwhelmed it. American and later United Nations intervention rolled back the Northerners who, in turn, were saved by intervention of Chinese forces. A truce in 1953 ended this bloody war and left Korea divided almost exactly as before. *North Vietnam.* Between 1946 and 1954 France's grip on Indo-China was broken by a nationalist-communist guerrilla uprising; four independent states, Cambodia, Laos, South and North Vietnam emerged, the last being a communist republic. From 1960 to 1975 North Vietnam and the non-communist South were at war. The North won in 1975 and incorporated the South. Laos closely allied itself to the enlarged Vietnam, which, early in 1979, overran the independent communist Cambodia (Kampuchea).

Cuba, 1959. Fidel Castro's guerrilla movement overthrew the U.S.-supported Batista regime and took power in 1959. The new order, at first believed to be radical-democratic and socialist, quickly evolved as a one-party communist system. (In 1961 Castro announced a longstanding, secret attachment to 'Marxismo-Leninismo', though more probably he took up communism after, not before, seizing power.) In 1962 the United States by military confrontation pressed the U.S.S.R. to withdraw the missile bases she was building on Cuba, and guaranteed in return not to attack Cuba. Castro's example is influential among South American communists.

No Longer a 'Monolith'. While Stalin lived communists spoke of their world-wide movement as 'monolithic'—acting with one will and freely accepting Soviet leadership in interpreting the way into the future according to 'the science of Marxism-Leninism'. In 1948 Tito's Yugoslavia, alleging interference by the U.S.S.R., became the first of many 'national communist tendencies' to assert its independence. In 1956, Poland under Gomulka took a similar path, but Hungary was returned to satellite status when her revolt was crushed by Russian troops. Subsequently, other satellites, especially Rumania, became more and more independent, so that by the 1960's the term 'satellite' has lost much of its point. These European tendencies have been overshadowed by the mighty 'Moscow-Peking schism', openly evident in 1959 and steadily growing more bitter. One consequence is the existence of contending pro-Russian and pro-Chinese communist parties in many countries. A plurality of communist tendencies has thus taken the place of the broken monolith.



RETREAT FROM COLONIALISM AFTER 1945

41. RETREAT FROM COLONIALISM IN ASIA AFTER 1945

Asian nationalism, hitherto divided and weak, appeared in strength in many countries after World War II. The European powers which attempted to reassert dominion over their former colonies in 1945 and 1946 had been weakened by the war and faced increasing demands from the nationalist forces to grant independence.

India. The British Government under Clement Attlee made the momentous decision to grant independence in 1947 to the most important part of Britain's empire, India. The existence of acute Hindu-Moslem rivalry obliged Attlee to sanction the division of the Indian sub-continent into two nations, India and Pakistan, which became Dominions within the British Commonwealth (see Map 43). The post-war forces for decolonisation were everywhere stimulated by this achievement of independence by more than 400 million people. 'India', observes D. K. Fieldhouse, 'with a large class of men educated in European principles, with strong religious and social traditions and social changes reflecting a century and a half of British rule, played the same role as pioneer and pace-setter for the modern tropical empires as the United States did for the first American colonies and Canada for the 19th century British settlement (*The Colonial Empires*, 1966, p. 400.) One last vestige of colonialism was stubbornly retained by Portugal—the tiny enclave of Goa. In 1961 an Indian army invaded it and joined it to India.

Burma and Ceylon. Burma had helped Britain against Japan in the closing stages of World War II, but the desire of its nationalist movement for independence was strong. Britain granted independence in January, 1948. Unlike India, Burma chose to leave the Commonwealth, and was the first ex-colony to do so. Great internal disorder and civil war marked the early years of independence. By contrast, Ceylon's attainment of independence, effective from early in 1948, was exceedingly peaceful, and the new state chose to become a self-governing dominion of the Commonwealth.

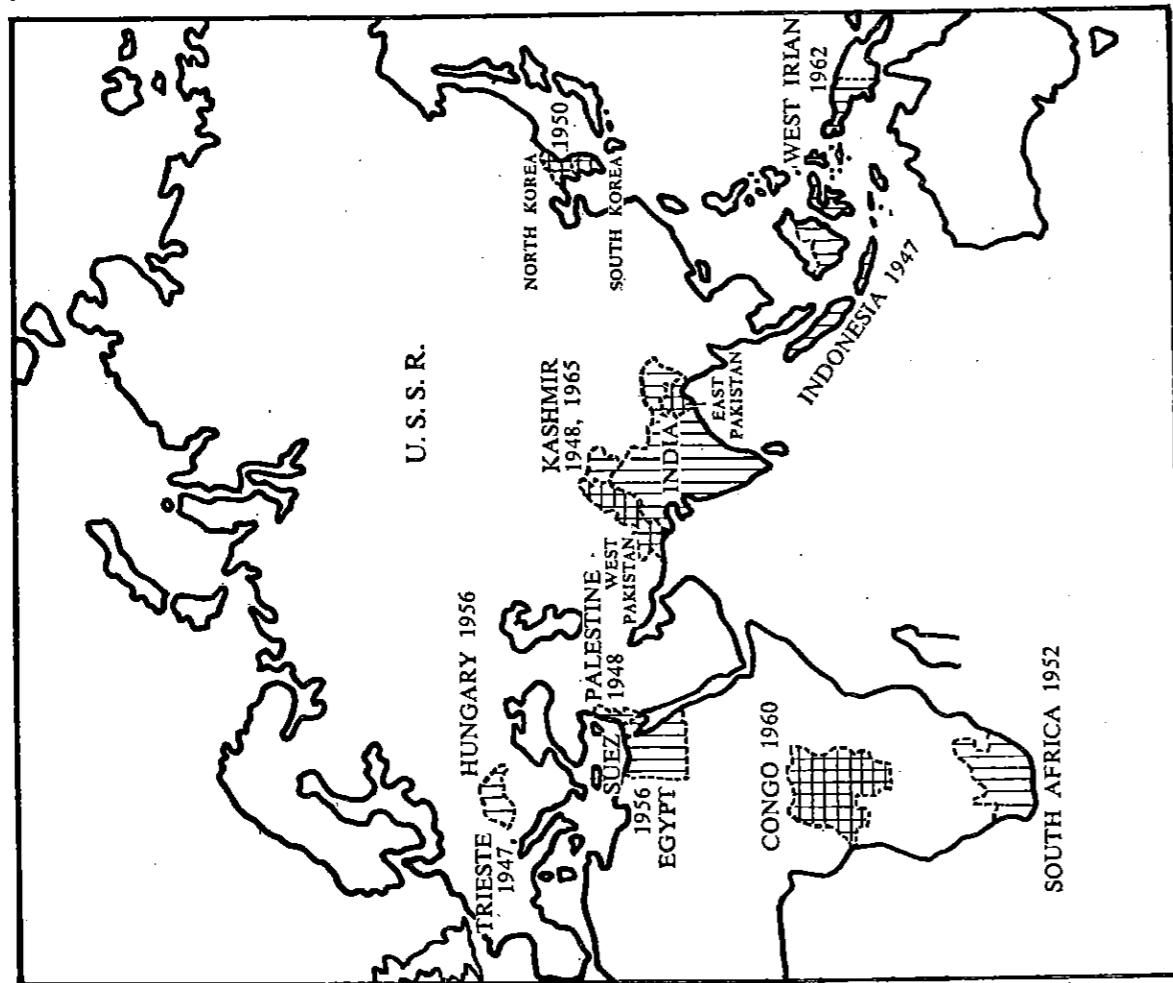
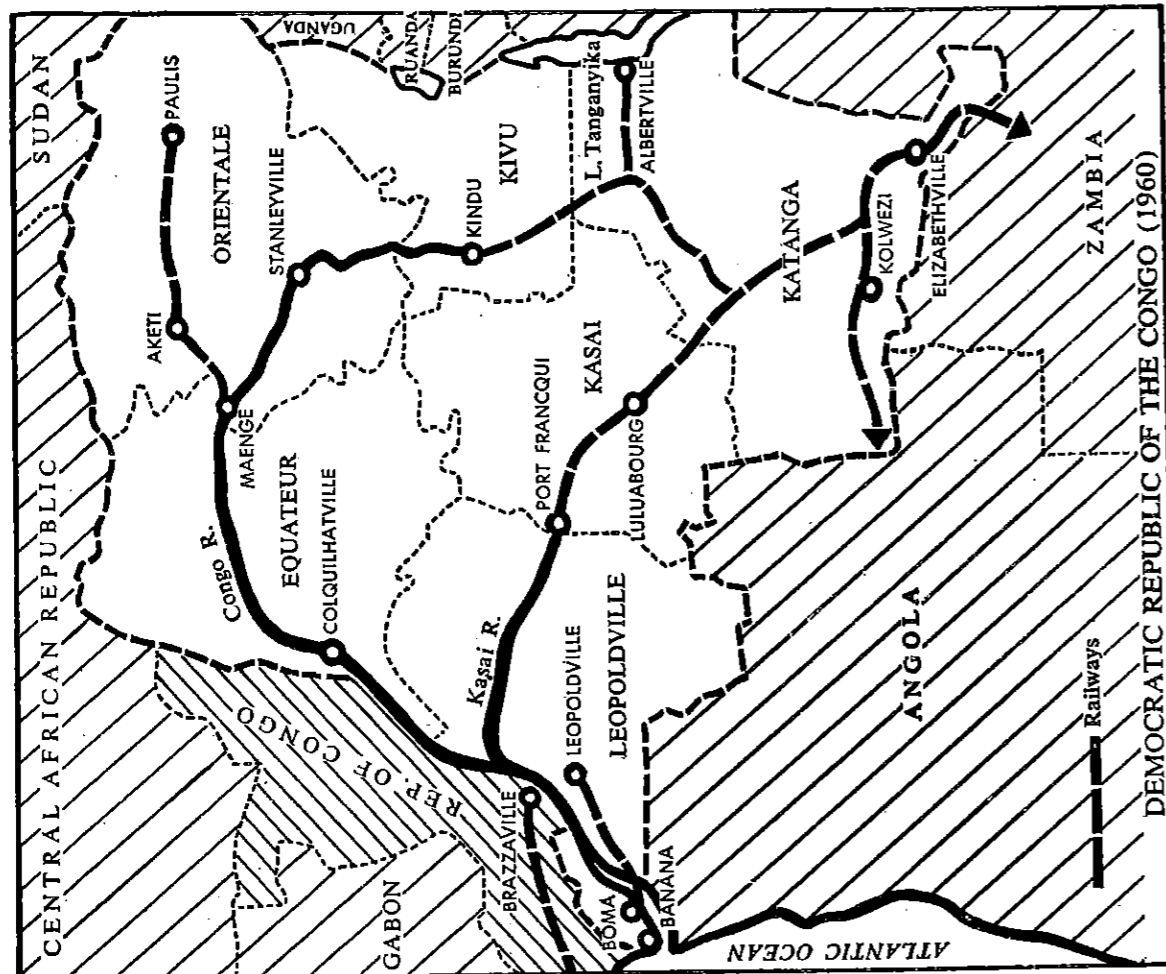
Malaya. Malaya was occupied by Japan from 1942 to 1945 and the people were disposed to welcome Britain's return; but anti-British nationalism had grown among many of the Chinese inhabitants. Britain wished to retain Malaya because its rubber and tin were valuable 'dollar-earners' in the post-war period when Britain needed dollars to pay for U.S. imports. In 1948, she set up the Federation of Malaya, through which she kept a firm hold. The centre of Chinese influence, Singapore, was excluded. The Malayan Communist Party (largely Chinese) then began a guerrilla insurrection which proved difficult to suppress. A 1952 promise by Britain of early self-government helped to sap support for the guerrillas. In 1957,

Malaya became independent, remaining within the Commonwealth; in 1959, Singapore followed suit. An attempt to solve the problem of Singapore separation was made in 1963 with the setting-up of the Federation of Malaysia, including Malay, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak; but acute tensions continued and Singapore left the Federation in 1965. Tension has since eased, but Singapore shows no inclination to rejoin the Federation.

Vietnam. The French colony of Indo-China was occupied by the Japanese during World War I. When the war turned against the Japanese the French cynically decided to proclaim the colony's independence. This they did in March 1945 by establishing three new states, Annam, Cambodia and Laos. Ho Chi Minh, Communist leader of a resistance force, managed to wrest power from the Japanese in northern Annam and proclaimed a republic which he called Vietnam. When the French returned, they at first expressed a willingness to recognise the new republic on condition that Ho Chi Minh would accept incorporation within the French empire. The condition was rejected and long, bitter war ensued. Finally, the French were defeated by the nationalist forces at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. A conference at Geneva in that year divided Vietnam into North Vietnam led by Ho Chi Minh, and South Vietnam led by Ngo Dinh Diem, with a border and demilitarised zone at the 17th parallel. Guerrilla opposition to the government of South Vietnam developed under the leadership of a South Vietnamese 'National Liberation Front' (Vietcong) which was supported by the People's Republic of North Vietnam. This led to intervention by the United States on behalf of South Vietnam and the development of the present Vietnam conflict.

Indonesia. In 1945, before the Dutch had time to return to their former East Indies colony, the Indonesians declared their independence. The Dutch tried by diplomacy and armed force to regain control. But American, Indian, Australian and other support for Indonesia in the United Nations at length obliged the Dutch to end their military operation in 1949 and negotiate. The imprisoned nationalist leader, Dr. Sukarno, was released and sovereignty over the former Dutch East Indies passed to his government. (See also Map 42.)

The Philippines. The Philippines, a former American protectorate, was given its complete independence in 1946 by the United States in accordance with an undertaking given in 1934. The Americans helped the new government to suppress a communist-led guerrilla movement, the Hukbala Haps. Since then the Philippines has achieved a good deal of political stability, though her many problems have by no means all been solved.



SOME CRISIS POINTS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

42. SOME CRISES INVOLVING THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations was set up in October 1945 by the victorious Allies of World War II. It seeks to achieve a 'world community' of independent, sovereign states, and thereby to preserve the security of the world by taking collective action against war and the causes of war. Since 1947 the U.N. has been involved, with mixed results, in a number of crises which threatened world peace. (There is only room here to discuss one of these, the Congo, in some detail.)

Some Early Disputes. *Trieste, 1947.* The U.N. helped to settle a dispute between Italy and Yugoslavia over the territory of Trieste. *Palestine, 1948.* Fighting between the Arabs and the new state of Israel was ended by U.N. mediation. *South Africa, 1952.* The U.N. set up a Good Offices Commission to study race relationships in South Africa when it received complaints about the racial policies of the Nationalist government. In 1961, the U.N. General Assembly censured this government's policy of 'apartheid'.

Indonesia, 1947, 1962. The attempts by Indonesia to gain independence from the Netherlands (See Map 41) led to fighting in 1947. The U.N. Security Council took a leading part in arranging ceasefire agreements and in bringing Indonesia and the Netherlands to the conference table. At length, the Hague Agreement of 1949 provided for the transfer to Indonesia of the former Netherlands East Indies with the exception of West New Guinea which was to be the subject of further negotiation. Indonesia maintained its claim to West Irian (as it called West New Guinea) and in 1962 the dispute became so serious that the U.N. intervened once more. Finally, West Irian passed to Indonesian control in 1963, subject to a plebiscite in 1969—by which the people of West Irian (or Irian Jaya) were said to have voted to remain with Indonesia.

Kashmir, 1948, 1965. In 1948 Kashmir was claimed by both India and Pakistan. Fighting broke out in 1948 and again in 1965. The U.N. set up a Commission on Kashmir and, on both occasions, arranged a ceasefire. The issue is still unresolved with India and Pakistan controlling parts of Kashmir and each claiming full control over the state.

Korea 1950. The invasion of South Korea by North Korea led to swift U.N. action. The Security Council declared the invasion to be an act of aggression, called for a ceasefire and ordered the North Koreans to withdraw to the 38th parallel. When this was refused, sixteen nations responded to the U.N. call to assist the South Koreans. After bitter fighting in which Chinese troops assisted North Korea, a ceasefire was arranged in 1953. (See also Map 40.)

Suez 1956. Alleging that Egypt had inspired further Arab attacks on her, Israel invaded Egypt in 1956. British and French forces intervened declaring that they wanted to protect the Canal Zone, though it was obvious that they wanted to prevent Egypt from proceeding to nationalise the Suez Canal. A General Assembly resolution condemned the actions of the invaders and urged ceasefire and withdrawal. Because of the almost universal opposition (including that of the U.S.A. Britain, France and Israel complied.

Hungary 1956. A dramatic popular uprising against the satellite status forced upon Hungary by the U.S.S.R. was crushed by Soviet troops. A U.N. Committee on Hungary condemned the actions of the new Hungarian government set up with Russian backing; and later, the General Assembly censured the U.S.S.R. for its part in suppressing the revolt.

Congo 1960-65. With little preparation of the native people, Belgium granted independence to her Congo colony in June 1960. It was divided into six provinces, Leopoldville, Equateur, Orientale, Kivu, Kasai and Katanga, the last being the richest with its copper, tin, manganese and cobalt mines and its increasing hydroelectric power. The first elections revealed an absence of national unity. This was not surprising, however, in view of the conditions—widespread illiteracy, economic backwardness, many languages, tribal narrowness (over 200 tribes), differing economic interests of provinces, the presence of a relatively prosperous white minority, and the pressures of surviving Belgian and other financial interests. The new government was a compromise between supporters of strong central government around Lumumba, the premier, and federalists around Kasavubu, the president, but this did not prevent the outbreak of civil war. Lumumba's call to the United Nations to restore peace brought a U.N. force to the Congo. But Katanga under its colourful, anti-Lumumba president, Tshombe, seceded from the republic, and adjoining Kasai followed suit. In September 1960 General Mobutu became army chief and deposed Lumumba, who was killed by Katangan forces after being handed to them for 'safe custody'. The U.N. force helped during 1961-62 to put down the separatist forces in Katanga and Kasai so that these provinces were not lost to the republic. In 1964 Tshombe, with some European and U.S. backing, became premier, and the U.N. force withdrew; but Tshombe's use of white mercenary troops affronted African nationalism. In October 1965 President Kasavubu dismissed Tshombe, who fled the country; a month later General Mobutu in a bloodless coup also deposed Kasavubu, alleging the 'complete failure of the politicians to restore peace.' Since then relative stability has prevailed.