



MAGILL'S CHOICE

WORLD CONFLICTS

# Asia and the Middle East

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# Asia and the Middle East

**Volume 1**

Overviews  
Afghanistan–Kuwait

*edited by*

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This contribution to the Magill's Choice series examines crisis areas in the nations of the Middle East and South, Southeast, and East Asia. *World Conflicts: Asia and the Middle East* applies a broad definition to "Middle East" that encompasses the predominantly Muslim nations of both the eastern Mediterranean region and North Africa. As this definition corresponds closely to the U.S. State Department's definition of "Near East," the scope of the set should be familiar to both librarians and users.

The thirty-four articles in *World Conflicts: Asia and the Middle East* first appeared in Salem's *World Conflicts and Confrontations* (2000). They include every article in volume 3 of the latter set, as well as the four articles on North African nations that first appeared in the set's second volume. Two of the articles in *World Conflicts: Asia and the Middle East* cover broad regions (Middle East and Asia); the rest cover individual nations. All of these articles have been significantly updated.

The original *World Conflicts and Confrontations* set was designed to meet the needs of middle and high school students and others seeking clear explanations of what has been going on in the world's many troubled countries. As in that set, *World Conflicts: Asia and the Middle East* identifies the "hot spots" in Asia and the Middle East and offers in-depth analyses of the countries facing the most difficult and dangerous problems. The nations covered in individual essays have been selected because of the intensity of their recent and current conflicts, as well as the roles they play in the world as a whole. The essays on Asia and the Middle East explore regional patterns, analyzing why some countries within the regions have been more prone to conflict than have others.

A measure of the pace of events in the Middle East and Asia since *World Conflicts and Confrontations* was published only a few years ago is the volume of changes that had to be made to the articles to bring them up to date. Government leaders have risen and fallen, the specter of thermonuclear war has developed in both South and East Asia, and the struggle for Palestinian sovereignty



has intensified. Perhaps most significantly, however, the Middle East has emerged as the presumed center of world terrorism, whose growing significance was dramatized by the devastating attacks on New York City's World Trade Center and the Pentagon building on September 11, 2001. Articles in these volumes take into account all these changes. Moreover, in addition to updating the essay texts, profiles, and time lines, the Editors have also added recent publications to the notes for further reading.

Each essay opens with a statement summarizing the most pressing problems of the country—or group of countries—followed by an analysis of the origins, nature, and history of these problems. Every article contains at least one map, a detailed time line emphasizing modern events, and a discussion of sources of further information, with special attention to the growing availability of the online resources of the World Wide Web. Basic facts and statistics pertaining to each country are summarized in boxed profiles that list the nations' common and official names, dates of independence, former colonial rulers (if any), locations, areas, capital cities, population sizes, official languages, major religions, gross domestic products, and major exports. This information, which draws primarily on the CIA World Factbook, has been brought as up to date as possible. As these volumes go to press in late March, 2003, the United States and Great Britain are attacking Iraq. Every attempt is being made to keep the articles as up to date as possible. However, it should be understood that the exigencies of page composition and production limit most last-minute changes and additions to the time lines.

As always, we wish to thank the many scholars who wrote the original articles appearing these volumes. Their names can be found in the list of contributors that follows this note. We are especially indebted to Professor Carl L. Bankston III of Tulane University, who wrote several original articles, served as Editor of this edition, and was primarily responsible for updating the articles.

# INTRODUCTION

The two volumes of this work present articles on conflicts across a broad band of the earth's surface. Although earlier versions of these articles appeared in *World Conflicts and Confrontations* (2000), all these articles have been substantially revised and updated to meet the needs and interests of readers in a new millennium that has many concerns that are different from the concerns of the recent past. The decision of the editor and publisher to bring out this reference book has been guided by the view that conflicts in the Asian and Middle Eastern parts of the planet have moved to the center of international attention.

In the second half of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century, the nations of Asia and the Middle East took on new significance in world affairs. From the beginning of the nineteenth century until about the time of World War II, Western Europe and North America—a Western European offshoot—had dominated the globe. During the years following World War II, this dominance was increasingly challenged by states and peoples in the vast expanse stretching from Morocco to the Philippines. There were four basic reasons for the growing international prominence of Asia and the Middle East. First, almost all of the countries that had been colonized or controlled by the West achieved independence by the 1960's. Large and populous nations, such as China and India, set their own policies and these policies could have far-reaching effects in their regions and beyond. Nationalism and national self-interest often set countries within the region at odds with one another and at odds with the countries of Europe and North America.

Second, the changing global economy placed increasing economic power in Asian and Middle Eastern hands. Oil, which became a primary source of world energy during the first part of the twentieth century, became steadily more important to the world economy through the second part of that century. This made oil-producing nations, including many of the countries of the Middle East and the Southeast Asian nation of Indonesia, influential actors on the world scene. Other nations, especially in East and

Southeast Asia, were able to take advantage of high demand and high labor costs in developed countries to create thriving economies based on exports. Although many of these export-oriented economies suffered in the international economic slowdown of the early 2000's, they had already become key players in the global market and competitors of Western producers, as well as suppliers to Western consumers.

The last two reasons were matters of political and religious belief. The rise and decline of communism placed a number of Asian and Middle Eastern nations at the center of the world scene. After the victory of the communists in China in 1949, it began to seem that this system was spreading throughout the region. Two of the twentieth century's major wars, in Korea and in Vietnam, involved efforts by the United States and other Western powers to stop the apparent spread of communism in Asia. In other countries throughout the region, the Cold War between the West and the major communist powers of the East brought international involvement.

Although communism ceased to expand after its collapse in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 1990's, the system left authoritarian governments that were deeply involved in serious domestic and foreign conflicts. China had discarded many socialist practices by the early 2000's, but the Communist Party still controlled the state. Under party direction, China was accused of violating the human rights of its own citizens, of imposing the will of its central government in Beijing on Tibet, and of threatening to take Taiwan by force. Similarly, Vietnam, run by another communist government, had adopted many of the characteristics of a market economy. However, its critics maintained that it was also undemocratic in its politics and aggressive in its foreign affairs. Many diplomats and world leaders saw North Korea as a dangerous place, engaged in acts of terrorism and in efforts to develop nuclear weapons.

As communism changed from a means of achieving social and political change to a form of party rule, another set of beliefs replaced it as the major challenge to Western-style democracy. Within the Islamic faith, radical and militant versions of religion began to guide the actions of an influential minority of Muslims.

## *Introduction*

These religious radicals wanted to bring all Muslim nations under religious law and to replace what they viewed as the corrupt governments in many of those nations. They saw the countries of the West—the United States in particular—as opposed to the faith and they wanted to force Western powers out of Muslim areas. They were enemies to Israel, which they saw as a foreign presence in the Islamic heartland. From the western edge of North Africa to the islands of Indonesia and the Philippines, Islamic militants forged ties and sought to realize their goals. After terrorist attacks on the United States in September, 2001, people in other parts of the world began to see the Islamic militant network of the Middle East and Asia as a powerful and dangerous force.

These four reasons for the movement of the Asian-Middle Eastern region to the center of planetary attention were often interconnected. The nationalism of newly independent countries led some of their citizens to be drawn to communism because the colonial powers that had occupied or controlled them were chiefly the capitalist countries of the West. The communism of China, Vietnam, North Korea, and other states blended with nationalism and shaped perceptions of national interest and conflicts with other countries. Heirs to the rich cultural and spiritual heritage of Islam, some Muslims resented Western domination and wanted to revive the Islamic social and political power of earlier days. Oil led to the West to continue its efforts to direct events in the region, reminding those living there of the colonial past.

As a result of the new significance of this part of the world, local conflicts often became major threats to the peace and security of the world. During the second half of the twentieth century, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the long stand-off between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan became international flash-points. At the end of that century and the beginning of the next, Israel's clashes with its Arab neighbors and with Palestinians living on Israeli-controlled territory were front-page and heavily televised news on all inhabited continents. Iraq's invasion of tiny Kuwait drew large-scale military involvement not only from around the region but from

the major developed countries. This invasion and the response to it also contributed greatly to a sequence of events that led to a terrorist assault on the United States that killed thousands of American citizens and residents. In turn, Britain and the United States intervened in ethnic and religious conflicts in Afghanistan and rising concern over terrorism raised again the possibility that Western powers would intervene in Iraq. The Islamic militancy that had inspired the attack on the U.S. was also a problem in Indonesia and the Philippines that led to the sending of American advisory troops to the Philippines. In South Asia, nationalist tensions between India and Pakistan, colored by religious differences, posed the danger of nuclear warfare. Indian and Pakistani differences, further, could greatly affect the events in neighboring Afghanistan. Throughout the region, local problems were inseparable from global problems and local clashes quickly took on global meanings.

Because of the central place of Asia and the Middle East in today's world, reference works that can serve as guides to contemporary conflicts in the region and to the historical roots of those conflicts are valuable tools. This two-volume set is intended, first, to provide those interested in a problem in any particular country with a sound foundation of knowledge. Each article contains basic demographic and geographic information, historical background necessary for comprehending the sources of a country's major conflicts, discussions of political, economic, and cultural influences on the conflicts, and discussions of the implications of the conflicts for the future. In addition, the set is intended to be a first step toward an in-depth study of particular countries or conflicts. For this reason, every article ends with a short bibliographic section that summarizes other sources of information and directs readers to some of the most authoritative and some of the most recently published resources on each topic.

By bringing together articles on each of the critical countries in the region, the set can enable readers to connect conflicts in different countries and to see conflicts from different perspectives. Those interested in events in Iraq, for example, can also consult articles on Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Israel, Turkey, and other countries to explore the roles of these other nations in events af-

## *Introduction*

fecting Iraq. Readers seeking to understand developments in India can easily follow up references to Pakistan, Sri Lanka, or Bangladesh.

Many of the conflicts in this set involve controversial and intensely emotional issues. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, for example, is seen in radically different ways by many people in other parts of the world, as well as by Israelis and Palestinians. Far from Asia, observers will argue whether Taiwan is an inseparable part of China or a distinct nation with the right to declare its own independence. As much as possible, these articles try to present the different sides of the issues and to look at conflicts of interest or goals, rather than to impose judgements about right and wrong.

While the publisher, the authors, and I have tried to ensure that this work is up to date and addresses the pressing questions of the twenty-first century. We have also tried to present clear analyses that go beyond the reporting of current events. New events occur every day and today's current events quickly become tomorrow's history. Therefore, our goal has been to provide readers with a tool for understanding the rapid, continuous changes in a critical region.

The first two articles in this set provide general overviews of Asia and the Middle East, respectively. For the purposes of this work, Asia is defined as consisting primarily of the areas of South Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. Aside from Afghanistan, which is intimately bound up with events in both South Asia and the Middle East, the countries of the areas known as Central Asia and Northwest Asia are included. Many of these nations are former republics of the Soviet Union; as such, they are part of a different political and historical sphere from the nations considered here.

The Middle East overlaps the Asian continent in the countries bounded by Eastern Europe to the northwest, North Africa to the west, and Afghanistan and Pakistan to the east. Including Turkey (part of which extends into Europe), Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and the Arabian peninsula, this is the homeland and center of the Islamic faith. Some geographers prefer to limit the idea of the Middle East to this westernmost part of Asia. This

work, however, uses a wider definition of the region that encompasses Egypt and other states of North Africa. Culturally North Africa belongs to the Islamic sphere of the Middle East and the nations of North Africa, especially Egypt, are so deeply involved in Middle Eastern affairs that leaving them out would make it difficult to understand these affairs.

The articles on the countries are organized alphabetically, rather than by regions. This encyclopedia-style organization avoids assuming prior geographic knowledge on the part of readers and it makes it easy for readers to find topic by countries. Articles begin with general information on the countries and on issues related to their principal problems and controversies. Each article ends with a time line that provides a chronology of important or revealing events in the foreign or domestic conflicts of countries.

The work has been designed to be useful to the widest possible readership. The articles are written in clear, non-technical language in order to provide a research resource for students from the junior high school through the college levels. The organization, the bibliographies, and the time lines make this set an excellent starting point for reports and projects. At the same time, the articles seek to provide sufficient information to assist all those interested in a comprehensive background to current events in this critical part of the world. Citizens concerned about the involvement of the United States, Britain, or other nations in the Asian-Middle Eastern region or about the impact of events in the region will find a helpful guide in these pages. Newspaper or magazine readers can turn to this set for broader insight into the causes and consequences of the daily news. Although these volumes are primarily intended for students and general readers, academic and policy specialists may also find that the set is a valuable handbook for easy reference. Those with specialties in one topic, country, or region will be able to find reliable summaries of information outside their particular specialties. Given the importance of the region, current popular interest in Asian and Middle Eastern affairs, and the comprehensive but readable nature of this set, it should be an indispensable addition to every public, school, and college library collection.

## *Introduction*

As Editor, I wish to thank all the original contributors for the hard work and scholarship they invested in the original articles. I also want to thank Salem Press's indefatigable R. Kent Rasmussen for making it possible for me to undertake and accomplish this project and for his help, friendly advice, and patience.

*Carl L. Bankston III*



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**WORLD CONFLICTS**

# **Asia and the Middle East**

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# ASIA

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*Asia, the world's largest continent, covers one-third of the earth's total land surface and contains more than one-half of the population of the world. Asia is a land of diverse religions, languages, cultures, and ethnic groups. These diverse groups have often been at war with one another within the borders of single countries, across international boundaries, and even with countries outside Asia. Asia has been overlooked by many who have failed to note its population's inherent talents. Asians have been the source of more than one-half of all the world's inventions. From 1970 until the late 1990's, Asia enjoyed the most rapid economic growth in the world. Although much of the continent entered a period of economic slowdown at the turn of the new century, the economies of the Asian nations appeared poised eventually to overtake those of the previously dominant North Atlantic nations. Rapid social and economic change brought conflict to many parts of Asia. This conflict was made more dangerous by the fact that some Asian nations had developed nuclear weapons or the capacity to build such weapons quickly.*

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Stretching from Europe and Africa in the west to the Pacific Ocean in the east, and from Siberia in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south, Asia covers 18.5 million square miles—more than a third of the earth's total land surface. In the west, Asia overlaps with the Middle East in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and the Arabian Peninsula. The origin of the name "Asia" is unclear. Some have derived it from the ancient Chinese dynasty known as the Xia, but other scholars maintain that it comes from the Assyrian word *asu*, meaning "east." Since the ancient Greeks used the word to refer to the lands immediately to the east of Greece, in what is now known as Asia Minor, the second derivation seems the more likely. After Greece and western Asia were incorporated into the Roman Empire, the Romans designated one of their eastern provinces as Asia. Gradually, the term was extended to refer to all of the lands east of the nations that were established in what is now known as Europe.

## Population and Border Disputes

China has the undisputed claim of having the largest population in the world. With more than one and a quarter billion people, China's nearest rival is India, which has just over one billion people. Thus, Asia's two most populated countries, India and China, have a combined population of more than 2 billion people. Indonesia, the world's fourth-largest country in population, is also entirely in Asia. Russia, the fifth-largest nation in population, reaches substantially into Asia. Japan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Thailand, and Vietnam are other large Asian countries whose populations rival those of the largest European nations.

Since Asia is proportionately more crowded than most other continents, it is a likely location for serious conflicts resulting from population pressure. Crowding is the function of the number of people in comparison not only to land in general, but also



to valuable land. Such land may be valuable for farming or for mineral resources, particularly oil, located beneath the surface. Border disputes have been common in Asia. Population pressures often underlie controversies over borders. China has had border disputes with India, Russia, Mongolia, and Vietnam.

The remoteness of some of these borders has sometimes made it difficult to determine their precise extent. The boundary between China and its neighbors in Southeast Asia, for example, is both mountainous and densely forested, creating difficulties in defining the exact border between China and each of its individual neighbors. In other remote areas, the shifting course of rivers constituting boundaries between China and Russia have caused conflicts over which river islands belong to which country.

Underlying language, cultural, religious, ethnic, and political differences mean that these border disputes are not easily resolved through negotiation. Even small disputes often seem to threaten the very existence of these states.

In the past, conflicts have been influenced and sometimes inhibited by geography. Since Asian geography includes mountains and open seas that have hindered direct conflicts between China and its neighbors to the south and east, China has historically worried most about its neighbors to the north and west. China built the Great Wall to defend itself from attacks from those directions. However, the difficulties of sea and air travel were negated by technological advances during the twentieth century, making all borders subject to potential invasion.

### **Technology and Cultural Conflict**

Since the nineteenth century, improvements in transportation and communication have drawn the countries of Asia closer together and increased the prospects for conflict. In the twentieth century, Asia was brought into World Wars I and II as the result of connections among Asian countries and the rest of the global system.

Communication and conflict between China and India were almost nonexistent until the twentieth century because the Himalaya Mountains, the Tibetan Plateau, and the difficulty of the available sea routes kept the two nations separated. During



the twentieth century, however, access to the mineral-rich Tibetan Plateau became much easier. India and China also developed an ongoing conflict over the border that falls in a remote but increasingly accessible area of high mountains.

Even when there are discrete geographical entities such as ocean islands, conflicts over ownership can arise. China has disputes with Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam. Some of these disputes would seem to be insignificant because the islands are either entirely or almost entirely unoccu-

## **Asia Time Line**

- 1894-1895 Japan takes Taiwan and southern Manchuria from China in Sino-Japanese War.
- 1905 Japan wins first Asian victory over European power in Russo-Japanese War.
- 1910 Japan takes Korea from China.
- 1911 (Feb.) China's Qing Dynasty collapses and Chinese Republic is formed under Sun Yat-sen.
- 1928 Japan seizes China's Shandong Province.
- 1932 Japan installs former Chinese emperor Pu Yi as president of its puppet state in Manchuria.
- 1937 (July) Japan begins conquest of China.
- 1941 (Dec. 7) Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor brings United States into World War II.
- 1945 (July 4) Philippine Republic is declared.
- 1945 (Aug.) End of World War II in Asia permits Chinese civil war between nationalists and communists to begin in earnest.
- 1946 Indonesia and Vietnam declare their independence of colonial rule.
- 1946 (Dec. 16) Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh forces start fighting against the French in Indochina.
- 1947 (Mar. 25) Netherlands recognize Indonesian independence.
- 1947 (Aug. 15) Britain grants India and Pakistan independence.
- 1947 (Sept. 24) Britain grants Burma independence.
- 1948 (Feb.) Britain grants Ceylon dominion status.
- 1948 (Feb. 1) Federation of Malaya is formed.
- 1948 (May 1) North Korea officially becomes communist state.
- 1948 (July 20) South Korea names Syngman Rhee president under new constitution.
- 1949 (Mar. 8) French recognize Vietnamese independence within French Union.

ped. However, ownership of the islands would support claims to the surrounding waters and seabeds, which often contain mineral deposits or oil.

For example, China's claim of ownership of the Spratly Islands brings it into conflict with all the other nations that border the South China Sea. Every country on the South China Sea has claims on the islands: China, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines. All have partial claim on a group of virtually barren islands that happen to sit on top of a seabed that may be rich in natural resources.

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- 1949 (Oct. 1) Mao Zedong declares China a people's republic.
  - 1950 (June 25) North Korean troops invade South Korea, beginning Korean War.
  - 1950 (Nov. 26) Chinese troops enter Korean War.
  - 1951 (May 23) Tibet acknowledges Chinese suzerainty.
  - 1953 (July 27) Cease-fire ends Korean War.
  - 1954 (July) Vietnamese communists defeat French at Dien Bien Phu.
  - 1959 (June 30) Singapore declares itself a self-governing city-state.
  - 1961-1973 United States becomes directly involved in Vietnam War.
  - 1962 (Oct. 20) China invades India in border dispute on Tibet border.
  - 1965 Indonesian president Sukarno is removed and later replaced by Suharto.
  - 1966 China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution begins.
  - 1968 (Nov. 11) Maldiv Islands become a republic.
  - 1970 (Mar. 18) Cambodia's Lon Nol overthrows Prince Sihanouk.
  - 1971 East Pakistan (Bangladesh) declares its independence from Pakistan, with support from India.
  - 1971 (Dec. 6) India recognizes independence of Bangladesh.
  - 1972 (May) U.S. president Richard Nixon's visit to China begins normalization of U.S.-Chinese relations.
  - 1972 (May 22) Ceylon is renamed Sri Lanka.
  - 1973 (Jan. 27) Vietnam peace agreement begins withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.
  - 1973 (Oct. 14) Student revolt topples military government in Thailand.
  - 1974 (Feb. 22) Pakistan recognizes independence of Bangladesh.
  - 1975 (Apr. 30) Vietnam is reunified when South Vietnam is occupied by North Vietnamese forces.
  - 1975 (Sept. 16) Papua New Guinea is declared independent.
  - 1975 (Dec. 7) Indonesia invades East Timor.

*(continued)*

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The slowness with which ancient Asian empires have become nation-states has meant further difficulties in defining all these boundaries. This has also meant that ethnic, cultural, and religious groups have been more important than nation-states.

Beyond geography, the wide range of cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups in large Asian nations have created their own conflicts. Among these, religion has been one of the most powerful and volatile forces in Asian history. Asia was the birthplace of many important philosophies and religions: Confucian-

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**Asia Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1976 (Sept. 9) Chinese leader Mao Zedong dies; members of “Gang of Four” are arrested.
- 1978 Deng Xiaoping emerges as China’s top leader.
- 1979 (Jan. 6) Vietnam invades Cambodia.
- 1979 (Feb. 17) China invades Vietnam but withdraws a month later.
- 1979 (Sept.) Soviet Union invades Afghanistan.
- 1981 (Mar. 24) Military takes power in Bangladesh.
- 1984 (Jan. 3) Brunei gains independence.
- 1984 (Sept. 26) Britain and China agree to terms for Britain’s return of Hong Kong to China in 1997.
- 1985 (Jan. 14) Vietnamese-supported Hun Sen becomes Cambodian president.
- 1986 (Feb. 7) Victory in Philippine presidential election is claimed by both Ferdinand Marcos and Corazon Aquino, but public drives Marcos into exile.
- 1986 (Oct. 15) Soviets begin withdrawal from Afghanistan.
- 1986 (Nov. 27) Philippine communists sign cease-fire with new Philippine government.
- 1987 (Apr. 13) Portugal agrees to return Macao to China in 1999.
- 1988 Vietnam claims to have sunk three Chinese ships transporting troops to Spratly Islands.
- 1988 (May 26) Vietnam agrees to withdraw from Cambodia.
- 1988 (Sept.) Bangladesh flooding leaves a quarter of its population homeless.
- 1989 (Feb. 15) Soviet Union completes its troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.
- 1989 (May 13) Students in Tiananmen Square begin hunger strike that embarrasses Chinese government on eve of Soviet Union president Gorbachev’s visit.
- 1989 (June 4) Chinese army takes control of central Beijing; ensuing crackdown leads to Zhao Ziyang’s ouster and widespread arrests.
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ism, Shintoism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Islam arrived in Asia early and has had an influence on many areas of the continent. While some forms of Christianity arrived early, Christianity has had its greatest impact in far more recent times.

### **Confucianism**

Confucian Asia, or East Asia, includes all the countries that were substantially influenced by the Confucian system, which originated in China. These include China, Korea, Taiwan, Japan,

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- 1989 (June 19) Burma adopts new name of Myanmar.
  - 1990 (Mar.) Indian troops sent to Sri Lanka to maintain peace return home.
  - 1990 (Apr. 30) Martial law ends in Tibet.
  - 1990 (June 6) Soviet Union reestablishes diplomatic relations with South Korea.
  - 1990 (June 11) Military coup fails in Thailand.
  - 1990 (June 11) Tamil Tigers end cease-fire in Sri Lanka.
  - 1990 (July 29) Communists win in first multiparty free elections in Mongolian history.
  - 1990 (July 30) North and South Korea resume reunification talks.
  - 1990 (Aug. 6) Pakistani army overthrows elected parliament.
  - 1990 (Oct. 21) Taiwan and Japan clash over uninhabited Senkaku Island also disputed by China.
  - 1991 China normalizes relations with Vietnam.
  - 1991 Myanmar and Thailand clash over border along Salween River.
  - 1991 (Jan. 11) Tamil Tigers resume fighting in Sri Lanka.
  - 1991 (Feb. 24) Thai military overthrows civilian government for seventeenth time in sixty years.
  - 1991 (Feb. 27) Bangladesh elects its first woman prime minister, Begun Zia.
  - 1991 (Mar. 14) China gives Russia foreign aid loan.
  - 1991 (Mar. 25) Japan offers to buy back islands lost to Soviet Union in World War II.
  - 1991 (Apr. 20) United States opens office in Vietnam as relations improve.
  - 1991 (June 17) Vietnam begins economic market reforms after fall of Soviet Union.
  - 1991 (Nov. 14) Prince Sihanouk returns to Cambodia after thirteen-year absence.
  - 1991 (Dec. 13) China's prime minister Li Peng makes first high-level visit to India since 1962 Sino-Indian War and signs trade agreement.
  - 1992 China signs nuclear nonproliferation treaty.
  - 1992 (Nov. 20) Indonesian forces capture East Timor's resistance leader.

*(continued)*

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Vietnam, and the city-state of Singapore. Of these, only Japan voluntarily adopted the foreign cultural pattern. Singapore and Taiwan were populated by native Chinese, while Korea and Vietnam were both conquered by China in the past.

Confucianism is the least “religious” of all major beliefs. Some consider it more of an ethical philosophy. As an ethical system oriented toward creating a peaceful society, Confucianism would not seem to include very many beliefs that would bring it into conflict with other religions. Indeed, Confucians often claim to be

### **Asia Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1993 (Jan. 6) Religious rioting erupts in Bombay, India.
- 1993 (Jan. 9) Myanmar military holds new constitutional conference; Buddhist government invites Muslim exiles to return from Bangladesh.
- 1993 (Feb. 2) Vietnamese-backed Cambodian government begins offensive against Khmer Rouge.
- 1993 (Feb. 25) Kim Young Sam becomes South Korea’s first civilian president in thirty years.
- 1995 Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui’s visit to United States provokes protests from Beijing.
- 1995 China occupies Mischief Reef, which is claimed by both China and Philippines.
- 1996 (Mar. 15) China begins test firing missiles thirty miles from Taiwan in attempt to intimidate voters in Taiwanese election.
- 1996 (Apr. 5) North Korean troops are sent into Demilitarized Zone.
- 1996 (Apr. 9) Tibet and Xinjiang officials agree on new border, inaugurating new campaign to define China’s internal borders.
- 1996 (Sept. 7) Peaceful election is held in Kashmir.
- 1996 (Oct.) North Korean submarine attacks South Korea.
- 1996 (Oct. 10) Taiwan and China clash with Japanese navy over disputed islands.
- 1996 (Nov. 5) Pakistani president dismisses Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.
- 1996 (Nov. 28) Chinese president Jiang Zemin visits India and signs agreement to promote partial demilitarization of disputed border areas.
- 1996 (Dec. 2) New student demonstrations break out in Myanmar.
- 1997 (Jan.) Tamil Tigers launch major attacks in Sri Lanka civil war.
- 1997 (Jan. 2) Singapore’s leading party wins all but two seats in national parliament.
- 1997 (Feb. 19) Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping dies and Jiang Zemin takes over.

both Confucian and Buddhist. Many Chinese Marxist-Leninist atheists are deeply affected by the Confucian philosophy in their daily lives. Despite Confucianism's peaceful aspiration and ability to blend with other religions, Confucian Asia is still in conflict with many other cultural, ethnic, and religious groups in Asia.

Confucian Chinese are widely dispersed throughout Asia. In virtually all these countries Chinese merchants, traders, and financiers are the most economically successful members of their societies. In Indonesia, for example, the Chinese constitute about

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- 1997 (Oct. 26) Chinese president Jiang Zemin visits United States.
  - 1997 (Dec. 2) Pakistan's chief justice is dismissed as new political disorders begin.
  - 1998 (Feb.) Sudden drop in value of Indonesian currency sets off Asian economic crisis.
  - 1998 (Feb. 25) South Korean dissident Kim Dae Jung is first member of opposition to become president.
  - 1998 (Apr.) U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright conducts tour of East Asian nations.
  - 1998 (May 11) India detonates five nuclear devices in series of tests.
  - 1998 (May 21) Indonesian president Suharto resigns in wake of political disorder.
  - 1998 (May 28) Pakistan detonates its own nuclear devices in response to India's tests.
  - 1998 (June) Nepal protests India's encroachments on its borders.
  - 1998 (Aug. 5) Indonesia and Portugal announce agreement on autonomy plan for East Timor.
  - 1998 (Aug. 31) North Korea test-fires missile in direction of Japan.
  - 1998 (Oct. 14) China and Taiwan renew cooperative talks.
  - 1998 (Nov. 29) Philippine navy seizes twenty Chinese fishermen near Spratly Islands for entering Philippine waters illegally.
  - 1999 (Jan. 17) Indonesian president B. J. Habibie declares that East Timor will be allowed to hold a popular referendum to decide whether the territory wants to continue as part of Indonesia or to become an independent nation.
  - 1999 (Feb. 20) Indian prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif hold cordial meeting in Pakistan.
  - 1999 (May-July) Fighting between Indian and Pakistani-backed forces flares up in Kashmir.
  - 1999 (May) Cambodia joins the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).
  - 1999 (May 7) U.S. missile hits Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia, causing serious rift in U.S.-China relations.

*(continued)*

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3 percent of the population but control about 70 percent of the wealth. Since the Chinese live as minorities within a wide variety of Southeast Asian countries, they often are targets for envy and jealousy from their majority neighbors and are therefore subject to various kinds of persecution.

These threats are real. The Indonesian government killed hundreds of thousands of Chinese in economic disorders following the overthrow of Sukarno in 1965. Disputes between the Chinese and the Islamic Malay led to the separation of the city-state of Sin-

### **Asia Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1999 (July) Regional tensions rise when United States charges that North Korea is about to test a long-range ballistic missile that could threaten neighbors.
- 1999 (July 25) Meeting between U.S. secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright and Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan in Singapore eases U.S.-China tension.
- 1999 (Aug. 30) Referendum on independence held in East Timor. Following the vote for independence pro-Indonesian militias and Indonesian soldiers rampage throughout East Timor.
- 1999 (Oct.) Pakistani general Pervez Musharraf takes power and arrests Nawaz Sharif for treason.
- 1999 (Oct. 20) Muslim leader Abdurrahman Wahid is elected president of Indonesia on October 20 and Megawati Sukarnoputri is elected vice president.
- 2000 (Mar.) Democratic Progressive Party candidate Chen Shui-bian is elected president of Taiwan, ending over fifty years of control by the KMT.
- 2000 (Apr. 2) Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi suffers a stroke and goes into a coma. The Japanese Diet approves the Liberal Democratic Party's Yoshiro Mori as the new prime minister.
- 2000 (June 13-15) South Korean president Kim Dae Jung and North Korean leader Kim Jong Il meet in Pyongyang.
- 2000 (July) Vietnam reaches a trade agreement with the United States, allowing U.S. companies to sell goods in Vietnam and lowering tariffs on Vietnamese goods entering the U.S.
- 2000 (Oct. 13) South Korean president Kim Dae Jung is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his fight for democracy and his visit to North Korea.
- 2000 (Dec.) Philippine senate begins trying President Joseph Estrada on charges of corruption.
- 2001 (Apr.) American surveillance plane collides with a Chinese military jet and is forced to land on Hainan Island.

gapore from the rest of the Malaysian Federation. Conflicts of this sort between China and its neighbors are possible in nearly every country in Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, where a wealthy but small Chinese minority exists. As China becomes a major military, political, and economic power in Asia, the possibility exists that the Chinese might intervene on behalf of their ethnic kin in other countries.

Ethnic conflicts are also manifest in domestic struggles between the Confucian Chinese and the more than sixty million mi-

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- 2001 (Apr.) Japanese prime minister Yoshiro Mori resigns and is replaced by Junichiro Koizumi.
- 2001 (May 27) Abu Sayyaf rebel group stages a raid on the Dos Palmas resort on the southern Philippine island of Palawan, capturing three Americans and seventeen Filipinos.
- 2001 (July 1) Chinese president Jiang Zemin calls on the Communist Party to admit capitalists.
- 2001 (July) Pakistani president Musharraf and Indian prime minister Vajpayee hold their first summit at Agra but are unable to resolve differences between the two countries.
- 2001 (Aug. 13) Prime Minister Koizumi visits the Yasukuni Shrine to the Japanese war, angering countries occupied by Japan during World War II.
- 2001 (Dec.) Following the election victory of the United National Party, the Sri Lankan government establishes a cease-fire and begins making efforts at negotiating with Tamil guerrilla forces.
- 2002 (Feb.) On the request of the Philippine government, the United States sends special forces units into the Philippines to assist in training Philippine soldiers to fight Muslim insurgents.
- 2002 (May 6) Aung San Suu Kyi is released from nineteen months of house arrest. The Myanmar government announces that this marks a new page in the country's history.
- 2002 (June) With Indian and Pakistani troops massed along their mutual border, the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency estimated that if the two nations engaged in mutual nuclear attacks, 17 million people would be killed in the first few weeks and more would die from radiation, starvation, and other after-effects over a period of years.
- 2002 (Sept.) Representatives of the Dalai Lama visit Beijing and Tibet.
- 2002 (Dec. 12) North Korea announces that the nuclear issue would be solved if the United States would sign a nonaggression treaty.
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nority ethnic group members within China's borders. Dozens of separate ethnic groups exist within China, and many of them make claims for either independence or autonomy. This has led to strong reactions by the central Chinese government. Tibet's well-publicized demands for autonomy may have found supporters in the central Chinese government, but the situation has been complicated by demands for independence from some supporters of Tibet who are viewed as enemies of China.

Less well known are the desires of some other ethnic groups in China. Many Mongolians in China seek to remove the geographic area called Inner Mongolia from China and join with other Mongolians in the Republic of Mongolia. Uyghurs, Tajiks, and Uzbeks all have ethnic kin in Russia or other countries of the former Soviet Union.

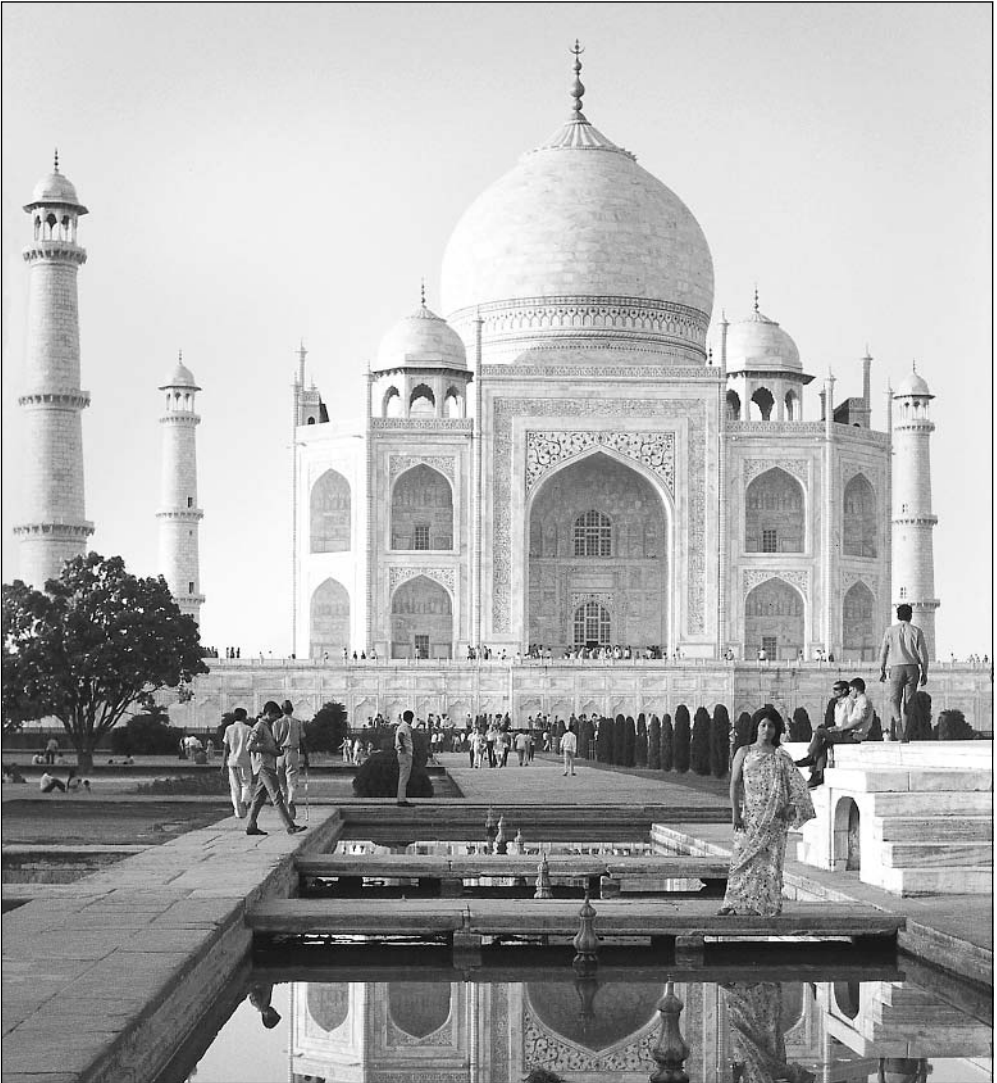
Confucians can fight with each other as well, though perhaps not on religious grounds. The Confucian Chinese on the island of Taiwan have a major dispute with those in China. Confucian Vietnamese continue their conflict with China over the future of the government of Cambodia. This conflict has already broken into open warfare.

### **Shintoism and Hinduism**

Confucian Asia has the largest number of adherents of all the major cultural systems in Asia, and it may be subdivided into a number of variants. For example, although Shintoism is heavily influenced by Confucianism and Buddhism, it is exclusively Japanese and may be thought of as Japan's national religion.

The Indian subcontinent is home to a third major religious group. The Hindus are the largest of all religious groups in the multifaceted nation of India. Minority religions include Islam and Sikhism, and the coexistence of these groups has led to violent confrontations within India itself. On the island of Sri Lanka, the continuing disputes between the Buddhist Singhalese and the Hindu Tamils are typical of the Indian disputes.

Buddhism, the fourth major religion, originated in India but is now almost nonexistent there. However, it thrives throughout Tibet, Mongolia, Korea, Japan, China, and Southeast Asia. Major branches—the most important of which are the Mahayana and



*One of the most recognizable landmarks in Asia, India's Taj Mahal is a symbol of the region's cultural diversity; it is a Muslim mausoleum amid a predominantly Hindu nation. (Digital Stock)*

Theravada schools—can be distinguished, along with various other denominations or groups. While an argument can be made that Buddhism is a peaceful religion, these divisions can be a cause of conflicts even within the Buddhist community.

**Islam and Christianity**

The fifth major religion in Asia is Islam. Arab traders and explorers left the Middle East and brought Islam to a number of Asian countries starting shortly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Both the Sunni and the Shiite branches are represented. Islam suffers from internal conflicts between the Shiites and the Sunnis as well as between secular Muslims and Islamic fundamentalists.

Islam is dominant in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Other Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines, and China have Islamic groups within their borders. As a monotheistic religion, Islam is decidedly different from Confucianism in China, Hinduism in India, or the various Buddhist subsections in Southeast Asia. Islamic fundamentalism is not only at war with other Muslim groups but also has a proselytizing dimension, bringing it into conflict with Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity.

Indonesia is a multinational state with a wide variety of ethnic groups controlled by an Islamic majority on the island of Java. Indonesia has a well-known conflict with East Timor, but other conflicts rage on individual islands within the chain.

Even comparably small island nations such as the Philippines have conflicts between the Christian Catholic majority and the Muslim and Chinese minorities that exist within their nation. One of the longest lasting conflicts in the Philippines has been between Christians and Muslims. Even after the government of the Philippines managed to bring communist guerrilla forces under control, in the late 1990's, insurgent Muslim groups continued to pose a major problem for the country. Historically, the Philippines was the only Christian country in Asia as the result of its conquest by the Spanish. Even in the southern islands, where Muslims have historically predominated, Roman Catholics are a majority of the Filipino population, and most people in the Philippines continue to identify strongly with Catholicism. However in the late twentieth century, new denominations, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Iglesia Ni Kristo (Church of Christ), and the Church of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) began spreading rapidly throughout the country.

Missionary efforts have been successful in making Christianity the most rapidly expanding religion within South Korea. South Korea has the largest number of Christian converts and a higher percentage of Christians than in any other Asian country besides the Philippines.

### **Economic Change**

For centuries, countries along the North Atlantic Ocean dominated global politics. Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and the United States succeeded each other as the main economic, military, and political powers. Asia was a relatively underdeveloped economic area until the second half of the twentieth century, when the continent experienced the most rapid economic expansion in the world. Some economists predicted that the global economic center would shift from the North Atlantic to the Pacific in the twenty-first century.

These newly emerging economic powers represent both trading partners and competitors to one another. Changing economic systems can outstrip the political institutions and lead to turmoil. Rapid economic progress can lead to unrealistic expectations. If these unrealistic expectations are disappointed in an economic downturn, revolutions and political disorder can follow.

Japan's was the first modern Asian economy to emerge. Japan became the most modernized Asian country and developed the second-largest economy in the world. Still, Japan has very few natural resources and must depend on its ability to manufacture goods out of raw materials imported from abroad. The possibility that the Japanese would react dangerously if they lost this ability is only one possible conflict.

Following the Japanese lead, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong made rapid gains in economic productivity. While Singapore and Hong Kong were, in effect, small city-states, Taiwan and Korea were both sizable countries where the total wealth produced was considerable.

After these "four tigers" emerged, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia attempted to make some progress in reaching a take-off stage in their economic development. In the early 1990's, it appeared that East and Southeast Asia would become the world's

economic powerhouse. In the late 1990's, however, the region slipped into an economic downturn that affected even Japan. Thailand's economy began to falter in 1996, and in 1997 a general slowing, combined with excessively speculative investment in the Thai real estate market, led to a devaluation of the Thai currency. The financial problems spread through the region and by 1998 Japan began to slip into recession. Although officials continued to expect an end to the recession, during the first few years of the new century, Japan's trade was steadily declining as shrinking economies in other countries meant diminishing demand for products. With slowing markets around the world in the latter part of 2001 and into 2002, many of the export-oriented economies of East and Southeast Asia were stumbling.

### **China's Economy**

China's impressive economic progress since 1979 outweighs all the other potential competition in Asia. Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, China remained relatively backward. However, it began a dramatic economic improvement after 1979 under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. Because of double-digit growth rates in total wealth produced, China may eventually surpass first Japan and later the United States in the total value of its economic output.

While Japan today has the largest wealth-producing economy in Asia, its population is only approximately one-twelfth the size of China's. Therefore, it probably cannot permanently hold its lead, especially since the Japanese island chain is relatively short on natural resources when compared to China.

China has largely abandoned its socialist system and embarked on economic reform that uses free market or capitalistic characteristics. Because of the large number of still-existing government-owned enterprises, China cannot be said to have entirely abandoned socialism. However, capitalist economic reform is evident. Progress is substantial but uneven throughout China since areas of abject poverty still exist. One cannot rule out a serious economic downturn, however, which could lead to political conflict.

China, in particular, faces a large gap between its progress in

economic reform and the slowness of its political reform. China's economic growth threatens its Asian neighbors and may be a pretext for other conflicts. Any turmoil in China may spill over into neighboring countries.

India, ostensibly a democratic country, showed respectable but not outstanding growth rates throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. Progress in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam continues to lag behind other countries. North Korea, a communist regime, has experienced the slowest economic growth in Asia. At the close of the twentieth century, periods of famine occurred in North Korea that were so horrible they produced rumors of cannibalism.

### **Nuclear Proliferation**

Comparing Asia to either Africa or South America will reveal that religious, tribal, cultural, and ethnic differences may provoke conflicts in all three continents. Remote areas and colonial legacies may make boundaries uncertain and contentious. However, neither South America nor Africa faces the complications of the threat of a nuclear arms race that hangs over Asia.

Both South America and Africa are largely nuclear-free zones with no countries publicly possessing nuclear weapons and with only a few having any potential nuclear capacity. A number of Asian countries either have detonated nuclear test devices or are technologically sophisticated enough to be able to produce such weapons in a very short time.

Russia, China, India, and Pakistan have already detonated nuclear test devices. North Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, and Japan all fall into the class of nations with the wealth and technological capability to produce such devices in a relatively short time. Conflicts in Asia—unlike those in Africa or South America—have the potential to escalate into nuclear war. Further, Asia is one of the most complex areas in the world and one of the most likely areas for future conflicts and confrontations. Cultural, ethnic, religious, economic, and political differences and boundary disputes take on a whole new significance when the nuclear dimension is added.

India became a country capable of developing a nuclear device long before it first detonated one in 1998. Tensions with Pakistan and internal domestic pressures to show everyone how strong India was apparently led the country to become a public member of the nuclear club. In turn, Pakistan, fearing an Indian nuclear threat, prepared its own unofficial nuclear program. After the Indians detonated their device, the Pakistanis felt very threatened and announced they would test a nuclear device as well. The United States announced it was imposing economic sanctions on India and would do so on Pakistan. This threat could not overcome the tremendous domestic pressure the Pakistanis felt, and they continued with their tests. After the United States intervened in Afghanistan in the fall of 2001, the need for allies in the region led it to drop sanctions against both Pakistan and India. However, the possibility of a nuclear war between the two South Asian nations continued to threaten the region and the world.

The North Korean decision to pursue an independent nuclear weapons program is a threat to both South Korea and Japan. The interest of the United States and other countries in maintaining peace and resisting nuclear proliferation further complicates Asian problems. The United States, fearful that an unstable regime with nuclear capability in North Korea might be a threat throughout the region, has become involved in this dispute. Even after North Korea, under the pressure of economic hardship, began to attempt to improve its relations with South Korea and Japan in the early years of the twenty-first century, many international observers still regarded it as an unpredictable and potentially dangerous nation. By the beginning of 2003, the danger that North Korea would develop nuclear weapons became a matter of serious international concern.

*Richard L. Wilson*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

For secondary students, there is a growing body of very good, accessible literature on Asia. For the region as a whole, Myron L. Cohen has edited *The Columbia Project on Asia in the Core Curriculum: A Guide for Teaching* (1992), which contains a wide range of

materials written for use in a secondary school curriculum. Also written for a secondary school audience are two excellent single-country studies: Nancy Faust Sizer's *China: Tradition and Change* (1991) and Lucien Ellington's *Japan: Tradition and Change* (1990). Both have received positive reviews.

Mark Borthwick's *Pacific Century: The Emergence of Modern Pacific Asia* (1992) was developed for use as a text for the college-level telecourse by the same name. Although developed by some of the United States' most prestigious foundations to be used for college courses, it has been used successfully in secondary school programs.

On the more advanced level, Colin Mackerras has edited a very comprehensive history and political analysis entitled *East and Southeast Asia* (1996). James C. F. Wang's *Comparative Asian Politics* (1995) is the best recent political science work on the subject. For those interested in a readable account of Asia's economics and politics in nontechnical language, Steve Chan's *East Asian Dynamism: Second Edition* (1993) is the best.

For additional information on China, see Charles O. Hucker's *China's Imperial Past* (1975) and Edward A. Gargin's *China's Fate: A People's Turbulent Struggle with Reform and Repression* (1990). An excellent background book on India is Veenu Sandal's *We Live in India* (1984). A more comprehensive history can be found in Ved Mehta's *The New India* (1978). Kazuhide Kawamata's *We Live in Japan* (1984) offers a good overview of Japanese life. John Toland's *Rising Sun* (1970) is also excellent.

There is no more sophisticated examination of Asia and its politics than the classic work *Asian Power and Politics* (1985), written by one of the United States' leading Asian scholars, Lucian W. Pye. Although it is written for a scholarly university audience, it may be suitable for advanced students and is necessary for anyone who hopes to understand the cultural forces behind Asian politics.

*World Monitor* magazine frequently provides interesting articles. *Current History* is well known for the quality of its articles. *The Economist*, a weekly newsmagazine published in England, is another excellent source for international news.



## MIDDLE EAST

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*Many problems and conflicts confront the inhabitants of the Middle East that threaten at any moment to produce open violence, not excluding war. These bewilderingly complex problems defy easy solutions. They include ancient religious hatreds dating back thousands of years; the proliferation of nuclear weapons, guided missiles, and other weapons of mass destruction in the region; deep poverty in parts of the region; a confusion of languages and peoples; all the problems of modernization and industrialization; the absence of adequate water to supply a burgeoning population; and, most serious of all, the Arab-Israeli conflict, which dates back to the early part of the twentieth century. The attempt to create a Jewish state in the region that is today Israel initiated a cycle of violence that only intensified after the creation of the Jewish state in 1948. Since then, the nations of the region have fought numerous bloody wars, interspersed with constant terrorism on both sides of the conflict. The Camp David Accords during the presidential administration of Jimmy Carter promised a general peace settlement between the warring states, but in the late 1990's such a settlement was still elusive.*

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The term "Middle East" is a modern expression dating from World War II that is generally applied to the region that includes Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Israel/Palestine. It is also often used to include parts of North Africa, especially Egypt, which has long been intimately involved in Middle Eastern affairs. Before 1939 European geographers referred to the region as the "Near East," while they applied "Far East" to China and Japan and "Middle East" to the Indian subcontinent.

As defined in its modern sense, the Middle East comprises a roughly wedge-shaped landmass located between the continents of Europe (to the west and north), Asia (to the north and east), Africa (to the south and west), and the subcontinent of India (to the east). The region borders the Indian Ocean to the east, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea to the north, and the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. It covers roughly 2,190,000 square

miles (an area about two thirds the size of the United States), with a population of about 175,000,000.

The topography of the Middle East varies from high mountain ranges to river valleys to coastal regions. Much of the area consists of arid desert. Many rivers flow through the region, most notably the Nile in Egypt, which flows into the Mediterranean Sea, and the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, which flow through Syria and Iraq into the Persian Gulf on the Indian Ocean. The river valleys produce abundant agricultural products, but farming methods in many areas remain primitive to the point that many of the region's farmers farm their land exactly as their ancestors did thousands of years ago.

The vast majority of the area's people still derive their livings from agriculture. The only natural resource of the region of any



great significance is oil, most of it found in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iran. The abundance of this precious commodity in the Middle East gave the region great strategic significance during the Cold War and considerable international power at the end of the 1990's. The natural resource most coveted in the Middle East remains water, access to which threatens to become one of the greatest sources of conflict in the region in the twenty-first century.

Arabic, of which there are many regional dialects, remains the dominant language of most of the region. Most Iranians speak Farsi, an Indo-European language. The official language of Israel is Hebrew, a Semitic language. Most Turks speak Turkish, a member of the Turkic language group.

Most of the region's inhabitants are adherents of the Sunni branch of the Islamic faith, but many practice various forms of Christianity. Most of the residents of Iran are Shiite Muslims. The Israelis practice varieties of Judaism. Large minorities in various parts of the Middle East profess Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism. Members of other large minorities practice some combination of these faiths, such as the Kurds, who live in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, some of whom worship Lucifer. Religion plays a much more significant role in the lives of Middle Easterners than it does in the lives of most contemporary Americans.

### **Early History**

Many historians agree that the Middle East gave birth to modern Western civilization. Sometime between eight and ten thousand years ago the inhabitants of modern Iraq invented agriculture, precipitating the agricultural revolution that so transformed civilization. Agriculture spread over the succeeding millennia, first to the Tigris-Euphrates River Valley (which roughly divides the region), then to the Nile Valley in Egypt, then to most parts of the world.

Rather than living nomadic lives, the residents of the Middle East began to gather in permanent villages, which grew into the world's first cities. As individuals accumulated wealth, they also had leisure time to spend on activities other than the daily search for food. Middle Easterners invented writing, art, literature, and

architecture and began a search for God. Four of the world's great religions originated in the Middle East: Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The modern conflicts between adherents of these religions date back to the earliest beginnings of Western civilization.

Numerous civilizations, some well known, some obscure, originated in the Middle East, which was a crossroads for trade and commerce from the beginnings of recorded history. In the Nile River Valley one of the world's earliest civilizations, the Egyptians, arose more than five thousand years ago and endured nearly three millennia. At approximately the same time a civilization called Sumerian by archaeologists came into existence in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. This civilization rivaled the Egyptians in its accomplishments.

The Egyptians and Sumerians (and the successors of the Sumerians, the Old and New Babylonian Empires) bequeathed much to Western civilization, including monumental architecture, classics of literature, writing, and various superstitions. A few of the other contributors to Western culture from the Middle East include the Hittites (the discoverers of iron), the Phoenicians (who invented the world's first true alphabet), the Lydians (who invented coined money), the Persians (who created the first large empire in the world), and the Jews, who created a religious tradition upon which many other religions (including Christianity and Islam) are based.

Alexander the Great conquered the entire region in 333-332 B.C.E., bringing about a fusion of Middle Eastern culture with that of the Greeks. Alexander and his successors adopted many of the institutions they encountered in the Middle East and passed them on to the Romans when the latter conquered the region during the second and first centuries B.C.E. After the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C.E., a succession of foreign conquerors dominated most of the region until after World War II.

The Romans conquered all the coastal regions of the Middle East and Egypt and held them for more than four hundred years. For a brief time the Romans also conquered the Tigris-Euphrates Valley all the way to the Persian Gulf before being thrown back

by the Parthians (a rejuvenated Persian Empire). The Romans spread the civilization developed in the Middle East to all parts of their empire, including modern Western Europe.

After the Roman Empire collapsed around 450 C.E., the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire dominated much of the region until the rise of Islam in the eighth century. The Islamic empire endured until both it and the remnants of the Byzantine Empire fell to the Ottoman Turks during the fifteenth century. The Ottoman Empire managed to control most of the Middle East until World

## Middle East Time Line

- 622 Prophet Muhammad founds Islamic religion, which spreads throughout Middle East over next five centuries.
- 1453 Turkish Ottoman Empire conquers most of Middle East.
- 1501 Persia regains nominal independence.
- 1882 Great Britain occupies Egypt.
- 1897 Zionist movement is founded to foster Jewish immigration into Palestine.
- 1906 Shah of Iran grants constitutional government.
- 1917 Balfour Declaration promises British aid for establishment of Jewish homeland in Palestine.
- 1917 T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) helps inspire modern Arabian nationalism or Pan-Arabism.
- 1918 At end of World War II, Ottoman Empire is dissolved; Turkey and Egypt gain nominal independence from European domination.
- 1920 League of Nations mandates parts of Middle East to France and Britain.
- 1930's Jewish and Palestinian paramilitary groups form, and violence in Palestine intensifies.
- 1932 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is established.
- 1933 (Jan.) Nazi rise to power in Germany encourages increased Jewish emigration to Palestine.
- 1935 Persia is officially renamed Iran.
- 1936 Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon gain nominal independence from European domination.
- 1939-1945 During World War II parts of Middle East become battlegrounds, and European domination of region is permanently weakened.
- 1948 (May) Formation of Jewish state of Israel leads directly to first Israeli-Arab war.
- 1956 Second Israeli-Arab War is fought over Suez Canal.

War I, which began the transformation of the Middle East into its modern form. However, that transformation began in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the emergence of Zionism.

### **Rise of Zionism and Arab Nationalism**

After a violent Jewish uprising against Roman rule, the Romans dispersed the Jewish population of Palestine to all parts of their empire, which the Jews call the Diaspora. The small Jewish communities thus established in all parts of the Roman world

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|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1959      | Merger of Egypt and Syria creates United Arab Republic.                                                                                     |
| 1961      | United Arab Republic is dissolved, but Egypt retains name.                                                                                  |
| 1961      | Kuwait is granted independence.                                                                                                             |
| 1964      | Formation of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) escalates guerrilla warfare against Israel and provokes Israeli retaliation.           |
| 1967      | (June) Six-Day War (third Israeli-Arab war); U.S. government supports Israel in face of world opinion; Israel occupies much Arab territory. |
| 1973      | (Oct.) Egypt attacks Israeli positions in Sinai Peninsula, starting Yom Kippur War; Arabian oil embargo affects world oil supplies.         |
| 1978-1979 | Camp David Accords establish permanent peace settlement between Israel and Egypt.                                                           |
| 1978      | Iranian revolutionaries overthrow monarchy and establish an anti-American Islamic fundamentalist government.                                |
| 1978      | Israel invades Lebanon, driving out PLO forces.                                                                                             |
| 1979      | (Nov. 4) Iranian revolutionaries take Americans hostage in Tehran.                                                                          |
| 1980      | Iran-Iraq war begins.                                                                                                                       |
| 1991      | (Jan.) United States and its allies fight Iraq in Persian Gulf War.                                                                         |
| 1994      | Israeli-PLO peace accords are signed, but negotiations on implementation continue.                                                          |
| 1996      | New Israeli government suspends Syrian-Israeli peace talks.                                                                                 |
| 1997      | (Dec.) Islamic Conference Organization Summit is held in Tehran.                                                                            |
| 1998      | Israeli and Palestinian officials agree on autonomy for Palestine, with promise of establishment of Palestinian state.                      |
| 1998      | (Jan.) Iranian president Khatami urges dialogue between Iranian and American peoples.                                                       |
| 1998      | (Feb.) Syria reopens border with Iraq.                                                                                                      |

clung to their religious beliefs and customs and did not assimilate into the populations among which they found themselves. Over the centuries the peoples of the areas in which the Jews lived formed a virulent animosity toward them which is known as anti-Semitism.

In part anti-Semitism derived from religion. The peoples of the regions to which the Jews were dispersed, which are mostly in modern Europe, became overwhelmingly Christian in religious persuasion. Many Christians blamed the Jews for the crucifixion

### **Middle East Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1998 (May) Egyptian business leaders found Cairo Peace Movement to expand contacts between Egyptians and Israelis.
- 1998 (June 16) Israeli warplanes launch missile attacks on suspected Hezbollah military bases near Sojod.
- 1998 (June 30) U.S. jet fires missile at Iraqi antiaircraft battery near Basra.
- 1998 (Dec.) United States and Britain resume air strikes on Iraq.
- 1998 (Oct. 21) Turkish and Syrian leaders announce agreement settling dispute over Turkey's charge that Syria has supported antigovernment Turkish Kurds.
- 1998 (Nov. 20) Israeli occupation forces begin withdrawal from West Bank territory being handed over to Palestinian National Authority.
- 1999 (Feb. 7) Jordanian king Hussein dies after forty-six years in power; he is succeeded by his oldest son, who becomes King Abdullah II.
- 1999 (Mar. 11) Iranian president Khatami has private audience with Pope Paul II at Vatican during tour of Western Europe designed to improve Iran's ties with the West.
- 1999 (July 6) Fifty days after winning May 17 election, Ehud Barak is sworn in as Israel's prime minister and calls for regional cooperation.
- 1999 (Dec. 10) Turkey is accepted as a candidate for membership in the European Union.
- 2000 (Jan.) More than two thousand members of the Army of Islamic Salvation and other guerrillas surrender to the Algerian government under a partial amnesty.
- 2000 (Feb.) Supporters of Iranian president Khatami gain strength in elections to the national legislature.
- 2000 (May) Israel announces that it will withdraw unconditionally from Lebanon.
- 2000 (June) Saad Eddin Ibrahim, chair of Egypt's Ibn Khaldoun Center for Developmental Studies, is arrested for criticizing his national government.
- 2000 (June) Foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia and Yemen sign a treaty on their borders based on their 1934 agreement.

of Jesus Christ, and hated them. Many Jews were moneylenders and middlemen in economic transactions, which accounted for some of the anti-Jewish feeling. Much anti-Semitism came from fear of strangers—xenophobia—and ethnocentrism on the part of the Christian population. Anti-Semitic sentiments led to frequent outbreaks of violence, called pogroms, against the Jewish communities of Europe.

A sensational manifestation of anti-Semitism in France during the 1890's was the Dreyfus affair. Alfred Dreyfus was a French

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| 2000 | (June 10) Hafez al-Asad dies and is succeeded as president by his son Bashar al-Asad.                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 2000 | (Sept. 28) Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visits the Temple Mount; Palestinians react with protests and riots, and a new cycle of violence begins.                                                                                                                                                     |
| 2000 | (Oct. 12) A small boat loaded with bombs strikes the USS <i>Cole</i> in the harbor at Aden in Yemen, killing seventeen U.S. sailors and injuring twenty-nine others.                                                                                                                                           |
| 2001 | (Feb. 6) Ariel Sharon is elected prime minister of Israel; in the months that follow, Palestinian suicide bombers attack in Israel.                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 2001 | (June) Hezbollah attacks sites in Israel and Israel responds by attacking Syrian military sites in the Bekaa Valley.                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 2001 | (Sept. 11) Terrorists of Middle Eastern origin hijack planes in the United States and fly them into the World Trade Center towers in New York and the Pentagon Building in Washington, D.C.; the United States maintains that the terrorists are agents of the al-Qaeda group based in Afghanistan.            |
| 2001 | (Oct. 17) Israeli tourism minister Rehavam Ze'evi is killed by Palestinians in retaliation for the death of a Palestinian leader.                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 2002 | (Aug. 15) More than six hundred family members of people killed in the September 11 attacks on the United States file suit against the Saudi Arabian company run by Osama bin Laden's family, three Saudi Arabian princes, and the government of Sudan, charging that they provided the terrorists with funds. |
| 2002 | (Sept. 19) U.S. president George W. Bush addresses the United Nations, urging the organization to intervene to force Iraq to comply with U.N. directives on weapons of mass destruction.                                                                                                                       |
| 2003 | (Jan. 27) U.N. inspectors reach their first deadline for beginning inspections in Iraq and filing preliminary findings.                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 2003 | (Mar. 20) United States launches invasion of Iraq after Saddam Hussein refuses to step down.                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
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Jewish army officer who was accused and convicted of high treason. The ensuing efforts of Dreyfus's brother to prove his innocence provoked outbursts of anti-Semitism throughout France and split French society down the middle. One person covering the affair for an Austrian newspaper was Theodor Herzl, who despaired of any peaceful resolution to what European newspapers referred to as "The Jewish Question." Consequently Herzl formed the Zionist movement.

Zionists believed that Jews would never be treated fairly by non-Jewish governments or be accepted into gentile society. They therefore formulated a plan to create a Jewish state in Palestine as a homeland for all Jews everywhere and as a voice for Jews living in other parts of the world.

The Zionists managed to interest a few wealthy Jews in their project, who financed a few Jewish settlements in Palestine before World War I, but only a few. Palestine was still part of the Ottoman Empire, which looked with disfavor on the influx of substantial numbers of Jews into its domains.

During World War I the Ottoman Empire allied with Germany and Austria against Great Britain, France, and Russia. In 1917, in order to secure a substantial loan from a large Jewish banking house with which to continue the war, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration. This declaration guaranteed British help for the Zionists in establishing a homeland for Jews in Palestine once the war ended.

At the same time, a British officer named T. E. Lawrence, known as Lawrence of Arabia, managed to rouse parts of the Arab population of the Ottoman Empire against the Ottomans by promising them independence once the war ended, thus encouraging modern Arab nationalism or pan-Arabism. These two mutually incompatible promises by the British government were the seeds of many of the contemporary problems in the Middle East.

### **Interwar Era**

After the war ended, the League of Nations (an organization founded after World War I to settle international disputes) dissolved the Ottoman Empire and awarded parts of its former territories to the victorious British and French governments as man-

dates. The British received Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine, which they were to administer for ten years while they prepared the people in those regions for self-government. The French received mandates over Lebanon and Syria under the same conditions.

Adhering to the Balfour Declaration, the British High Commissioner of Palestine began allowing large numbers of Jews to emigrate to the region in 1919. Almost immediately outbreaks of violence occurred between the Jewish settlers and the native Palestinians. This violence escalated during the 1920's and 1930's with the formation of paramilitary groups on both sides.

The Jews and the Palestinians directed violence toward the British administration as well as toward each other, with the Jews feeling that the British were moving too slowly in admitting new settlers and the Palestinians protesting the admission of any Jews at all. The Zionists negotiated a deal with Nazi Germany during the 1930's allowing German Jews to emigrate to Palestine, but both the British and Palestinians were reluctant to admit them. Nevertheless, many German Jews came into Palestine illegally with the aid of various Zionist organizations.

In the meantime, other regions of the Middle East gained at least a measure of independence and self-government. Persia, renamed Iran in 1935, had been an independent state since the sixteenth century. Turkey and Egypt both emerged from World War I as sovereign nations.

In 1927 the League of Nations formally recognized the kingdom of Jordan. Ibn Saud became king of an independent Saudi Arabia in 1932. In the same year the Iraqi monarchy became nominally independent. The Syrians and the Lebanese signed a treaty of independence and friendship with the French in 1936 (although it was never ratified by the French). Although the European nations still dominated the Middle East during the interwar era, the region was becoming increasingly independent.

## **World War II and Its Results**

World War II revolutionized political relationships in the Middle East. The Zionists found themselves in the position of being forced to support Britain against the anti-Semitic Nazi Germans during the war, despite their opposition to British emigration pol-

icies. Egypt became a battleground in the war, but Turkey managed to remain neutral.

Most of the Arab governments favored the Germans in the war but were unable to act on their sentiments because of British domination. The war so weakened the French government that it was forever unable to impose its former influence in Syria and Lebanon. The war also weakened the British government to the point that the ten years following the war witnessed the dissolution of most of the former British Empire.

The war also resulted in the Holocaust, the murder of six million Jews at the hands of the Nazis. After the war, millions of European Jewish refugees longed to go somewhere else. Many of them opted for the Americas, but the Zionists encouraged many to go to Israel. The treatment of the Jews by the Nazis aroused much sympathy for them in the international community. Many Jews entered Palestine illegally, despite the British restrictions on emigration, provoking the native Palestinians to new rounds of violence against the Jews. The Jews retaliated.

The British finally declared the situation in Palestine to be insoluble, and on May 14, 1948, the British high commissioner left the region. On the same day, the Zionists proclaimed the formation of a Jewish state they called Israel, citing biblical justification in that God gave the Israelites the land in covenant.

### **Middle East and the Cold War**

The governments of the United States and the Soviet Union immediately recognized the new nation, but the neighboring Arab states of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt sent their armed forces into Palestine to “restore order.” War ensued, which lasted on and off until July, 1949, when a United Nations (U.N.) mediator arranged an armistice. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled their homeland and became refugees in neighboring Arab states, particularly Lebanon and Jordan.

The refugees lived for many years thereafter in poverty-stricken camps. A fragile peace marred by frequent outbreaks of violence on both sides endured until 1956. During the intervening years a special relationship began to develop between the United States and Israel, while the Soviet Union increasingly sup-

ported the Arab states in their disputes with Israel. This dichotomy was part of the widening Cold War developing between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The special relationship between the United States and Israel derived in large part from the wealth and political influence of the American Jewish community. American Jews, anxious that the Jewish state in Israel should survive and prosper, made large donations to the political campaigns of candidates for the U.S. Congress. These candidates, once elected to the House of Representatives or the Senate, voted for billions of dollars in U.S. aid to Israel and brought heavy pressure on the U.S. State Department to support Israel diplomatically.

The State Department consequently adopted a very pro-Israel stance in its foreign policy, which angered the governments and peoples of the other Middle Eastern states and led to American support for the policies of Israel even in the face of world condemnation of Israeli actions. Another cause of unqualified U.S. support for Israel was the ever-widening Cold War with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union gave massive financial and military support to the Arab states of the Middle East, especially to Syria and Egypt. In 1956 the British, French, and Israelis attacked Egypt and took the vital Suez Canal, which links the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, and thus the Indian Ocean.

The Soviets secretly informed the U.S. government that continued occupation of the area by the allies would result in war. President Dwight D. Eisenhower clandestinely forced the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula and the Suez district.

Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser then set out to forge Arab unity. For a time in the late 1950's and early 1960's he managed to forge a union between Egypt and Syria, but the union eventually collapsed due to regional rivalries. Nasser tried to pursue "Arab Socialism" in his domestic policies but ultimately failed. In the meantime, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) secretly aided a repressive and staunchly anticommunist regime in Iran to suppress its opponents. This aid caused severe repercussions for the United States during the 1970's.

### **Formation of the PLO and the Six-Day War**

During the 1960's terrorism escalated in the Middle East with Arab attacks inside Israel and Israeli retaliatory bombing raids on the Arab states. In 1964 all the Palestinian groups inside and outside Israel who were determined to create an independent Arab state in Palestine and destroy what they called the "Zionist Political Entity" (the state of Israel) came together in an umbrella organization called the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) under the leadership of Yasir Arafat. The PLO began to coordinate guerrilla attacks against Israel.

In an effort to gain a strategic advantage in this undeclared war and to deny the Arab states bases from which to launch attacks, the Israelis launched a surprise attack against their Arab neighbors in 1967. In what became known as the Six-Day War, the Israelis seized the Golan Heights on its border with Syria, the Sinai Peninsula on its border with Egypt, and other territories. They also virtually destroyed the armed forces of Syria and Egypt.

During the war the Israelis deliberately attacked the American communications ship *Liberty* in international waters in the eastern Mediterranean and killed thirty-four U.S. sailors in order to prevent the United States government from learning exactly what was occurring in the war. Despite this unprovoked attack, the U.S. delegation to the United Nations used its veto powers in the Security Council to prevent U.N. sanctions or military action against Israel. The General Assembly of the United Nations overwhelmingly voted condemnation of Israeli actions in the Six-Day War.

### **From the Yom Kippur War to Camp David**

For the next seven years the PLO and other Arab organizations continued their guerrilla warfare against Israel, resulting in increasingly violent retaliation by the Israelis. Both sides committed many atrocities against the civilian populations of the other side. Finally, in 1973 the war (which had never really ended) broke out anew. On Yom Kippur, the Jewish day of atonement, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan attacked the Israeli military and destroyed most of its tanks and aircraft.



*In 1978, U.S. president Jimmy Carter (center) helped Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (left) and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat (right) find a peace agreement in the historic Camp David Accords. (National Archives)*

President Richard Nixon and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, took equipment from the U.S. armed forces around the world and resupplied the Israeli armed forces, which allowed the Israelis to fend off the Arab attacks. Angered by U.S. actions, the Arab states declared an oil embargo against the United States, which had come to be dependent on Arab oil.

The embargo resulted in long lines at filling stations throughout the United States and engendered widespread resentment against Israel. Nevertheless, the seemingly unqualified U.S. support for Israel continued, as did the guerrilla war waged by the Arab states and Israeli retaliation in the form of the bombing of Arab cities and refugee camps.

During the administration of U.S. president Jimmy Carter from 1976 to 1980, U.S. diplomats arranged peace talks between

the Israelis and the Egyptians. The U.S. Department of State hoped these talks would lead to a general peace settlement in the Middle East. The focus of the discussions centered around the concept of "peace for land." The Israelis would return the territory they occupied during the Six-Day War in return for Egyptian recognition of the legitimacy of the Jewish state and a peace treaty between the two nations.

At the presidential retreat of Camp David, the leaders of Egypt and Israel concluded an agreement, with promises of massive U.S. aid for economic development in both countries. The peoples of the world hoped that a lasting peace settlement in the Middle East was at hand.

### **Iranian Revolution and Iran-Iraq War**

The peace accords between Egypt and Israel had barely concluded when the world's attention shifted to another area of the Middle East. In 1978 revolution broke out in Iran, led by the exiled Islamic religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. The revolutionaries overthrew the repressive monarchy of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi in early 1979 and established a republic dominated by Shiite Muslim holy men. The new government identified the United States as the "Great Satan" and adopted a decidedly anti-American foreign policy.

The revolutionaries stormed the U.S. embassy in the capital city of Tehran later in the year in retaliation for the U.S. government's decision to let the exiled monarch of Iran come to the United States for medical treatment. For the better part of two years the revolutionaries held the embassy personnel hostage. The spectacle of an essentially Third World nation successfully defying the world's greatest superpower did much to weaken U.S. prestige around the world and contributed to Jimmy Carter's defeat in the 1980 presidential election.

Relations between the United States and Iran remained tense even at the end of the twentieth century. The Iranian government adopted a staunchly anti-Israeli foreign policy and sponsored several guerrilla organizations that launched attacks inside Israel. During the 1970's and 1980's the guerrilla attacks extended to American targets, because the Arab states perceived the

United States to be unquestioningly on the side of Israel in the conflict.

In 1980 war broke out between the new regime in Iran and the more secular state of Iraq. The Iraqi government feared that the religious fundamentalism inherent in the Iranian revolution might spread to its own country. The war lasted for eight years and was fought with great bitterness and loss of life on both sides.

### **Israeli Invasion of Lebanon**

In 1982 members of the Israeli government decided to at least diminish the guerrilla attacks on Israel by launching an invasion of Lebanon. The PLO had its headquarters in Lebanon, and Palestinian refugee camps in that country were hotbeds of guerrilla activity. The Israelis found willing allies in Lebanon in the form of the country's Christian minority, who rose up against the Muslim majority when the Israeli armed forces invaded.

The Israeli invasion sparked a civil war in Lebanon that left a once-prosperous nation in ruins. The murder of hundreds of Palestinian civilians in refugee camps by a Christian militia under Israeli supervision resulted in world condemnation of Israeli actions, but once again the U.S. delegation to the United Nations vetoed the sanctions and military actions against Israel proposed by the General Assembly in the Security Council.

The Israelis managed to drive the PLO and Yasir Arafat out of Lebanon. The PLO leadership went to Libya in North Africa, another Arab state with strong sympathy for the Palestinians and an antipathy for Israel. Despite American efforts to revive the peace talks and extend the Camp David Accords, progress was discouragingly slow. Guerrilla attacks against U.S. and Israeli targets continued, as did retaliatory attacks by Israel against perceived guerrilla targets.

### **End of the Cold War and the Persian Gulf War**

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in the late 1980's and early 1990's, unequivocal U.S. diplomatic support for Israel came to an end. U.S. diplomats began to bring pressure to bear on the Israelis to make concessions to the Palestinians and other Middle Eastern states to achieve a lasting



peace in the region. In 1991 war again interrupted the peace process. The Persian Gulf War resulted from Iraq's invasion of the tiny oil-rich nation of Kuwait.

Encouraged by mixed signals from U.S. diplomats, Iraqi armed forces under Saddam Hussein occupied Kuwait, a region Hussein considered to be legally part of Iraq. U.S. trading partners in Europe and Asia received much of their oil from Kuwait. Consequently, U.S. president George Bush secured a United Nations condemnation of Iraqi actions and a Security Council resolution calling for the expulsion of Iraqi forces from Kuwait by force of arms. A military force made up overwhelmingly of American troops landed in Kuwait, while American aircraft bombed Iraqi military targets and cities.

During the brief conflict, the Iraqis launched guided missile attacks on Saudi Arabia and Israel. The American-led U.N. forces quickly overwhelmed the Iraqis and drove them out of Kuwait, forcing Hussein to capitulate. U.S. military forces remained stationed in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait at the beginning of the twenty-first century to guard against renewed Iraqi attempts to incorporate Kuwait into Iraq.

After the war, U.S. diplomats renewed their pressure on the government of Israel to reach a general settlement with the Palestinians and the other nations of the Middle East. In 1994 the Israelis agreed in principle to the formation of an independent Palestinian state. Again under U.S. pressure, they agreed to negotiate with the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and allowed Arafat to return to Palestine. Formerly the Israelis had refused to talk to the PLO, dismissing it as a terrorist organization.

The negotiations for full autonomy for the Palestinians dragged on into the late 1990's, frequently interrupted by outbreaks of violence between Palestinians and Israelis. The chief stumbling blocks in the negotiations seemed to be the exact territorial boundaries between Israel and Palestine and the disposition of the city of Jerusalem, holy to both the Jews and the Muslims. Both sides wanted Jerusalem to become their capital city. At the end of the twentieth century no solution to these problems seemed to be in sight.

### **Middle East at the Millennium**

The general situation in the Middle East in the late 1990's showed signs of becoming more peaceful and sources of conflict diminished. The governments continued, to a greater or lesser degree, to pursue a policy of economic development. Modernization in the form of increasing demands by women for equal rights, the secularization of society, industrialization, emphasis on human rights, demands for political democracy, and the breakdown of traditional mores seemed to be moving the region inexorably toward the model of societies in Western Europe and the United States.

Many dangers and sources of potential conflict still beset the region. Religious fanaticism still threatened at any moment to explode, igniting a general war in the Middle East which would almost certainly drag much of the world into the conflagration, possibly over the issue of Jerusalem. The process of modernization itself made possible the acquisition by the nations of this region of weapons of mass destruction. In 1998 the much feared "Islamic Bomb" became a reality when Pakistani scientists successfully tested nuclear devices. The Israelis were known to possess nuclear weapons and delivery systems capable of striking throughout the Middle East.

Racial animosities also continued to plague the region. The almost unnoticed issue of fresh water supplies needed to service a growing population and provide irrigation for agriculture threatened to become a major source of conflict in the twenty-first century. As the twentieth century ended, the Middle East seemed to be the region most likely to become the flashpoint for another large-scale war.

*Paul Madden*

*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

Peter Mansfield provides an excellent overview of the entire Middle East that is suitable for all reading audiences in *A History of the Middle East* (1990). A comprehensive history of the area concentrating on the last two centuries, Mansfield's work manages to make the complex problems of the region understandable.

I. M. Lapidus gives a sophisticated view of the nature and history of the vitally important Islamic religion in *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988). Lapidus explores the origins of Islam and its development and evolution over the past thirteen hundred years. The book is required reading for anyone who wishes to understand the dominant religion of the Middle East.

A. H. Hourai's *Minorities in the Arab World* (1979) remains the only general survey of racial and religious minorities in the Middle East. This complicated subject emerges from Hourai's pages in a form understandable to most readers. R. B. Betts, in *Christians in the Arab East: A Political Study* (1979), explores the origins and development of Christianity in the Middle East and the political status of its adherents in the region.

Some essential books for understanding the Arab-Israeli conflict include Walter Laqueur's *A History of Zionism* (1972), Avi Shlaim's *Collusion Across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (1988), and Andrew Gowers and Tony Walker's *Behind the Myth: Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Revolution* (1990). Laqueur's book traces the history of the Zionist movement from its origins in the aftermath of the Dreyfus affair in France and the pogroms against Jews in Russia during the 1880's through the Six-Day War, exposing the nature of the movement and its objectives along the way. Shlaim's book explores the international machinations that led to the creation of the state of Israel and the present plight of the Palestinians. Gowers and Walker's book traces the origins and development of the PLO and the efforts of Arafat and other Palestinian leaders to reach a settlement with Israel.

For the development of Arab nationalism or Pan-Arabism, the most informative and readable study is still George Antonius's *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (1962). J. Wilson's monumental *The Authorized Biography of T. E. Lawrence* (1987) provides further insights into the subject. On the modernization of the contemporary Middle East see the volume of essays by A. H. Hourani, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (1981).

For the history and modern development of the nations of the Middle East see B. Lewis's *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (1968)

and W. R. Hale's *Political and Economic Development of Turkey* (1981). Angus McDermott's *Egypt from Nasser to Mubarak: A Flawed Revolution* (1988) relates the political history of Egypt from 1953 to the time of the book's publication. Syria's recent history comes to light in Patrick Seale's *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East* (1988).

The complex modern history of Lebanon becomes more comprehensible in Kamal Salibi's *The Modern History of Lebanon* (1977), and the tangled story of the Israeli invasion of that country and the ensuing civil war is related in E. Ya'ari's *Israel's Lebanon War* (1984). P. Gubser relates the modern development of Jordan in *Jordan: Crossroads of Middle Eastern Events* (1979). The best account of Iraq's recent history is H. Batatu's *Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and Its Communists, Ba'athists, and Free Officers* (1978). One account of Saudi Arabia is R. Lacey's *The Kingdom* (1982), which is more than a little critical of the political system of that nation. Finally, for the modern development of Iran see M. Reza Ghods's *Iran in the Twentieth Century: A Political History* (1989).

Israeli-PLO relations are the subject of two works, both of which provide balanced coverage of the subject. David Matasky's *Making Peace with the PLO: The Rabin Government's Road to the Oslo Accords* (1996) and *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1964-1994* (1997), edited by Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz, both offer accounts of the tortured relations between the two entities, including coverage of the attempts to implement the peace accords. Mirain Salzman and Ann O'Reilly edited a book in 1991 directed at younger audiences entitled *War and Peace in the Persian Gulf: What Teenagers Want to Know*, which provides a somewhat simplistic but readable account of the Persian Gulf War.

## AFGHANISTAN

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*A country plagued by foreign occupation, repressive governments, political instability, and warfare, Afghanistan became a center of international attention at the beginning of the twenty-first century. A puppet regime was established by the Soviet Union in the 1970's. In 1989 the Soviets withdrew all military forces. While a communist president stayed in power, tribal guerrillas continued to fight for the freedom of the country.*

*In 1992 an Islamic government replaced Afghanistan's puppet regime, but internal strife continued and intensified. The Muslim Taliban controlled most of the country by the beginning of 2001, but resistance forces survived in some areas, chiefly in the north. During the fight against the Soviets, Muslim fighters from other countries had become heavily involved in Afghanistan, and the Taliban government allied with the international radical Muslim group known as al-Qaeda, which was led by the Saudi Arabian Osama bin Laden. Terrorists, who were apparently members of al-Qaeda, made terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. When the Taliban refused to deliver Osama bin Laden, forces led by the United States invaded Afghanistan and made common cause with the anti-Taliban resistance forces in the country. This resulted in the defeat of the Taliban and the establishment of a new government. However, Taliban fighters continued to be active, while the country suffered from political and economic disorder.*

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**A**fghanistan is strategically situated with Iran on its western border and Pakistan to the east and south. Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan border Afghanistan on the north. The northeastern tip of Afghanistan touches China. A landlocked country covering 250,000 square miles, Afghanistan has been overrun by foreign armies since antiquity. North of Kabul, the Afghan capital, the Hindu Kush Mountains, reaching altitudes of more than 21,000 feet, provide many safe locations for guerrilla forces. Trade with Pakistan flows through the thirty-five-mile-long Khyber Pass. The Pakistani border region has provided a haven for munitions smuggling throughout the years of warfare.

Kabul, which had an estimated population of 1.5 million at the end of 2001, has been the capital of Afghanistan since 1776. When Soviet forces withdrew in 1989, Kabul was still whole and beautiful. As most of the guerrilla fighting was conducted in the countryside until 1992, Kabul remained relatively untouched. After 1992 the fighting became concentrated in and around Kabul, as guerrilla leaders fought for control of the capital. The city started to be ravaged by bombings, gunfire, and constant bombardment. In 1998 Kabul was divided into sections that represented different controlling factions. Virtually no area of Kabul escaped attack. The city suffered further damage in the war between the Taliban and forces allied with the United States.

Half of Afghanistan's people speak Dari (Afghan Persian), 35 percent Pushtu, 11 percent Turkic languages (primarily Uzbek and Turkmen), and 4 percent more than thirty other, minor languages (primarily Baluohi and Pashai). Bilingualism is prevalent throughout the country. With so many different languages and tribal allegiances, it has been difficult for the Afghan people to unite under one government.

Although an accurate census of the Afghan population has not been taken, the estimated population of the country in 2002 was nearly 28 million, including two million refugees believed to be in Pakistan and another two million refugees in Iran. Approximately 38 percent of Afghanistan's population was Pashtun, 25 percent Tajiki, 6 percent Uzbek, and 19 percent Hazara, with

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## Profile of Afghanistan

*Official name:* Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan

*Independent since:* 1919

*Location:* southern Asia, between Iran and Pakistan

*Area:* 250,000 square miles

*Capital:* Kabul

*Population:* 27.76 million (2002 est.)

*Official languages:* Pushtu; Dari (Afghan Persian)

*Major religions:* Sunni and Shia Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$21 billion (2000 est.)

*Major exports:* dried fruits and nuts; carpets and rugs; wool and hides; cotton

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other minor ethnic groups making up the rest. The country's predominant religion is Islam, with 84 percent of the people practicing Sunni Muslims and 15 percent Shiite Muslims.

### **Early History**

Known in ancient times as Ariana or Bactria and in the Middle Ages as Khorasan, Afghanistan was long used as an invasion route by outsiders. Darius I, the Persian emperor, conquered parts of what is now Afghanistan in the sixth century B.C.E. Alexander the Great of Macedonia conquered the country three centuries later on his march to India. Foreign empires, local emirs, and kings ruled until the eighteenth century. The classical Bactria was the home of the prophet Zoroaster.

The seventh century rise of Islam and the subsequent Muslim

conquests changed the ancient world. Several powerful kingdoms disappeared. An Arab army invaded Afghanistan in 652, and many people converted to Islam. In 1219 Genghis Khan invaded Afghanistan. Several other conquerors came to the country over the next few centuries. Afghanistan also saw the rise of some ethnic rulers during these centuries.

Although no boundaries were established for Afghanistan until the nineteenth century, modern united Afghanistan was created in 1747, when the Afghans assembled at Kandahar and chose Ahmad Khan Sadozai as their shah. Ahmad Shah had a vision of uniting the Pushtu speaking tribes, and he changed his tribal name from Abdalie to Durrani. His reign and that of most of his successors was plagued by uprisings by the various chieftains. The Sadozai kingdom came to an end in the nineteenth century.

### **International Domination**

Afghanistan became the focus of international conflict in the nineteenth century. The British sought to protect India from the Russians. In an effort to stop the Russians, Britain brought pressure on Afghanistan, which resulted in two British-Afghan wars, one from 1839 to 1842 and the other from 1878 to 1880.

British forces first pushed into Afghanistan in 1839, taking Kandahar and Kabul. Tribal opposition led to the withdrawal of the troops in 1842. During this withdrawal, almost all the British troops were killed by Afghan tribal warriors. The Second Afghan War erupted in 1878 over British concerns about negotiations between Shir Ali Khan, who ruled Afghanistan from 1863 to 1878, and the Russians.

Once again, Great Britain was afraid of Russian interference with the Indian border. The conflict ended when Abdur Rahman Khan became Afghanistan's ruler in 1880. He ruled until 1901, promoting the idea of national unity and diminishing the power of the warlike tribes. In 1893 he talked with the British and established the Durand Line, the boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan that remained into the late twentieth century.

Habibullah Khan reigned next. He succeeded in keeping Afghanistan neutral during World War I. The British retained control over Afghanistan's foreign relations until 1919.



### Modern Afghanistan

The Third Afghan War with Britain occurred in 1919. At this time Britain gave up any interest in Afghanistan's external or internal relations. Amanullah Khan, who reigned from 1919 to 1929, promoted many reforms in Afghanistan. He wanted a more efficient administration, a constitution, and a modern social structure. His plans outraged many of the traditional religious and tribal leaders. Kabul was seized by Afghan rebels in 1929, and Amanullah abdicated and left the country.

Nadir Shah Ghazi became the new ruler, but internal strife resulted in his assassination in 1933. Mohammed Zahir Shah, Nadir Shah Ghazi's oldest son, was declared king upon Nadir's death. Mohammed's uncles and cousins were influential throughout the country during this time. The traditional policy of isolation was abandoned, and the first factories, roads, and irrigation projects were begun. Afghanistan remained neutral in World War II, but the resulting lack of trade in the country strained the economy.

### Afghanistan Time Line

- |           |                                                                                       |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1747      | Afghan tribes unite under leadership of Ahmad Shah Durrani.                           |
| 1776      | Kabul becomes capital of Afghanistan.                                                 |
| 1819      | Civil war breaks out among rival ethnic groups.                                       |
| 1835      | Dost Muhammad Khan takes control.                                                     |
| 1839-1842 | First British-Afghan War is fought.                                                   |
| 1878-1880 | Second British-Afghan War is fought.                                                  |
| 1893      | Boundary with British India is set at Durand Line.                                    |
| 1919      | Third British-Afghan War is fought; Afghanistan regains its independence.             |
| 1923      | First constitution is adopted.                                                        |
| 1953      | Mohammed Daud Khan takes control of government.                                       |
| 1963      | Daud resigns.                                                                         |
| 1973      | Mohammed Daud takes power in military coup.                                           |
| 1978      | (Apr. 27) Daud is killed in left-wing military revolt known as Great Saur Revolution. |
| 1978      | (Dec.) Afghanistan signs treaty of friendship with Soviet Union.                      |
| 1979      | (Sept.) Soviet Union invades Afghanistan.                                             |
| 1986      | Major General Mohammad Najibullah becomes president.                                  |

Mohammed Daud became premier in 1953. During the next decade, the government was run by Mohammed Zahir Shah, Mohammed Daud, and Mohammed Naim. By the late 1950's, new social and political reforms had been instituted. In 1963 Mohammed Daud resigned and was replaced by Mohammed Yusuf, the first nonroyal premier in office. A new constitution was adopted in 1964. This constitution provided for parliamentary government and the basic rights of the people. The government functioned inefficiently during this democratic period, because no political parties were established.

### **Soviet Occupation**

A military coup led by Mohammed Daud ushered in a republic in 1973. Daud was named president and premier of the new republic. He declared the 1964 constitution invalid and replaced it with a new constitution in 1977 that supported the presidential form of government in a one-party state. Daud's control over the

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|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1986 | (Oct. 15) Soviets begin withdrawal from Afghanistan.                                                                                                                                                                |
| 1987 | (Nov.) Afghanistan adopts new constitution that increases presidential power.                                                                                                                                       |
| 1989 | (Feb. 15) Soviet Union completes its troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.                                                                                                                                             |
| 1992 | (Apr.) Guerrilla forces capture Kabul; (June) Burhanuddin Rabbani assumes presidency.                                                                                                                               |
| 1996 | Taliban captures Kabul; strict Islamic rule is enforced; former president Najibullah is executed.                                                                                                                   |
| 1997 | United Nations asks other nations to stop interfering with Afghan civil war.                                                                                                                                        |
| 1998 | General Abdul Rashid Dostam returns and forms power base in north; Burhanuddin Rabbani retains presidency.                                                                                                          |
| 1998 | (Jan. 30) U.S. State Department issues annual human rights report that condemns repressive laws of Taliban government.                                                                                              |
| 1998 | (May 3) U.N.-sponsored peace talks between Taliban militia and Northern Alliance break down in Islamabad, Pakistan, after only one week.                                                                            |
| 1998 | (Aug. 7) Terrorists bomb U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. U.S. government claims that these bombings were planned by Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan, where bin Laden had established terrorist training camps. |
| 1998 | (Aug. 12) Taliban forces drive Northern Alliance forces from several important towns on Uzbekistan border.                                                                                                          |

*(continued)*

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army weakened, and in April, 1978, another military revolt overthrew his government. Daud was killed.

The days of April 27-28, 1978, known as the Great Saur Revolution, established the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and nullified the 1977 constitution. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) became the only legal party. Nur Mohammed Taraki became president of the council and premier. The Soviet Union extended its support, and a treaty of friendship was signed in December, 1978.

The Muslim tribal communities were not happy with the new government, and they soon revolted. The Soviet Union airlifted guns and military equipment into the capital. Infighting also occurred in the PDPA. In September, 1979, Taraki was ousted from power and replaced by Hafizullah Amin.

At that time the Soviet Union intervened when it became obvious that the new ruler was no more effective than the last. Thirty thousand Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan in December, 1979.

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### **Afghanistan Time Line** (*continued*)

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|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1998 | (Aug. 20) U.S. ships in the Arabian Sea fire missiles at suspected al-Qaeda training camps south of Kabul.                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1998 | (Sept. 22) Iran places more than 200,000 troops along border with Afghanistan in move seen as retaliation against Taliban massacre of nine Iranians in Afghan city in August.                                                                               |
| 1999 | (Mar. 14) Leaders of Afghan factions agree in principle to plan for coalition government that will end civil war.                                                                                                                                           |
| 1999 | (June) Taliban government closes all private schools for women.                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 2001 | (Mar.) Taliban leader Mullah Mohammad Omar announces that the ancient Buddha statues cut in rock in Bamiyan will be destroyed.                                                                                                                              |
| 2001 | (Sept. 9) Ahmad Shah Masoud, leader of the opposition Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, is killed by suicide bombers.                                                                                                                                       |
| 2001 | (Sept. 11) Terrorists hijack planes in the United States and fly them into the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The U.S. government maintains that the terrorists are agents of the al-Qaeda group based in Afghanistan. |
| 2001 | (Oct. 7) American and British forces begin air strikes on Taliban positions in Afghanistan.                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 2001 | (Nov. 12) Northern Alliance takes Kabul.                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
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Amin was executed, and the Soviet Union gained control of the government.

Babrak Karmal was installed as president on December 27, 1979. Afghan resistance to Soviet domination was widespread. Eventually the Soviet troops numbered 115,000. Over five million Afghans left the country; three million sought refuge in Pakistan and two million fled to Iran.

The rebel guerrillas, known as mujaheddin, or “holy warriors,” represented independent tribes with centuries of antagonism toward one another. The main strength of the guerrilla fighters was their knowledge of the countryside. The United States and China provided arms to the Afghan guerrilla forces through Pakistan to assist with their fight against the Soviet Union. However, guerrilla leadership and the power of the field commanders grew more quickly than the power of the political leaders.

By 1986 the Soviets desired to withdraw from the country. At

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|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2001 | (Nov. 27) Representatives from Afghanistan meet in Bonn, Germany, under the direction of the United Nations to establish the framework for a new government.                                                                              |
| 2002 | (Mar. 31) Special independent commission of the United Nations announces that 1,501 delegates from tribal and regional groups have been elected to the coming Loya Jirga—the traditional grand council to select new national leadership. |
| 2002 | (June 10) Former Afghan king Zaher Shah announces that he will not be a candidate for president.                                                                                                                                          |
| 2002 | (June 13) Loya Jirga announces that Hamid Karzai has been elected president.                                                                                                                                                              |
| 2002 | (July 6) Afghan vice president Abdul Qadir is assassinated.                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 2002 | (Sept. 5) Two assassins attempt to kill President Hamid Karzai.                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 2002 | (Sept. 20) Taliban and al-Qaeda forces launch an attack on a U.S. Special Operations base in eastern Afghanistan with rockets and small arms.                                                                                             |
| 2002 | (Oct.) Up to 2,000 U.S. troops from the 82d Army Airborne begin a large-scale operation searching for Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters in Paktia province in southeastern Afghanistan.                                                       |
| 2002 | (Dec.) Turkey turns command of the peace-keeping International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan over to Germany and the Netherlands.                                                                                              |
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this time the question of leadership within the country was unanswered. Karmal's faction of the PDPA, Parcham (flag), struggled for control of the party against the Khalq (masses). The Khalq had been the dominant force before the Great Saur Revolution. A new constitution was introduced in 1985 to ensure Parcham's grip on the party.

### **Political Shifts**

In May, 1986, another Parcham supporter, Major General Mohammad Najibullah, became general secretary of the PDPA and later Afghanistan's president. Karmal was relieved of his position. Najibullah, the former head of the Afghan secret police, attempted to bring about national reconciliation but failed.

The mujaheddin continued their attacks against the Soviet-backed regime in the Afghan countryside, where the guerrillas still had the advantage. In November, 1987, another constitution was adopted that greatly increased Najibullah's power. He was granted the command of the armed forces, the right of approval or veto over all laws, the ability to appoint all high-ranking officials, and the power to convene or dissolve the national assembly. The country was also renamed the Republic of Afghanistan.

In April, 1988, the United Nations (U.N.) mediated an agreement, providing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, an end to Pakistan's rebel support, and the repatriation of refugees. Although the Soviets completed their troop withdrawal in February, 1989, the divisions between the rebels continued to cause fighting against the government of Najibullah.

Assisted by weapons left by the departing Soviet troops, the Najibullah government managed to stay in power for three more years. In response to an attempted coup and declining Soviet support, Najibullah and his government proposed a series of constitutional amendments. These amendments were adopted in May, 1990. The power of the PDPA was reduced, and the socialist orientation of the country was lessened.

### **Post-Soviet Conflict**

Communist president Najibullah resigned on April 16, 1992. The guerrilla forces, headed by the Tajik war hero Ahmad Shah

Masoud, were advancing on Kabul. On April 28, the rebels gained control, ending fourteen years of Soviet-backed regimes. Since 1979, more than two million Afghans had been killed while six million had left the country.

Clashes between moderates and Islamic fundamentalist forces began to occur soon after the takeover. Each mujaheddin guerilla leader wanted to succeed Najibullah. The mujaheddin leaders established a fifty-one member ruling council. The ruling council chose the interim president Sibghatullah Mujaddidi to run the government from April to June.

One of the Islamic factions, Hizbi Islamic Gulbuddin, led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar would not participate in the new Islamic government. Hikmatyar maintained that too many of Najibullah's officers had been pardoned. Hikmatyar took his troops to the south and proceeded to attack Kabul. General Abdul Rashid Dostam, a defector from Najibullah's army and leader of the Hizbi Wahdat Islami, withdrew from the ruling council and also began to attack Kabul.

On June 28, 1992, Burhanuddin Rabbani, one of the guerrilla leaders and founder of the Jamiat-I Islami political party, became president. The mujaheddin had retaken Afghanistan from the political leaders who were backed by the Soviet Union. Although the Muslim fighters had conquered the capital, fierce fighting continued around Kabul and other places in the country. At least nine different rebel groups began fighting one another. An attempt at peace was made on March 7, 1993, when President Rabbani and Gulbuddin Hikmatyar signed an agreement. Hikmatyar was made prime minister designate.

### **The Taliban**

In 1994 the Muslim student group Taliban became the most powerful group in the war-torn country. The Taliban, consisting of Muslim fundamentalist students and clerics, believed that the ruling Rabbani government was too lenient toward the dissident guerrilla organizations and thought that the continued fighting by these guerrilla organizations stalled any peacekeeping efforts. The Taliban also believed that the government and the people of Afghanistan strayed too far from classic Islamic teachings. Thus,

Taliban members believed that they were rescuing their country from both a corrupt government and a false religious orientation.

In 1994 the Taliban began a military campaign that resulted in their occupation of half the country by February, 1995. They insisted that Afghanistan become an Islamic fundamentalist state and gained increasing control. On September 6, 1995, the city of Herat fell to Taliban forces. The same day that Herat fell, the state controlled Radio Afghanistan announced that Pakistan had financed, directed, and led the Taliban forces into the city. Pakistan had never hidden its involvement in the Afghan civil war.

During President Najibullah's term, the United States sent money and arms to the mujaheddin through Pakistan. When the Cold War ended in the early 1990's, Western policy changed. The United States began to seek a peaceful solution to the Afghan unrest. Pakistan continued to support the mujaheddin.

By 1996 the Taliban had established a government in Kabul. The Taliban executed former president Najibullah. Strict Islamic rule was imposed and the laws were strictly enforced by armed police. Local Islamic judges handled judicial matters. Punishments were given according to traditional practices, including public executions and amputations of hands and feet. Burhanuddin Rabbani fled to northern Afghanistan, where anti-Taliban forces known as the Northern Alliance launched a rebellion.

The Taliban continued to receive aid, monetary backing, and moral support from Pakistan. Much of the Taliban philosophy had been developed by Afghan refugees in Pakistan during the years 1979 to 1989. Saudi Arabia and some of the Arab Gulf states had also backed the Taliban forces.

In the southern Pashtun areas of Afghanistan, the Taliban regime was welcomed because it brought some prospect of peace. The Pashtun people also supported the Taliban as a way to stop the increasing political power of the Tajiks, the Uzbeks, and other non-Pashtun controlled parties. The strict Islamic policies enforced by the Taliban in Kabul and Herat outraged the urban population but did not particularly affect the conservative southern Pashtun villages.

Iran backed the political leaders of the Northern Alliance who were fighting the Taliban. Other countries that supported the

Northern Alliance included Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Russia, and India. The United States continued to distance itself from the Taliban. Western interests and involvement in Afghan affairs had flagged when the Soviet threat was removed. The high cost of maintaining its military forces in Afghanistan played a significant role in the downfall of the Soviet Union.

Another problem that Afghans had to overcome was the loss of some foreign aid because of the planting and cultivation of opium poppies. Jalalabad, located east of Kabul near the Pakistani border, was well known for its poppy orchards and misuse of foreign funds throughout the 1990's. In 1993 more than 58,000 acres of poppies were sighted by satellite. Afghanistan became established as a major supplier of heroin. Many countries wanted to see a government emerge that would attempt to control the drug problem.

In 1997 the United Nations made a plea to all nations to stop interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Reference was made to the fact that the continuing internal conflict provided a safe haven for international terrorists and criminals. As long as the war continued, the promotion, production, and distribution of heroin would continue unchecked. Afghan violations of human rights were also addressed by the United Nations. A special envoy was sent to Afghanistan to assess peacemaking efforts and activities.

The strict Taliban regime continued. As an example of the control of the organization, on May 7, 1997, the Taliban announced the criminalization of the use of paper bags, claiming that the bags could contain recycled Korans. The Islamic *Sharia* law imposed by the Taliban prohibited alcohol, videotapes, music, television, and social activities between the sexes.

Women in Afghanistan were not allowed many basic civil liberties and rights. By October, 1997, they had practically been removed from public life. No woman could take a job outside the home or leave the home without a male relative as an escort. Afghan women did not receive adequate medical attention, because they were barred from the main hospitals in Kabul. The despair felt by most Afghan women could not adequately be assessed or expressed as the Taliban's strict rule continued.



By January, 1998, the Taliban had lost much of its power in the north of the country. The bitter military struggle continued with the return from exile of General Abdul Rashid Dostam from Turkey, who established his former power base. Because of the strict Taliban blockade, many people north of Kabul faced famine conditions in 1998. The northern resistance to Taliban control remained intense. The Shiite elements of the Northern Alliance continued to be the most committed to destroying the regime of the Taliban. Burhanuddin Rabbani remained as president.

Visitors were discouraged from visiting Afghanistan in 1998. Intense military activity was prevalent north of Kabul. Close to ten million land mines posed a danger to residents and visitors. Before her death in 1997, Lady Diana, Princess of Wales, focused international attention on the horrors of land mines in Afghanistan and the dangers faced by the local population.

An earthquake in February, 1998, increased the misery of the Afghan people. Rustaq in the Takhar Province of northern Afghanistan suffered a devastating earthquake that killed four to five thousand people. Almost fifteen thousand people were left homeless. This earthquake, coupled with the famine conditions experienced by the Hazara population in Bamiyan and central Afghanistan, contributed to the political instability of the country.

### **Replacement of the Taliban Regime**

Many Western nations were highly critical of the Taliban's disdain for human rights. After the Taliban closed all private schools for women in June, 1999, the European commission suspended financial aid to the country. In the eyes of most of the world, moreover, Burhanuddin Rabbani continued to be the nation's legitimate leader. The Taliban government, under the leadership of Supreme Leader Mullah Mohammad Omar and a council of ministers led by Mullah Mohammad Rabbani, was recognized only by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.

The Taliban government also began to receive criticism for its close ties to the al-Qaeda organization, a network of Islamic radicals devoted to pushing the United States and other non-Muslim powers out of the Middle East, especially out of the Muslim holy land of Saudi Arabia. Al-Qaeda leader, Osama bin Laden, had

been living in Afghanistan since 1996 and the politically isolated Taliban were dependent on the financial support provided by bin Laden. On August 7, 1998, terrorists bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The American government believed that Osama bin Laden had planned and financed these bombings and the United States maintained that bin Laden had organized terrorist training camps in Afghanistan. On August 20, 1998, U.S. ships in the Arabian sea fired missiles at suspected al-Qaeda training camps south of Kabul.

Taliban leader Mullah Mohammad Omar appalled many people around the world in March, 2001, when he announced that immense statues of the Buddha cut in rock in Bamiyan and dating from the fourth and fifth centuries of the common era would be destroyed. Despite international outcry, explosives were used to obliterate the historical treasures.

Within Afghanistan, the Taliban appeared to be on the verge of complete victory. Ahmad Shah Masoud, leader of the opposition Northern Alliance, was killed by suicide bombers on September 9, 2001, leaving the anti-Taliban forces in an even weaker position. Two days later, on September 11, terrorists hijacked passenger planes in the United States and flew the planes into the World Trade Center in New York and into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The U.S. government maintained that the al-Qaeda group was responsible.

After the Taliban once again refused to hand over Osama bin Laden, on October 7, American and British forces began air strikes on Taliban positions, and the Americans and British assisted a Northern Alliance offensive. By November 12, the Northern Alliance had retaken Kabul and ground forces of the Americans and the British were in the country. The al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders and fighters were believed to have fled into the mountainous region of Tora Bora on the Pakistani border. Although American aerial bombing and a coordinated ground attack by American and Northern Alliance ground forces took control of this region, Osama bin Laden and Mullah Mohammad Omar were not captured and they were believed to be still living.

With the ouster of the Taliban, the people of Afghanistan and international organizations faced the problem of establishing a

*Image Not Available*

new, stable government. On November 27, 2001, representatives from Afghanistan met in Bonn, Germany, under the direction of the United Nations to establish the framework for a new government. The Bonn Agreement, reached in December, concluded that Pashtun leader Hamid Karzai would head a six-month interim government. The agreement further established that a Loya Jirga, or traditional grand council, would be called together to elect a head of state for a transitional government in Afghanistan.

A special independent commission was established by the Bonn Agreement to oversee the election of delegates to the Loya Jirga. On March 31, 2002, the commission announced that 1,501 delegates from tribal and regional groups had been elected. The Loya Jirga was scheduled to take place from June 11 to June 16.

Among the nation's pashtuns there was some support for the election of Afghanistan's elderly ex-monarch, Zahir Shah, but ethnic Tajiks opposed the former king and on June 10, Zahir Shah announced that he would not be a candidate. The next day, Burnahuddin Rabbani, former head of government and leader of the National Alliance, announced that he would also not participate in the election. On June 13, 2002, the head of the Loya Jirga announced that Hamid Karzai, already in charge of the nation's administration, had been elected president with 1,295 votes.

Although many had high hopes for the future under Karzai, the nation continued to be unstable and deeply troubled. Some Afghans believed that Karzai owed his election to American influence. Internal conflict continued to result in repeated acts of violence, such as the July 6, 2002, assassination of Afghan vice president Abdul Qadir. On September 5, 2002, two assassins attempted to kill Hamid Karzai, who was saved by the U.S. special forces troops guarding him.

Although the Taliban had been defeated, many of its leaders and fighters were still operating across the border in Pakistan or in remote parts of the country. Warlords were in effective control of many regions and distrust among different ethnic groups posed serious problems for the nation. Afghanistan's war-torn, primarily agricultural economy was weak and the country was heavily dependent on foreign aid.

Karan A. Berryman  
Updated by the Editors

### **For Further Study**

An account of the ten-year war in Afghanistan, covering its political origins to the Soviet withdrawal in 1989 and written for a junior high to high-school audience can be found in D. J. Herda's *The Afghan Rebels: The War in Afghanistan* (1990). A general look at the politics, culture, geography, and history of Afghanistan is found in Mir Tamim Ansary's *Afghanistan: Fighting for Freedom* (1991). For readers interested in personal narratives, Mohammad Yousaf's *The Bear Trap: Afghanistan's Untold Story* (1992) documents the period of the Soviet occupation. *My Hidden Face: Growing Up Under the Taliban, A Young Woman's Story* (2001), by

Latifa with the collaboration of Sheékéba Hachemi, offers a personal account of the situation of women under the Taliban. Useful general histories of Afghanistan may be found in Martin Ewan's *Afghanistan: A New History* (2001) and Willem Vogelsang's *The Afghans* (2002).

For a detailed explanation of the circumstances that led to the Great Saur Revolution and the subsequent guerrilla fighting, Rasul Bux Rais's *War Without Winners: Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition After the Cold War* (1994) provides a fresh outlook on the happenings of the period. For students interested in the geography, history, economy, and culture of Afghanistan, with a special emphasis on how the country sits at the crossroads of Europe and the Far East, Sharifah Enayat Ali's *Afghanistan* (1995) is an excellent source.

By far the best treatment and overview of the wars in Afghanistan can be found in Ludwig W. Adamec's *Dictionary of Afghan Wars, Revolutions, and Insurgencies* (1996). Adamec is also the author of the very useful *Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan* (1997). Another treatment of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is found in M. Hasan Kakar's *Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982* (1997). For students who are interested in a more scholarly treatment of the troubles in Afghanistan, Ralph H. Magnus's *Afghanistan: Mullah, Marx, and Mujahid* (1998) provides an excellent in-depth analysis.

Much information on Afghanistan is available on the Internet. A basic search for the word "Afghanistan" will yield many useful sites, although some of these Web sites must be used with discretion. As many of them promote a particular political philosophy, students must look at several different sites to receive an adequate explanation of politics in Afghanistan. For current information on events in Afghanistan the site <http://www.afghannews.com> should be consulted. For an overview of Afghanistan and its politics, <http://www.afghan.gov.af> will prove useful. Several Internet sites list Afghan refugees and provide chat rooms for people who wish to reunite with their friends and families.

# ALGERIA

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*Nationalism and religion have been the two great sources of conflict in Algeria. Before the country was conquered by France in 1830, most of the people living in this area did not have a strong sense of common national identity. Under the French, most local governmental traditions and institutions were destroyed. Therefore, since Algeria's independence in 1962, its people have had to struggle to create both a national identity and a commonly accepted way of governing themselves. Islam, the Muslim religion, is the official state religion of Algeria. Most Algerians, except for small Roman Catholic and Jewish minorities, are Muslims. There has been conflict, however, over the role that religion should play in Algeria's public life. After independence, the government and army tried to build a nonreligious, socialist state. During the 1980's and after, Algeria, like many other parts of the Muslim world, saw the rise of a radical Islamic movement that led to extreme violence in the country.*

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Algeria lies in the northwest section of the African continent, across the Mediterranean Sea from the southern coasts of Spain and France. Morocco is Algeria's neighbor to the west. In the northeast it shares a border with Tunisia, and in the southeast it shares a border with Libya. Mauritania, Mali, and Niger lie along Algeria's southern border.

One of the largest African countries in total area, Algeria had a population of about 32 million people in the early years of the twenty-first century. About one-half of Algerians lived in cities or towns and the rest in the countryside. The late twentieth century saw a great deal of movement from the countryside to cities, as rural people searched for urban jobs. Roughly 80 percent of Algeria's people are culturally considered to be Arabs. Most of the rest are Berbers, descendants of the ancient inhabitants of northwestern Africa.

## Early History

People known as Berbers have lived in North Africa since the beginning of recorded history. Merchants from Phoenicia estab-

## Profile of Algeria

*Official name:* Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

*Independent since:* 1962

*Former colonial ruler:* France

*Location:* northwestern Africa

*Area:* 919,590 square miles

*Capital:* Algiers

*Population:* 32.3 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religion:* Sunni Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$177 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* petroleum; natural gas

*Military expenditures:* US\$1.87 billion (1999)

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lished trading posts that grew into cities in many parts of North Africa. One of these was the famous city of Carthage, which often hired Berber mercenaries for its army. Although Berber social organization was primarily based on fiercely independent family groups, the Berbers recognized the limited authority of some kings.

One of these Berber kings, Masinissa, was an ally of Carthage. During the long war between Carthage and Rome, however, Masinissa went over to the Roman side. Thus, after Carthage surrendered to Rome in 202 B.C.E., North Africa became a Roman protectorate under the rule of Masinissa. After the Romans destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C.E., the Romans established direct rule over part of North Africa and finally took all of it in 24 C.E. The Berbers continued to inhabit the area's countryside.

Before his death in 632 C.E., the Prophet Muhammad united the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula under Islam. The Muslim religion taught that believers should submit to the will of God (Allah), and that governments and societies should also submit to the will of God. Arab armies invaded and spread the Muslim faith throughout the Middle East and North Africa during the following century.

The Arabs tended to settle in the towns of the Maghrib, or west, as the areas now known as Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco were called. The Berber tribes gradually converted to Islam. In the tenth century, the dynasty known as the Fatimids, who claimed to be descendants of Muhammad's daughter Fatima, rose to power in the Muslim world. The Islamic faith split into two sects, known as Shia Islam and Sunni Islam. The Fatimids followed the Shia sect. In the Maghrib, a dynasty known as the Zirids ruled and the Zirids at first owed allegiance to the Fatimids. However, the Zirids rebelled, turned against the Shia branch of the religion, and began to lead their Berber subjects back to Sunni Islam.

To punish the Zirids in the middle of the eleventh century, the Fatimids urged warlike Arab Bedouin tribes, known as Hilalians, to move into northwest Africa. The Hilalians took over many Berber lands and spread the Arabic language throughout the countryside. The large Arab population of present-day Algeria and its





neighboring countries is largely a product of that eleventh century Hilalian invasion.

Religion gave rise to Berber dynasties in the Maghrib in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Almoravid Dynasty of the eleventh century and the Almohad Dynasty, which lasted through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were founded by leaders who promised to strengthen and purify the Sunni Muslim faith. After the fall of the Almohads, three new dynasties took power in three areas of northwestern Africa. These three areas—Morocco, Tlemcen, and Tunis—corresponded, more or less, to the three modern nations of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.

A state of war raged between northwestern Africa's Muslims and the Christians of Europe through much of the Middle Ages. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, piracy was a major occupation of the coastal cities of northwestern Africa, including Algiers (the future capital of Algeria). The Middle Ages ended with the Spanish Christians driving out the Muslims who had long lived in Spain and ruled that country. Afterward, Muslims saw piracy as a form of holy war (jihad) against Christians, as well as a profitable business.

### **Algeria Under the Ottoman Turks**

By the end of the Middle Ages, Turkey—which was under the Ottoman Dynasty—had become the greatest power in the Muslim world. As the fifteenth century came to a close, the Turks conquered Constantinople (now Istanbul), capital of what was left of the eastern Roman Empire. Turkish power stretched around the Mediterranean world, from Greece and southeastern Europe to the northwestern coast of Africa.

The city of Algiers became part of the Ottoman Empire, in name, in 1518, when Khair al Din, a Muslim from the Greek islands, seized the city. To deal with challenges from the Spanish and to consolidate his power, he gave his allegiance to the Turkish sultan. The sultan, in turn, appointed Khair al Din commander and regent, or ruler in his name, of Algiers and gave him Turkish troops to help sustain his power. Similar military leaders took power with Turkish support in other coastal cities.

For three hundred years, the cities in the region known as the Barbary Coast (from “Berber”) by Europeans were ruled by military leaders who acknowledged the sultan. In reality, however, these leaders became largely independent of the Turks. Their coastal cities devoted themselves to piracy, seizing goods and taking travelers as slaves. Many European countries paid the Barbary States of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco to allow their ships to pass through the Mediterranean. After the United States became independent from Great Britain at the end of the eighteenth century, the Americans also found it necessary to pay the North African pirate cities.

In 1815, after the end of Europe’s Napoleonic Wars, several European countries declared war on Algiers, one of the most aggressive of the Barbary States. The United States sent a naval force that year and had the rulers of Algiers and Tunis sign treaties agreeing to stop interfering with American trade and to pay damages to the Americans. The following year the British and Dutch sent a fleet to Algiers and forced the ruler, known as the dey, to honor his treaty with the Americans and to sign a new treaty with them. From that time until the late twentieth century, northwestern Africa was dominated by Europeans.

### **French Colonization**

The early Muslim and Ottoman periods of Algerian history saw the development of two regional characteristics that are critical for understanding modern conflicts in Algeria. First, the Muslim religion became a source of political power. In particular, calls to purify the faith, or to return to its true principles, became reasons to overthrow established regimes and to create new regimes. Second, there was little sense of common identity among the rulers and the people whom they ruled.

The French contributed to both of these characteristics by creating a secular, or nonreligious, government in Algeria controlled entirely by Europeans. France began its occupation of Algeria in 1830. During France’s wars in Europe during the 1790’s, the French government had purchased large quantities of wheat on credit from Algerian merchants. The debt remained unpaid, leaving the merchants unable to pay taxes to the dey in Algiers. In a

confrontation over this issue, the dey hit the French consul in Algiers in the face with a fly whisk. When the dey refused to offer an official apology, French troops invaded and captured Algiers and much of the countryside.

Although there was opposition to colonialism in the French government, some government officials began to encourage European settlement almost immediately. Settlers from Italy, Spain, and France, enticed by offers of farmland, began moving into occupied territory. Known officially as *colons* (colonists) and popularly called *pieds noirs* (black feet), these settlers increasingly turned Algeria into a major European outpost in North Africa.

European occupation provoked resistance. Muhyi al Din, an Algerian marabout—a leader of a religious brotherhood—proclaimed holy war (jihad) against the invaders in 1832. His son, Abdel Kadir, became leader of the Muslim tribes throughout Al-

## Algeria Time Line

- 1146 Almohad Dynasty replaces Almoravids as rulers of North Africa.
- 1200-1500 Zayanid Dynasty rules Algeria; piracy becomes major occupation of coastal North African cities.
- 1518 Algeria becomes part of Turkish Ottoman Empire.
- 1815 To combat North African pirates, European countries and United States declare war on Algiers.
- 1816 Combined British and Dutch fleet bombards Algiers, forcing its ruler to sign second treaty.
- 1830 France invades Algeria.
- 1832 Muhyi al Din proclaims holy war against the French; his son, Abdel Kadir, continues war until 1847.
- 1871 Kabylie revolt against French rule erupts.
- 1945 (May 8) After French police fire on demonstrators, Algerians kill French settlers.
- 1954 (Nov. 1) Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) guerrillas launch war for independence with coordinated attacks against military and civil institutions.
- 1958 French president Charles de Gaulle opens negotiations with FLN.
- 1958 (May 13) French army insurrection breaks out in Algiers, and military seizes power from Algerian civilian government; crisis leads to appointment of de Gaulle as premier of France.
- 1962 (July 1) Algerians overwhelmingly vote for independence in referendum.

geria. Once again, religion was closely identified with political causes. Abdel Kadir fought against the French until 1847, when he was finally forced to surrender. Later, twentieth century Algerian fighters for independence recognized Abdel Kadir as the modern independence movement's first hero, and the green-and-white flag of modern Algeria was based on Abdel Kadir's own standard. Revolt against the French flared up briefly again in the region known as the Kabylie in 1871, but this resulted only in more intense French control of the Muslim population.

### War for Independence

Modern Algerian political institutions, including the political party that ruled Algeria after independence, were created during the twentieth century war for independence from France. A minority of Muslims acquired French educations during the colo-

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|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1962      | (Sept. 15) Algerian national assembly proclaims Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, with Ahmed Ben Bella as premier.                                                              |
| 1964      | (July 19) Military, under Houari Boumediene, overthrows Ben Bella.                                                                                                                        |
| 1978      | Boumediene dies.                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1979      | (Feb.) Chadli Bendjedid is elected president.                                                                                                                                             |
| 1988      | President Bendjedid legalizes political parties after widespread antigovernment riots.                                                                                                    |
| 1990      | Local elections demonstrate strength of Islamic Salvation Front (ISF).                                                                                                                    |
| 1991      | (Dec.) Elections to Algerian parliament begin, and Islamic party wins majority.                                                                                                           |
| 1992      | (Jan.) Military seizes power from Bendjedid and calls off elections; period of violence follows.                                                                                          |
| 1994-1995 | Armed Islamic Group (GIA) breaks from the Army of Islamic Salvation.                                                                                                                      |
| 1997      | Some Army of Islamic Salvation leaders begin giving themselves up to government; Armed Islamic Group begins killing people in villages that have supported the Army of Islamic Salvation. |
| 1997      | (Dec. 30) Hundreds of people are massacred by Islamic fundamentalists on first day of Ramadan; massacres continue through the month of January.                                           |
| 1998      | (Feb.) Nine members of European parliament conduct four-day peace mission to Algeria.                                                                                                     |
| 1998      | (June 25) Pop singer Matoub Lounes, an outspoken opponent of civil war, is killed by Muslim rebels; many Algerians accuse government of complicity in his murder.                         |
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*(continued)*

nial period and developed ideals such as secular, or nonreligious, government and social and economic equality for citizens. Many members of this educated Muslim elite at first favored local self-government for Algeria under French rule, but the events of World War II pushed them into a struggle for full independence.

During the war, many of Algeria's European colonists supported France's Vichy regime—the French government that collaborated with the Germans. The Vichy government took away the citizenship of Jewish Algerians and increased repression of the Muslims. After the war, which ended the Vichy regime, the split between Europeans and Muslims in Algeria became even greater when the police opened fire on people displaying pro-independence placards at a war victory celebration in the city of Sétif in 1945. In retaliation, some Muslims began killing European settlers in Sétif. The French army, police, and vigilante groups re-

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### **Algeria Time Line** (*continued*)

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|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1998 | (Sept. 11) President Liamine Zeroual announces he will resign in February, 1999.                                                                                                                                 |
| 1998 | (Sept. 16) After visiting Algeria, U.N. panel issues report charging antigovernment Islamic radicals with responsibility for most of estimated 75,000 deaths in six-year-old civil war.                          |
| 1998 | (Dec. 11) Reports that Muslim militants have killed eighty-one people in three northern villages raise death toll in December to more than two hundred.                                                          |
| 1999 | (Apr.) Abdelaziz Bouteflika becomes first civilian president since 1965 after winning disputed election.                                                                                                         |
| 2000 | (Jan.) Over two thousand members of the Army of Islamic Salvation and other guerrillas surrender under a partial government amnesty ending January 13.                                                           |
| 2001 | (summer) Over one million protesters hold demonstrations against violence and government policies.                                                                                                               |
| 2001 | (Sept.) After the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11, the Algerian government offers to provide the U.S. government with information on Algerian citizens involved with the al-Qaeda network. |
| 2001 | (Sept.) Spanish police arrest six members of the Algerian Salafist group who are believed to be connected to the al-Qaeda network.                                                                               |
| 2002 | (Sept. 12) Islamic rebels ambush government forces in Batna province, killing fourteen soldiers and pro-government militia members.                                                                              |
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sponded by bombing Muslim areas and massacring thousands of Muslims.

In the early 1950's Algerian independence leaders in exile in Egypt organized the National Liberation Front (or FLN, from the French *Front de Libération National*), a political organization dedicated to achieving independence by warfare. This warfare was to be conducted by the National Liberation Army (ALN, or *Armée de Libération National*), the FLN's armed military wing. On November 1, 1954, FLN guerrillas launched the war for independence with coordinated attacks against military and civil institutions throughout Algeria.

The FLN conducted a terrorist campaign aimed at disrupting French rule in Algeria and at creating such a great division between the colonists and the Muslim population that all Arabs and Berbers would be forced into the independence movement. The primary FLN leader, Ahmed Ben Bella, ordered the assassination of moderate Algerians willing to serve as intermediaries with the French. European colonists responded to FLN terrorist tactics in the countryside by organizing attacks of their own on Arabs, often engaging in random killing. While the FLN strategy did succeed in radicalizing the conflict and ultimately led to Algeria's independence, it also helped to create a climate of extreme violence that would continue to haunt the country.

In 1958 the French military in Algeria accused the French administration of providing inadequate support to put down the rebellion and seized power from the civilian government. Fearing civil war at home, France's national assembly appointed World War II hero General Charles de Gaulle premier and gave him extraordinary powers. During the war de Gaulle had led the French who had continued to fight against Germany after it occupied France. During the 1950's he was seen as a national hero who had the personal prestige to resolve the crisis.

De Gaulle did restore civilian government in Algeria and initially promised to retain Algeria as part of France. He soon changed course, however. The Algerian war was creating political divisions within France, with most of the French Left supporting Algeria's liberation movement. Moreover, the French government was coming under international pressure to grant



*French paratroopers searching a man near Algiers while hunting for terrorists during Algeria's war for independence in 1957. (National Archives)*

independence to Algeria, as other parts of Africa were gaining their independence.

De Gaulle soon opened negotiations with the FLN. In January, 1960, rioting broke out among colonists in Algiers and, backed by military units, the colonists staged an insurrection. De Gaulle went on the radio and persuaded enough of the military to back him so that he was able to put down the insurrection. In 1961 a second insurrection, led by four French generals, broke out, but de Gaulle managed to defeat this second revolt. While de Gaulle negotiated with the FLN, a terrorist army of colonists, the Secret Army Organization (known as the OAS, from its initials in French) engaged in bombings and widespread destruction. Nevertheless, in a referendum held on July 1, 1962, the people of Algeria overwhelmingly voted for independence from France.

## **Independent Algeria**

As it became clear that Algeria would be independent, colonists began leaving the country in large numbers. Because of their flight Algeria lost many of its most skilled inhabitants at the beginning of its existence as a modern independent nation. Competing factions in the ruling FLN emerged, but Ahmed Ben Bella attained overall leadership by allying with Colonel Houari Boumediene, chief of staff of the party's military wing, the ALN. A national assembly was elected from candidates selected by Ben Bella.

On September 15, 1962, the new assembly proclaimed the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, with Ben Bella as its premier, or prime minister. Ben Bella appointed Boumediene defense minister, and Ben Bella, Boumediene, and Mohammed Khider, secretary-general of the FLN, became the three most powerful men in the country. However, as Ben Bella gradually increased his control over the country, he alarmed the other leaders.

On July 19, 1964, the military under Houari Boumediene overthrew Ben Bella. With military backing, Boumediene ruled the country until his death from illness in 1978. In early 1979 delegates of the National Liberation Front chose Colonel Chadli Bendjedid as the party's presidential candidate. Running unopposed, Bendjedid was elected to office by a nearly unanimous vote in February, 1979.

Algeria's support for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and for groups seen by the United States as terrorists often created rocky relationships between Algeria and the United States. However, Algeria's major foreign rival during its independence has been its neighbor, Morocco. Although Morocco had supported Algeria's struggle for independence, after independence the countries quarreled over the location of the border between them. Morocco accused Algeria of supporting plots against its government and fighting broke out briefly in 1963.

In 1976 Spain gave up its Western Sahara territories south of Morocco and Morocco took control of most of these lands, with Mauritania taking control of the southern portion. Algeria provided training and support for the Saharan rebels fighting



against Moroccan rule, increasing the bitterness between the two nations in Africa's far northwest.

### **Rise of the Islamic Salvation Front**

During the late 1970's and early 1980's, Islam became an increasingly strong political force throughout the Muslim world. The Muslim faith had always been an important part of political struggles in Algeria. Abdel Kadir, the legendary nineteenth century fighter against the French, was a widely recognized religious authority. During the 1980's, however, a radical form of Islam spread through many Muslim countries, including Algeria, just as Algerian political institutions were beginning to change.

After widespread antigovernment riots in 1988, President Chadli Bendjedid legalized rival political parties. This meant that the National Liberation Front, which had governed the country with military support since independence, was no longer the only organization that could participate in Algerian politics. During the decade before the riots, however, many Muslim radicals began to form small, secretive groups, often on military lines. These radicals believed that the society should be governed according to religious principles, that Algerians should be forced to follow the Muslim faith strictly, and that women should withdraw completely from public life. When political parties were legalized, a nationwide network of radical Muslim groups was already in place and this network gave rise to the Islamic Salvation Front (ISF; FIS, using French acronym).

In local elections in 1990, it became clear that the ISF was the most powerful rival of the National Liberation Front. It won more than half the seats in town councils and received 54 percent of the popular vote. The Islamic Salvation Front was clearly popular. It was also opposed to numerous ideas considered basic freedoms in modern democracies. For example, some ISF-controlled town councils passed laws forbidding girls from playing sports, outlawing music at weddings, and banning the sale of television antennas, since they might allow viewers to watch programs considered immoral. A number of town councils voted to use public funds to train tough young men to form groups that would enforce religious standards.

The leader of the ISF, Ali Belhadj, declared his intention to turn Algeria into an Islamic state. The Muslim religion, he said in his sermons, would be the nation's official faith. Although women made up nearly half of Algeria's college graduates in 1990, the Islamic Salvation Front held that the education of women should end and that women should be restricted to their homes. Ali Belhadj also maintained that Arabic should be the only language used in Algeria, despite the fact that French and Berber were widely spoken.

Confident of its strength, the ISF called on supporters to rise against the government in the spring of 1991 in order to force Benjedid to resign and call for early elections. Those opposed to the Muslims, such as the General Union of Algerian Workers, began to prepare for fighting and violent incidents increased in number.

Elections to the Algerian parliament began in December, 1991. The ISF appeared to be leading the competing parties. In part, this was due to genuine popular support for the Islamic party. In part, also, it was due to discouragement with the National Liberation Front and to the fact that many of those opposed to the ISF stayed away from voting places.

In January, 1992, the Algerian army seized power and forced President Bendjedid to resign. The army called off further elections and formed its own government under a provisional High Council of State headed by Mohamed Boudiaf. This council banned the Islamic Salvation Front. Supporters of democracy, in Algeria and in other countries, found themselves in a difficult position. If the elections had proceeded, the Islamic radicals would almost certainly have won, and the radicals would probably have ended democratic government. By calling off the elections, however, the army subjected the country to military rule.

Algeria made some progress toward establishing constitutional, elected government at the end of 1995, when Liamine Zeroual was elected president. Zeroual announced a program of reforms aimed at creating a more stable political system. One of the reforms, however, included outlawing political parties based on language or religion, and this was unlikely to win the support of religious radicals. Zeroual resigned from the presidency in

September, 1998, and many sources suggested that he had been forced out by the military. In elections held in the spring of 1999, Zeroual was replaced as president by Abdelaziz Bouteflika.

### **The Continuing Problem of Terrorism**

Some of the Muslim groups that had come together to form the Islamic Salvation Front responded to the military seizure of power with violence. The Army of Islamic Salvation, the armed wing of the ISF, began to engage in guerrilla warfare. Between 1992 and 1998 an estimated 60,000 to 100,000 people were killed in Algeria. The year 1993 saw numerous occasions in which gunmen went into the homes of policemen and other civil servants and killed everyone present. Prominent Algerian journalists and intellectuals, such as writer Tahar Djaout, were assassinated.

Terrorist attacks by the Armed Islamic Group and an even more radical splinter group, the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, reached a high point in 1998. The Algerian government also seemed to be involved in many terrorist activities. Widespread massacres during the holy month of Ramadan, in January, 1998, were at first believed to be the responsibility of the Armed Islamic Group. However, observers later claimed that many of these massacres were actually the work of secret government security forces.

Violence declined somewhat in the years following 1998 but remained a fact of national life in Algeria. At the beginning of 2000, it began to appear that the Algerian government had begun to bring the violence to an end, when more than two thousand members of the Army of Islamic Salvation and other guerrilla groups surrendered to take advantage of a partial amnesty offered by the government. Later that year, however, violence began to increase again. The Armed Islamic Group and the Salafists, who had not surrendered, remained active and were attracting new followers. By some estimates, as many as 9,000 people in Algeria may have died from terrorist acts in 2000. In 2001, demonstrations against government violence and government policies brought protesters into the streets in a number of Algerian cities. During the summer of that year, over one million protesters demonstrated in Algiers.

Following the hijacking of airliners by Islamic militants in the United States on September 11, 2001, the United States began to be concerned about links between the Islamic groups in Algeria and the al-Qaeda network that had staged the attacks. Algerian Fateh Kamel was reportedly in charge of al-Qaeda operations in North Africa, Spain, and France. The Algerian Salafist Group had especially close ties to al-Qaeda. The Algerian government offered to provide the U.S. government with information on Algerian citizens involved with the al-Qaeda network.

As the level of violence increased, some of the most radical guerrillas apparently broke away from the Army of Islamic Salvation in 1994 or 1995 to form the Armed Islamic Group (GIA, using the initials of the group's French name). A few observers claimed that the GIA was really created by the Algerian military in order to create disorder to justify military rule, but little evidence supported this suspicion. The GIA practiced extreme brutality, often slaughtering entire villages suspected of not supporting the Islamic cause. In 1997 some leaders of the Army of Islamic Salvation surrendered to the Algerian military, which had offered amnesty, or forgiveness, to rebels who surrendered. The Armed Islamic Group then turned against the Army of Islamic Salvation. The GIA would attack and murder people in villages that had provided volunteers or support to the Army of Islamic Salvation.

Carl L. Bankston III

### **For Further Study**

One of the best general resources on Algerian history, society, and economy is *Algeria: A Country Study* (1993), edited by Helen Chapan Metz. This meticulously researched but readable work was produced by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress. Another useful general reference is *Historical Dictionary of Algeria* (2d ed. 1994) by Phillip Chiviges Naylor and Alf Andrew Heggoy. Alistair Horne's *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962* (1977) continues to be one of the best works for general readers on the Algerian war for independence. It is an essential book for anyone who wants to understand the forces that shaped modern Algeria. The story of the most intense period of the French-Algerian war is told in *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism*

*and Counter-Terrorism in Algeria, 1955-1957* (2002), by Paul Ausaresses.

Graham E. Fuller's *Algeria: The Next Fundamentalist State?* (1996) looks at the radical Islamic movement in Algeria and discusses the possibility and consequences of a radical Muslim takeover. Readers who want to understand the development of the Islamic movement should consult *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History* (1997) by Michael Willis. Willis, a noted Middle East scholar, traces the rapid rise of one of the most powerful religious movements in the Muslim world and explores the movement's clash with a secular government. *Unbowed: An Algerian Woman Confronts Islamic Fundamentalism* (1998), by Khalida Messaoudi and Elisabeth Schemla, is a dialogue between Algerian feminist leader Messaoudi and Western journalist Schemla that describes the oppression of Algerian women—both by the government and by the radical Muslims who seek to overthrow the government.

## BAHRAIN

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*Bahrain has been governed by the al-Khalifa family since the late eighteenth century and is the only Persian Gulf state to retain the custom of having each ruler's eldest son succeed him. Since the 1940's, a majority of the people of Bahrain have demanded a more democratic form of government. Despite intermittent and widespread rioting for political reforms, Bahrainis have had little voice in their government. They have been routinely denied the right to freedom of association and assembly, the right to freedom of expression and access to information, and the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs. This has posed the threat of violent revolution, but this threat may have been greatly diminished by new leadership and some movement toward political reform in the late 1990's and the early twenty-first century.*

*The ruling establishment has used brutal force and torture to put down riots and to abolish the basic freedoms of the nation. Because of this repressive form of government, the potential for violent revolution exists, as the people of Bahrain continue their struggle for democracy.*

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**B**ahrain is located about thirteen miles east of Saudi Arabia and north of the Qatar peninsula. It consists of more than thirty islands, with the main island also being called Bahrain. Except for Bahrain Island, the other islands are low-lying, rocky, and mostly covered by barren desert. Artesian wells, mainly along the north coast of Bahrain, are used for the water supply and for irrigation. The capital and principal city of Manama is located on the northeastern end of Bahrain Island.

The Bahrainis are mostly Arabs of various origins, but there are also sizable communities of Indians, Pakistanis, Persians, Europeans, and Americans. Most of the people of Bahrain are Sunni or Shiite Muslims, and the official language is Arabic. In 2002 the population of the country was about 656,400, about a third of whom were foreign workers.

### **Early History**

The oldest remains of inhabitants of Bahrain have been found in burial mounds in the northern half of Bahrain Island, and ar-

## Profile of Bahrain

*Official name:* State of Bahrain

*Independent since:* 1971

*Former colonial ruler:* Great Britain

*Location:* Archipelago in the Persian Gulf

*Area:* 239 square miles

*Capital:* Manama

*Population:* 656,400 (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religions:* Shiite and Sunni Islam; Christianity

*Gross domestic product:* US\$8.4 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* petroleum products; basic manufactured goods

*Military expenditures:* US\$526.2 million (2002 est.)

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chaeologists believe that the earliest mounds may date back to 3000 B.C.E. Some archaeologists have identified Bahrain with Dilmun, a prosperous trading civilization that existed from about 2000 B.C.E. to 1800 B.C.E.

From 1521 to 1602 Portugal controlled Bahrain as a way station on the route to India, and then Persia (now Iran) ruled the country. In 1783, the al-Khalifa clan of Arabs from present-day Saudi Arabia drove the Persians from Bahrain. They have ruled the country ever since.

Great Britain helped the Bahrainis fight invaders from Saudi Arabia during the early to mid-1800's, and the British forced Bahrain to accept a series of treaties that finally made Bahrain a British protectorate in 1861. The Perpetual Truce of Peace and Friendship treaty of 1861 required that Bahrain could not dispose of any of its territory except to Britain and that it could not enter into relationships with any foreign government other than Great Britain without British consent.

Britain controlled Bahrain's external affairs, but the al-Khalifa Dynasty continued to control its internal affairs. In 1932 Bahrain became the first Persian Gulf state to discover petroleum, and Bahrain's worth and significance increased greatly.

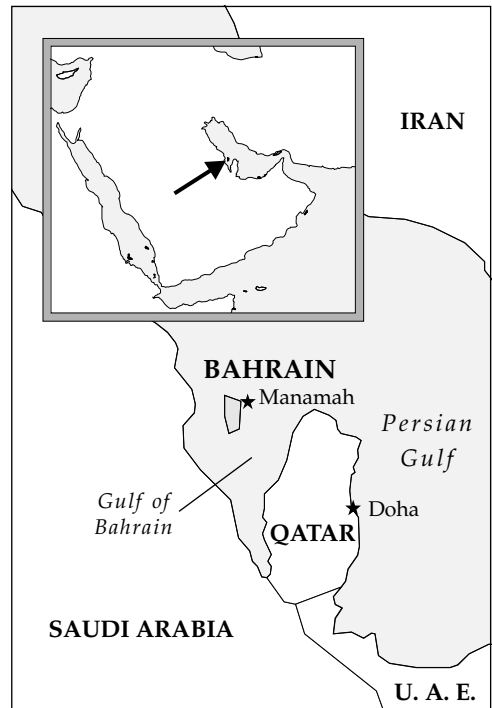
## Independence and Struggles

During the late 1940's and the 1950's many Bahrainis demanded more participation in the government and a more equal distribution of the resources and wealth of the country. After widespread rioting in 1956, the government granted some minor political reforms. Continued antigovernment riots during the 1960's led the ruling emir, Sheikh Isa-bin Salman al-Khalifa, to turn over some of his power to a twelve-member council of state, later called the cabinet, in 1970.

In 1971 Britain withdrew from the Persian Gulf, and Bahrain made plans to enter a federation with Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. However, because of a territorial dispute with Qatar over the Hawar group of islands located between Bahrain and Qatar, as well as other difficulties, Bahrain changed course, declaring itself a fully independent nation on August 15, 1971.

In 1973 Bahrain adopted a constitution that protected individual liberties and created an experimental national assembly (parliament) made up of representatives elected by the people. However, Sheikh Isa-bin Salman al-Khalifa disbanded the national assembly in 1975. Although a petition and other ongoing forms of protest since 1975 have called for the reintroduction of representative institutions, particularly the national assembly, the emir has refused.

Since the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, there has been periodic unrest among Bahrain's Shiite majority, and during the 1980's Iran revived its long-standing claim to Bahrain. In 1981 Bahrain became a founding member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and joined other states of eastern Ara-





bia to work together on defensive and economic strategies. In particular, the GCC cooperated to protect its members and resist any advances by either Iraq or Iran during the 1980-1988 war between Iraq and Iran. During the early to mid-1980's Bahrain reportedly foiled numerous Iranian attempts to foment revolution in Bahrain.

On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait, and in 1991, Bahrain allowed the United States and Britain to use its territory to launch air and naval attacks against Iraqi forces. As part of the GCC, Bahraini pilots flew strikes into Iraq, bombing Iraqi military targets, and Bahraini soldiers participated in the ground offensive that liberated Kuwait in February, 1991. During the 1990's Bahrain's relations with both Iran and Iraq improved.

### **Repressive Government**

Emir Isa bin-Sulman al-Khalifa was able to dominate the political scene because the ruling family is Sunni and is supported by

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## **Bahrain Time Line**

- 1602-1783 Persia (now Iran) rules Bahrain.
  - 1783 Al-Khalifa clan of Arabs takes over Bahrain, beginning more than two centuries of uninterrupted rule.
  - 1861 Bahrain becomes a British protectorate.
  - 1932 Bahrain is first Persian Gulf state in which petroleum is discovered.
  - 1956 Bahrainis demonstrate for political reforms.
  - 1970 Sheikh Isa-bin Salman al-Khalifa surrenders part of his power as emir to council of state.
  - 1971 (Aug. 15) Bahrain declares itself fully independent after Great Britain withdraws.
  - 1973 Bahrain adopts constitution guaranteeing citizens fundamental rights of freedom.
  - 1973 Democratic national assembly is formed.
  - 1975 Emir disbands national assembly.
  - 1981 Bahrain helps form Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).
  - 1990-1991 Bahrain joins with United States and other countries to help expel Iraqi occupation force from Kuwait.
  - 1993 (Jan.) Emir forms consulting group representing Bahraini citizens.
  - 1994-1995 Bahrainis staged mass protests to encourage prodemocracy reforms.
  - 1995-1996 Civil unrest and rioting breaks out again.
  - 1997 Students and women demonstrate in Manama to protest government repression.
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the armed forces, the security service, and powerful Sunni merchant families.

The majority of the Bahraini people, the Shiite Muslims, are often the victims of military abuse and are discriminated against in public employment, educational opportunities, and in sharing the wealth and resources of the country, all of which lead to friction and conflict between the Shiites and the Sunnis.

In January, 1993, the emir appointed a thirty-member consulting group to contribute their advice and opinions on the government's legislation, and in certain cases, to suggest new laws. However, since their input was virtually disregarded by the emir and his government, prodemocracy demonstrations calling for more substantial political reforms erupted in late 1994 and early 1995, including sporadic mass protests, skirmishes with local law-enforcement officials, arson, and attacks on property. A number of the protesters were killed or injured by Bahraini security

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- |      |                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1997 | Clashes break out between Bahraini citizens and security forces.                                                                                                                              |
| 1997 | Emir makes moderate political changes.                                                                                                                                                        |
| 1998 | Citizens continue to oppose government, calling for protection of human and constitutional rights.                                                                                            |
| 1998 | (Feb. 19) Government dismisses head of intelligence service, Ian Henderson, whom Shiite dissidents have accused of repressing protests against Sunni-dominated government.                    |
| 1999 | (Mar. 6) Sheikh Isa-bin Salman al-Khalifa dies and is succeeded as ruler of Bahrain by his son, Sheikh Hamed bin Isa al-Khalifa.                                                              |
| 1999 | (July 17) Government sentences opposition leader Sheikh Abdul Amir Jamri to ten years in prison for spying and causing civil unrest against Khalifa family.                                   |
| 2000 | (Feb.) Bahraini government grants citizenship to several hundred stateless Shiites in Bahrain and promises to establish elective councils.                                                    |
| 2001 | (Feb.) Bahraini voters approve a referendum on a charter for a plan of change that includes parliamentary elections and reorganization of the government.                                     |
| 2002 | (Sept. 18) Bahrain's foreign minister, Sheikh Mohammed bin Mubarak al-Khalifa, announces Bahrain's support for Iraq's announcement that it will allow U.N. weapons inspectors back into Iraq. |
| 2002 | (Oct. 24-31) Secular candidates win small majority in legislative elections.                                                                                                                  |
| 2003 | (Mar. 19) Bahrain offers asylum to Iraqi president Saddam Hussein on eve of U.S.-led invasion of Iraq.                                                                                        |
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forces. In June, 1995, in an effort to stop the rioting, the emir made the first Bahraini cabinet change in twenty years, producing a mixed public response.

Civil unrest broke out again in late 1995 and early 1996. Eight prominent Bahraini religious and community leaders were arrested in January, 1996, and held without charge or trial. During 1996 and 1997, the government waged a vigorous campaign against its citizens to deter them from demanding any political reforms. In March, 1997, women demonstrators advocating a more democratic government were attacked with rubber bullets and tear gas by military personnel.

Later that same month, students raised their prodemocracy demands by staging demonstrations in some of the secondary schools in the capital city of Manama, but their efforts were soon squelched by the emir's security service, which consisted mainly of foreign mercenaries recruited by the emir. At the end of March, 1997, Bahrain was in a state of high alert, as citizens were embark-

*Image Not Available*

## Student Response to Government Oppression in Bahrain

In response to the oppressive regime of the al-Khalifa family, the Bahraini Students Council released the following statement on March 28, 1997:

The message from the people to the ruling wing of the al-Khalifa is that patience has a limit and that this ruling elite has violated all norms of sanity. The people are preparing themselves for a long-term struggle until the victimization and oppression adopted by the ruling wing and its foreign mercenaries are brought to a halt. If the al-Khalifa wants to treat the citizens of Bahrain in the same way as an enemy occupying a land and victimizing the people of that land, then they should expect nothing from the population other than preparedness for the defense of their honor and dignity. The opposition aims for no more than the restoration of the dissolved parliament and constitutional rights.

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ing on various forms of civil resistance against the emir's army. In late 1997 clashes broke out between security forces and citizens who were demanding the restoration of the dissolved national assembly and their constitutional rights.

In an effort to stabilize the country the emir made some moderate political changes in 1997, but the Bahraini people were still routinely denied their constitutional rights. The ruling establishment used brutal force, torture, killings, forcible exile, arbitrary detention and sentencing, and other means to abolish the basic freedoms of the Bahraini people.

Numerous Bahraini professionals were fired from their jobs and blacklisted from other employment for refusing to withdraw their names from petitions to the emir advocating the restoration of the national assembly, free elections, and the release of prisoners held for their political beliefs. Many of those expressing unwelcome political views were forcibly expelled from Bahrain by the emir without any recourse to judicial or administrative procedures. In early 1998 more than five hundred Bahrainis were living in forced exile, but the Bahraini opposition to the emir and his government continued, as citizens called for the restoration of the rule of constitutional law and the protection of human and constitutional rights.

After ruling for thirty-seven years, the emir, Sheikh Isa bin-Sulman al-Khalifa died suddenly of a heart attack on March 6, 1999. He was succeeded by his son, Sheikh Hamed bin Isa al-Khalifa. The new emir appeared intent on maintaining family control of Bahrain, since one of his first acts was to reappoint his uncle, Sheikh Khalifah ibn Sulman al-Khalifa, as prime minister. The al-Khalifa family also seemed to realize that some reform was needed, however. The emir released some political prisoners and relaxed controls of the Shiite population. More important, in February, 2000, the Bahraini government granted citizenship to several hundred stateless Shiites in Bahrain and promised to establish elective councils. This movement toward reform continued. In February, 2001, the government held a referendum on a charter for a plan of change that included parliamentary elections and reorganization of the government. The referendum was approved overwhelmingly. The Bahraini authorities released even more political prisoners after this, and relaxed repressive measures. In October, 2002, secular candidates won a small majority in the first legislative elections in nearly three decades.

*Alvin K. Benson*

*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

In *Routine Abuse, Routine Denial: Civil Rights and the Political Crisis in Bahrain* (1997), Joe Stark documents the abuse of Bahraini citizens and the denial of their human rights by the Bahraini government. Mary Virginia Fox describes the history, geography, culture, government, and industry of Bahrain in *Bahrain* (1992), which provides excellent reading for young readers. *Bahrain Through the Ages* (1993), edited by Michael Rice, provides a very good overview of the history of Bahrain and the struggles and conflicts to develop democracy. Hamad Ibn Isga al-Khalsifah explores the conditions in modern Bahrain and comments on some of the country's history in *First Light: Modern Bahrain and Its Heritage* (1995). *Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates* (1997), by Anthony H. Cordesman, discusses some of the friction and conflicts among Persian Gulf states and possible challenges to their security.

*Bahrain* (2002), edited by Carol Ann Gillespie, is part of the Modern World Nations series published by Chelsea House. It is appropriate for younger readers and provides a good introduction to the country. Lisa McCoy's book *Bahrain* (2003) is also intended for younger readers. Robert Cooper's *Bahrain* (2000) is part of the Cultures of the World series of Benchmark Books. It covers features of Bahraini life and culture, including government, history, the economy, religion, food, dress, and art.

The revised and updated edition of *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman* (1999), by Rosemarie Said Zahlan and Roger Owen, is a history of the development of the Gulf states that concentrates on their royal families.

The United States Department of State has compiled an overview of the geography, people, government, economy, history, political conditions, and foreign relations of Bahrain on the Internet at "U.S. Department of State—Background Notes Bahrain" (<http://www.state.gov/bahrain>). The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) provides important statistics about Bahrain at "Bahrain" (<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook>). The Human Rights Watch group provides details about government abuse of Bahraini citizens at "Human Rights in Bahrain" (<http://members.tripod.com/Bahrain>).

## BANGLADESH

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*The People's Republic of Bangladesh, a predominantly Muslim nation bordering India and Myanmar, achieved independence from Pakistan in 1971, after a nine-month conflict that ended with a brutal two-week war. Since then Bangladesh has been plagued by internal problems. A series of coups and political assassinations during the 1970's and 1980's undermined attempts to create a stable government and economy. Political turmoil continued into the 1990's. This instability has contributed to continuing food and health difficulties that have claimed thousands of lives during times of famine. In addition, overpopulation has led many skilled workers to leave Bangladesh in search of work opportunities in neighboring countries.*

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**B**angladesh is an independent nation in the northeastern portion of the Indian subcontinent. Located at the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmaputra Rivers, Bangladesh is bounded by India to the west, north, and east; Myanmar to the southeast; and the Bay of Bengal to the south. With more than 133 million people at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bangladesh encompassed approximately 55,600 square miles and ranked as one of the world's most densely populated countries. Since almost half of the population was under fifteen years of age and the birthrate was high, the nation's population density was increasing to even greater levels.

The capital of Bangladesh is Dhaka. Located in the center of the country, Dhaka is the nation's largest city and one of only three major cities in a nation in which 80 percent of the population are rural dwellers

Ancient Hindu and Buddhist dynasties in the territory of Bengal, portions of which are now known as Bangladesh, were supplanted after 1200 C.E. by Muslim invaders, who converted most of eastern Bengal to Islam. Islam has since played a dominant political role in the region, which was visited by Portuguese traders and missionaries in the late fifteenth century. They were followed by the Dutch, French, and British East India Companies.

The British gradually extended their commercial and administrative supremacy beyond Calcutta, India, into the remainder of Bengal and up the Ganges River Valley to the northwest. The British crown replaced the East India Company in 1859, thus extending British dominion from Bengal in the east to the Indus River in the west.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw both Hindus and Muslims increasingly press for independence. As the Hindu Indian National Congress advanced to the forefront of the independence movement, Muslim leaders formed the All-India Muslim League in 1906 amid concerns resulting from expanding Hindu domination.

In 1913 the Muslim League formally adopted the same primary goal as the Indian National Congress—self-government for India within the British Empire—but the two political groups were unable to reach a consensus regarding the security of Muslim political, economic, and religious rights and privileges. Mounting tensions led to conflicts between Hindus and Muslims that continued for the next two decades. During the 1930's the concept of a separate Muslim nation within the region began to emerge.

## Profile of Bangladesh

*Official name:* People's Republic of Bangladesh

*Former name:* East Pakistan

*Formerly part of:* Pakistan

*Independent since:* 1971

*Former colonial ruler:* Great Britain

*Location:* southern Asia, between India and Myanmar

*Area:* 55,598 square miles

*Capital:* Dhaka

*Population:* 133.4 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Bengali

*Major religions:* Islam; Hinduism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$230 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* garments; jute products; fish and prawns

*Military expenditures:* US\$559 million (1997 est.)



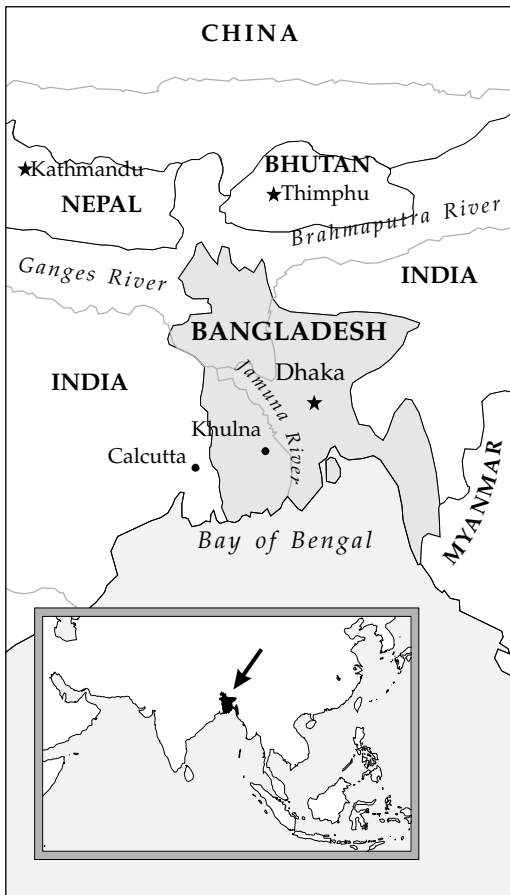
### Toward a Separate Muslim Nation

Proposals for creating a Muslim-dominated nation greatly increased in popularity among Indian Muslims after 1936, when the Muslim League was defeated in the first elections under India's 1935 constitution. The Muslim League endorsed the Pakistan Resolution on March 23, 1940, which called for an independent state that would consolidate all local regions that held a Muslim majority. Following World War II, Britain came under considerable international pressure to reduce its overseas empire and moved with increasing urgency toward granting independence to India.

When the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League could not agree on terms for a constitution, Britain granted full dominion status to both India and Pakistan in June, 1947. Pakistan was to consist of the contiguous Muslim majority districts

of western British India in addition to parts of Bengal. These and other actions resulted in the establishment of a Muslim nation split into two regions that were geographically separated by more than 990 miles of independent India.

The next several years saw Pakistan experience considerable political and economic instability, causing its dominion status to be rejected in favor of an Islamic republic within the Commonwealth in 1956. Following several failed attempts to move in the direction of civilian rule, martial law was imposed between 1958 and 1962 and 1969 and 1972.



## **Muslim League's Struggle for Independence**

During the struggle for independence, Muslim League leader Mujibur (Mujib) Rahman called a nonviolent nationwide strike on March 3, 1971. He rejected proposals by regional leader Yahya Khan for a conference of political leaders on March 25, 1971. Mujib later put forward his demands, which included the immediate withdrawal of martial law, the immediate withdrawal of all military personnel to their barracks, an inquiry into the loss of life caused by the violent suppression of pro-independence activists, and an immediate transfer of power to an elected representative of the people before the proposed assembly meeting. Mujib also unfolded a program of directives for the civil disobedience movement, which included a refusal to pay taxes and closure of all educational institutions.

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In November, 1970, a devastating cyclone killed thousands as it struck the coastal areas of East Bengal, but the central government did nothing to assist the common people. The leadership of the East Pakistan Awami Muslim League urged the populace to express their disgust nonviolently at the ballot-box in the coming elections. This action was met by a violent army crackdown that targeted the dissident movement in March, 1971.

### **Awami Muslim League**

The Awami Muslim League Party, headed by Sheikh Mujibur (Mujib) Rahman, won 167 out of 313 national assembly seats on a platform of greater autonomy for the eastern province. He called for a nonviolent, noncooperation movement. The regional government, led by Yahya Khan, was not able to maintain a strong political base after succeeding the exceptionally brutal dictatorial rule of Ayub Khan.

On March 4, 1971, Lieutenant General Tikka Khan ordered the shelling of Dhaka University, resulting in the rape and killing of numerous teachers and students. Yahya Khan then announced that a national assembly would meet on March 25, 1971, but the tone of his voice did not persuade the populace that he desired

reconciliation. Many believed he was simply buying time in preparation for further brutality. Student groups and street crowds clamored for a break with West Pakistan, while a declaration of independence was considered during an emergency meeting of Mujib and his cabinet.

On March 7, 1971, Mujib exhorted the people to turn every house in East Pakistan into a fortress, not to pay taxes, and to ask government officials to obey orders only from him during a monumental speech on the grounds of a racecourse. Mujib put forward four main conditions for attending the proposed assembly session on March 25.

Mujib's civil disobedience movement, also called People's Rule, was strictly followed by nearly all the residents of the region. On March 9, judges of the Dhaka High Court refused to

## Bangladesh Time Line

- 1906 All-India Muslim League is formed in response to expanding Hindu domination.
- 1913 Muslim League accepts same goal as Indian National Congress: self-government for India within the British Empire.
- 1936 Muslim League is defeated in first elections under 1935 constitution.
- 1940 (Mar. 23) Muslim League leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah endorses Pakistan Resolution, calling for independent state to consolidate all regions with Muslim majorities.
- 1947 (June) Great Britain grants full dominion status to India and Pakistan, which is divided into East and West sections.
- 1958-1962 Martial law is imposed after failed attempts to establish civilian rule.
- 1969-1972 Martial law is again imposed.
- 1970 (Nov.) Cyclone devastates East Bengal and government refuses to provide assistance; East Pakistan Awami Muslim League urges people to express their disgust nonviolently at ballot-box.
- 1971 (Mar. 3) Sheikh Mujibur (Mujib) Rahman calls for nonviolent noncooperation with central Pakistan government by calling for nationwide strike and rejecting Yahya Khan's proposal for conference of political leaders.
- 1971 (Mar. 4) Government offices and bank, postal, telegraph, telephone, airline, and train services are closed, and violence begins.
- 1971 (Mar. 5) Yahya Khan orders massive airlift, as 300 are killed in fighting against Awami Muslim League volunteers and supporters.

swear in Tikka Khan as governor of East Pakistan, indicating that Mujib's directives were being obeyed even at that top level. Mujib was then incarcerated and his party outlawed, while many of his assistants and more than ten million refugees, mainly Hindu, fled the violence of the central government's army across the border into India. A provisional government in exile was then established, which was observed with great care by the Indian government.

The interim government was efficient in managing the refugees, organized guerrilla training camps, and established contacts with key Indian authorities. Using skillful political maneuvering, the Awami Muslim League was eventually successful in persuading Indian authorities to support the national liberation of Bangladesh.

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- 1971 (Mar. 7) Mujib exhorts followers to turn every house in East Pakistan into a fortress, not to pay taxes, and to ask government officials to take orders only from him.
- 1971 (Mar. 8) Civil disobedience movement is officially launched.
- 1971 (Mar. 9) East Pakistan high court justices refuse to swear in Lieutenant-General Tikka Khan as governor, indicating that Mujib's directives are being obeyed.
- 1971 (Mar. 26) East Pakistan declares its independence from Pakistan and calls itself Bangladesh.
- 1971 (Dec. 4) Indian forces invade Pakistan and two-week war begins.
- 1971 (Dec. 6) India recognizes independence of Bangladesh.
- 1971 (Dec. 16) Pakistan surrenders to India; Mujib is released from captivity on date commemorated as Victory Day in Bangladesh.
- 1972 (Jan.) Mujib assumes leadership of new Bangladesh government.
- 1973 (Mar.) Mujib is elected in landslide victory.
- 1974 More than 50,000 people die in famine.
- 1974 (Feb. 22) Pakistan recognizes independence of Bangladesh.
- 1975 (Aug. 15) Mujib is assassinated by pro-Pakistan army officers.
- 1975 (Nov.) Major General Zia ur-Rahman takes over government.
- 1981 (May 30) Zia ur-Rahman is assassinated by radical officers, and Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Hussein Mohammed Ershad takes control.
- 1982 (Mar. 24) Ershad takes over for ineffective civilian vice-president Abdus Sattar as chief martial law administrator.

(continued)

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**Birth of Bangladesh**

Both the United States and China were committed to preserving a united Pakistan, whereas India and the Soviet Union desired a Bangladesh that would remain dependent upon India. As tensions mounted, a large-scale invasion by Indian forces became almost inevitable. The Pakistani air force struck several Indian air fields in northern India on December 4, 1971, beginning a brutal two-week war.

After intense fighting, Pakistan's forces unconditionally surrendered on December 16, 1971. The war culminated with India taking over 93,000 prisoners and gaining control over a large area of East Pakistan, which has since been known as independent Bangladesh. Mujib was immediately released from captivity and assumed leadership of the new Bangladesh government in January, 1972.

**Bangladesh Time Line** *(continued)*

- 1983 (Dec.) Ershad assumes presidency.
- 1986 (Oct.) Ershad wins election contested by many parties.
- 1988 (Apr. 12) State of emergency ends.
- 1988 (Sept.) Flooding leaves a quarter of Bangladesh's people homeless.
- 1990 (Dec.) Poor economy forces resignation of Ershad.
- 1991 (Feb. 27) Parliamentary elections result in Bangladesh Nationalist Party as single largest bloc, and Begum Khaleda Zia becomes first woman prime minister.
- 1991 (May) Worst cyclone in twenty years kills 20,000 people.
- 1991 (Sept.) Voters approve parliamentary system and return governing power to prime minister.
- 1991 (Oct.) Parliament elects Abdur Rahman Biswas head of state.
- 1992 Population grows to approximately 110 million, as many skilled workers depart to neighboring countries.
- 1992 (Nov. 5) Shanti Bahini rebels open talks with government aimed at ending nineteen-year-old guerrilla war along Bangladesh and Myanmar borders.
- 1994 (Dec.) Opposition legislators resign, hoping to force Begum Khaleda Zia to step down and allow early elections.
- 1996 (Apr.) Government falls in response to political unrest.
- 1996 (June 23) Awami Muslim League wins largest number of government seats and Sheikh Hasina Wazed is sworn in as prime minister.

Although Mujib enjoyed overwhelming popularity when he first ascended to power, he soon experienced considerable difficulty in his attempts to transform this support into political legitimacy. The 1972 constitution created a strong prime ministership, an independent judiciary, and a legislature based upon a modified model of Great Britain.

Mujib's most important contribution was to put the Awami Muslim League's four basic principles of nationalism, secularism, socialism, and democracy into written state policy. The Awami Muslim League won a decisive majority in the first parliamentary elections in March, 1973. Mujib's nationalism movement was essentially unchallenged by any party.

Mujib's new government focused on relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction of the country's war-ravaged economy and society. However, tenuous economic difficulties remained, and seri-

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|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1997 | (Mar. 20) Awami League, winners in previous election, arrest several members of opposition Bangladesh National Party for planning one-day strike.                                                    |
| 1998 | (July) Heavy monsoon rains cause some of worst flooding on record.                                                                                                                                   |
| 1998 | (Nov. 8) Bangladeshi judge sentences fifteen former military commanders to death for their role in 1975 assassination of Mujibar Rahman.                                                             |
| 1999 | (Feb.) Large numbers of voters turn out for nationwide municipal elections, despite opposition calls for boycott and widespread violence.                                                            |
| 2000 | (Mar.) U.S. president Bill Clinton visits Bangladesh.                                                                                                                                                |
| 2000 | (Oct.) Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wazed visits the United States.                                                                                                                                  |
| 2001 | (Jan. 20) Explosion of a bomb during a Communist Party rally in Dhaka kills four people and injures fifty; other bombs go off throughout the year.                                                   |
| 2001 | (Apr. 17-19) Bangladeshi and Indian soldiers clash along the border.                                                                                                                                 |
| 2001 | (Oct. 1) Begum Khaleda Zia's Bangladesh National Party returns to power, and she replaces Sheikh Hasina Wazed as prime minister.                                                                     |
| 2002 | (Jan. 12-13) Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji, whose country is an important source of financial support for Bangladesh, visits Bangladesh; the two countries sign agreements expanding their cooperation. |
| 2002 | (Aug.) German-based group Transparency International ranks Bangladesh among the ten most-corrupt countries in the world.                                                                             |
| 2003 | (Jan. 16) United States adds Bangladesh to list of nations whose citizens must be photographed and fingerprinted while in the United States.                                                         |
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ous food and health difficulties escalated. In 1974 Mujib proclaimed a state of emergency when over fifty thousand lives were lost to famine. He also amended the constitution to limit the powers of the legislative and judicial branches, establish an executive presidency, and institute a one-party system.

Calling these changes the Second Revolution, Mujib became a virtual dictator. He dissolved all political parties except for his new party, the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League, which all parliament members were obligated to join. As corruption and nepotism increased, Mujib became increasingly criticized as his promised political reforms lagged.

### **Assassinations and Coups**

On August 15, 1975, Mujib and most of his family were assassinated by pro-Pakistani army officers. After a series of coups, General Zia ur-Rahman ascended to power in November. He pledged military support to a civilian government headed by Chief Justice Abu Sadat Mohammed Sayem, who named himself chief martial law administrator. Zia ur-Rahman was elected for a five-year presidential term in 1978.

Rahman immediately removed the remaining restrictions on political parties and encouraged opposition groups to participate in coming parliamentary actions. More than thirty parties competed in the parliamentary elections of February, 1979, but Rahman's Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) won 207 of the 300 elected seats.

On May 30, 1981, Zia ur-Rahman was assassinated by radical military officers, and civilian vice president justice Abdus Sattar was sworn in as acting president. He declared a national emergency and called for a new election within six months. Sattar was elected president in a nationwide election but was sickly and ineffective.

On March 24, 1982, Lieutenant General Hussein Mohammed Ershad assumed control in a bloodless coup and, in similar fashion to his predecessors, declared martial law and assumed the position of chief martial law administrator. He prohibited all political activity by dissolving parliament and suspending the constitution. Ershad then began consulting other nations, seeking a

formula for government that would reduce the ongoing threats against public order.

In an attempt to legitimize his authority, Ershad called for elections and assumed the presidency in December, 1983. The Jatiyo Party, also called the People's Party, was instituted as Ershad's political vehicle for the transition from martial law. Full political rights, including the right to hold public rallies, were restored on January 1, 1986. Ershad assumed the presidency after winning 84 percent of the vote in an October, 1986, election.

In July, 1987, the opposition parties united for the first time against government policies, and Ershad declared a state of emergency in November. Parliament was again dissolved in December, and new parliamentary elections were scheduled for March, 1988. With the major opposition parties refusing to participate, Ershad's party won 251 of the 300 seats. Independent candidates and three minor political parties that did participate shared the remaining seats. This parliament later passed a hotly contested amendment that made Islam the official state religion.

### **Political, Economic, and Social Dilemmas**

Opposition to Ershad's policies began to escalate, and general strikes, campus protests, public rallies, and a general disintegration of law and order ensued. Ershad was forced to resign in December, 1990, and officials were chosen by the opposition parties to head an interim government. Parliamentary elections were held on February 27, 1991.

In what has been called the fairest election in Bangladesh history, the center-right Bangladesh Nationalist Party emerged as the single largest block. The party's leader, Begum Khaleda Zia, wife of the slain Zia Rahman, became the new prime minister.

The Bangladesh Nationalist Party formed a coalition government with the Islamic fundamentalist party Jamaat-e-Islami. In September, 1991, the electorate approved changes to the constitution, which formally created a new parliamentary system and returned governing power to the prime minister, as was stated in Bangladesh's original constitution.

Abdur Rahman Biswas was elected head of state in October, 1991, by members of parliament. Opposition legislators resigned



*Image Not Available*

in December, 1994, in an attempt to force Begum Khaleda Zia to step down and allow early elections under a neutral caretaker administration. When she refused, the opposition staged a series of strikes and shutdowns that greatly curtailed the country's much-needed economic reforms.

President Biswas then dissolved parliament and called new elections for February, 1996, but asked Begum Khaleda Zia to stay in office until a successor was selected. The opposition parties refused to take part in the elections while she remained in office and boycotted the February elections, citing that procedures had been rigged to ensure victory for the Bangladesh Nationalist Party.

Opposition leaders then organized a series of crippling strikes and transport blockades in an attempt to force an annulment of

the elections and transfer power to a neutral caretaker government. The new parliament bowed to their demands and passed laws enabling the president to form a caretaker government. Parliament was again dissolved.

New elections were completed on June 23, 1996, with the Awami Muslim League garnering a majority of seats. Sheikh Hasina Wazed, leader of the Awami Muslim League and daughter of Mujib, was sworn in as the new prime minister, and Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed replaced Biswas as Bangladesh's president.

Sheikh Hasina's government was troubled from the beginning. Begum Khaleda Zia's Bangladesh National Party claimed there had been widespread fraud in the election and with the help of Hussain Mohammad Ershad's Jatiya Party, the Bangladesh National Party retained representation in the parliament. Struggles between the Awami League and the Bangladesh National Party continued to trouble the nation's politics. On October 1, 2001, the BNP, heading a four-party opposition alliance, managed an electoral comeback and Khaleda Zia returned to power.

The electoral conflicts in Bangladesh were accompanied by both progress and problems in the economy and society. A relatively high rate of economic growth helped the country move from a deficit in food production to a surplus by 2001. Longtime rebels in the Chittigong Hill tracts in the southeastern area began to lay down their arms as a result of an agreement with the government in December, 1997. However, tensions with neighboring India intensified when Bangladeshi security forces seized a border outpost under Indian control on April 17, 2001, resulting in military retaliation by India. The electoral year of 2001 was marred by a series of explosions set off by unknown groups.

*Daniel G. Graetzer*

*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

General studies of Bangladesh include B. L. C. Johnson's *Bangladesh* (1982), Charles P. O'Donnell's *Bangladesh: Biography of a Muslim Nation* (1984), Marcus Franda's *Bangladesh: The First De-*

cade (1981), and Craig Baxter's *Bangladesh: A New Nation in an Old Setting* (1984). For the role of religion in the social unrest of Bangladesh, consult Jeremy Seabrook's *Freedom Unfinished: Fundamentalism and Popular Resistance in Bangladesh Today* (2001). The country's political history leading up to the civil war is chronicled in K. M. Safiullah's *Bangladesh at War* (1995), Subrata R. Chowdhury's *The Genesis of Bangladesh: A Study in International Legal Norms and Permissive Conscience* (1972), Richard Sisson and Leo Rose's *War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh* (1991), Matiur Rahman and Naeem Hasan's *Iron Bars of Freedom* (1980), and Anthony Mascarenhas's *Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood* (1986). For general background information, consult *South Asia—Nepal, Bangladesh, and Bhutan: A Global Studies Handbook* (2002) by Nanda R. Shrestha and Bimal K. Paul.

Events of the 1971 civil war and their immediate aftermath are narrated in Siddiq Salik's *Witness to Surrender* (1997), G. W. Chowdhury's *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (1974), J. F. R. Jacob's *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of a Nation* (1997), Herbert Feldman's *The End and the Beginning: Pakistan, 1969-1971* (1975), Lawrence Lifschultz's *Bangladesh: The Unfinished Revolution* (1979), Talukder Maniruzzaman's *The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath* (1980), and A. B. M. Shamsul Islam's *Bibliography on Population, Health, and Development in Bangladesh* (1986). Another notable text proposing a slightly different viewpoint of the war is Jahanara Imam's *Of Blood and Fire: The Untold Story of Bangladesh's War of Independence* (1991; originally published in 1986 under the title *The Days of '71*).

## BHUTAN

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*Bhutan's government has worked to preserve the country's nontechnological culture, monarchical power, and natural environment. International humanitarian groups have expressed concern over the measures being taken to achieve these goals. The main conflict has been over the political status of ethnic Nepalese residents or former residents of Bhutan. Originally brought to Bhutan as laborers, many of the ethnic Nepalese minority regard Bhutan as their home and have struggled for full citizenship in the context of a pluralistic, democratic society. The government, on the other hand, fears that Bhutan will lose its identity as the last of the Buddhist Himalayan kingdoms and that Bhutan's culture will be overwhelmed by the rapidly growing Nepalese minority, which is of the Hindu faith. During the 1980's and 1990's many ethnic Nepalese fled to refugee camps in Nepal. The conflict has been marked by public demonstrations, violence by extremists on both sides, and government repression.*

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**B**hutan is a small nation, with a population of about 2 million in 2002, not counting an estimated 100,000 Bhutani refugees in Nepal. The country covers about 18,147 square miles in area (almost twice the size of the state of Maryland) and is located in the foothills of the eastern Himalaya Mountains. It is bordered by India to the east and south, Tibet to the north, and Sikkim (now part of India) to the west.

Bhutan's eight mountain ranges run north to south, dividing the country into steep hills and fertile valleys. Five main rivers flow south into India. For such a small area, it has a great range of climates, from steamy jungles in the south to the frigid mountains of the north. Temperatures vary greatly with differences in altitude.

Bhutan has several unique animal and plant species, and jungle wildlife includes elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers, leopards, and bears. Because the land is so mountainous, erosion is a problem, and only about 8 percent of it can be used for farming or as pasture land. As a result of these conditions, Bhutan's valleys are

very crowded. Ninety percent of the people are farmers, and terraced rice paddies climb the sides of many hills.

### **Demography and Environment**

The people of Bhutan belong to three main ethnic groups. The largest group is the Drukpas (dragon people), who are related to the Tibetans. About one-fifth of the people are descendants of immigrants from Nepal (another Himalayan country to the west of Bhutan). Members of the third group, living in eastern Bhutan, are the Sarchop. They are related to the hill tribes of Assam, India's easternmost province.

Bhutan's four major languages are Dzongkha, the official language; Bumthangka, a Tibetan dialect spoken in central Bhutan; Sarchapkkha, which is spoken in eastern Bhutan; and Nepali, which is used in the south. The main religion is Mahayana Buddhism, practiced by the Drukpa majority. The Nepali are of the Hindu faith.

Modern health care and sanitation are rare in Bhutan. Safe drinking water is not available in many areas. In 1994 the average life expectancy was only forty-six years, and there were only about fifty doctors in the whole country.

Although the government of Bhutan has been criticized for human rights violations, its achievements in conservation are

## **Profile of Bhutan**

*Official name:* Kingdom of Bhutan

*Independent since:* 1949

*Location:* southern Asia, north of Bangladesh and part of India

*Area:* 18,147 square miles

*Capital:* Thimphu

*Population:* 2.09 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Dzongkha

*Major religions:* Buddhism; Hinduism

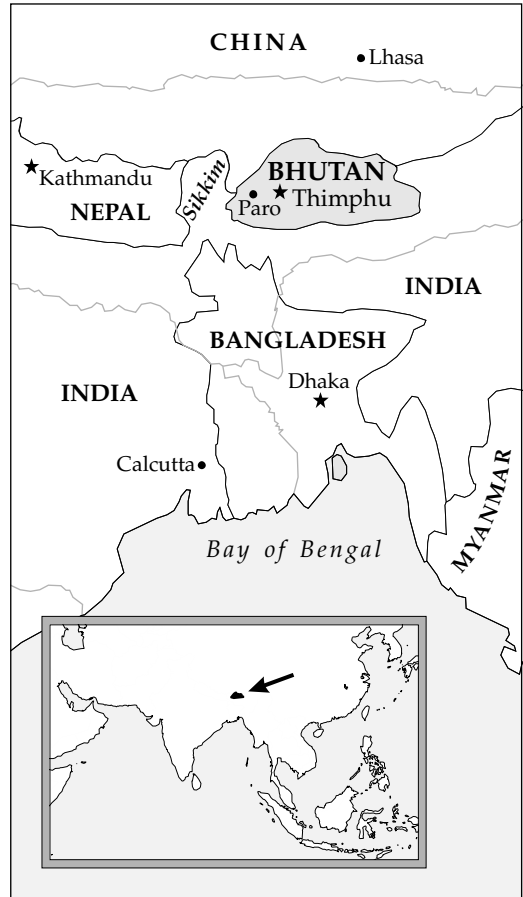
*Gross domestic product:* US\$2.5 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* electricity; cement; timber and wood manufactures; fruits and vegetables

*Military expenditures:* US\$9.3 million (2001)

highly regarded. Twenty-two percent of Bhutan's territory has been set aside for parks and reserves. Bhutan's scenery, so attractive to tourists and residents alike, is recognized as an important national asset, and one has to apply for a permit to cut down a single tree.

Both Buddhist tradition and government policy emphasize care of the environment, and the laws require that over 60 percent of the land remain forested. To some extent the delay of industrialism has given Bhutan a chance to adopt a more cautious approach to heavy industry and the accompanying pollution problems.



### Early History

The earliest written reference to Bhutan, described as the Southern Valleys, is in Tibetan Buddhist texts from the seventh century. In the eighth century the Buddhist saint Guru Rinpoche visited the area, and the religion spread. Although the valleys were ruled by competing chieftains, both political and religious power became concentrated in the hands of members of the Drukpa Kagyudpa school of Buddhism, which was established in West Bhutan by Phajo Drugom Shigpo during the thirteenth century.

This process of consolidation reached a peak in the seventeenth century, when Shabdrung Nawang Namgyel, the leader of

the Drukpa Kagyudpa, fortified the region and instituted legal and political practices, some of which continued into the twentieth century.

Contact with the British colonial administration in India began in the eighteenth century, and after a brief territorial war with Britain in 1864-1865, the relationship was friendly. Bhutan retained control over its internal affairs, but Britain advised Bhutan on international matters. Bhutan's current dynasty began in 1907 with the crowning of King Ugyen Wangchuk.

After India gained its independence from Britain in 1947, it replaced Britain as Bhutan's adviser and military protector. This relationship was formalized in 1949.

After China occupied Tibet in 1950, Bhutan granted asylum to six thousand Tibetan refugees. Bhutan's economic, political, and military ties with India were strengthened as a result of tensions between China and India. In 1971 Bhutan joined the United Na-

## Bhutan Time Line

- 1864-1865 Bhutan and Great Britain fight Duar War until Treaty of Sinchula establishes peace.
- 1881 Ugyen Wangchuk becomes governor.
- 1907 (Dec. 17) Ugyen Wangchuk becomes king.
- 1949 Bhutan signs treaty of friendship with India.
- 1952 Druk Gyalpo (Dragon King) Jigme Dorji Wangchuk becomes king.
- 1953 National assembly (Tshogdu) is established to assist king in governance.
- 1958 Nationality law defines citizenship narrowly.
- 1959 When Chinese troops enter Tibet, 6,000 Tibetan refugees receive asylum in Bhutan.
- 1961 Bhutanese government starts five-year development programs for paved roads, education, and malaria eradication.
- 1965 Royal Advisory Council is established to guide king in important decisions.
- 1968 King voluntarily surrenders his right to veto national assembly bills.
- 1971 Bhutan is admitted to United Nations.
- 1972 Planning commission is established to formulate five-year plans.
- 1972 Crown Prince Jigme Singye Wangchuk becomes fourth hereditary king.
- 1985 Citizenship Act excludes many Bhutan residents of Nepalese descent.

tions, and in 1985 it became part of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

### **Government**

Through most of its recent history, Bhutan's government has been close to an absolute monarchy, in which a ruler has unrestricted power. However, beginning around 1998, the king began a gradual liberalization of the government in response to domestic and international pressure for democratization. In 1998, the king ceased to be head of government, handing this function over to a newly organized cabinet, which was elected by the nation's national assembly.

The national assembly, or Tshogdu, was created in 1953, but the king and the Buddhist clergy retained a great deal of power. About one-fourth of the Tshogdu's 150 members are appointed by the king, 12 monastic representatives are elected by the monks,

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1988	National census is started.
1989	After antigovernment pamphlets are distributed in Thimphu, government determines that Teknath Rizal, a former member of Royal Advisory Council, is responsible.
1989	Teknath Rizal and other antigovernment activists are extradited from Nepal.
1990	Teaching of Nepali as second language is discontinued.
1990	Schools are closed in southern Bhutan.
1990	Protests led by Bhutan People's Party (BPP) demand full citizenship rights for ethnic Nepalese, restoration of Nepali instruction in schools, and democratic reforms.
1994	Druk National Congress (DNC) is founded by Rongthong Kunley Dorji, an exile in Nepal.
1995	Appeal Movement Coordinating Council (AMCC) is established by activists in refugee camps in southeastern Nepal.
1996	Nepal demands that all refugees should be accepted by Bhutan.
1998	Prince Charles of Great Britain visits Bhutan.
1998	(June) Cabinet elected by national assembly replaces the monarch as the head of government.
2001	National assembly adopts legal code giving greater authority to the judiciary and country moves toward more decentralized system of local administration.

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and the others are elected by the people for three-year terms. In 1969 the national assembly was given the theoretical ability to veto the king's legislation or even to remove him. This theoretical power was meaningless for a long time because the king had so much power. In June, 1998, however, the king not only agreed to have the national assembly elect the members of his cabinet, but to allow the national assembly to subject his rule to occasional votes of confidence.

Bhutan's third hereditary king, Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, who reigned from 1953 to 1972, brought about many changes. He abolished slavery and the caste system, emancipated women, started a process of land reform, and established a school system run by the government. Jigme Singye Wangchuk, who became king in 1972, was educated in England.

### **Cultural Conservatism and Isolation**

Bhutan's government enforces laws that prevent cultural change. As recently as 1998, for example, blue jeans were still banned, and citizens were required to wear traditional clothing or pay heavy fines. All buildings must be constructed according to traditional patterns. Tourism, an important source of revenue, has been carefully controlled. Ironically, the slow pace of change in Bhutan has made it especially attractive to tourists, who often search for exotic environments that have not been "spoiled" by modern influences.

Bhutan's physical isolation has been an important factor in its cultural and political development. Until the 1960's the main trade route between Bhutan and India was a beaten mule track winding its way around and over mountains and across fragile wooden bridges spanning deep gorges. Travel between the Indian border and the western Bhutanese town of Paro required a six-day mule ride. Roads were added to connect the major towns, but even as late as 1998 motor vehicles were still rare. Pack animals were the most common means of transport.

In 1990 Bhutan surpassed almost a century of gradual change by introducing satellite transmission for telephone and fax communications. As of 1998, however, there was no television, and a weekly twelve-page newspaper, *Kuensel* (published in English,

Nepali, and Dzongkha) remained the main source of new information.

### **Human Rights Crisis**

Bhutan's major crisis of the 1980's and 1990's revolved around the plight of ethnic Nepalese living in and near Bhutan. Nepal, like Bhutan, is a Himalayan buffer nation sandwiched between the major regional powers of China and India. However, Nepal covers a larger territory than Bhutan, from which it is separated by a narrow strip of mountainous land belonging to India.

Nepalese people moved into southern regions of Bhutan as early as the nineteenth century. Many of the original immigrants came as laborers and founded new communities in previously uninhabited areas by clearing forests. Because of religious, cultural, and linguistic differences, the Nepalese did not assimilate into Bhutanese society, which is dominated by the Drukpa majority. During the 1960's large numbers of Nepalese were contracted for public works projects, and the ethnic Nepalese population increased when many of these workers remained in Bhutan.

The rulers of Bhutan, having resisted cultural pressures from the West and from the larger nations around them, began to feel threatened by the increasing numbers of Nepalese in Bhutan. Middle-class members of the Nepali community in Bhutan were denied access to positions of power and began to support pro-democracy movements. This was seen by the rulers as a political as well as a cultural threat, especially after a national census in 1980 showed that a large and growing portion of Bhutan's total population consisted of ethnic Nepalese, who are sometimes referred to as "Southern Bhutanese."

In 1985 the Citizenship Act was passed and a new census taken, but only in the southern regions. Citizenship was redefined, and many people, including some who had been legally regarded as Bhutanese, were classified as "illegal immigrants." Thousands of people were forcibly evicted from Bhutan. Conditions for ethnic Nepalese living in Bhutan grew worse in 1989, when they were forced by law to either adopt the clothing and mannerisms of the Drukpa majority or face punishment. The Nepali language was dropped from the school curriculum. Inter-

*Image Not Available*

national humanitarian organizations, including the International Red Cross and Amnesty International, became involved.

In 1990, after public protests were made against these policies, severe repression followed, including torture, rape, arrests without trial, and other abuses. Most of the schools in southern Bhutan were closed, homes were burned and destroyed, access to health care was denied, and workers were fired from their jobs after having their identity cards taken away. Thousands of people fled to refugee camps in Nepal and the Indian states of Assam and West Bengal. Most of the leaders of the 1990 protests were jailed or exiled.

Nepali Bhutanese living outside Bhutan formed the Bhutan People's Party (BPP), which demanded full citizenship for ethnic Nepalese, the restoration of the Nepali language in the schools,

and democracy. The Bhutanese government labeled the BPP a “terrorist” organization. Violent activities, including murder, were carried out by extremists on both sides of the conflict.

Teknath Rizal, an ethnic Nepalese and an internationally known political prisoner, was arrested in 1990 and finally convicted in 1993 under the National Security Act for writing and distributing political pamphlets and attending political meetings. Many lesser-known detainees were eventually pardoned by the king and released.

In 1994 another wave of dissent began, this time in eastern Bhutan. The Druk National Congress (DNC) was founded by Rongthong Kunley Dorji, a member of the Sarchop community (the eastern Bhutanese minority group). After having first been tortured by government security forces and later pardoned by the king after international involvement, Rongthong Kunley Dorji left Bhutan and founded the DNC while in exile in Nepal.

After 1994 the DNC began to operate secretly inside Bhutan, advocating human rights and democracy. Another government crackdown ensued, following the same pattern of arbitrary arrests, detentions, torture, and intimidation seen in southern Bhutan. Most of the arrested were of the Sarchop minority, including Buddhist monks and religious teachers who were suspected of sympathizing with or encouraging the activists.

In September, 1995, activists in the refugee camps in southeastern Nepal established an Appeal Movement Coordinating Council (AMCC). This group sent an appeal to the king of Bhutan, and when there was no response, a protest march was organized. The goal of the marchers was to walk from the refugee camps through the mountains of northern India and into Bhutan to present a letter to the king asking for the release of Teknath Rizal and the initiation of a process of national reconciliation.

The first wave of marchers left the camps in January, 1996. At this point, the Indian government, Bhutan’s ally and supporter, became involved, and the Indian police arrested the protesters. On July 4, the Calcutta High Court in India ruled that detention of the 791 detained marchers was illegal, and they were released. Only a handful of the marchers eventually reached Bhutan, from which they were expelled again.

In January, 1997, various political opposition groups joined together. The DNC joined with the Nepalese exiles and other political parties in exile to form the United Front for Democracy (UFD) in Bhutan. Rongthong Kunley Dorji was elected to be its chairperson. When Britain's Prince Charles visited Bhutan in 1998, Amnesty International reported continuing human rights problems.

The liberalization that began in the summer of 1998 was a response to these internal and external problems. Although the king continued to have a great deal of power, the kingdom slowly moved away from absolute monarchy. In 2001, the national assembly passed a legal code that gave greater authority to the nation's judiciary, and the country moved toward establishing a more decentralized system of local administration.

Discussions between Nepal and Bhutan made some progress in the early twenty-first century on the issue of the refugees in Nepal. Bhutan also faced minority group problems of another sort in the southeastern part of the country, where Assamese militants fighting against India had established bases inside Bhutan. Although Bhutan had ordered the Assamese to leave and discussed joint military efforts with India against these militants, Assamese fighters could not be persuaded to withdraw to India.

*Alice Myers*

*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

*Insight Pocket Guides: Bhutan* (1996) is an excellent general guide to Bhutan that includes numerous pictures and is appropriate for young readers. Another useful introduction to Bhutan that is appropriate for younger readers is *Bhutan* (2001), by Robert Cooper. Barbara Crossette's *So Close to Heaven: The Vanishing Buddhist Kingdoms of the Himalayas* (1996) is an interesting book about Buddhism in Bhutan, Sikkim, and Nepal. A scholarly treatment of Bhutan politics, government, and ethnic relations is *Bhutan: Perspectives on Conflict and Dissention* (1994). *South Asia—Nepal, Bangladesh, and Bhutan: A Global Studies Handbook* (2002) by Nanda R. Shrestha and Bimal K. Paul contains a great deal of useful information on Bhutan.

Videos relating to Bhutan include *Bhutan: Land of the Thunder Dragon*; *Maya: Messages in Stone*, a fifty-minute video in the Mystic Lands series published by WinStar Home Entertainment in 1997; and *Bhutan-Himalyan Cultural Diary*, a video about Bhutanese history and religion published by Video Outlines/Procrustes Press in 1997.

World Wide Web resources provide valuable information, especially on current events in Bhutan. Useful sites include Amnesty International at <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/>, the Bhutanese Refugee Crisis at <http://www.amherst.edu/~amherst/bhutan/menu.html> (which includes many pictures of the refugee camps), the Bhutan Homepage, which seems to be the official site and is located at <http://www.bhutan-Info.org/index.htm>, Derechos Human Rights at <http://www.derechos.org/saran/bhutan.html>, and Kuensel, the Web site of the national newspaper of Bhutan at <http://kuensel.com>.

## CAMBODIA

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*Conflicts in Cambodia stem from the country's geographic position next to Vietnam, from its long history of foreign intervention and foreign domination, from fighting among armed Cambodian factions, and from its relatively undeveloped, rural economy. The disorder created by the spillover of the war in neighboring Vietnam and by massive American bombing of the Cambodian countryside brought the radical Khmer Rouge ("Red Cambodians") to power in 1975. War with Vietnam led to invasion and conquest by the Vietnamese in 1978 and the establishment of a Vietnamese-backed Cambodian government. The Khmer Rouge joined with anticommunist forces and forces loyal to Cambodia's royal family to fight against the Vietnamese. Under international diplomatic pressure, the Vietnamese began withdrawing troops in 1989. The year 1991 saw an agreement among the four major Cambodian factions: the Vietnamese-backed Cambodian government, the supporters of the former king, the anticommunists, and the Khmer Rouge. Following a 1993 election, the royalists (the supporters of the former king) entered into a coalition government with the Cambodian leaders who had earlier been allies of the Vietnamese. The Khmer Rouge, however, resumed their guerrilla war against this new government. By 1997, the Khmer Rouge began to lose strength, but fighting broke out between the two factions of the coalition government.*

*In that year, Hun Sen, a former Khmer Rouge who had been prime minister of the Vietnamese-backed government, seized power. Following a questionable election in the summer of 1998, Hun Sen managed to establish himself as sole prime minister. After the death of Pol Pot, in 1998, the Khmer Rouge was no longer a political or military force. However, many in the country disagreed about how other former Khmer Rouge leaders should be held responsible for the organization's years in power.*

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**C**ambodia, also known as Kampuchea, is a Southeast Asian country of about 13 million people. Its capital, Phnom Penh, lies in the south central part of the country. Cambodia is bordered on the west and northwest by Thailand, on the north by Laos, on the east by the southern part of Vietnam, and on the south by the

Gulf of Thailand. The climate is tropical, with monsoon rains from May to October and a dry season from December to March. There are mountains in the southwest and north, but most of the country consists of low, flat plains. Three-quarters of the land is covered with forests and woodland and much of the cultivated land is covered with rice paddies.

The Cambodian people and their language are known as Khmer, a term much closer to their own word for themselves. About 90 percent of the people in Cambodia are ethnic Cambodians, or Khmer, 5 percent are Vietnamese, 1 percent are Chinese, and 4 percent belong to a variety of other ethnic groups. Nine out of ten Cambodians are farmers, and rice is both their main crop and their main food.

The Cambodian people are related to their neighbors by language, religion, and culture. The Khmer or Cambodian language is one of the languages in the Mon-Khmer language group, a group that is also thought to include Vietnamese. In religion and culture, however, the Cambodians are closer to the people of Thailand and Laos. Most Cambodians adhere to Theravada Buddhism, the type of Buddhism most common in Thailand and Laos, rather than to Mahayana Buddhism, the form of the religion practiced by most Vietnamese and Chinese Buddhists. His-

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## Profile of Cambodia

*Official name:* Kingdom of Cambodia

*Former names:* Democratic Kampuchea; Khmer Republic

*Independent since:* 1953

*Former colonial ruler:* France

*Location:* Southeast Asia, between Thailand and Vietnam

*Area:* 69,899 square miles

*Capital:* Phnom Penh

*Population:* 12.8 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Khmer

*Major religion:* Buddhism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$18.7 billion (2001 est.)

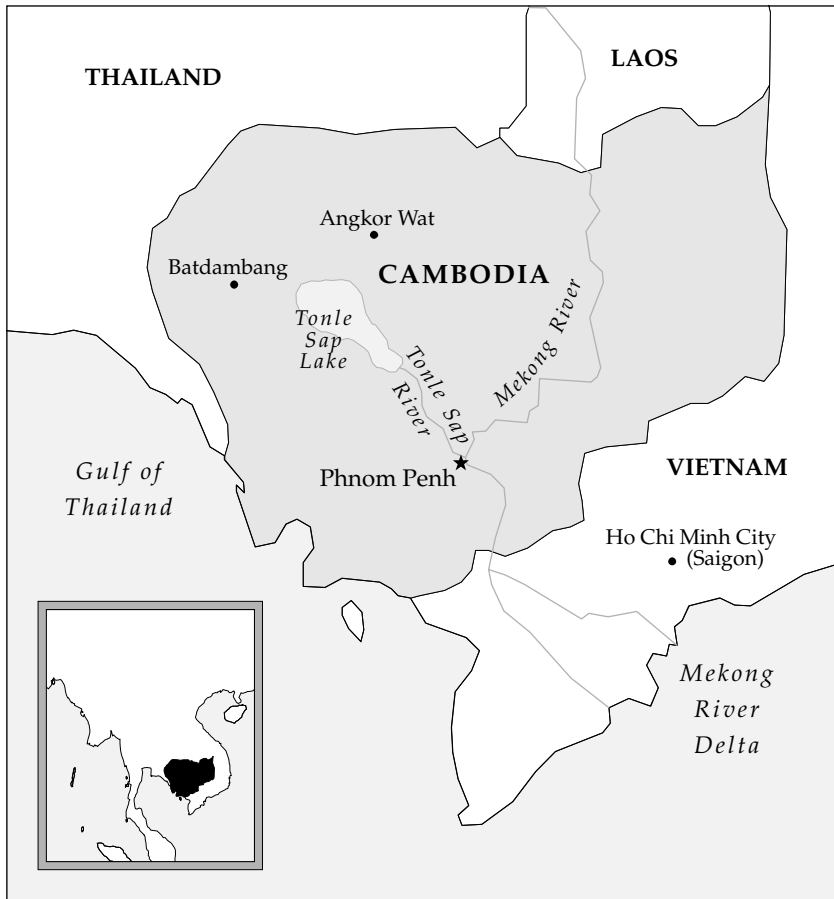
*Major exports:* re-exports; timber and logs; rubber; soybeans

*Military expenditures:* US\$112 million (2001 est.)

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torically, Cambodian, Thai, and Laotian culture has been most heavily influenced by Indian civilization, while Vietnamese culture has been influenced by the civilization of the Chinese.

### Early History

Many of Cambodia's modern conflicts have deep roots in the country's history. The greatest period in Cambodian history is known as the Angkor period, after the huge complex of temples in northwestern Cambodia known as Angkor Wat, which literally means "city-temple." Most scholars place the Angkorian period as having lasted from about 802 c.e. to about 1431. During much of this time Cambodia, or Kambuja-Desa, as it is called in

the old inscriptions, was the most powerful kingdom in South-east Asia.

By the end of the Angkorian era the kingdom of Kambuja-Desa was coming under increased pressure from the Siamese (also known as the Thais) on the west and the Vietnamese on the east. Gradually, the capital and center of the kingdom shifted from Angkor Wat to Phnom Penh, which remains the capital today. Trade had become more important for the Cambodians and Phnom Penh was located where the Mekong River and the Tonle Sap come together, making it easier to control trade from Laos and China.

The Angkorian period has continued to be a symbol for Cambodian nationalists, and many of the extreme policies of the modern Khmer Rouge government appear to have been undertaken in order to restore the glory of this empire.

From the 1400's on, the Cambodians lost territory to both the Siamese (Thais) and the Vietnamese. By the 1800's, Cambodia



*One of the most famous landmarks in the world, Angkor Wat is a large complex of temples in northwestern Cambodia. (PhotoDisc)*

had fallen almost entirely under the control of Vietnam, and Vietnam sealed it off from the outside influences that were beginning to affect other Southeast Asian countries. Vietnamese domination and cultural conflicts between the Indian-influenced Cambodians and the Chinese-influenced Vietnamese created a lasting perception of Vietnam as Cambodia's greatest traditional enemy.

### **French Domination**

Nineteenth century Vietnam suffered from its own internal political problems. One of the Vietnamese contenders for the throne sought help from the French, who, having entered Indochina, gradually established a colonial empire that became known as French Indochina. In 1859 the French emperor, Napoleon III, sent troops to Vietnam. After four years, the French forced neighboring Cambodia to become a French protectorate.

## **Cambodia Time Line**

- 1431 Thai invasion ends Angkorian period—the “golden age” of Cambodian civilization—beginning domination of Cambodia by Thailand and Vietnam.
- 1863 Cambodia becomes a French protectorate.
- 1887 Cambodia is incorporated into French Indochina Union.
- 1941 French make Prince Norodom Sihanouk Cambodia's king.
- 1945 Japan establishes short-lived Cambodian republic, with Son Ngoc Thanh as prime minister.
- 1946-1953 French attempt to reestablish control in Southeast Asia; Cambodia's Khmer Issarak guerrillas fight for independence.
- 1949-1952 Pol Pot (known as Saloth Sar) studies in Paris with other future Khmer Rouge leaders.
- 1953 Cambodia achieves independence from France.
- 1963 Pol Pot flees to jungle.
- 1967 Khmer Rouge take up arms against Sihanouk.
- 1970 Cambodian military stages coup against Sihanouk; U.S. attempt to drive North Vietnamese out of Cambodia drives them deeper into country.
- 1970-1975 Lon Nol government is in power in Phnom Penh; United States bombs Cambodian countryside.
- 1970 (Mar. 18) Lon Nol overthrows Prince Sihanouk.

Cambodia became a French colony in 1887, when the French created the Indochina Union, comprising Cambodia and the three regions of Vietnam.

Under the French, the king of Cambodia was reduced to a figurehead. Most of the top officials in the governmental bureaucracy were French and the lower officials were generally Vietnamese. Thus, the country had little opportunity to develop its own political system or political traditions.

During the 1930's and 1940's nationalist feelings began to emerge among members of the urban elite, and the ruins of Angkor Wat, excavated by French archaeologists, served as a symbol for these nationalists, who tended to be both anti-French and anti-Vietnamese.

One of the most important nationalist leaders, Son Ngoc Thanh, served as prime minister of a Cambodian government es-

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- 1975-1978 Cambodia is renamed Democratic Kampuchea; Khmer Rouge undertake experiment in social revolution that is later blamed for causing deaths of more than a million Cambodians.
- 1975 (Apr. 17) Khmer Rouge occupy Phnom Penh, sealing off country from outside world and forcing city residents into countryside.
- 1978 Khmer Rouge border attacks on Vietnam provoke Vietnamese counterinvasion.
- 1979-1981 Khmer Rouge, Sihanouk's followers, and right-wing nationalists join in uneasy alliance against Vietnamese.
- 1979 (Jan. 6) Vietnam again invades Cambodia; Vietnamese establish People's Republic of Kampuchea under pro-Vietnamese Cambodian communists who have defected from Khmer Rouge.
- 1985 (Jan. 14) Vietnamese-supported Hun Sen becomes Cambodian prime minister.
- 1988 (May 26) Vietnam agrees to withdraw from Cambodia.
- 1990 (July 16) Cambodia talks open in Paris.
- 1990 (Aug. 6) United States and Vietnam meet to discuss Cambodia.
- 1990 (Aug. 28) Five permanent members of U.N. Security Council agree on terms for U.N. peacekeeping mission in Cambodia.
- 1991 Warring factions sign U.N.-brokered peace agreement providing for U.N. peacekeeping force and democratic elections.
- 1991 (Nov. 10) First U.N. peacekeepers arrive in Cambodia.
- 1991 (Nov. 14) Prince Sihanouk returns to Cambodia after thirteen-year absence.

(continued)

tablished at the end of World War II by the Japanese. Norodom Sihanouk (Norodom is the family name), a young member of the royal family placed on the throne by the French in 1941, was seen as a puppet of France, so that some nationalists distrusted him, even though many peasants revered him.

After World War II the French attempted to reestablish their power in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. This attempt stimulated the growth of nationalist guerrilla forces in all three countries. In Cambodia, the nationalists were known as the Khmer Issarak (Independent Khmers). The Khmer Issarak included Son Ngoc Thanh's followers, communists, bandit groups, and others, all pushed into an alliance with the Vietnamese guerrilla group known as the Viet Minh. One of the consequences of this alliance was that pro-Vietnamese factions came into existence among the leftists in the Cambodian resistance movement.

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### **Cambodia Time Line** (*continued*)

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|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1993 | U.N.-supervised election, boycotted by Khmer Rouge, establishes coalition government headed by Prince Norodom Ranariddh and Hun Sen.                                                                            |
| 1993 | (Feb. 20) Vietnamese-backed Cambodian government launches major offensive against Khmer Rouge.                                                                                                                  |
| 1993 | (May 23) Rescheduled Cambodian elections are held under U.N. auspices with 16,000 U.N. peacekeeping troops in place.                                                                                            |
| 1996 | (Apr.) Coalition government troops attack main Khmer Rouge base at Phnom Veng. Splits in Khmer Rouge leadership become evident.                                                                                 |
| 1997 | Pol Pot is taken prisoner by Khmer Rouge general Ta Mok; fighting erupts in Phnom Penh between forces loyal to Norodom Ranariddh and those loyal to Hun Sen; Hun Sen stages coup after Ranariddh goes to Paris. |
| 1997 | (July 5) Cambodia's Vietnamese-backed Hun Sen government drives Prince Norodom Ranariddh into exile.                                                                                                            |
| 1998 | (Mar. 30) Former Cambodian chief prime minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh returns to Cambodia to compete in national election.                                                                                   |
| 1998 | (Apr. 15) Former Cambodian leader Pol Pot dies.                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1998 | (July 26) Cambodia holds comparatively peaceful election, but Vietnamese-backed prime minister Hun Sen wins handily by widespread corruption.                                                                   |
| 1998 | (Aug. 30) Thousands of demonstrators march in Phnom Penh demanding that Premier Hun Sen be removed because of electoral fraud.                                                                                  |
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France attempted to maintain control by allowing a parliamentary government in Phnom Penh. However, postwar pressures for independence were too great to be resisted, and the French were suffering military defeats at the hands of the Viet Minh. In 1953 Sihanouk negotiated full independence from France. He took the title of prince when he gave up the kingship to his father in 1955 in order to take part in electoral politics and dominated the country until 1970.

### **Norodom Sihanouk**

Sihanouk received credit for achieving his country's independence, and this greatly enhanced his prestige. Among the peasants he was widely seen as heir to Cambodia's ancient tradition of "god-kings." Sihanouk was also a charming and charismatic, if often eccentric, man who visited the common people

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- 1998 (Nov. 30) National assembly approves formation of coalition government with Hun Sen as prime minister, after electing Prince Norodom Ranariddh president of Cambodia.
  - 1998 (Dec. 5) Last active Khmer Rouge guerrillas surrender to government.
  - 1999 (Mar.) Khmer Rouge commander Ta Mok, known as "the Butcher," captured by soldiers of the Cambodian government.
  - 1999 (May) Cambodian soldiers capture the former head of the Khmer Rouge prison at Tuol Sleng, where as many as 14,000 people were tortured and killed.
  - 1999 (May) Cambodia joins the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).
  - 2000 (Nov.) Chinese president Jiang Zemin visits Cambodia, causing the Cambodian government to delay procedures for trials of Khmer Rouge leaders, former allies of China.
  - 2001 (Aug.) Sihanouk signs a law making it possible to bring Khmer Rouge leaders to trial.
  - 2002 (Feb.) Frustrated by lack of progress, the United Nations ends its talks with the Cambodian government about bringing Khmer Rouge leaders to trial.
  - 2002 (Sept.) United Nations suggests it will reopen discussions of Khmer Rouge trials with the Cambodian government.
  - 2002 (Sept. 7) Former Khmer Rouge colonel Chhouk Rin is convicted of the murder of three Western backpackers in 1994.
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in their villages and identified himself as their father.

The political party Sihanouk founded and led, the Sangkum Reastr Niyum (the Popular Socialist Community), declared the protection of Buddhism as one of its central tenets, strengthening a traditional tie between the monarchy and the national religion. Thus, in addition to pro-Vietnamese and anti-Vietnamese leftists and noncommunist nationalists, Cambodia also had a royalist faction.

In international politics, Sihanouk became one of the leaders of the nonaligned movement of nations that attempted to take a neutral position in the Cold War between the West and the communist countries. He also tried to maintain friendly relations with North Vietnam, which he correctly believed would eventually win the war against South Vietnam. These positions made him distrusted by South Vietnam's protector, the United States.

At the same time, however, the poverty of Cambodia made it necessary for Sihanouk to take aid wherever he could get it, and the United States became the main source of military aid and military training for the Royal Khmer Armed Forces. In this way, a pro-American faction developed in the upper ranks of the Cambodian military.

For a time, Sihanouk managed to include the leftists in his government. However, he also saw them as threats and occasionally cracked down on them, driving the new general secretary of Cambodia's Communist Party, Pol Pot, into the jungle in the early 1960's.

By 1967 the leftists and Sihanouk had parted ways and the Kampuchean Communist Party, labeled the "Khmer Rouge" by the French-speaking Sihanouk, had taken up arms against Sihanouk in the countryside. Cambodian society and economy, moreover, became increasingly unstable, creating a dangerous environment for the country's factionalized political system.

### **Problems of Society and Economy**

Over the course of the twentieth century Cambodian society was divided into two main groups: a small urban elite and a large rural peasantry. The peasantry was educationally as well as economically disadvantaged. According to 1997 estimates from the

United Nations, 52 percent of adult Cambodian men and 66 percent of adult Cambodian women were illiterate.

In the years following World War II the Cambodian population grew rapidly. Since 90 percent of the people supported themselves on their own plots of land, population growth meant that there was less land available. Those peasants who inherited or managed to acquire more land than they needed were able to rent to others, so that growing economic inequality accompanied increasing economic hardship. Moreover, inflation ate away at the well-being of most Cambodians throughout the 1950's and 1960's and intensified social tensions and resentments.

The majority of Cambodians, having little formal education and few opportunities to participate in politics, did not see their national allegiance as a matter of support for principles of government or for a political system. Instead, they tended to be loyal to Prince Norodom Sihanouk. This loyalty meant that the stability of the government depended heavily on a single leader.

Members of the elite were also affected by inflation and by the underdeveloped state of Cambodia's economy. Those who managed to receive a Western-style education were generally unable to find jobs corresponding to their educational level, and the highly centralized nature of Cambodia's government made it difficult for them to participate in the country's political life. Radical ideologies were therefore appealing to many frustrated, alienated children of well-to-do families. Those who were educated in France, in particular, came into contact not only with French ideas about the equality of all people but also with radical Marxist theories that advocated achieving equality through violent revolution.

### **Khmer Rouge and Democratic Kampuchea**

The radical left-wing movement known as the Khmer Rouge had its organizational beginnings in France in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The individuals who were to become the central leadership of the Khmer Rouge came primarily from landowning families that were able to send them to study in France. In France, they became involved in radical Cambodian political groups and joined the French Communist Party.



Several of the young leftists finished doctoral degrees. The only one who did not finish with a university degree was Saloth Sar, later to be known as Pol Pot, who became the leader of the Khmer Rouge. After returning to Cambodia, the leftist students worked to organize a communist movement.

Although it initially took up arms against Sihanouk, much of the eventual success of the Khmer Rouge was due to an alliance with the prince. In the late 1960's Sihanouk had allowed the United States to engage in bombing the Cambodian countryside in order to drive out Vietnamese communist forces who were using Cambodia as a sanctuary and a base to attack South Vietnam.

The prince's cooperation was limited, however, and the Americans acquiesced when the Cambodian military, under General Lon Nol, staged a coup, establishing the Khmer Republic. The coup caused Sihanouk to flee to the Khmer Rouge and to urge his supporters to take up arms against the new Cambodian government.

With Lon Nol in power, there were no limits on U.S. bombing. Eager to force the North Vietnamese to come to an agreement that would enable American troops to withdraw from a highly unpopular war, the Americans dropped an estimated 539,129 tons of bombs on the small country. This was about three and a half times the bombs dropped on Japan during all of World War II. Social disruption, together with the political appeal of Sihanouk, greatly increased the power of the Khmer Rouge.

Although the Khmer Rouge leaders were highly educated people dedicated to sophisticated, if extreme, ideological principles, most ordinary Khmer Rouge soldiers were young men or even children drawn from the peasantry. The only education of these ordinary soldiers was dedication to the goals of the party, and they carried with them the experience of constant, uncompromising warfare and bitterness against a society seen as utterly unjust. Therefore, wherever the Khmer Rouge took power, the radical ideas of the leadership were often carried out by ruthless, frequently illiterate adolescents.

In 1973 the United States began to withdraw from Southeast Asia. Without U.S. support, the governments of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia all crumbled before communist opposition move-

ments. On April 17, 1975, the Khmer Rouge marched into Phnom Penh and immediately began to execute all officials of the Khmer Republic. It also forced all citizens of Phnom Penh to evacuate the city. Khmer Rouge spokesmen justified this measure by pointing out that there was insufficient food for all the city-dwellers. However, they also were motivated by the desire to destroy bases of opposition and by the goal of creating a perfectly equal nation of peasants.

Estimations of the numbers of people who died from executions, starvation, or disease while the Khmer Rouge was in power usually range from one to three million. Efforts to calculate just how many people had died continued long after the Khmer Rouge period. The Documentation Center of Cambodia, an organization dedicated to collecting information about Khmer Rouge atrocities reported in the fall of 2002 that it had located 19,440 anonymous mass graves in the country dating from the late 1970's.

There were several reasons for this horrible death rate. First, the attempt to turn the country into a self-sufficient agricultural economy was a disastrous plan initiated by French-trained radical economic theorists with no knowledge of agricultural production. Also, the attempt to establish a classless, peasant-based society led the Khmer Rouge to see all nonpeasants as class enemies.

Moreover, policies were carried out by battle-hardened, ruthless youths who had become accustomed to killing as the way to achieve goals. Finally, the Khmer Rouge, like other forces in Cambodian society, was divided into factions. In order to keep power, Pol Pot and the other leaders of newly renamed Democratic Kampuchea felt it necessary to identify and eliminate those who were opposed to them.

Chief among the internal enemies of the central leadership of Democratic Kampuchea were the members of the Khmer Rouge who continued to be pro-Vietnamese. The tactical alliance with the Vietnamese communists ended when the Americans left. The Khmer Rouge wanted to restore Cambodia to the greatness of the Angkorian period and establish a classless society. Therefore, they wanted to retake parts of Thailand and Vietnam that had formerly belonged to Cambodia.

Vietnam, in particular, was seen as the traditional enemy. Some pro-Vietnamese Khmer Rouge fled to Vietnam, and Democratic Kampuchea began to launch attacks across the border into Vietnam. In response, on December 25, 1978, the Vietnamese army invaded Cambodia. Two weeks later, Phnom Penh fell once again, this time to Vietnamese forces.

### **Cambodia Under Two Governments**

The Vietnamese enabled former Khmer Rouge members who had allied themselves with Vietnam to establish the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). Although this new government was much more humane than the regime of Democratic Kampuchea, many Cambodians and people in other countries saw the new administration, under President Heng Samrin, as a puppet of the Vietnamese invaders.

The Khmer Rouge, forces loyal to Sihanouk, and forces led by the anticommunist leader Son Sann waged guerrilla war against the PRK and the Vietnamese from bases along the Thai border. The thousands of refugees crossing the border into Thailand brought the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge era to international attention; nevertheless, the United States and other countries condemned the Vietnamese invasion and backed the resistance fighters.

In 1982 the three factions of the resistance formally joined together to form the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK). Sihanouk and Son Sann served as presidents. Khieu Samphan, a Khmer Rouge leader with a somewhat better reputation than Pol Pot, served as prime minister, although Pol Pot apparently continued to maintain control. The United Nations and many individual countries recognized the CGDK as the legitimate government of Cambodia, so that during most of the 1980's Cambodia had two governments at war with each other.

### **Uneasy Coalition and the Khmer Rouge**

War in Cambodia was a drain on impoverished Vietnam, and the Vietnamese were interested in establishing economic and political relations with other countries, especially with the United States.

## Major Cambodian Political Factions

**Anticommunists:** Conservative nationalists opposed to both the royalists and the communists. Together with the royalists and the Khmer Rouge, they fought a guerilla war against the Vietnamese and the Vietnamese-backed leftists from 1979 to 1991. They ceased to be a major faction after the creation of a coalition royalist-leftist government in 1993.

**Khmer Rouge:** Communists and extreme nationalists who governed Cambodia from 1975 to 1979. After the Vietnamese takeover, they fought the Vietnamese-backed government until 1991. From 1993 until 1997, they fought against the coalition government. By 1997, they were beginning to turn against one another.

**Royalists:** Supporters of Norodom Sihanouk and his family. Prince Norodom Ranariddh led the royalist faction in the coalition government as first prime minister from 1993 to 1997.

**Vietnamese-backed Leftists:** Former members of the Khmer Rouge who became allies of the Vietnamese during the Khmer Rouge regime. Second prime minister Hun Sen, who governed with Norodom Ranariddh from 1993 to 1997 and then seized power from Ranariddh, was a leader of this faction.

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In 1989 Vietnam began withdrawing its troops. This motivated the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which came under the control of Prime Minister Hun Sen, to come to terms with the resistance fighters. During the summer of 1991 all four factions agreed to a peace plan brokered by the United Nations, under which the United Nations would establish a transitional authority to prepare for elections.

Although the Khmer Rouge was militarily powerful, it continued to be unpopular among civilians. When Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan returned to Phnom Penh in 1991, he was nearly lynched by an angry crowd. It was doubtful, therefore, that the Khmer Rouge would do well in fair elections. When elections were actually held in 1993 under the supervision of the United Nations, the Khmer Rouge boycotted the proceedings and threatened violence.

Norodom Sihanouk was appointed head of state, once again taking the title of king. Sihanouk's son, Norodom Ranariddh, was the top vote getter, becoming first prime minister. Hun Sen

actually lost the election, but he was established as second prime minister in order to keep his faction in the coalition. The Khmer Rouge resumed guerrilla warfare against the new government.

For a time the Khmer Rouge appeared to be a genuine threat. In April, 1996, however, government troops launched an attack on the main Khmer Rouge base at the town of Phnom Veng and there were reports of splits within the leadership of the Khmer Rouge. Ieng Sary, one of the most powerful men in the radical guerrilla group, split with Pol Pot and applied to the Cambodian government for amnesty, which was granted by Sihanouk in September, 1996.

Throughout 1997 the remaining Khmer Rouge leaders turned against one another. After Pol Pot ordered the murder of his own defense minister along with the minister's entire family in June, Pol Pot himself was taken prisoner by the notorious Khmer Rouge general Ta Mok, nicknamed "the butcher." In April, 1998, while in captivity, Pol Pot died, reportedly of a heart attack.

The splintering of the Khmer Rouge triggered a split between Hun Sen and Prince Ranariddh, who were competing for the loyalty of the defectors. Although Ranariddh was far more popular and would probably win any reasonably fair election, Hun Sen controlled more troops. During the summer of 1997 heavy fighting broke out in Phnom Penh between troops loyal to the two prime ministers. In July, a day after Ranariddh left the country for a visit to Paris, Hun Sen seized sole power and declared Ranariddh a traitor for having sought support among the Khmer Rouge forces.

Fighting between forces loyal to Ranariddh and Hun Sen's government troops continued, and the ongoing conflict in Cambodia appeared to be between the supporters of the royal family, who enjoyed popular support, and the former pro-Vietnamese leftists led by Hun Sen, who held most of the military power.

### **The Hun Sen Government**

In the summer of 1998, Cambodia held elections under the oversight of international observers. This time, Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party (CPP) won a plurality of seats in the national assembly. Ranariddh and another opposition candidate,

Sam Rangsai, accused Hun Sen of using fraud and intimidation and demanded a recount. Because the Cambodian People's Party did not have a two-thirds majority, moreover, Hun Sen was legally required to form a coalition government. With the arbitration of Sihanouk, the conflicting parties agreed on a coalition in November, 1998. Hun Sen gradually consolidated his power and remained as prime minister.

Despite Hun Sen's clouded past, Cambodia showed signs of recovery under his government. The country established a flourishing garment industry, a common start-up activity among newly industrializing countries. This success was somewhat marred by accusations that Cambodian garment factories employed child labor and engaged in other inhumane labor practices. Tourism began to rebound in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, with Angkor Wat and other destinations again becoming attractions for international travelers.

One of the greatest problems for Cambodia under Hun Sen concerned the fate of the aging leaders of the Khmer Rouge. Some Cambodians believed strongly that these individuals should be punished, others thought that it would be best to leave the past behind. The Khmer Rouge leaders themselves generally blamed all the evils of their time in power on the now-dead Pol Pot. Nuon Chea, the second in command under Pol Pot, and Khieu Samphan, Khmer Rouge head of state, publicly denied any responsibility for the atrocities of the late 1970's. In August, 2001, Sihanouk signed a law that would make it possible to bring Khmer Rouge leaders to trial. Nevertheless, by mid-2002, only military chief Ta Mok and Kang Khek Ieu, a former commander of a torture center, had been arrested to await legal proceedings for the deaths of so many Cambodians.

Frustrated by lack of progress toward trials, in February, 2002, the United Nations ended five years of discussions of the issue with the Cambodian government. However, by the end of the summer, the United Nations again began to raise the question of trials. While it seemed as if Khmer Rouge leaders might never come to trial for crimes against their own people, on September 7, 2002, a Cambodian court did convict former Khmer Rouge colonel Chhouk Rin for the murder of three Western backpackers in

1994. However, Chhouk Rin was living in an inaccessible part of southern Cambodia and responded that he might consider turning himself in if the nation's supreme court upheld the verdict.

Carl L. Bankston III

### For Further Study

A useful source of general information about Cambodia is *Cambodia: A Country Study* (1990), edited by Russell R. Ross. For a concise summary of Cambodian history, David P. Chandler's *A Short History of Cambodia* (1983) is highly recommended. Readers who are interested in learning about Cambodian culture may consult *Cambodia* (1996) by Sean Sheehan, an illustrated volume that provides an introduction to the nation's history, language, religion, arts, festivals, and food.

Much has been written about the tragic period when the Khmer Rouge ruled Cambodia. Personal insight into this time is provided by *Children of the Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors* (1997). Edited by Dith Pran, whose own story was told in the film *The Killing Fields* (1984), this book provides eyewitness accounts of life in Democratic Kampuchea by people who were children there in the late 1970's. Ben Kiernan, head of the Cambodian Genocide Program at Yale University, gives the definitive history of Democratic Kampuchea in *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide Under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79* (1998). Another prominent historian of Cambodia, David Chandler, is the author of a comprehensive biography of Pol Pot, *Brother Number One: A Political Biography of Pol Pot* (1992). The essays in *Cambodia, 1975-1978: Rendezvous with Death* (1992), edited by Karl D. Jackson, attempt to explain the appalling violence of the Khmer Rouge by examining the ideology, economy, and political structure of Democratic Kampuchea.

Norodom Sihanouk has been a central figure in all of Cambodia's modern conflicts. Milton Osborne's *Sihanouk: Prince of Light, Prince of Darkness* (1994) is a biography of this complex individual that considers Sihanouk's political genius, his adeptness at maneuvering among Cambodia's factions, and his frequent ruthlessness. The massive social disruption created by Cambodia's traumas are described in *Cambodia: A Shattered Society* (1994), by

Marie Alexandrine Martin. Cambodia's post-Khmer Rouge political troubles are covered in *Political Transition in Cambodia, 1991-99: Power, Elitism, and Democracy* (2001), by David W. Roberts. For a report on Cambodia's problems at the end of the twentieth century, see *Cambodia: Report from a Stricken Land* (1998), by Henry Kamm.

There are several sites on the Internet that provide information on current events in Cambodia. The *Phnom Penh Post*, an English-language newspaper in Cambodia's capital may be found on-line at <http://www.vais.net/~tapang/ppp>. News articles on Cambodia from a wide variety of sources may be found at [http://headlines.yahoo.com/Full\\_Coverage/World/Cambodia](http://headlines.yahoo.com/Full_Coverage/World/Cambodia).



## CHINA

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*With the largest population and the third largest land area in the world, China is a major world power. The People's Republic of China was founded as a communist state in 1949. However, since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, it has gradually abandoned socialism in favor of a more open, market-oriented economy. This change has stimulated dramatic economic growth, boosting China's economy to the world's third-largest economy. However, political reform has not matched economic change, creating potential conflict between the two systems. In addition, China's rising economic and military power makes its neighbors uneasy. China's land boundaries with many of its neighbors are often in remote areas and hard to define, leading to border disputes. China also has conflicting claims over island territories with several neighbors. The status of the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan, which is claimed by China as a renegade province, is only the best known of these.*

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China is the largest country in Asia, a continent which represents well over one-third of the earth's total land surface, and it covers most of the eastern part of the continent. China's land area ranks behind Russia and Canada and only slightly ahead of the United States. Although this land area might seem ample, China's population reached a world record 1.28 billion people in 2001. Still more challenging, almost two-thirds of China's land is sparsely populated desert able to sustain life for only a small portion of its people. The Tibetan Plateau, the Gobi Desert, and China's far west are mostly desert and make up 40 percent of the country. Many people are surprised to learn that so much of China is desert and that there are more camels in China than in the deserts of the Middle East.

Most Chinese live in the eastern and southeastern portion of the country, where there is enough rainfall to grow crops. This means that China must feed almost one-quarter of the world's people with only about 7 percent of the world's land suitable for farming. China has always been a large nation. Measured by the

population's ability to live off the land under the prevailing farming techniques, it has been crowded almost to the maximum. Even at the time of the Roman Empire, China had the largest population in the world.

China includes not only Chinese people but also more than forty different ethnic groups. The Chinese, or the Han, as the ethnic Chinese are properly called, make up 94 percent of the total population of China. Although small in percentage terms, people in these minority groups number in the tens of millions. These include large numbers of Turkic people in a half dozen different ethnic groups, Tibetans, Mongolians, Manchu, and many groups of native Southeast Asian people.

### **Ancient History**

China's history began about six thousand years ago in the Yellow River Valley, from which Chinese civilization spread throughout China and spilled over into its neighboring countries, such as Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Vietnam. While China expanded and perhaps conquered many of its neighbors, it has never shown any interest in conquering distant countries at any time in its nearly six thousand years of recorded history.

The Chinese Empire, which lasted from about 200 B.C.E. until the start of the twentieth century, ranks as the most successful

## **Profile of China**

*Official name:* People's Republic of China

*Independent since:* 221 B.C.E.

*Location:* east Asia

*Area:* 3,705,386 square miles

*Capital:* Beijing

*Population:* 1.28 billion (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Mandarin Chinese

*Major religions:* atheism; Buddhism; Islam; Christianity

*Gross domestic product:* US\$5.56 trillion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* machinery and transport equipment; basic manufactures; chemical products; crude materials

*Military expenditures:* US\$45-65 billion (2002 est.)



and long lasting civilization in the world. This traditional Chinese civilization was heavily influenced by a philosopher named Confucius. Much of China's stability and strength comes from its Confucian foundation. However, Confucianism is also blamed for China's rigidity in the face of external change.

### Confucianism

Confucius was a relatively low-level Chinese official who traveled to many Chinese provinces spreading his ideas about good government and society at a time of great disunity in the land. One critical element of Confucianism was its demand that

the society be unified, harmonious, and hierarchical under the leadership of an emperor.

The unity and harmony were to be reinforced by a social system in which virtually every person knew his or her exact status. This hierarchy has many levels, but the most frequently discussed are the relationships between emperor and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friend and friend. Of all the relationships, only the relationship between friends has the possibility of equality.

Everyone had a stake in the perpetuation of the system because as people aged, they gained status over those who were younger. The family hierarchy reinforced the national hierarchy. Chinese fathers supported the emperor because he gave them control over their families. With clear hierarchical relationships, harmony and unity could be promoted. This no doubt supported a successful empire for a long time. However, with the model of a single person as ruler, the Chinese have had difficulty in understanding democracy. Conflicts may still develop between those who desire the give and take of democracy and those who prefer the harmony and stability of one-person rule.

Confucianism is said to be the least “religious” of all world belief systems. In fact, some people who use a very strict definition of religion refer to Confucianism as an ethical philosophy. Regardless, its impact on the Chinese has been tremendous over the past two thousand years. Confucianism is heavily dependent on history since it does not rely on either revelation or reason for its legitimate authority. Confucius did not claim to be a god, to have talked to a god, or even to have thought up his philosophy on his own. Instead, he claimed he had studied the past and found the best foundation for society in China’s ancient practices.

The historical foundation of Confucianism reinforces other parts of his philosophy. Confucianism urges worship of one’s ancestors because they are the part of the past that gives legitimacy to the present. Confucianism reveres elders precisely because they are likely to become ancestors before anyone else. This age-based hierarchy is critical for Confucian legitimacy. Such hierarchy promotes stability, but conflict may still develop if stability becomes unreasoning rigidity in the face of necessary change.

## Decline of Imperial China

The Chinese imperial system was headed by a single individual aided by Chinese bureaucrats. Most often called mandarins, these bureaucrats were scholarly officials who got their positions as a result of succeeding in competitive examinations. The exams involved the memorization of Confucian principles. This system further reinforced the spread of Confucianism from one generation to the next and made Chinese civilization highly successful until the start of the nineteenth century.

After 1800, the Ching Dynasty, which was already declining, confronted Western countries whose development of “scientific” thought gave them advanced industrial and military capabilities. The Confucian system was becoming so rigid that it could not adapt to change.

## China Time Line

- 1839-1842 China fights Great Britain in Opium War.
- 1851-1864 Hong Xiuquan leads Taiping rebellion.
- 1894-1895 Japan takes Taiwan and southern Manchuria from China in Sino-Japanese War.
- 1911 “Double-Ten” Revolution overthrows Qing Dynasty.
- 1912 Chinese Republic is formed under leadership of Sun Yatsen.
- 1912-1916 Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k’ai) leads China.
- 1912 (Feb.) China’s Qing Dynasty collapses and Chinese Republic is formed.
- 1921 Chinese Communist Party is founded in Shanghai.
- 1928 Chiang Kai-shek’s Northern Expedition earns him title “Generalissimo,” or first of equals among warlords.
- 1928 Japan seizes China’s Shandong province.
- 1932 Japan installs former Chinese emperor Pu Yi as president of its puppet state, Manchukao.
- 1934-1935 Mao Zedong leads Long March from South China to Yanan.
- 1937 (July) Incident at Marco Polo Bridge launches Japanese invasion of China.
- 1945 End of World War II in Asia permits China’s civil war between nationalists and communists to begin in earnest.
- 1949 (Oct. 1) Mao Zedong declares formation of People’s Republic of China; Chiang Kai-shek moves Republic of China government to Taiwan.

During the nineteenth century, Western countries increasingly intruded on China. They demanded treaties, including the “most favored nation” clause, requiring that a Chinese concession to one Western country had to be granted to every other Western country. They demanded the principle of “extraterritoriality,” which meant Westerners in China had to be judged by Western rather than by Chinese law. This was contrary to long-standing principles of international law. Westerners also forced China to open its doors to the importation of opium, further weakening Chinese society.

The Confucian system’s lack of success in confronting the West created self-doubt among the Chinese. Many Chinese increasingly came to believe that the national leadership had failed to protect China, and this led to internal disorders. The legacy of

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|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1950      | (Nov. 26) Chinese troops enter Korean War.                                                                              |
| 1953      | China launches its first five-year plan.                                                                                |
| 1953      | (July 27) Cease-fire ends Korean War.                                                                                   |
| 1955      | (Apr. 18) China and India lead nonaligned movement announced at Bandung Conference.                                     |
| 1958      | China launches Great Leap Forward.                                                                                      |
| 1959-1961 | More than twenty million people die in famine.                                                                          |
| 1962      | (Oct. 20) China invades India in dispute over Tibet border.                                                             |
| 1964      | (Oct. 16) China detonates its first atomic bomb.                                                                        |
| 1966      | China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution begins.                                                                   |
| 1972      | (Feb.) U.S. president Richard Nixon visits China.                                                                       |
| 1976      | (Jan. 8) Zhou Enlai dies.                                                                                               |
| 1976      | (July 28) Massive earthquake devastates Tangshan region.                                                                |
| 1976      | (Sept. 9) Mao Zedong dies; government arrests Gang of Four.                                                             |
| 1979      | Deng Xiaoping begins modernization effort.                                                                              |
| 1979      | (Jan. 1) United States and China restore full diplomatic relations.                                                     |
| 1979      | (Feb. 17) China invades Vietnam but withdraws a month later.                                                            |
| 1980      | Arrests follow “Democracy Wall” liberalization.                                                                         |
| 1981      | Introduction of “responsibility system” economic reform.                                                                |
| 1984      | (Sept. 26) Great Britain and China sign declaration setting out terms for Britain to return Hong Kong to China in 1997. |

*(continued)*

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Western imperialism, still resented by the proud Chinese, is a continuing source of conflict. Eventually, Western intrusion, opium addiction, and internal disorders led, on New Year's Day, to the fall of the last imperial dynasty in 1912.

### **Political Turmoil**

From 1912 until the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, China went through a period of almost continuous political turmoil. The unrest began with a civil war between warlords. In 1928 one of the warlords, Chiang Kai-shek, formed a sufficiently large number of alliances to emerge as the most powerful leader in China. Despite his dominance, he never achieved his hope of establishing himself as the emperor's replacement and bringing lasting peace to China.

#### **China Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1986-1987 Student demonstrations lead to fall of Hu Yaobang.
- 1987 (Apr. 13) Portugal agrees to return Macao to China in 1999.
- 1989 (Jan. 28) Panchen Lama, procommunist leader from Tibet, dies.
- 1989 (Apr. 18) Chinese students begin demonstrating in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.
- 1989 (May 13) Students in Tiananmen Square begin hunger strike that embarrasses Chinese government on eve of Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev's visit.
- 1989 (May 20) Chinese premier Li Peng declares martial law; workers and others join demonstrating students by blocking troops entering Beijing.
- 1989 (June) Widespread demonstrations by students and workers, beginning in Beijing, are followed by army crackdown.
- 1989 (June 24) Zhao Ziyang is replaced as general secretary of Communist Party by Jiang Zemin.
- 1991 (Mar. 14) China gives Russia foreign aid loan.
- 1991 (Dec. 13) Chinese premier Li Peng makes China's first high-level visit to India since 1962.
- 1992 China signs nuclear nonproliferation treaty.
- 1993 Deng Xiaoping visits Shenzhen Special Economic Region renewing economic reform effort.
- 1995 China occupies Mischief Reef, which is claimed by both China and Philippines.
- 1996 (Apr. 9) Tibet and central Chinese officials agree on new border, inaugurating campaign to define China's internal borders.

Several imperial powers continued to encroach on China. In particular, the Japanese began to annex Chinese territory by taking Taiwan and Korea in 1895. By 1931, they had conquered the northeast corner of China and turned it into a puppet regime that they called "Manchukao." Four years later, Japan began an open conquest of China. This included the notorious Rape of Nanjing, in which Japanese troops conquered China's capital, killing hundreds of thousands of civilians and raping Chinese women. Resentment over Japan's wartime atrocities continues to be a source of conflict between China and Japan.

Chiang's government was forced to retreat to the city of Chongqing in southeastern China, while a small group of communist rebels led by Mao Zedong sought to fight the Japanese from a semi-desert area of China known as Shaanxi Province. The

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- 1996 (Aug. 30) China protests Japanese Youth Federation's building of lighthouse and memorial on island claimed by China, Taiwan, and Japan.
  - 1996 (Oct. 10) Taiwan and China clash with Japanese navy over disputed islands.
  - 1996 (Nov. 28) Chinese president Jiang Zemin visits India and signs agreement to promote partial demilitarization of disputed border areas.
  - 1997 (Feb.) Execution of thirty Uighurs sparks unrest in Yining in China's Far West.
  - 1997 (Feb. 16) High-level North Korean official defects to South Korean consulate in Beijing, China.
  - 1997 (Feb. 19) Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping dies, and Jiang Zemin takes power.
  - 1997 (July 1) Great Britain returns its Hong Kong Colony to China.
  - 1997 (Aug. 11) China strengthens its border guard against Pakistan.
  - 1997 (Oct. 26) Chinese president Jiang Zemin visits United States.
  - 1997 (Nov.) Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng is released from prison to go into exile in United States.
  - 1998 (Jan. 30) U.S. State Department's human rights report moderates criticisms of China.
  - 1998 (Mar. 24) First Hong Kong election under Chinese rule produces record turnout, as voters reject both communists and members of old establishment.
  - 1998 (Apr. 19) Tiananmen demonstration leader Wang Dan is released from prison and sent into exile in United States.
  - 1998 (Apr. 29) U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright visits Beijing.

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*(continued)*



efforts of Chiang and Mao were not sufficient to overcome the Japanese. Eventually, U.S.-led international forces defeated the Japanese and ended the war.

### **Communists Take Power**

After World War II, open civil war broke out between Chiang's nationalists and Mao's communists. While the nationalists initially seemed to be winning with strong support from the United States, the communists were so strong in the countryside that they took power on October 1, 1949.

Chiang and his followers moved to the island of Taiwan and established the Republic of China. Mao was too concerned with consolidating his power in China to deal with Chiang's new island nation, which has maintained its independence. The Tai-

### **China Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1998 (May 24) In first elections since Hong Kong's return to Chinese rule, prodemocracy parties win more than 60 percent of popular vote.
- 1998 (June 25) U.S. president Bill Clinton begins state visit to China—the first such presidential visit since Tiananmen demonstrations in 1989—and reaffirms U.S. opposition to two-China policy.
- 1998 (July 10) Government rounds up prodemocracy activists in Zhejiang Province.
- 1998 (July 14) In unofficial visit, Chinese minister of science and technology Zhu Lilan becomes first government minister to visit Taiwan since 1949.
- 1998 (Oct. 14) China and Taiwan renew cooperative talks discontinued three years earlier.
- 1998 (Oct. 14) Koo Chen-fu, Taiwan's chief officer in charge of relations with China, visits China to conduct highest-level talks between the two governments since 1949.
- 1998 (Nov.) Jian Zemin is first president of People's Republic of China to visit Japan.
- 1999 (Mar. 15) China amends its constitution to declare private business an "important component of the socialist market economy."
- 1999 (May 7) U.S. missile hits Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia, causing serious rift in U.S.-China relations; (May 25) relations worsen when committee headed by U.S. congressman Christopher Cox issues report charging that China has engaged in massive espionage activities for decades.
- 1999 (July 22) Chinese government bans the Falun Gong religious sect.

wanese and Chinese governments both consider themselves to be the true representatives of the Chinese people, and tensions between them remain high.

Peace remained elusive, and the Chinese still faced a harsh future as international events were often largely beyond their control. China was allied with the Soviet Union and the Soviet-dominated North Korean regime. Scholars still debate the precise cause of the 1950-1953 Korean War, but apparently the Soviet Union permitted the North Koreans to launch an offensive across the demarcation line into South Korea. China seems not to have been the major instigator. The South Korean forces were overwhelmed until the United States responded and pushed the communist forces close to China's border. China, thinking the United States might invade its territory, was drawn into the war. Even-

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| 1999 | (July 25) Meeting between U.S. secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright and Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan in Singapore eases U.S.-China tension.                                                                              |
| 1999 | (Dec. 20) Portugal is scheduled to return its Macao Colony to China.                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 2000 | (Mar.) Chen Shui-bian, a pro-independence candidate, is elected president of Taiwan.                                                                                                                                                  |
| 2000 | (May) U.S. Congress votes to normalize trade with China.                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 2001 | (Apr.) American surveillance plane collides with a Chinese military jet and is forced to land on Hainan Island.                                                                                                                       |
| 2001 | (July 1) Chinese president Jiang Zemin calls on the Communist Party to admit capitalists.                                                                                                                                             |
| 2001 | (Sept.) Chinese Communist Party decides to admit people in business for profit.                                                                                                                                                       |
| 2002 | (Mar. 5) Prevented by censorship from making their views public, members of the Falun Gong sect in Jilin Province cut off state television broadcasts and broadcast Falun Gong videos instead.                                        |
| 2002 | (Sept.) In an effort to block communications critical of the government, Chinese authorities first block the internet search engine Google, and then replace the total block with restrictions on the scope of the engine's searches. |
| 2002 | (Sept. 11) For the tenth time in ten years, China and Chinese supporters in the United Nations block an attempt by Taiwan to join the U.N.                                                                                            |
| 2002 | (Nov.) Marking a shift of power to a new generation of leaders, Vice President Hu Jintao becomes general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party.                                                                                    |
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tually, the war bogged down along the old line separating North and South Korea.

Over the next few years, Mao used the mobilization for the Korean War to reinforce his plan to confiscate all private enterprise in the country. He forced the peasants from their private plots onto collective farms and then into communes. Initially, this seemed successful, but Mao's plan, known as the Great Leap Forward, pushed too far and provoked a 1959-1961 famine in which twenty to forty million people died. The Chinese government blamed the famine on a drought. The Soviet Union had been appalled at the idea of the Great Leap Forward and now withdrew much of its previous aid for the Chinese.

Mao was criticized by some high Chinese officials, but the Communist Party rallied to Mao's side and dismissed the dissenters. The dispute was costly for Mao's prestige. Over the next few years, other Chinese officials unofficially took command, and China slowly started to recover from the Great Leap Forward.

### **Cultural Revolution**

In 1966 Mao announced the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to reclaim power from other high Chinese officials. He did this by mobilizing students. Mao said they should "bombard the headquarters" of the Communist Party, even though he was the nominal head of the government. Mao's stratagem worked in terms of removing Liu Shaoqi, the second-ranking party leader who had become the unofficial head of the Communist Party, from office. Liu's supporters, such as Deng Xiaoping, were subsequently purged from their offices as well. Millions of Chinese suffered and many died in the turmoil that followed.

The Cultural Revolution further damaged Chinese relations with the Soviet Union. Mao became so concerned about a Soviet military invasion that he turned to the United States. Almost simultaneously, U.S. president Richard Nixon became interested in improving relations with the Chinese. He hoped that such improved relations would lead the Chinese to pressure the North Vietnamese to settle the war in Indochina. Nixon visited China in 1972, beginning the gradual process of restoring friendly relations.



*U.S. president Richard M. Nixon meets Chairman Mao Zedong during his historic visit to China in early 1972. (National Archives)*

In 1976 a massive earthquake struck a city less than one hundred miles from China's capital, Beijing. This disaster was so great that more than 250,000 people died and damage extended to Beijing itself. Many Chinese, referring to an old Chinese superstition, suggested the ancient notion that the Chinese leaders had lost the Mandate of Heaven. This seemed to be confirmed when Mao died on September 9, 1976.

Within one month the most extreme radicals in Mao's faction were arrested. Over the next two years, more moderate Mao supporters tried to hang on to power, but they were eventually displaced by Deng Xiaoping, a supporter of Liu Shaoqi who had been purged during the Cultural Revolution.

Deng sought to avoid several of the mistakes Mao had made. He refused to take the highest offices in either the government or the Communist Party. However, in secret meetings he was declared to be the final arbiter of all major disputes if the party leadership was divided. Publicly, Deng was said to be the paramount leader. Pressed by peasant demands for freedom from the stifling communist system, Deng agreed to some tentative agricultural reforms. However, the reforms quickly spread to the rest of the country.

### **Economic Reforms**

Tension emerged between the rapid economic change and the much slower, more erratic political reforms. Significant political demonstrations occurred in December, 1986, and much more serious demonstrations were organized in the spring of 1989. Started by students, the 1989 demonstrations spread to the general citizens. The unrest threatened the Communist Party leaders, who finally lashed back with military force against unarmed Beijing citizens gathering at Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989. Hundreds, if not thousands, died. This set the reform process back briefly, but Deng continued to support further economic reform. After that, Chinese economic growth was dramatic until the Asian economic downturn in 1998. While the nation's economic growth slowed at the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first century, most international observers still maintained that the country was showing an impressive rate of growth.

Ninety-three-year-old Deng Xiaoping died on February 19, 1997. His death was not unexpected, and he had presumably transferred his power to others when he retired a few years earlier. When Chinese president Jiang Zemin celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Communist Party's assumption of power in 1999, he emphasized the continuity of the Chinese government from 1949, through the years of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping and into the time of his own administration. Clearly, the official view was that the Communist Party would rule China indefinitely, despite political and economic change. In the short term, it did not appear that party control would end. Despite the increas-

ing complexity of the economy and problems of corruption and domestic order, there was no clear replacement for the party. However, political reform posed a difficult challenge for a single-party state, and it remained uncertain whether another party would eventually replace China's Communist Party or China would evolve into a multiparty system that would include the communists or fall into serious domestic disorder.

In November, 2002, the Chinese Communist Party designated a new leadership. Nine relatively young men, in their late fifties and early sixties, were appointed to the Politburo Standing Committee, the supreme ruling council of China. Among them was Hu Jintao, who became general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party and was slated to replace Jiang Zemin as president. It appeared that this would maintain China's direction as a country under the control of the party with increasing capitalist involvement, as Hu was an ally of Jiang.

Some progress in liberalizing the regime has occurred. For example, the government has allowed low-level village officials to be elected in nonparty elections in which more than one candidate runs for a single position. In the long run, this may serve to introduce democracy to China. These low-level elections still leave the Communist Party virtually in complete control at the county, provincial, and national levels. This means that any progress toward democratization will take many years.

This toleration of free elections may also lead to political disorder if a demand for the expansion of free elections threatens the control of the national leadership. This is particularly true if an economic downturn creates doubts about the wisdom of the Beijing government. A worldwide economic crisis could lead to substantial turmoil. However, some efforts at broadening the base of the Communist Party did take place under Jiang Zemin. On July 1, 2001, Jiang called on the party to admit capitalists—individuals who had been in private business. Although there was opposition to this comparatively radical revision of Marxist practice, in September of 2001 the central committee of the party decided to support Jiang's call.

While the Communist Party did try to bring in a wider representation from its population, the party's fear of disorder, and

## The Special Case of Hong Kong

One potential conflict among China, Great Britain, the United States, and other Western countries was avoided during the 1990's when the British decided to return Hong Kong to China in 1997. A century and a half earlier, Britain had seized the southeast China port city after defeating China in the Opium Wars. In the late 1890's it had forced China to lease it additional land, the so-called New Territories, which it attached to Hong Kong to make more space for its rapidly growing population. Through most of the twentieth century Britain governed Hong Kong as a Crown Colony and watched both its population and capitalist economy boom.

To China's government, having its lost territories returned to it was an important matter of national pride—especially after the People's Republic of China was created in 1949. However, China never attempted to retake the territories by force. Those who like to emphasize the peaceful nature of the Chinese people point out that China could have renounced its unfair treaties with Britain at virtually any time and reclaimed Hong Kong long before the British lease on the New Territories ran out in 1997. Hong Kong's great distance from Britain and its closeness to China would have made any British defense against a Chinese invasion almost impossible. In any case, Hong Kong was entirely dependent on the People's Republic of China for its fresh water supply, and the Chinese government could

have simply cut off that supply at any time.

Under international law, China's legal claims to Hong Kong and the New Territories were strong. Through peaceful negotiation, China persuaded Britain to hand over the colonies on July 1, 1997. Not only was one potential conflict removed, but also, some argue, the Chinese gained self-confidence by successfully asserting their claim by peaceful means.

Despite this development, it remains possible that Hong Kong might yet become a source of domestic political conflict if Hong Kong's pro-Western residents push for political liberalization faster than Chinese authorities in Beijing are willing to allow. Since the British never really allowed Hong Kong's people true representative democracy until just shortly before they returned Hong Kong to China, it would be incorrect to say that the colony's people had "democracy" taken from them by China. It is true that the British allowed a more liberal regime than is common in the rest of China, but so far Beijing has allowed considerable freedom in Hong Kong. Were Hong Kong to become too assertive, or should Beijing become too restrictive, the calm prevailing in the years immediately following Hong Kong's return to China might be disrupted. This is even more likely if there were a major economic downturn, but, in this sense, Hong Kong faces the same difficulty as the rest of China.

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fear of possible loss of power, also led it to repression of potential rivals. In December, 1998, for example, Chinese authorities imprisoned leaders of the China Democracy Party. The party tended to see religious organizations as particularly threatening challenges to official ideology. On July 22, 1999, the Chinese government banned the Falun Gong, a religious sect that blended elements of Buddhist and Taoist beliefs. Over the following years, many Falun Gong members were imprisoned and reportedly tortured and executed. The government also suppressed religious activities among Roman Catholics and evangelical Christians.

Given China's size and its economic growth in the latter half of the twentieth century, it is not unreasonable to expect China eventually to become the world's largest economy. However, this prediction may rest on overly optimistic predictions. Nothing guarantees that China will not endure economic downturns, po-



*Hong Kong harbor. (Japan Airlines)*



litical instability, or even serious environmental crises. While focusing heavily on economic growth, China has not paid much attention to the condition of its environment, allowing dangerous practices to damage its land, air, and water supplies.

The Han ethnic group constitutes 94 percent of the total Chinese population. The non-Han minority people make up the remaining 6 percent, or 80 million people. This number is larger than the population of any Western European nation. Given the tensions between the Chinese and such minority groups as Tibetan and Turkic people, the possibility for large domestic ethnic struggle also exists.

### **Relations with Southeast Asia and Indonesia**

China has become concerned about the well being of Chinese people living in other countries. China has historically regarded all Han as citizens of the Chinese Empire no matter where they live. The People's Republic of China now recognizes international rules of citizenship in other countries but still allows any overseas Chinese who wishes to return to China to do so. This is a major concern in Southeast Asia, where the Chinese are a significant minority in a number of countries. They are often the wealthiest segment of society and therefore the targets for envy, jealousy, or persecution during economic downturns.

China's relations with Indonesia have been particularly sensitive. When Suharto replaced Sukarno as leader of Indonesia in 1968, widespread attacks on Chinese citizens led to as many as 500,000 deaths. Nevertheless, the Chinese minority has continued to be resented as one of the wealthiest groups in Indonesia. Chinese minorities in Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam have also been the subject of discrimination, and future disputes are possible.

After Suharto's downfall in 1998, Indonesian president Megawati Sukarnoputri attempted to improve relations with China. The new Indonesian president recognized the growing economic importance of China and hoped to supply liquid natural gas to the industries of southern China.

In the past, China has had an insular attitude that has kept its government from intervening on behalf of overseas Han. As

China's power grows, many Asians are concerned that China will begin trying to protect other Chinese. China's dramatic economic growth may threaten these countries as well, but the underlying fear is of Chinese improved military and naval strength.

China's growing navy raises concerns among its neighbors even if they do not share a land border with China. A navy clearly opens the possibility of reaching other Asian neighbors previously beyond the reach of China's military forces. There are many unresolved issues of the ownership of islands, the surrounding seabed, and the continental shelf underneath the waters adjoining China.

### **Relations with Vietnam**

China was allied with North Vietnam against the United States during the Vietnam War. Despite the apparent unity among Vietnam's allies, Chinese and Vietnamese have often been mutually suspicious of each other. In 1979, just four years after the communists took power in Vietnam, China attacked Vietnam to punish it for invading Cambodia and Laos. However, Vietnam's small but battle-hardened army caused an estimated twenty thousand Chinese casualties. The Chinese invaders were stopped only a few miles inside the Vietnamese border.

This Chinese incursion pales when compared to the long-standing conflict between China and Vietnam. For hundreds of years Vietnam was a Chinese colony that only gained independence with great difficulty in 939 C.E. Afterward, Vietnam often paid tribute to China and recognized Chinese influence but resisted interference in their domestic affairs.

Vietnamese suspicion of the Chinese is very strong. When the Chinese sought to accept the Japanese surrender in Vietnam after World War II, Vietnamese nationalist groups invited the French to take control in Vietnam. The Vietnamese thought the French would counterbalance the Chinese and would be easier to expel later.

The Vietnamese perceived themselves as being threatened by their much smaller and less well developed Southeast Asian neighbors, Cambodia and Laos. Vietnam invaded Cambodia and Laos and supported puppet regimes there throughout the

1980's and 1990's. China objects to both these Vietnamese incursions.

Possibility for conflict also exists over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, since they are claimed by both China and Vietnam. While there are some Chinese in the more remote southern islands of this chain, the principal conflict is not over the residents but over the seabed in the area surrounding the islands. Any country that can enforce its claim on the Spratly Islands can claim the surrounding ocean floor, which is believed to contain rich natural resources, particularly oil.

### **Relations with Japan**

Japan has the largest economy in Asia and the second-largest in the world. China conducts a great deal of trade with Japan and has received considerable foreign aid from them. Early in the reform period, Japan was especially instrumental in helping China. Still, both countries are in some sense competitors and fear each other's economic growth.

The Chinese remember and resent Japan's harsh rule during World War II. The Japanese fear China might some day retaliate. They also resent China's strong economic growth. Periodically, an incident over Japan celebrating or commemorating their soldiers' heroism in World War II damages Sino-Japanese relationships. Whenever the Japanese take steps that can be interpreted as favorable to Taiwan, the Chinese promptly protest.

China has had fears that Japan might supplant the United States, the dominant force in the region. In 1987 China expressed concern when it appeared that Japanese defense spending might go over its long-standing benchmark of spending no more than 1 percent of the gross national product on the military. This concern has grown as Japan's military spending has increased further. China and Japan cooperate but eye each other suspiciously as both continue to make economic and military gains. Both countries could turn on each other if an economic downturn occurs.

### **Relations with Korea**

China has a common land border with North Korea and major interests in the Korean peninsula. Korea was long a Chinese trib-

utary state until Korea fell under Japanese control in 1895. China felt compelled to enter the Korean War because of fears that the United States might not only reunify Korea under southern non-communist control but also invade China. The Chinese continue to send aid to North Korea.

While China and North Korea are officially allies, there are many strains in the relationship. Being an ally of North Korea always seems to expose the Chinese to unnecessary conflict every time the North Koreans behave irresponsibly. In 1998 the North Koreans launched a medium-range missile in the direction of Japan. Both Japan and the United States reacted in anger, and the Chinese feared they might be forced to become involved.

China's position as a major source of economic aid to North Korea increased when the former Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 and the Russians could no longer give any aid to the North Koreans.

The Chinese want the North Koreans to press forward with economic reform of the kind so successful in China so that they are not so dependent on Chinese aid.

As a part of China's new policy of openness to the outside world, China would like to improve its relations with South Korea. The South Koreans have a great deal more to offer China than does North Korea. China continues to give the North Koreans diplomatic support on certain issues, such as the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. Still, China is most interested in encouraging the South Koreans to set up more factories in China and expand trade. So far the Sino-South Korean relationship has grown informally, but it is significant. Ultimately, the real issue may be competition between China and Japan for influence in South Korea. This could be a source of conflict in the future.

### **Relations with India and Pakistan**

India has conflicts with China over a border area in the almost inaccessible Tibetan Plateau as well as conflicts with Pakistan over Jammu and Kashmir. India also has continued internal domestic conflicts between Hindus and Muslims and between Hindus and Sikhs. Since India is one of China's major competitors in

Asia, China has sought to exploit some of India's conflicts for its own gain.

In the past, communication and conflict between China and India were limited because of the ruggedness of the intervening Himalaya Mountains in Tibet. Neither China nor India was a major sea power, so the two countries had no conflicts of any significance until the twentieth century. The Tibetan Plateau, previously a barrier to conflict, may have now become a source of conflict. Tibet may be rich in minerals that could be accessible using modern techniques. Thus, India and China have had an ongoing border dispute that falls in a rather inaccessible area of high desolate mountains on the border between them. China is also displeased with Indian support for the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan autonomy movement.

Political, economic, and even boundary differences pale when the nuclear dimension is added. During the 1960's China became the first Asian country to detonate a nuclear device. It developed missiles capable of delivering such nuclear weapons during the 1970's and 1980's. Chinese acquisition of nuclear weapons led the Indians to develop nuclear weapons to deter the Chinese. In turn, India's nuclear weapons provoked Pakistan to seek help from the Chinese to develop their own nuclear weapons.

The Indian decision to become a public member of the nuclear club by detonating nuclear devices in 1998 led the Pakistanis to respond with nuclear tests of their own. While the degree of Chinese assistance to the Pakistanis is uncertain, these competitive nuclear tests aggravated relations between India and China. The possibility that China may have been partly responsible for this nuclear arms race has created tensions between China and those worried about nuclear proliferation.

### **Relations with Mongolia**

Mongolia and China have been at odds for thousands of years. The Chinese built the Great Wall in an attempt to keep the nomadic horsemen of Mongolia out of China proper. The Chinese resented the Mongol invasion that led to the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty. As Mongolia became less powerful, it sought aid from China's foes.

The Soviet Union forced the Chinese to grant Outer Mongolia independence between the two world wars when China was weak. Russia supported Mongolia's independence throughout the twentieth century, even after the collapse of communism. Although it is a small country deprived of effective Russian support, Mongolians continue to seek the unification of all Mongolians and resent China's policy of promoting Han immigration into Inner Mongolia to reduce the possibility of a merger of the two Mongolias.

### **Relations with Russia**

The czarist Russian Empire expanded across Siberia and annexed much of Asia as the Chinese Empire was in decline. Russia joined other European nations in carving up spheres of influence in China, focusing on northeastern China. The Russians also absorbed Central Asia, home to a large number of Turkic people. The native area of these Turkic people overlaps both China and Russia.

Uyghirs, Tajiks, and Uzbeks all have ethnic kin across the Chinese border either from Russia or from new portions of the Confederation of Independent States. The Turkic people are overwhelmingly Islamic, in contrast to the Chinese. Russia has weakened, while Islamic fundamentalism is not only at war with other Muslim groups but also is on the rise. This means China can get no help from the Russians in restraining Islamic fundamentalism and the efforts at the reunification of these various Turkic groups. Religious and other revolutionary disputes could easily spill over China's border.

In other areas the shifting course of rivers constituting boundaries between China and Russia have caused conflicts over which islands should be counted as belonging to which country. These areas were once remote from the central areas of both Russia and China, but with modern communication and transportation, they can now be reached much more easily.

Complicating any other problems is the continuing reality that both Russia and China possess nuclear weapons, deepening the significance and danger of any conflict between the two countries.

**Relations with the United States**

The U.S. economy is so huge that it is unavoidably an important market for Chinese goods. The United States has also become a large source of investment in China. Any country as large as China must consider not only its direct relations with the United States but also the impact of those relations with all of its neighbors.

U.S. president Nixon initiated the first thaw in U.S.-Chinese relations with his 1972 visit to China, but he did not carry through to full restoration of diplomatic relations. U.S. president Jimmy Carter normalized diplomatic relations with Beijing and canceled the U.S. military treaty with Taiwan. President Ronald Reagan tried to strengthen U.S.-Taiwan relations despite numerous protests from Beijing. U.S.-Chinese relations recovered later in the Reagan administration and improved under U.S. president George Bush. As a former U.S. envoy to China, Bush recognized the importance of strong ties with China.

American criticism of China's forced abortion policies and human rights practices continued. With the 1989 suppression of prodemocracy demonstrations in China, diplomatic relations declined. Good relations between China and the United States remained important, and improvements were made during President Bill Clinton's administration. However, several issues continued to divide the two countries.

In particular, relations with Taiwan continued to be difficult. During the Taiwanese election, Beijing attempted to influence the outcome by shooting missiles near Taiwan. The Chinese apparently hoped this would frighten the Taiwanese into voting against a party that threatened to make Taiwan more independent of China. The ploy did not work and forced a strong show of force by the Clinton administration.

Taiwan remained a point of bitter disagreement between China and the United States. In July, 1999, the Chinese reacted strongly against a statement by Taiwanese president Lee Teng-Hui that relations between China and Taiwan should be a special sort of relation between two different states. Chinese worries about possible Taiwanese movements toward independence grew more serious in March, 2000, with the election of Chen Shui-

bian, a proindependence candidate, as president of Taiwan. U.S. president George W. Bush reiterated American support for Taiwan in April, 2001, when he agreed to supply the island nation with a wide range of weapons and military goods that the Taiwanese could use against an attack from the Chinese mainland.

Relations between the United States and China took a serious downward turn with U.S.-led intervention in Yugoslavia by forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1999. China opposed the intervention, which was intended to stop Yugoslavian aggression against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. On May 7, 1999, NATO airplanes accidentally bombed the Chinese embassy in the Yugoslavian capital of Belgrade, killing three Chinese diplomats and provoking anti-American outrage among many people in China.

Anti-American feeling grew once again in China when, on April 1, 2001, an American surveillance plane collided with a Chinese military jet. The American plane was forced to land on Hainan Island, where the crew remained for eleven days until the Chinese returned crew members and the disassembled plane.

Within the United States, several events led to anti-Chinese attitudes. Reports that the Chinese had engaged in spying on the U.S. nuclear program in 1999 received widespread publicity. The arrest in China of two academic researchers from the United States in 2001 underscored the continuing repressive nature of the Chinese political system. Nevertheless, the Chinese and American governments viewed each other as important partners and official relations did make some progress, in spite of the crises. One of the high points in relations between the two nations was achieved in 2000, when the U.S. Congress finally approved the granting of permanent normal trade relations to China.

*Richard L. Wilson*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

The best overall introduction to China for secondary school students can be found in Nancy Faust Sizer's *China: Tradition and Change* (1991). A somewhat more advanced text that deals with China is Lucian W. Pye's *China: An Introduction* (1991). For an



overview of the history of China, consult *A Concise History of China* (1999) by J. A. G. Roberts. When considering China's role in Asia as a whole, the best source to consider is Pye's *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority* (1985). For further study of the role of China's foreign relations, one may turn to John W. Garver's *Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (1993). When dealing with the economics of China, a good source of information is Kate Xiao Zhou's *How the Farmers Changed China* (1996). To examine China's economics and social order in relation to Asia as a whole, see Steve Chan's *East Asian Dynamism: Growth, Order, and Security in the Pacific Region* (1993).

For information about the Chinese government's perception of the Falun Gong sect and the Chinese response to the sect, Danny Schechter's *Falun Gong's Challenge to China* (2000) is a good place to begin. In addition to a description of the rise of Falun Gong and its reception in China, this work presents narratives of experiences of Falun Gong adherents in China under the crackdown. For a serious work on the problems posed by China's human rights problem for those who would do business in China, Michael A. Santoro's *Profits and Principles: Global Capitalism and Human Rights in China* (2000) will be helpful, although Santoro's writing style may be too academic for some readers. In *Bad Elements: Chinese Rebels from Los Angeles to Beijing* (2001), well-known journalist and author Ian Buruma reports on his encounters with Chinese dissidents, both in China and abroad.

## EGYPT

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*Egyptians bring to the handling of their current problems the experience and traditions of a society that has endured for five millennia. Egypt's problems are modern, and they arise primarily from its location in a turbulent Middle East region and its status as a developing nation. Periodic violence by radical Islamic militants threatens to reverse the progress of the Mubarak government toward a more open and democratic society. A large centralized bureaucracy serves as a persistent obstacle to economic productivity, social health, and sustainable environmental practices. Recurring Arab-Israeli tensions and the difficulty of supporting a friendship with the United States in a region in which the United States has been the focus of so much popular antagonism places great pressure on the government's popularity and resources. Egypt's location and size, as well as its dynamic political leadership, made it a major player in world and regional politics during the last half of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century. The success of its current effort at economic restructuring and its ability to combine a strong Islamic faith with a modern society will continue to determine its role and global impact.*

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**A** land of contrasts, Egypt is located at the northeast corner of Africa and is known principally as a Middle Eastern country. Although it has 386,660 square miles, 98 percent of its people live on only 3.51 percent of its land. Egypt's defining feature is the Nile River, the longest river in the world. The Nile originates in the highlands of Ethiopia and is fed by East Africa's great lakes, such as Lake Victoria. It flows north one thousand miles from the Sudan to the Mediterranean Sea.

The Nile River creates a large, heavily populated, and soil-rich delta between Cairo, the capital of Egypt, and the sea. However, the dominant features of Egypt are its deserts—the Sinai in the east, the shifting sand dunes of the Sahara in the west near Libya, and the desert depression in the north by Siwa. Although most people think of Egypt as the land of the pharaohs, with their pyramids, temples, tombs, and mummies, Egyptians themselves

consider their nation a center of modern Islamic and Arab culture and very much a leader for peace in the Middle East.

### **Ancient History**

Recorded civilization started with Egypt in roughly 3400 B.C.E. The upper Nile River Valley from Al-Minya and Luxor south into the Sudan and the lower valley from Beni Suef and Saqqara north through the delta to the Mediterranean Sea were inhabited but governed separately. King Menes of Upper Egypt in 3100 B.C.E. joined the two regions under one leadership, permitting more organized and specialized activities. Scribes made written records of events at the pharaohs' court and in the villages. The written language was hieroglyphics.

The pharaonic period, lasting for thirty dynasties and three kingdoms, from 3400 B.C.E. to 525 B.C.E., was one of significant improvement in civilization, especially in construction, writing, art, and centralized organization of community activities. The Old Kingdom, with its capital at Memphis, near present-day Saqqara, is best known for the building of pyramids as tombs for its pharaohs, the most famous being the Great Pyramid at Giza.

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## **Profile of Egypt**

*Official name:* Arab Republic of Egypt

*Former name:* United Arab Republic

*Independent since:* 1922

*Former colonial ruler:* Great Britain

*Location:* North Africa

*Area:* 386,660 square miles

*Capital:* Cairo

*Population:* 70.7 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religions:* Sunni Islam; Coptic Christianity

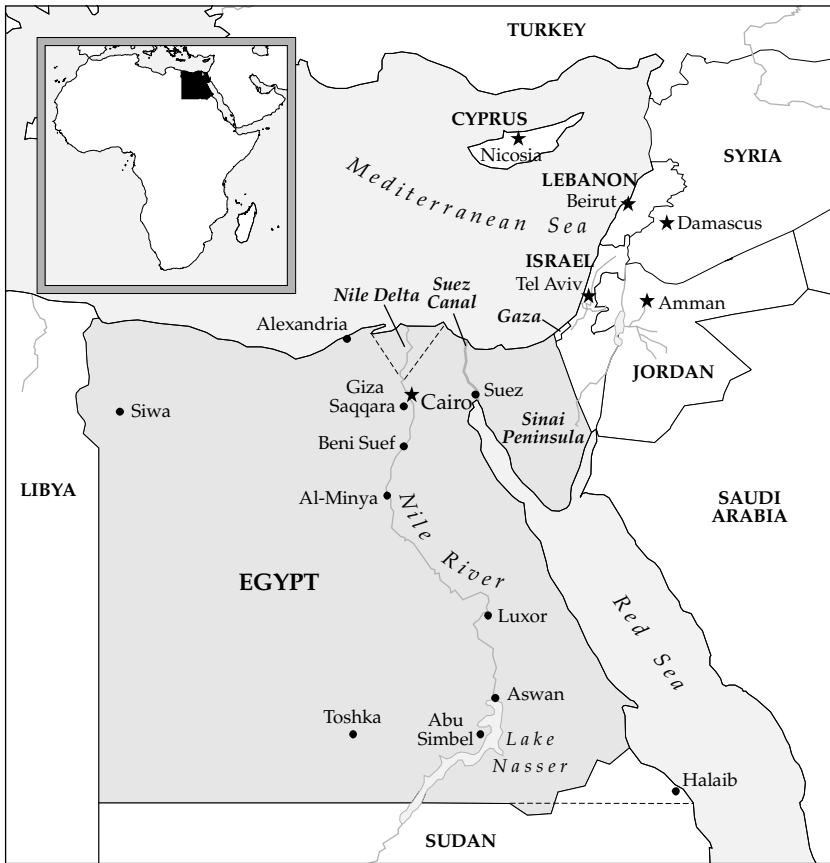
*Gross domestic product:* US\$258 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* petroleum and petroleum products; cotton yarn, textiles, and clothing; basic metals and manufactures

*Military expenditures:* US\$5.04 billion (2000 est.)

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After several hundred years of less centralized rule, pharaohs during the Middle Kingdom again united Upper and Lower Egypt. They placed more emphasis on justice, organization, and art. After several hundred years of weak government, pharaohs of the New Kingdom established strong leadership once again over Upper and Lower Egypt, this time with their capital at Thebes, or modern-day Luxor.

The period from Akhenaton in the fifteenth century B.C.E. to the death of Ramses II in 1220 B.C.E. was the height of Egypt's power, and its control extended far beyond the Nile Valley to Jerusalem, Damascus, and toward Baghdad. The massive construction of temples and tombs, most of which can be seen today in Luxor, Aswan, and Abu Simbel, is the most striking contribution

of this period. The leadership of succeeding pharaohs grew weaker and more corrupt. In 525 B.C.E. the Persian armies had little difficulty conquering Egypt.

### **Greco-Roman-Christian Era**

Egypt after the Persian invasion retained its civilized character and continued to attract travelers and educators from the ancient world. Herodotus of Greece visited Thebes in 450 B.C.E. and in his *Histories* left a detailed account of local activities of the friendly and welcoming inhabitants.

In 331 B.C.E. Alexander the Great of Macedonia took over Egypt after conquering the Persians in Turkey and Syria and founded the new city of Alexandria. He traveled as far west as the Siwa Oasis but soon moved east to conquer Baghdad, Persia, and Central Asia. Alexander remained in Egypt for only a short time, but his legacy of Greek culture and language lasted for one thousand years. Following Alexander's death in 323 B.C.E., his most able general, Ptolemy, became the governor of Egypt. Over the next centuries Greek became the accepted local language, and Alexandria became the leading economic and intellectual city of the Mediterranean world.

The Roman Republic acquired more and more influence over Egypt during the second and first centuries B.C.E. Finally, Julius Caesar defeated the Egyptian army in 47 B.C.E., and while in Egypt he fell in love with Egypt's beautiful queen, Cleopatra. Upon Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C.E., another Roman general, Marc Antony, also had a flamboyant and tragic love affair with Cleopatra, this time ending in their suicides when Emperor Octavian established Rome's domination over Egypt in 30 B.C.E.

Roman rule was pagan and repressive. Nevertheless, small Christian groups prospered within Egyptian society beginning in the middle of the first century C.E. Roman rulers persecuted these groups with varying intensity for the next two centuries. This persecution reached its height under Emperor Diocletian in the late third century. Shortly thereafter, Christianity became the accepted religion in Egypt. The fourth century saw the beginning of organized Christian monasteries in the desert near the Nile Valley. By the late fourth century Egyptian Christians (later called

Copts) used their official recognition to expand their numbers and repress the pagan religions. By the early seventh century c.e. government control in Egypt had passed from Rome to the Byzantine authorities in Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul).

### **Arab-Islamic Period**

Cyrus, Bishop of Alexandria and the last Byzantine ruler in Egypt, imposed strict conformity with the creed of the Byzantine Church and repressed the local Coptic religion. In 639 the Arab commander Amr Ibn Al-As invaded Egypt and within two years had conquered both Lower and Upper Egypt. He located his headquarters at Fustat, close to the original fort built by the Romans on the Nile. Amr Ibn Al-As was a benevolent and tolerant administrator, permitting the Coptic religion to prosper alongside the Islamic religion. By the early eighth century the dominant language had changed from Greek to Arabic, but conversion to Islam came more slowly. Egyptians embraced Islam in large numbers only after the successes of the political leaders in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

For the first two centuries after the invasion, Arab military leaders were the appointed governors of Egypt. From the mid-ninth century, however, the Baghdad caliphs appointed Turkish, Kurdish, or Circassian governors. By 969 c.e. the Egyptian governors had lost both power and popularity and succumbed to conquest by the Fatimid Dynasty of North Africa. The Fatimids founded the city of Cairo three miles north of Fustat and established Al-Azhar University and its mosque. Islamic civilization prospered under Fatimid leadership, but after two hundred years of rule the Fatimids weakened under the pressure of the invading Christian Crusaders from Europe.

A young Kurdish commander, Salah Al-Din, or Saladin, took control of the government in 1171, driving the Crusaders out of the Nile Delta. He built a citadel fortress between Fustat and Cairo as a symbol of his power and later defeated the Crusaders in Palestine and Syria.

From Saladin's death in 1193 to the Turkish Ottoman takeover in 1517, Egypt was ruled by a succession of Kurdish, Turkish, and Circassian Mamluk military governors. The Mamluks (a word

meaning “owned”) were originally slaves brought from Turkey to serve as mercenary soldiers, but over the years they were given their freedom. They took power from rulers who were weak and vulnerable. They also took power from each other without much concern for loss of life or good government.

The Ottomans captured Cairo in 1517 and governed Egypt as an administrative district of the Ottoman Empire. Cairo became a center of Islamic art and architecture during the next 250 years, and Al-Azhar University was the preeminent scholarly institution for Sunni Islam. By the late eighteenth century, however, the Ottoman sultans had become incompetent, and their empire was crumbling under the expansion of Western European trade and colonial conquests.

## Egypt Time Line

- 1882 British military occupation of Egypt begins.
- 1922 Great Britain unilaterally grants limited independence to Egypt; Sultan Fuad becomes king.
- 1923 Under new constitution, Zaghlul and Wafd Party win parliamentary elections.
- 1928 Sheikh Hasan Al-Banna establishes Muslim Brotherhood.
- 1942 (Feb.) King Farouk’s attempt to dismiss government is overturned by British.
- 1948 Egypt is defeated in first war against Israel.
- 1952 (July 23) Gamal Abdel Nasser leads army coup that overthrows King Farouk.
- 1954 Nasser makes himself head of government.
- 1956 (July) United States and Great Britain withdraw their commitment to finance Aswan High Dam; Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal.
- 1956 (Oct.) British attack Egypt with support from Israel and France, but United States and United Nations intervene to force cease-fire and withdrawal.
- 1967 (June) Israel defeats Egypt in Six-Day War and takes control of Sinai Peninsula.
- 1970 (Sept. 28) Nasser dies and is succeeded as president by Anwar Sadat.
- 1973 (Oct.) Egypt attacks Israeli troops across Suez Canal in Yom Kippur War.
- 1977 (Nov.) President Sadat addresses Israeli Knesset in Jerusalem.
- 1978 (Sept.) Sadat and Israeli premier Menachem Begin sign Camp David Accords.
- 1981 (Oct. 6) Sadat is assassinated by Islamic militants; Hosni Mubarak becomes president.
- 1993 Mubarak is reelected president.

### Modernization and the Progressive Period

In 1798 Napoleon Bonaparte led French troops into Egypt, quickly capturing Alexandria and Cairo. The French occupation lasted only three years; in 1801 the returning Ottomans defeated the small force left behind by Napoleon. In 1805 a young Albanian commander, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, was appointed governor for the Ottoman Turks. Over the next forty years he modernized the Egyptian government, establishing western trends in economic and social life. In the process he gained a large degree of autonomy from the disorganized Ottomans. As Muhammad 'Ali was on the brink of declaring independence for Egypt, Great Britain intervened to support the decaying Ottoman Empire.

Thirty years later Egypt came close to independence again un-

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|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1994 | People's Assembly adopts environmental protection standards to go into effect in 1998.                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1997 | (Oct.) Agricultural land rents are no longer fixed at 1952 rates.                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1997 | (Nov.) Six Islamic militants attack tourist buses in Luxor, killing fifty-eight foreigners and four Egyptians.                                                                                                                             |
| 1998 | (May) Thirty business leaders announce founding of Cairo Peace Movement to expand contacts between Egyptians and Israelis.                                                                                                                 |
| 1998 | (Dec. 1) Human rights leader Hafez Abu Saada is arrested, charged with accepting funds from British human rights organization to defame Egypt.                                                                                             |
| 2000 | (Jan.) Muslims kill twenty-one Christian Copts in the town of Sawhaj.                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 2000 | (June) Saad Eddin Ibrahim, chair of Egypt's Ibn Khaldoun Center for Developmental Studies, is arrested for criticizing the Egyptian government.                                                                                            |
| 2001 | (Feb. 5) Sawhaj court convicts the killers of the Copts and sentences them to one to ten years. Critics claim the light sentences demonstrate discrimination against Christians in Egypt.                                                  |
| 2001 | (May) Saad Eddin Ibrahim is sentenced to seven years at hard labor by the Egyptian State Security Court.                                                                                                                                   |
| 2001 | (Sept. 11) Members of the al-Qaeda network hijack American airliners, destroy the New York World Trade Center and damage the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. A number of the top leaders of al-Qaeda are from the Egyptian Islamist movement. |
| 2003 | (Jan.) Egyptian police arrest fourteen leaders of the banned Muslim Brotherhood, accusing them of organizing student demonstrations against a new American-led war in Iraq.                                                                |
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der Ismail, a grandson of Muhammad 'Ali, only to be subjected to British and French control, this time in response to heavy foreign debts. After Ismail's death a nationalist military leader, Colonel Ahmad 'Urabi, developed a strong popular following and threatened to take control from Ismail's successor. The ruling khedive (Ottoman governor) called for outside help, and British troops occupied Cairo. From this time Britain maintained close supervision over Egypt and from there acquired rights over the Sudan by conquest. When World War I broke out in 1914, British forces assumed full control of their Egyptian "protectorate."

The years between 1919 and 1952 were active and frustrating ones for the Egyptians. The end of World War I and the push for democracy in the world by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson encouraged nationalist leader Saad Zaghlul to build a political following in support of independence. Britain, however, stood firmly against this move and sent Zaghlul into exile in March 1919.

After spending a month putting down a popular rebellion, Britain reversed the decision and permitted Zaghlul to return. Three years later, Britain reluctantly granted Egypt limited autonomy under a new 1923 constitution, with its friend Sultan Fuad (a descendent of Muhammad 'Ali) as king. The popular leader Zaghlul and his nationalist Wafd Party won the first parliamentary elections, but Britain quickly forced him to resign after the assassination of the British commander of the Egyptian army in 1924.

This pattern continued over the following thirty years until the Free Officers' Revolution of 1952 finally brought independence to Egypt. However, this frustrating period was filled with political activity by groups of citizens who demanded a voice in running their own government. In 1928 Sheikh Hassan Al-Banna established the Muslim Brotherhood to support Islamic religious activity in society and to counter the secular politics of Zaghlul. This organization became a source of Islamic militancy and violence that was to plague Egyptian governments from the 1930's through the end of the twentieth century.

After King Fuad died in 1936 and was replaced by his son Farouk, Britain lost a local ally on whom it could rely for sup-

port against the increasingly demanding and hostile local population. With mounting pressure from Adolf Hitler's Germany, Britain signed an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in 1936, giving effect to a partnership rather than protectorate role. Nevertheless, the British retained effective control through their influence over King Farouk and the presence of British troops stationed throughout the country.

World War II and its aftermath prepared the way for the 1952 revolution. The British could no longer fill the officer ranks within the Egyptian military with British officers, and therefore they created an officer school for training Egyptians to lead their own armed forces. Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat were among its first graduates. Moreover, after World War II the British public was focused on rebuilding their own economy and society after the devastation of the war, and they set about to dismantle their colonial empire.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 shortened the sea route between Great Britain and its Indian colonies. India and Pakistan's independence from Britain in 1947 meant that maintaining control of the Suez Canal was no longer as essential to Britain's national interest as it once had been. When the Egyptian army lost to Israeli troops in Palestine in 1948-1949, the corruption and incompetence of King Farouk and his court outraged most Egyptians. The British suffered a great loss of respect as a result. In January, 1952, the British army attacked suspected Egyptian guerrillas, killing fifty and incurring widespread anti-British riots. The stage was set for independence.

### **Revolution of 1952 and Nasser**

After the defeat of the Egyptian army in the Palestine War, many young Egyptian military officers blamed the defeat on both the British and the monarchy. The British had controlled all military training and equipment for the Egyptian army, and the monarchy and its political followers were involved in major arms scandals and corruption during the war. The Free Officers' movement headed by Lieutenant Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser was organized in 1949. Over the next three years it gained in strength, organization, and momentum.

The Egyptian population reacted vocally and at times violently against the presence of British troops on Egyptian soil and against a monarchy that traced its roots to Ottoman Turkish rule. Community life became more chaotic, and on July 23, 1952, the Free Officers took over the government in a bloodless military coup. King Farouk was forced to abdicate and was sent into exile.

The military governed the first year through a Revolutionary Command Council chaired by Nasser. The council adopted an Agrarian Reform Law in September, 1952, which broke up large agricultural landholdings, redistributed the confiscated land to the peasant population, and fixed land rents at their 1952 levels. This change eliminated the large landowners as a political power and helped build peasant support for the military regime. However, these reforms also created economic and social obstacles



*Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser addressing air force cadets on the eve of the 1956 Suez War. (National Archives)*

to improved agricultural productivity that would pose serious problems for Egypt forty years later.

When a republic was declared in 1953, General Muhammad Naguib became president. Within a year a power struggle occurred among the Free Officers. Naguib wanted an early return to civilian democratic rule, but he was forced to resign in 1954, and Nasser assumed the presidency and full control of the government.

In July, 1956, the United States and Great Britain withdrew their financial support for building the Aswan High Dam, a major priority of the Egyptian regime, and Nasser turned to the Soviet Union for financial help and military aid. On July 26, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in a surprise move, leading to an invasion of Egypt in October by Britain, France, and Israel.

In a rare show of unity, both the United States and the Soviet Union urged the invaders to adopt a cease-fire and withdraw. The invading countries agreed and by December had withdrawn their forces. Since that time revenues from the operation of the Suez Canal have contributed greatly to economic stability in Egypt.

Nasser focused substantial resources on building the Aswan Dam, which when fully completed expanded agricultural land by 25 percent in Egypt and controlled for the first time the seasonal flooding of the Nile. He used the nationalization of foreign companies and the confiscation of the property of Egyptian opponents to build a socialist economy, with heavy emphasis on public ownership and massive industrialization. These policies, however, created internal social problems.

In 1958 Nasser outlawed political parties and imposed an ever-increasing repressive hold on Egyptian politics. Community groups that had been legal and active before the revolution sought to achieve their separate goals in opposition to the regime. The Muslim Brotherhood promoted Islamic influence over social and political decisions. Other more liberal and secular groups demanded a more open democratic government. During the late 1950's and the 1960's, Nasser eliminated these domestic voices that were critical of his policies.

Nasser enjoyed a wide following in the Arab world, but his efforts had little lasting impact. He united Egypt with Syria in 1958,

but this Arab nationalist union fell apart in 1961. When a 1962 military coup in Yemen brought a plea for outside help, Nasser sent Egyptian troops to assist the new republic as a gesture of Arab solidarity. This commitment lasted through 1967 and created an increasingly heavy burden on the Egyptian economy. In May, 1967, Nasser used troop movements and a naval blockade to intimidate Israel. However, his maneuvering ended in the June war, in which Israel gained control of the entire Sinai Peninsula.

Nasser was a charismatic leader who, by force of events and personality, became a symbol of Arab nationalist resurgence, pride, and independent leadership. He built a vocal and passionate following among Arab nationalists throughout the Middle East but at the same time overcommitted Egypt militarily, ideologically, and economically. When Nasser died of a heart attack in September, 1970, the new regime under President Anwar Sadat established new directions in all three areas.

### **Anwar Sadat's Decade**

Very quickly after taking control Sadat reversed the major policies of the Nasser regime. He eliminated from high governmental positions Nasser's political supporters and instituted a free market economic policy to welcome foreign investment and trade. He also expelled all Soviet military and economic advisers in a direct appeal for friendship with the United States and the West.

Moreover, Sadat crafted a military strategy aimed at forcing the Israeli government to return the Sinai. He launched a surprise attack in October, 1973, against Israeli forces on the east side of the Suez Canal and gained a foothold in the Sinai before a U.S.-brokered cease-fire took effect. The next few years saw increasingly frustrating negotiations with Israel but closer ties between Egypt and the United States.

In another surprise move Sadat flew to Jerusalem in November, 1977, and addressed the Israeli Knesset. He was the first Arab leader to do so. This extraordinary gesture was followed by a successful mediation effort by U.S. president Jimmy Carter, the signing of the Camp David Accords in September, 1978, and an Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty in March, 1979.

Sadat's successes on the international scene were not rewarded by high popularity among Egyptians or the other Arab nations. His economic policies caused unemployment and severe inflation that were especially hard on the poor. A rise in bread prices in January, 1978, led to serious riots in Cairo and other urban areas. At the same time, Sadat was also radically changing the political structure. He legalized political parties after twenty years of one-party rule and permitted more freedom for journalists and newspapers to engage in political debate and criticism. He proposed new laws governing personal family life that altered traditional Islamic values, making them more consistent with Western lifestyles. These changes brought civil unrest and opposition to Sadat's rule, especially from the militant Muslim Brotherhood.

Throughout 1980 and 1981 the Sadat regime regularly arrested political activists from the left (the Communist Party), the religious right (the Muslim Brotherhood), and the center (the new Wafd Party) in order to control the constant criticism of Sadat's policies. There were massive arrests in September, 1981, that swept up leading journalists as well as political dissidents. On October 6, 1981, Islamic militants assassinated Sadat as he watched a military parade in honor of the 1973 war.

### **Mubarak Government**

Within a week of Sadat's assassination his vice president, Hosni Mubarak, was elected president of Egypt. Mubarak represented a major change in Egyptian politics. He was the first president too young to have participated in the 1952 revolution as a member of the Free Officers' movement. He had gained recognition as commander of the Egyptian air force during the 1973 October War with Israel, but his chief assets were his managerial efficiency, quiet competence, and integrity. Mubarak had been a good partner of the flamboyant, charismatic Sadat.

As president, Mubarak brought stability and openness to Egypt's international relations. He renewed Egypt's close contacts with the Soviet Union, while reaffirming its commitment to peace with Israel and friendship with the United States. Egypt joined the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq during the Gulf War

of 1990-1991 and was rewarded with substantial economic benefits.

Mubarak's calm, competent management of Egypt's foreign policy continued to win support from the United States and other Western nations into the late 1990's. This close friendship with the United States, however, did not lead Egypt to support all U.S. proposals. For example, in November, 1997, despite strong U.S. pressure, Egypt boycotted a U.S.-backed Middle East economic conference with Israeli representatives because of the lack of progress in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

In addition, Mubarak maintained reasonably good communication with and support for Libya, Sudan, Iraq, and Iran, while the United States tried to build opposition to all four of these states with the pretext of combating "terrorism."

Egypt's independent actions were accepted because they were tied closely to its national interests in the region. Because of the success of its foreign policy, Egypt played a pivotal role in the ongoing Middle East peace process.

Domestically, the Mubarak government placed its highest priority on building a steadily growing economy. Mubarak continued Sadat's economic policy of creating a free-market economy, with a more even balance between private and public ownership. He also established a more consistent and austere budgetary policy to control severe inflation and strengthen employment. Productivity increased in both agriculture and industry, and oil and gas production and exploration expanded. Egypt made a strong commitment to reducing barriers to free trade and invested substantially in a booming tourism industry. Mubarak moved toward these objectives while reducing inflation to 7 percent (from 40 percent under Nasser and Sadat) and bringing government budget deficits almost to zero.

In the early 1990's the Egyptian parliament adopted a privatization law that encouraged the selling of many publicly owned companies and forced more productive practices onto a resistant public sector. Moreover, controls were removed from agricultural land and urban housing rents, which stimulated productivity and self-sufficiency in economic activity. These changes brought opposition from certain groups of society that were still commit-

ted to the socialist ideals of the Nasser period, but this opposition was much less than expected and did not seriously disturb the progress of the regime.

As Egypt economic markets became more open during the 1990's, a growing class of young entrepreneurs moved into the service sectors of the economy, and the information age took hold. By 1998 "cybercafes" (computers and Internet links in a traditional Arab coffeehouse setting) appeared in the more prosperous neighborhoods, and live television talk shows covered important local, national, and international issues.

Mubarak reasserted Sadat's original commitment to move toward greater democracy, but always within rigidly enforced limits of what was accepted behavior. In the late 1990's the government continued to suffer from persistent Islamic militant violence, based primarily in the Al-Minya region in Upper Egypt. Egypt pointed to foreign assistance as the source of support for its Islamic violence.

Relations with Sudan were especially strained in 1995 after an unsuccessful attempt by Islamic militants to assassinate Mubarak during his official visit to Ethiopia, a terrorist effort that was officially linked to the Sudan. Border clashes took place between the two countries in the disputed Halaib region of southeastern Egypt. However, most authorities blamed high underemployment, a wide gap between rich and poor, and the increasing evidence of western influence as the real causes for continued Islamic violence.

Militant attacks against police and tourist buses, especially from September, 1992, to July, 1994, and again in November, 1997, caused severe economic hardship for Egypt's tourism industry. Nevertheless, Islamic militancy appeared well contained by the government's security forces and did not seem to pose a serious threat to the political stability of the regime. A possibly more serious threat was posed by the persistent legal and social battles that fundamentalist Muslims conducted against the Mubarak government in order to force a more traditional interpretation of Islamic justice and family lifestyle.

Egypt is a land that depends heavily on its environment. An environmental protection law took effect in March, 1998, and the



government slowly enforced this law in an attempt to control the actions of owners of public and private industries who showed little concern for the toxic air and water pollution they have caused. The government also launched a new Toshka project that requires vast quantities of Nile River water to be piped from Lake Nasser west to the New Valley in southwestern Egypt. The goal is to eventually expand the land available for cultivation by 25 percent and create new job opportunities and homes for the increasing population.

Egypt's social problems are severe, but not unusual for a developing country. The population is increasing at a reduced rate of 2.08 percent (down from 2.8 percent a decade earlier), but the rate is still higher than desired. Thirty-five percent of the population is under fifteen years of age. Illiteracy is high, reaching 48.9 percent in rural areas and 38.6 percent overall. These forces create serious pressures on educational institutions at all levels and on the growth in skilled and managerial labor to support an increasingly modern economy. Relations between the Coptic religious population and the Sunni Muslim majority are good, although some discriminatory practices exist and occasional violence occurs against Copts in rural areas.

During the early years of the twenty-first century, Egypt had a growing population of over 70 million people, a relatively stable political leadership, friendly relations with the leading nations of the world, and a central geographic position in both the Middle East and Africa. Great challenges remain. A large centralized government bureaucracy resists change. There are major obstacles to expanding crucial economic productivity. An increasingly modern and secular society poses serious problems for a population committed to a conservative Muslim faith. The autocratic governmental structure places a priority on order and stability, while an educated public clamors for more democratic participation. Nevertheless, Egypt, with its assets and current efforts, may well handle these problems and continue to play a major role in shaping the decisions that will affect the future of the Middle East.

One of Egypt's greatest challenges has been the improvement of its human rights situation. Some of its problems in this area

have attracted international attention. After the secretary-general of the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR), Hafez Abu Saada, published a report describing police brutality, he was arrested in December, 1998, for accepting foreign funding for the purpose of publishing materials contrary to Egypt's interests. Although Abu Saada was freed after an international campaign in his behalf, similar governmental repression continued. In June, 2000, Saad Eddin Ibrahim, chair of Egypt's Ibn Khaldoun Center for Developmental Studies, was arrested at gunpoint on charges almost identical to those made against Abu Saada.

The existence of radical Islamic parties within Egypt posed problems both for Egypt itself and for the world. The Egyptian government's efforts to suppress radical Islamic activities did not make militant organizations go away. Instead, banned opposition parties engaged in extensive underground organizing. Islamic radicals who were shut out of electoral politics worked their way into positions of leadership in professional associations and labor unions. They created charities and free clinics that increased their support in poor communities.

Egypt's suppressed Islamic parties provided leaders and participants in international terrorism. Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, one of the founding members of the Egyptian Islamic Group, received a life sentence in New York for taking part in a plot to bomb the World Trade Center in 1993. The international al-Qaeda group, led by Saudi Arabian Osama bin Laden, had close ties to both the Algerian and the Egyptian groups. The al-Qaeda organization became well known to the world in September, 2001, when members of the organization hijacked airplanes and flew them into the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon, destroying the towers. A number of bin Laden's top lieutenants had come out of the Egyptian Islamist movement. These included Mohammed Atef, a co-founder of al-Qaeda, believed by some to be the one who would replace bin Laden if he were killed. Ayman al-Zawahri, a former Cairo surgeon, was also a founding member of al-Qaeda and one of its leaders. Saif al-Adel, another Egyptian was a member of al-Qaeda's military committee.

*John S. Murray  
Updated by the Editors*

**For Further Study**

P. J. Vatikiotis's *History of Modern Egypt: From Mohammad Ali to Mubarak* (4th ed. 1991) provides a good discussion of the social, cultural, economic, and political modernization of Egypt, from 1805 to 1990. A shorter, more readable history is Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot's *A Short History of Modern Egypt* (1985), which discusses modern Egypt from the Arab invasion of 639 and continues through the assassination of Sadat and the first two years of Mubarak. A chapter on Nasser in R. Kent Rasmussen's *Modern African Political Leaders* (1998) surveys the main outlines of Egypt's twentieth century history, through 1970.

For a journalistic account of militant Islamic movements in Egypt and nine other Middle Eastern countries through the mid-1990's, see Judith Miller's *God Has Ninety-nine Names: Reporting from a Militant Middle East* (1996). In *An Egyptian Journal* (1985), the noted British author William Golding provides delightful personal observations of modern Egyptian life in his descriptions of the Nile from Cairo to Aswan. In *The Arabs: Journeys Beyond the Mirage* (1987), journalist David Lamb mixes humor with keen observations of Egypt and other Arab countries during the 1980's. William B. Quandt, in *Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics* (1986), presents a thorough review of the beginning of the Middle East peace process.

For an excellent history of the Middle East since the fifth century, see Albert Hourani's *A History of the Arab Peoples* (1992). Bernard Lewis in *The Shaping of the Modern Middle East* (1994) describes the rise of the modern Middle East, identifies major issues of religion, nationalism, and the quest for freedom, and defines Egypt's role in that process. Geneive Abdo's *No God but God: Egypt and the Triumph of Islam* (2000) gives an inside look at Islamic activism in Egypt, through interviews with Islamic activists.

On the Internet, an excellent place to start is the Middle East Network Information Center at the University of Texas at Austin (<http://menic.utexas.edu/menic/countries/egypt.html>).

## INDIA

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*Independent since 1947, modern India faces both internal and external threats to its peace and stability. Ethnic minorities continue to agitate for more rights in this, the world's most populous democracy. Tribal groups, the indigenous peoples of this very diverse nation, are also demanding fair treatment and better living conditions. Although predominantly Hindu in composition, India is a committed secular state with no official endorsement of any one religion. Muslims form the largest minority group, and religious clashes have occurred over the years in Kashmir and other parts of the country. Differences over language rights have generated conflicts between and within existing states (called provinces in India) and have led to provincial boundary changes to accommodate the various groups. The fundamental basis for much of the conflict is economic as various groups compete in a developing but overpopulated nation. Further problems are caused by India's attempts to eradicate the centuries-old caste system. Discrimination on the basis of caste is not allowed constitutionally, but conflicts between the so-called upper and lower castes continue, especially on the issue of access to coveted civil service positions. Despite these problems, India has remained a democratic republic with a strong commitment to parliamentary systems, legislative responsibility to the electorate, frequent elections, articulate and very vocal public opinion, and a free press with over 35,000 newspapers and journals published in nearly one hundred languages.*

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**R**egionalism and communalism have bedeviled the efforts of India's federal government to centralize the nation. Various ethnic groups identify more closely with their province than with the central authority. The pull toward decentralization continues to be a source of active political agitation. Occasionally, as with the Sikhs, this force has become a demand for self-determination resulting in violence.

Since its independence India has fought a number of wars with neighboring states, notably Pakistan and China. These conflicts have been mainly territorial and political. The friction be-

## Profile of India

*Official name:* Republic of India

*Independent since:* 1947

*Former colonial ruler:* Great Britain

*Location:* southern Asian subcontinent

*Area:* 1,269,339 square miles

*Capital:* New Delhi

*Population:* 1.05 billion (2002 est.)

*Official languages:* Hindi; English; (14 others)

*Major religions:* Hinduism; Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$2.5 trillion (2001)

*Major exports:* agricultural products; diamonds and jewelry; garments; machinery; cotton; fabrics and thread

*Military expenditures:* US\$12.1 (2001 est.)

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tween India, China, and Pakistan took a dangerous direction in 1998, following India's tests of its nuclear capacity. Pakistan responded by testing its own nuclear devices. Earlier, in 1987, the government of India became involved in the ethnic conflict on the island of Sri Lanka to the south of the Indian subcontinent.

The existence of a number of political parties, with no one party able to command a conclusive majority, has further destabilized India. Coalition governments consisting of several parties have been one solution to the split in the popular vote.

### Background

Most of India's modern conflicts have roots deep in its history and many are exacerbated by its complex geographical features. The subcontinent of India lies to the south of Asia and encompasses a land mass of more than a million square miles, extending 2,000 miles from north to south and about 1,850 miles from east to west. The Himalaya Mountains form a natural boundary to the north of India. To the west lies the Indian Ocean and to the east the Bay of Bengal.

To see India at a glance one must visualize high snow-capped

mountain ranges, lush green jungles, dry arid deserts, miles of sandy beaches, flat rice fields, and majestic rivers meandering across fertile farmland. However, that is only a fraction of the geographic variety of the area.

India's population in 2002 was estimated at 1.05 billion people, making it one of the world's most populous nations. These Indians were descendants of a variety of indigenous tribes and immigrant traders, merchants, craftsmen, refugees, and invaders who came to India over a five-thousand-year period to seek religious freedom, political safety, and a better economic life in a rich, very fertile country. Many conquerors came to loot the land but



chose to stay, eventually becoming assimilated into the rich fabric of Indian society. Over the span of many centuries these different people formed the world's first pluralistic society.

Unlike the American concept of the ethnic "melting pot," in India the different groups retained their own religions, lifestyles, traditions, languages, cultures, and food and dress. Indian culture has never been standardized across the length and breadth of the land. The provinces of modern India vary as much among one another as the countries of Europe. Tolerance has always been the key to mutual survival. When the live-and-let-live ideal fails, conflict springs up. The most successful and revered rulers of Indian history were men and women who practiced tolerance of all cultures as a deliberate policy. The least successful and most reviled were rulers who were religiously and politically intolerant.

Conflicts and controversies in India spring both from the multiplicity of differences rooted in the country's long history and from the varying degrees to which the diverse groups have adapted to the stresses and strains of modern life. This is most evident in the stark divergence between the 75 percent of the population that continues to be rural and the 25 percent that is urban and enjoys all the advantages and disadvantages of living in large crowded cities. The most modern of lifestyles coexist in India with ancient traditions and ideas. The jumble of old and new can be bewildering but fascinating to observe.

On occasion, conflict has flared up over one issue and then evolved to incorporate other grievances. In 1985, for example, the city of Ahmedabad witnessed riots and violence over the issue of increasing educational and job opportunities for a particular group referred to officially as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. This caste situation escalated, and the conflict spread to include a Hindu-Muslim confrontation, eventually involving various groups with a diversity of grievances against the authorities. The resignation of government ministers ended that five-month-long conflict, which resulted in the deaths of nearly three hundred people.

Thus, it would be a mistake to label particular Indian conflicts as exclusively ethnic or religious, tribal or economic. Various

causes and degrees of discontent motivate conflicts in India. It is very hard to generalize about India given the many contradictions in that society.

The government of free India is a parliamentary democratic republic with a constitution guaranteeing basic rights for all citizens. There are twenty-five states (provinces) and several centrally governed territories within the Indian union. The head of state is an elected president. The head of government is an elected prime minister, leader of the party commanding the largest majority and responsible to the parliament. Parliament is bicameral, consisting of the Council of States and the House of the People.

### **Politics**

India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, directly and indirectly laid the foundation for an effective parliamentary democracy, a vigorous free press, and a volatile and articulate public opinion in his country. However, he failed to instill an adequate appreciation of the necessity for a strong opposition political party.

During a significant portion of its postindependence history, India was governed by a single party, the Congress (originally called Indian National Congress), which had guided it through the freedom struggle and was led by one family represented by Nehru (prime minister from 1947 to 1964). His daughter Indira Gandhi ruled India as prime minister from 1966 to 1977 and from 1980 to 1984. Nehru's grandson, Rajiv Gandhi led India between 1984 and 1989.

A splintered opposition made up of several parties became the norm in Indian politics. As the supremacy and popularity of Congress declined because of corruption scandals, continuing poverty in certain segments of the voting public, and disaffection among minorities, the only alternative was government by coalition. A kaleidoscopic pattern of political groups formed and dissolved in an attempt to weaken the grip of Congress and gain control of India's parliament.

Indira Gandhi's declaration of a state of emergency in 1975 led to the suspension of some civil and political rights, the arrest of



thousands of opponents of her regime, the imposition of press censorship, and the removal from office of some provincial governments. As suddenly as it had been proclaimed, the state of emergency was officially terminated in 1977 with a call for elections.

The rigors of emergency rule served to unify the opposition, and the Janata coalition group came to power in 1977 with Morarji Desai as prime minister. His platform was the restoration of democracy and the revocation of the state of emergency. Congress itself became fractionalized, but the Janata group failed to rally and enthuse public opinion. Indira Gandhi won a resound-

## India Time Line

- 1857 "Great Mutiny," first Indian war for independence from Great Britain, ends in failure.
- 1885 Indian National Congress is formed to fight for independence.
- 1947 (Aug. 15) India gains its independence from Britain.
- 1948 First Indo-Pakistan war is fought over Kashmir.
- 1948 (Jan. 30) Mohandas Gandhi is assassinated.
- 1948 (Sept. 13) India invades Hyderabad.
- 1950 India becomes a Republic.
- 1955 (Apr. 18) China and India lead nonaligned movement announced at Bandung Conference.
- 1959 When China annexes Tibet, Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetans flee to India.
- 1962 China invades India, claiming parts of Ladakh and North East Frontier.
- 1964 (May 27) Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru dies.
- 1965 (Jan. 24) Second Indo-Pakistan war begins.
- 1966 Indira Gandhi becomes prime minister.
- 1971 (Aug. 9) India allies with Soviet Union.
- 1971 (Dec. 3) India mobilizes for war with Pakistan.
- 1971 (Dec. 6) India recognizes independence of Bangladesh.
- 1971 (Dec. 16) Pakistan surrenders to India in third Indo-Pakistan war.
- 1972 India and Bangladesh form treaty of friendship and cooperation.
- 1974 (May) India explodes its first nuclear device.
- 1975 Government declares state of emergency.
- 1977 Morarji Desai becomes prime minister; state of emergency is revoked.

ing electoral victory in 1980 and returned as prime minister, ruling until her assassination in 1984.

Gandhi's son Rajiv inherited a government and society fraught with conflict because of Indira's efforts to centralize power in the federal as opposed to the provincial structure. However, he won solidly in the 1984 elections and attempted, with some success, to conciliate a number of alienated ethnic and religious groups, such as the Assamese, the Sikhs, and the Mizo National Front.

Nevertheless, Gandhi's government continued to be engulfed by self-determination claims by Gorkhas in West Bengal, Bodo in Assam, and in the Punjab. Eventually Gandhi's government de-

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| 1980 | Indira Gandhi returns as prime minister.                                                                                               |
| 1984 | (June 5) Army attacks Sikhs at Golden Temple in Amritsar.                                                                              |
| 1984 | (Oct. 31) Prime minister Indira Gandhi is assassinated; her son, Rajiv Gandhi, succeeds her.                                           |
| 1984 | (Dec. 3) Poisonous gas leak at U.S.-owned Union Carbide plant at Bhopal kills thousands.                                               |
| 1985 | Peace agreement between government and Sikh leaders.                                                                                   |
| 1987 | India intervenes in civil war in Sri Lanka.                                                                                            |
| 1988 | (Dec.) Pakistan and India agree not to attack each other's nuclear facilities.                                                         |
| 1990 | (Mar.) Indian troops return from Sri Lanka.                                                                                            |
| 1990 | (May 19) Assassination of prominent Muslim cleric creates new trouble for India in section of Kashmir they control.                    |
| 1991 | (May 21) Rajiv Gandhi, candidate for prime minister, is assassinated.                                                                  |
| 1991 | (Dec. 13) Chinese prime minister Li Peng makes first high-level visit to India since 1962 Sino-Indian War and signs trade agreement.   |
| 1992 | (Feb. 19) Punjab holds its first election in five years.                                                                               |
| 1993 | (Jan. 6) Religious riots erupt in Bombay.                                                                                              |
| 1993 | (Mar. 19) New governors in Kashmir and Jammu attempt to improve ethnic strife between Hindus and Muslims.                              |
| 1996 | (May 15) Indian president appoints leader of Bharatiza Janata Party (BJP) prime minister as result of national elections.              |
| 1996 | (Nov. 28) Chinese president Jiang Zemin visits India and signs agreement to promote partial demilitarization of disputed border areas. |
| 1998 | (Jan. 28) Tamil Nadu state court condemns twenty-six persons to death for their roles in 1991 assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.           |

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parted from conciliation by imposing presidential rule in Tamil Nadu in 1988. Conflict between Hindus and Muslims continued sporadically through most of this period, as did violent disaffection in impoverished rural areas.

A serious religious-political dispute flared up in 1984 in the ancient city of Ayodhya (northern India), where Hindus alleged that a sixteenth century mosque had replaced a demolished Hindu temple, the site of the much-revered birthplace of the Hindu god Ram. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which formed in 1980, proposed the erection in 1989 of a temple on this site, a move that was viewed as provocative by India's Muslim minor-

### **India Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1998 (Feb. 16) India begins four-staged national elections.
- 1998 (Mar. 7) President Kocheril Raman Narayanan asks Hindu nationalist BJP to form government after completion of national elections.
- 1998 (Mar. 19) BJP wins large minority in election but still must form coalition that controls Indian parliament by only one vote.
- 1998 (Mar. 19) Atal Bihari Vajpayee is sworn in as prime minister.
- 1998 (Mar. 28) BJP survives confidence vote in Parliament.
- 1998 (May 13) United States imposes sanctions on India and fails in attempt to pressure Pakistan not to respond to India's nuclear bomb tests.
- 1998 (May 28) Pakistan detonates nuclear devices in response to India's nuclear bomb tests.
- 1998 (June) Nepal protests India's encroachments on its borders.
- 1998 (June 7) Pakistan blames India for deadly bomb blast on southern Pakistan train.
- 1998 (Nov. 6) U.S. government announces lifting of some sanctions on India and Pakistan to reward their progress in nuclear weapons control.
- 1998 (Dec. 4) Thousands of Indian Christians demonstrate throughout India against rising Hindu violence against Christians.
- 1999 (Jan. 20) Government announces arrest of four persons suspected of plotting to bomb U.S. consulates in Madras and Calcutta.
- 1999 (Feb. 20) Prime minister Vajpayee and Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif meet.
- 1999 (Apr. 17) After losing vote of confidence in parliament, Vajpayee's BJP government resigns, paving way for possible return of Congress Party to power.

ity. Hindu communalism received a boost in the 1989 elections as the BJP won eighty-eight seats and pursued its policy emphasizing "Hinduness" as opposed to the secular platform espoused by various other political parties.

Political instability, exacerbated by ill-feeling over the Ayodhya shrine and economic problems besetting the country, led to further elections in 1991. While campaigning to return to public office, Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated on May 21, 1991, allegedly by a member of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, a group infuriated by India's intervention between 1987 and 1990 in the Sri Lankan civil war.

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| 1999 | (May-July) Fighting between Indian and Pakistani-backed forces flares up in Kashmir until both governments agree to resume talks on Kashmir's future.                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1999 | (Aug.) Indian air force shoots down a Pakistani spy plane flying over Gujarat.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 2001 | United States ends its economic embargoes against both India and Pakistan.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 2001 | (Apr. 17) Bangladeshi security forces seize a border outpost under Indian control on April 17, 2001, resulting in military retaliation by India.                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 2001 | (July) Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf and Indian prime minister Vajpayee hold their first summit at Agra but are unable to resolve their differences.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 2001 | (Dec. 13) Five armed terrorists attempt to make their way into India's Parliament House in New Delhi, killing nine other people before being killed themselves. India maintains they are Kashmiri separatists backed by Pakistan.                                                                                         |
| 2002 | (Jan.) Pakistani president Musharraf bans two of the groups blamed by India for the violence at the Indian Parliament House.                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 2002 | (Feb. 27) Muslim mob attacks a train containing activists from the World Hindu Council who are returning from the city of Ayodhya. Outraged Hindus strike back against Muslims throughout the state of Gujarat.                                                                                                           |
| 2002 | (June) With Indian and Pakistani troops massed along their mutual border, the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency estimates that if the two nations engaged in mutual nuclear attacks, 17 million people would be killed in the first few weeks and more would die later from radiation, starvation, and other aftereffects. |
| 2002 | (Sept.-October) India holds elections in Kashmir. The elections are marked by violence and criticized by Pakistan and by some other international observers.                                                                                                                                                              |
| 2002 | (Oct. 5) India test-fires a conventional warhead missile following Pakistan's test-firing of a medium-range missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead.                                                                                                                                                                |
| 2003 | (Jan. 9) India test-fires a nuclear-capable missile in Orissa. Pakistan denounces the test as part of India's desire to control the subcontinent.                                                                                                                                                                         |
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Although Congress regained power, the BJP won 119 seats. It had also gained control of some provincial governments. The rise of Hindu fundamentalism was perceived both in India and abroad as the most serious challenge to India's secular parliamentary tradition. On December 6, 1992, the mosque at Ayodhya was destroyed by a group of protesters who also attempted to construct a temple at that location. The incident set off rioting across India, in which more than five hundred died in the great port city of Mumbai (Bombay) in early 1993.

The bewildering pattern of party alliances continued to play a significant role in Indian politics and to further destabilize the country. The 1996 elections resulted in the BJP's gaining 161 seats over Congress's 140 seats. The Indian voting public was clearly divided in its loyalties. Unable to command a sufficient vote to form a government, the BJP resigned to give way to a united-front coalition of thirteen smaller parties.

The kaleidoscopic patterns continued to destabilize India, and elections were again called in 1998. This time, the BJP and an alliance of smaller parties formed a government with Atal Behari Vajpayee as prime minister. The rise of Hindu fundamentalism as a successful political force dominated events in India at the end of the twentieth century.

### **Hinduism and Caste**

Religion and spiritual thought have at once been India's greatest gift to world civilization and a constant bone of contention between adherents of different faiths within its borders. India has provided a home for all the major religions of the world. Approximately 82 percent of the population is Hindu, slightly over 12 percent are Muslim, 2 percent are Sikh, and over 2 percent are Christian. Less than 1 percent of the population practices Buddhism and less than 1 percent Jainism.

Religious diversity has produced a rich cultural heritage evident in India's many monuments, art, music, and literature. However, religious differences have also sparked frequent controversy and bloody conflict.

Hinduism is one of the world's leading religions of personal experience, being a very individualistic search for the meaning

and purpose of life and a quest for truth. It emphasizes tolerance, nonviolence, and mutual respect. Although its beginnings cannot be dated, historians trace its origins back to the amalgam of rituals, beliefs, and practices that arose in India from the cultural fusion of the Aryans (who came to India around 1500 B.C.E. to 300 B.C.E., possibly from Central Asia) and the indigenous peoples of the Indus Valley civilization (which probably arose in 2500 B.C.E.) This civilization was urban and artistic and traded extensively with the area now known as the Middle East.

One of the most significant features of Hinduism was the caste system. The centuries-old caste system provided India with a stable society and an unbroken cultural tradition going back to ancient times. Caste was initially a societal division of labor between priests, administrators, and warriors and traders, merchants, and farmers. This was similar to the system in medieval Europe. Caste provided economic support and social integration for its members. Like a guild, the caste established rules of training, funding for craftsmen, and quality control for products; it protected widows, orphans, and the elderly and was even a group source for the selection of spouses.

However, the system became rigid after India experienced the social and political disruption caused by hordes of foreign invaders. In an effort to regain some semblance of stability in an era of political upheaval and turmoil, the prevailing society became more conservative, more traditional, and less accepting of change. Serious discrimination was the result, and caste rules proliferated to the point that they adversely affected everyday life. A complicating factor was the creation of thousands of subcastes. Most insidious was the treatment of the so-called untouchables, who were not fitted into the caste system because they performed work such as tanning leather or butchering meat, which most Hindus regarded as defiling.

Caste was never linked to economic wealth. The highest caste, the Brahmin priest, was an intellectual, not necessarily a person of wealth. The merchants, the richest members of society, formed the third caste.

When India fought for freedom from British imperial rule between 1857 and 1947, the eradication of the evils of caste was a



*Mohandas Gandhi (left), the primary leader behind India's nationalist movement, addressing a crowd in 1925. (Library of Congress)*

top priority of Indian leaders such as Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi. The constitution of free India outlawed discrimination on the basis of caste and abolished untouchability. However, the key to its eventual eradication lies in education and awareness, particularly among the *Dalits* (oppressed), the name commonly given to the former victims of caste discrimination.

The Indian government also provided a measure of affirmative action with respect to university admissions and highly coveted civil service jobs for former untouchables and indigenous tribal peoples, renaming them scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Kocheril Raman Narayanan, a member of a scheduled caste, was elected president of India in 1997.

During the 1990's the degree of affirmative action generated

conflict from the higher castes, who felt that the program discriminated against them and provided too much of a benefit to the scheduled castes and to other castes. Violence occasionally erupted, especially over the allocation of civil service positions. The so-called lower castes constitute about two-thirds of the population. The fine tuning of affirmative action and reverse discrimination continues to bedevil Indian politicians and to be a source of controversy.

### **Islam**

Islam has had a long association with the subcontinent of India from the seventh century travels of traders from the Middle East who chose to settle in the country and were allowed freely to practice their faith. Eventually, Muslim conquerors took over India and governed the vast Hindu majority for centuries. Most prominent among the various Islamic dynasties were the Moghul emperors, who ruled between 1526 and 1858, although in the eighteenth century their power was eroded by the British East India Company.

The emphasis of Islam on social equality drew many adherents from lower caste Hindus, who were anxious to escape the discrimination of Hinduism. However, Islam, as one of the world's fastest-growing religions of revelation, preached one right way to God and thus clashed with the pluralistic diversity common to Hindu traditional concepts. Islam was exclusivist, while Hinduism was inclusive in nature. Clashes and confrontation were almost inevitable, but for centuries the adherents of both faiths managed to live quite amicably as neighbors.

During the many centuries of their interaction in India, Hinduism and Islam have profoundly influenced each other. Except when politics fired religious conflict, Islam became more tolerant of other beliefs over the centuries while Hinduism became more critical of its own outmoded social practices, such as caste. Under the Moghul emperors, Muslims and Hindus produced a culture that was as much a fusion of both religions as it was a synthesis of Indian and foreign ideas.

The late sixteenth century ruler Akbar, perhaps the greatest of the Moghul emperors, realized that the secret to ruling India was



religious tolerance. Both Hinduism and Islam flourished. When a late seventeenth century Moghul emperor, Aurangzeb reversed this policy in favor of Islam, revolt broke out in many parts of India. These conflicts contributed to the eventual destruction of Moghul power.

During the movement for independence from British imperial control, Islamic self-determination became a political issue that ultimately destroyed the territorial unity of the subcontinent. The Muslim League, founded in 1906 and led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, agitated for a separate Islamic state, which was fulfilled when the British divided India in 1947 before departing.

Pakistan was primarily a state meant for Muslims, while India remained a secular state with no formal religious affiliation but with a Hindu majority. The partition of India resulted in territorial differences and political and economic confrontations that have led to war between India and Pakistan in 1948, 1965, and 1971. The 1971 conflict resulted in the creation of the nation of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan).

Tension between Muslim Pakistan and predominantly Hindu India has been accompanied by religious conflict within India. In spite of the fact that India is a secular state, Hindu militants have advocated a Hindu political identity for their nation. The party of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Bharatiya Janata Party, is a Hindu nationalist party.

Violent religious conflict between Muslims and Hindus erupted in 2002. On February 27 of that year, a Muslim mob attacked a train containing activists from the World Hindu Council who were returning from the city of Ayodhya, where they were demanding that a Hindu temple be built on the site where Hindu zealots had destroyed a Muslim mosque ten years earlier. At a station in the town of Gohra, some of the World Hindu Council members had beaten a Muslim vendor who refused to repeat a Hindu prayer. In retaliation, local Muslims stoned and burned a coach of the train, killing fifty-eight people, most of whom were women and children. Outraged Hindus struck back throughout the state of Gujarat, torturing, burning, raping, and slaughtering Muslims. Some observers maintained that local police and officials had encouraged the violence against Muslims.

## Languages

Language continues to be a divisive force in modern India. Although the official language is Hindi, which is spoken with varying levels of fluency by about 30 to 43 percent of the population, English continues to be popular as a working language in many sectors of Indian society. The constitution recognizes eighteen regional languages, each of which is estimated to have more than five million speakers.

It is also estimated that there are about 1,600 different dialects. Many of these regional languages have individual scripts and extensive bodies of literature going back centuries. Modern Indian languages spring from varied historical traditions, the majority being of Indo-Aryan origin (from the Indo-European group). Approximately 80 percent of Indians speak at least one Indo-Aryan language. Other languages descend from Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Sino-Tibetan derivation.

Following independence in 1947 the government of India was forced to confront the demands of numerous groups for recognition of their linguistic identities. In 1956 the government bowed to the pressure and reorganized some state boundaries along linguistic lines. However, this attempted reform still left linguistic minorities within the borders of almost every reorganized province. Competing rights occasionally flare up in violence, as in 1994, when a proposal to provide for an Urdu language news broadcast in Bangalore in southern India resulted in riots, deaths, and extensive property damage.

It is impossible to enumerate precisely the number of Indians who speak some or fluent English. English is as popular in India as it has become internationally, especially because of its domination of cyberspace. Living in a multicultural society, most Indians are bi- and even trilingual, and English continues to be the favored choice among foreign languages.

At independence, the constitution directed that Hindi and English would be used by the central government until 1965. The Official Languages Act of 1963 mandated the switch to Hindi by 1965. The legislation and regulations caused widespread resentment and led in 1964 and 1965 to riots in southern India, where Dravidian languages predominate. The central government ac-

commodated the dissenters to an extent, and Hindi was not imposed as the only official language. The agitation for linguistic recognition has been a continuing source of controversy in modern India.

### **Nuclear Issue**

India's desperate need to generate electricity for development projects and for its vast population has led the government to commit itself strongly to the use of nuclear power plants, which are under the direction of the government through the Nuclear Power Corporation of India. This corporation is under the authority of the Ministry of Atomic Energy. Policy is formulated by the Atomic Energy Commission.

By 1995 nine nuclear power plants were operating, with seven more being constructed and many more in the initial planning stages. Canada provided India with much-needed nuclear technology during the 1950's, and India bought Canadian reactors during the 1960's. In 1968 the Soviet Union and India agreed to cooperate on a project to further the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

In May, 1974, India became the sixth nation in the world to explode a nuclear device. Canada terminated sales of nuclear technology, expertise, and products to India. Canadian nuclear assistance to Pakistan ended two years later when it was revealed that Pakistan was working toward establishing itself as a nuclear-capable state. The government of Pakistan created a uranium enrichment plant at the Kahuta Research Laboratory in 1976 and declared its ability to manufacture its own nuclear fuel four years later. In December, 1988, India and Pakistan signed an agreement not to attack each other's nuclear facilities.

In February, 1988, India successfully tested its own design of a surface-to-surface missile, becoming the fifth nation in the world with the capacity to manufacture such weapons. In November, 1989, it was reported that Pakistan had reached a nuclear agreement with China for the establishment of a 300-megawatt nuclear power plant.

The following year, while France expressed its willingness to provide Pakistan with a nuclear power plant, the United States

stopped all military and new economic aid to Pakistan because of fears that Pakistan's nuclear projects, assisted by China, were weapons oriented. Meanwhile, India and Pakistan refused to sign international agreements on nuclear nonproliferation and the banning of tests. India argued that such treaties discriminated against nuclear-threshold states. By 1996 India had developed the Prithvi II missile, which could carry nuclear warheads.

In March, 1998, Pakistan tested an intermediate-range missile (Ghauri), developed with Chinese and North Korean assistance. Ghauri is capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Responding to a perceived security threat from Pakistan, on May 11 and 13, 1998, India exploded five underground devices and became a hydrogen-bomb power.

The United States and Canada immediately announced a ban on nonhumanitarian aid and economic sanctions against India. U.S. president Bill Clinton called the explosions a "terrible mistake." Japan, India's largest aid donor, suspended \$30 million in grants. European nations condemned the Indian nuclear tests as being contrary to the principles of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty but would not support sanctions.

Defending India's action, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee pointed out that India was surrounded by nuclear weaponry (meaning China and Pakistan) but indicated that India would not use its weapons aggressively. The BJP ruling party committed itself to making India a prominent Asian nuclear power because of its apprehension about the existence of a Chinese nuclear ring around India through Tibet, Myanmar (Burma), and Pakistan.

China, which conducted final tests of its nuclear devices in 1996 prior to signing the Test Ban Treaty, urged the world community to stop India from becoming a nuclear power. Pakistan feared the escalation of a nuclear arms race in Asia and on May 28, 1998, claimed to have set off five nuclear blasts. (U.S. sources counted only two blasts.) Pakistan also declared a state of emergency and suspended the constitution, the legal system, and civil rights. On May 30, Pakistan exploded another nuclear device.

The governments of the United States and Canada immediately announced sanctions against Pakistan, which in 1998 had a per capita income of only US\$480. Sanctions against Pakistan

would reportedly be more detrimental than on the more developed and independent economy of India. The government of China, which had severely criticized India's tests, expressed deep regret over Pakistan's nuclear explosions. News reports indicated that Pakistan had informed China in advance about its nuclear tests.

The United States ended its economic embargoes against India and Pakistan at the end of 2001. After Islamic terrorists hijacked airliners and flew them into the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001, the forces of the United States participated in an invasion of Afghanistan to overthrow the government of that nation, which had been harboring and supporting the terrorists. Needing the support of India and Pakistan, the United States sought to strengthen its ties to the two nations.

In the subcontinent there were positive signs in the late 1990's. The Indian prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee declared a moratorium on future nuclear testing and expressed a desire to negotiate a nuclear treaty with Pakistan that would bar both nations from the first use of the weapons. The Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif proposed talks with India to resolve outstanding issues, but later his government withdrew the offer.

After Nawaz Sharif was overthrown by Pakistani general Pervez Musharraf in 1999, efforts at improving relations between the two nations continued. In July, 2001, President Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee held their first summit at Agra but were unable to resolve differences. Relations between the two countries took a turn for the worse over the course of the following year.

The rhetoric of nuclear threat and retaliation continued simultaneously with the positive indicators of possible negotiations. The world's five nuclear nations—the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and China—decided to meet in emergency session in Geneva, Switzerland, in June, 1998, to curb the nuclear arms race in South Asia and to encourage India and Pakistan to resolve their differences peacefully.

The South Asian nuclear competition of 1998 caused serious alarm among the hitherto five acknowledged nuclear powers, not just because of the obvious dangers of nuclear proliferation

but also because the new players in the deadly game had serious political and boundary disputes with each other. Internationally, India has favored total elimination of nuclear weapons by all powers by a definite date.

A series of crises and confrontations led Pakistan and India to the apparent brink of nuclear war by early summer of 2002. In the middle of 1999, Indian authorities learned that infiltrators from Pakistan, including Pakistani army troops, had been crossing over the line separating areas controlled by the two countries in the Kargil region of Jammu and Kashmir. In August, 1999, the Indian air force shot down a Pakistani spy plane flying over the Indian state of Gujarat.

On December 13, 2001, five armed terrorists attempted to make their way into India's Parliament House in New Delhi, killing nine other people before being killed themselves. According to India, the terrorists were Kashmiri militants backed by groups in Pakistan. In January, 2002, President Musharraf of Pakistan banned two of the groups blamed by India for the violence, but Indian and Pakistani troops continued to mass along the borders in Kashmir and threats of nuclear exchanges grew.

In June, 2002, the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency estimated that if the two nations engaged in mutual nuclear attacks, as many as 17 million people would be killed during the first few weeks, and more would die from radiation, starvation, and other aftereffects over a period of years. Although tension eased somewhat in the late summer of 2002, the conflict pointed out the continuing danger posed by Indian and Pakistani nuclear weapons.

The fact that both India and Pakistan are nuclear states could act as a mutual deterrent and possibly curb the incessant military skirmishes across their borders. On the other hand, there is a global apprehension that the Kashmir dispute could become the "cause" to set off a first strike by one or the other of these South Asian neighbors.

## **Kashmir**

Political control over the region of Kashmir has been a major factor in the long struggle between India and Pakistan. Religion, ethnicity, economics, and politics combine in a witches' brew that

has led to incessant controversy and frequent violent confrontation in this region.

In the past, Kashmir, one of the scenic wonders of the world, was the summer playground of Indian emperors. Located in the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent, Kashmir has frequently been termed an earthly paradise with a healthy climate, verdant hills, lotus-filled lakes, pleasure gardens, an ancient culture, and a rich heritage of crafts and art. In peaceful times, visitors from around the world have flocked to Kashmir to reside in luxurious houseboats on its lakes, to shop in its ancient markets, and to delight in its exquisite scenery.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is strategically located on the northwestern border of India and is the only Indian state with a Muslim majority. When Britain decided to partition India in 1947, Kashmir's Hindu ruler Maharaja Hari Singh pondered the possibilities of accession either to India or to Pakistan or independence for his small kingdom.

While Hari Singh deliberated, paramilitary forces allegedly supported by the newly formed state of Pakistan invaded Kashmir to force its accession to Pakistan. Unable to repulse the attack with his own resources, the maharaja appealed to India for assistance and simultaneously joined the Indian Union. India went to war with Pakistan to defend its newly acquired territory and ousted the raiders from parts of Kashmir.

Indian prime minister Nehru, a firm believer in international diplomacy, decided not to totally clear Kashmir militarily but to take the matter before the United Nations for resolution. Following a cease-fire, the political status of Kashmir remained unresolved at the international level and became one more troubled area demonstrating the inadequacy of the United Nations. For decades a United Nations military observer group supervised the cease-fire in Kashmir but was unable to prevent clashes between India and Pakistan.

In 1952 the largely Muslim constituent assembly of Jammu and Kashmir endorsed the accession of the state to India. However, Pakistan refused to acknowledge the accession to India and continued to occupy over 32,046 square miles of Kashmir. In 1962 war broke out between India and China, which resulted in the

Chinese occupation of more than 14,285 square miles of the Indian district of Ladakh. During the 1960's Pakistan ceded over 1,930 square miles of occupied Kashmir to China.

In 1965 war erupted again between India and Pakistan over armed infiltration from Pakistan into the part of Kashmir controlled by India. Indian forces were successful despite Pakistan's advantage in military hardware.

The India-Pakistan War of 1971 was mainly fought over the secessionist aspirations of the residents of East Pakistan, who suffered serious human rights abuses at the hands of Pakistan and fled by the thousands to India. When India intervened successfully in East Pakistan, Kashmir in the northwest again figured in the military engagements. With the assistance of Indian forces, East Pakistan declared its independence from Pakistan and renamed itself Bangladesh.

Internal conflict between secessionists (assisted by Pakistan) and federalists (loyal to India) continued to haunt the politics of Kashmir. Both sides participated in military and propaganda engagements, and the economy of Kashmir continued to suffer as tourism declined drastically in view of the political instability. Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto expressed her nation's desire to fight a "thousand-year war" to gain control of Kashmir.

Sporadic clashes continued over Kashmir in May, 1998, with exchanges of artillery and mortar fire accompanied by widely divergent accounts in which each country blamed the other. The Kashmir crisis continues to drain the economic resources of both India and Pakistan, which have stationed large numbers of troops, protected by artillery, missiles, and fighter jets, along their borders.

The build-up in troops from both sides in 2002 not only brought these two countries to the brink of disaster, but it also endangered American efforts to establish a new government in Afghanistan, since the Americans needed a reliable and stable ally in Pakistan. Even after India and Pakistan backed away from open war in the summer of 2002, they continued to clash over Jammu and Kashmir. In August, 2002, President Musharraf made a speech dismissing as meaningless Indian plans to hold elections in Indian-held Kashmir. In response, India's President Vajpayee accused the Pakistani government of being undemocratic, since



Musharraf had seized power in a coup, and described Pakistan as a supporter of terrorism.

The elections held in Kashmir in September and October, 2002, were criticized by other international observers, as well as by Musharraf. India would not allow foreign observers to watch election procedures, and critics maintained that the voting was designed to maintain the power of the National Conference, the ruling party in Kashmir that supported the government in New Delhi. Hundreds of people were killed in the elections, including more than 130 political activists and a number of politicians. On the final day of the elections, October 8, three militant separatists stormed a polling place in the town of Doda, killing several civilians and soldiers before two of the militants managed to escape.

The two nations have also clashed over ownership of the Siachen Glacier near the Karakoram Pass in the northeast of Jammu and Kashmir. Mutual distrust compelled India and Pakistan to station large contingents of troops in this region, where temperatures drop as low as 40 degrees fahrenheit below zero.

## **Punjab**

The Sikhs are a religious community in India who follow the spiritual teachings of Guru Nanak, who died in 1538. They inhabit the province of Punjab, although a Sikh diaspora has taken them to all corners of the world. The Golden Temple in Amritsar is one of their most sacred places of worship. Brotherhood and community are very important to Sikhs, who can be identified by their distinctive turbans and beards.

The Sikh religion requires men to grow their hair long, wear iron bangles and short drawers, and carry steel daggers and combs. Because of religious persecution by the Muslim rulers of India, the Sikhs developed a highly disciplined military tradition and have served with distinction in the armed forces of free India. Giani Zail Singh, a Sikh, was elected as India's seventh president in 1982.

When Indira Gandhi was prime minister, forces of Sikh separatism became increasingly militant in their demands for secession from India and the formation in the Punjab of a state they named Khalistan. During the early 1980's violence flared in the

Punjab between Hindus and Sikhs over territorial and water rights and religious differences. The militant Sikhs, under the leadership of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, occupied and converted the Golden Temple into an armed camp.

The standoff resulted in the storming of the Temple by Indian forces, the death of numerous militants (including Bhindranwale), and the declaration of a curfew in the Punjab. In alleged retaliation for this incident, Sikh members of Indira Gandhi's personal bodyguard assassinated her on October 31, 1984. Hundreds of Sikhs were slaughtered in the riots that followed the prime minister's assassination.

In July, 1985, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi succeeded in coming to terms with Harchand Singh Longowal, a prominent moderate Sikh leader. Longowal was assassinated, allegedly by radical Sikhs, in August, 1985. Subsequent elections in the Punjab brought the Sikh Akali Dal to power. The situation was complicated by differences between moderate and militant Sikhs, alleged brutality by Indian police forces against civilians, assassinations of political and military leaders, and resentment among some Hindus over the concessions given to the Sikhs.

Political instability in the Punjab resulted in the dissolution of the provincial government and conversion to president's rule in May, 1987. Violent conflict continued into the 1990's as various groups vied for political influence and control of the civilian population. Militants were largely successful in undermining efforts to hold democratic elections in the Punjab. Conflicts and factionalism among Sikhs became more severe, and extremists were allegedly involved in the assassination of Chief Minister Beant Singh in August, 1995.

Popular disillusionment with the widespread violence and instability in the Punjab forced a more reasonable approach. Moderate elements in the Akali Dal party succeeded in gaining popular and electoral support in provincial elections, and in 1997 this group formed an alliance with the BJP.

## **Conclusion**

Given India's dedication to multiculturalism and pluralism, its long history, its enormous cultural variety, its tendency to en-

courage diversity, and its tradition of tolerance, it is not surprising to find India prone to controversy and conflict both internally and externally.

As the world's most populous democracy, India since 1947 has developed a tradition of democratic principle that has withstood numerous tests, external wars, internal emergency rule, violent ethnic and religious conflicts, political scandals, assassinations, and economic problems. That democracy has survived intact is a tribute to the wisdom of the Indian people and to the foresight of the framers of its constitution.

Any survey of the numerous conflicts that seem to engulf India should note that, despite its problems, India has developed a vibrant industrialized economy. It has a burgeoning consumer-oriented middle class and a rapidly growing educated population. The country has taken its place as a prominent player in the United Nations and on the international scene. Although plagued by political and economic problems, India's basic structure grounded in political and personal freedom has survived.

Considering the astonishing diversity of heritage, custom, tradition, religion, ethnicity, language, education, lifestyle, dress, and food, India's survival as an open democratic society was one of the great success stories of the twentieth century.

*Ranee K. L. Panjabi*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

A valuable, well-written history of India is Stanley Wolpert's *A New History of India* (1997). Other useful historical sources include Beatrice Pitney Lamb's *India: A World in Transition* (1975) and Judith M. Brown's *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (1985). For a detailed view of numerous aspects of India, see *India: A Country Study* (1995), published by the Library of Congress in its area Handbook Series. B. R. Tomlinson's *The Economy of Modern India, 1860-1970* (1993) includes useful background information on nineteenth and twentieth century history and economic conditions.

Ainslie T. Embree's *Utopias in Conflict: Religion and Nationalism in Modern India* (1990) contains an analysis of twentieth century

history, nationalism, and the role of religion in India. T. Pentham, editor, *Political Thought in Modern India* (1986), explains political science in the context of India. For a historical analysis of the role of women in nineteenth and twentieth century India, see G. H. Forbes's *Women in Modern India* (1996). V. Grover and R. Arora, *Great Women of Modern India* (1993), examine the role of women in Indian politics, including Indira Gandhi and Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

The rise of Hindu nationalism has been an important part of political life in India. In *Conflict Unending: Indo-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947* (2002), Sumit Ganguly examines conflicts between India and Pakistan, arguing that Kashmir has been the focal point of all disputes except for the 1971 war over East Pakistan that led to the creation of Bangladesh. The book leans heavily toward the Indian point of view. For an examination of the ideas and ideology of Hindu nationalism, consult *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths* (2001), by Chetan Bhatt. *Politics After Television: Hindu Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Public in India* (2001), by Arvind Rajagopal, is a particularly interesting work. It looks at how the broadcasting of the Hindu epic, the Ramayana, on state-run television drew on ancient stories to create a modern ideology by advanced technological means. *Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy* (2000), by Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, looks at how Nehru's ideal of India as a secular democracy has been challenged by economic liberalization and by Hindu nationalism, and at how India's masses have reacted to these two influences.

Additional information about India can be found on the Internet at <http://www.indiagov.org> and <http://www.cyberindian.com/india/current/html>.

## INDONESIA

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*The Republic of Indonesia is a cluster of islands located in Southeast Asia. As a country of more than 17,500 islands covering 741,096 square miles, it has had some difficulty maintaining political unity. There have been forces fighting for independence in some areas of this widespread country, most notably in the regions of Irian Jaya and East Timor, Indonesia's newest region. Another problem for the unity of Indonesia is its history as a colony of the Netherlands, a history that has left its diverse territories few shared political traditions. In the years following Indonesia's independence from the Netherlands in 1949, communism and regional separatism were seen by many Indonesian authorities as a national threat.*

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Indonesia, which had an estimated population of 231 million people in 2001, is the most populous country in Southeast Asia. Its name reflects two of its most important historical and geographical characteristics. "Indo-" refers to India and "-nesia" is from the Greek word for islands.

Spanning both sides of the equator, the islands of this country cover one-eighth of the earth's girth. The Malay Peninsula, containing Malaysia and the southern tip of Thailand, lies just north of the easternmost island. Geographers divide the islands into those of the Indian Ocean and those of the Pacific. The major Indian Ocean islands are Sumatra, Java, Bali, and the Lesser Sunda Islands. The major Pacific Ocean islands include Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas.

The official language of Indonesia is Bahasa Indonesia, a form of Malay. However, 668 other languages are spoken in the various islands. The Javanese, who constitute 45 percent of the nation's population, make up the nation's largest ethnic group and tend to dominate the political life of the country. Other major ethnic groups are the Sudanese (14 percent), the Madurese (7.5 percent), and the coastal Malays (7.5 percent). Although ethnically diverse, 87 percent of Indonesians adhere to a variety of Muslim sects. An-

other 3 percent of the population are Christian, 2 percent Hindu, and 1 percent Buddhist.

Ethnic differences provide a source of continuing internal conflict in Indonesia. Although only about 2 percent of Indonesia's population is Chinese, it has been estimated that as much as 75 percent of the country's wealth is controlled by people of Chinese ancestry. Many other Indonesians resent Chinese business activity and blame economic problems on the Chinese. There are also religious tensions between the nation's majority Muslim population and adherents of other religions, particularly Christians. In strongly Muslim areas, such as the northern region of Aceh, Muslim religious feelings have combined with regional loyalties to intensify separatist pressures.

### **Early History**

The civilization of the islands that now make up Indonesia was greatly influenced by the Hindu and Buddhist religions, apparently brought to these islands by sea trade with India. Hindu and Buddhist ideas regarding the ruler as a "god-king" helped rulers in Sumatra and Java to establish strong centralized kingdoms, and these kingdoms helped these two islands achieve dominant positions over the other islands of Indonesia. One of

## **Profile of Indonesia**

*Official name:* Republic of Indonesia

*Former name:* Dutch East Indies

*Independent since:* 1949

*Former colonial ruler:* the Netherlands

*Location:* Southeast Asia, south of Philippines

*Area:* 741,096 square miles

*Capital:* Jakarta

*Population:* 231.3 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Bahasa Indonesia

*Major religion:* Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$687 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* crude petroleum; natural gas; plywood; garments; processed rubber

*Military expenditures:* US\$1.0 billion (1999 est.)



the best-known early kingdoms was Srivijaya in eastern Sumatra, which emerged in the seventh century and controlled sea trade in the region until the thirteenth century.

On the island of Java, the state of Mataram became important in the eighth century, but Mataram soon became part of the Buddhist Sailendra kingdom, which is today remembered primarily for the temple complex at Borobudur near Yogyakarta, which was built by the Sailendras. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a number of powerful Buddhist and Hindu kingdoms emerged on Java. One of the greatest of these had its capital at Majapahit and lasted from the late thirteenth until the early sixteenth century.

Sea trade was also responsible for the arrival of the Muslim religion in the islands of Indonesia. Islam, the Muslim faith, is a religion that teaches belief in a single, all-powerful God. It was founded in the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century by the Prophet Muhammad. The religion seems to have spread gradually through the islands between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.

### **European Influences**

The first Europeans to come in large numbers to the islands were the Portuguese, who wanted to profit by trading in the islands' spices, such as nutmeg, mace, and cloves. Seizing the spice-rich islands from Muslim traders, the Portuguese established forts and trading posts that stretched from the Straits of

Hormuz in the Middle East to the island of Macão off the South China coast.

In the islands that later became Indonesia the Portuguese established a number of strongholds, including a fort at Malacca, which controlled passage through the Strait of Malacca. Portugal's most lasting influence was on the island of Timor, part of which remained a colony of Portugal until 1975 and which Indonesia forcibly took over in 1976.

In 1580 the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain came under a single ruling family. A year later the Netherlands, whose people are known as the Dutch, won independence from Spain. The Netherlands was not a kingdom like Portugal but a republic devoted to banking, commerce, and trade. The new nation quickly became a major maritime power. In 1596 a Dutch fleet visited the Indonesian islands and returned home with spices. In 1602 Dutch companies involved in trade in the region joined together to form the United East India Company.

The Dutch Parliament, the governing body of the Netherlands, gave the East India Company a wide range of powers, including the authority to establish fortresses, govern people in areas in regions under the company's control, wage war, and make treaties. The first governor general of the company, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, took the port of Jayakarta in Java and made it the capital of the East India Company. This port, known as Batavia under the Dutch and called Jakarta today, continued to be the political center of the islands and is the modern capital of Indonesia.

### **Dutch East Indies**

At the time the Dutch established themselves in the islands, the region consisted of many competing and often warring rulers. In order to protect their trade routes and their base at Batavia, the East India Company had to raise armies and get funds from local people to pay for military costs. Alliances with local rulers drew the company more deeply into the politics of the region and led it to expand the territory under its control during the 1700's.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the East India Company had gone bankrupt, in part because of dropping prices for spices



and in part because of rising expenses and financial mismanagement. In 1799 the East India Company went out of existence and all of its territories became the property of the government of the Netherlands, which was then occupied by France under Napoleon Bonaparte.

France was then at war with Britain, so the British seized Batavia in 1811. In 1816, after war between Britain and France had ended, the British returned the former Dutch territories, which had become known in Europe as the Dutch East Indies, to the Netherlands. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Dutch extended their territories in the Indies.

After a bitter guerrilla war by the Javanese against the Dutch from 1825 to 1830, known as the Java War, the Dutch introduced new political and economic systems. Politically, this involved di-

## Indonesia Time Line

- 1511 Portuguese take Malacca.
- 1596 Dutch fleet visits islands of Indonesia.
- 1602 Dutch companies join to form United East India Company.
- 1799 Dutch East India Company goes out of existence; control of its colonial territories passes to government of the Netherlands.
- 1811 British seize Dutch Southeast Asian colonies.
- 1816 British return colonies to the Dutch.
- 1825-1830 Java War is fought against the Dutch.
- 1830 Dutch begin unpopular system under which farmers must set aside part of their lands for export crops.
- 1899 The Netherlands begins investing in welfare and education in Indies.
- 1914 Social Democratic Association is founded; it later becomes Indonesian Communist Party.
- 1928 Sukarno and other nationalists form Indonesian Nationalist Party.
- 1930 Sukarno is arrested by the Dutch and imprisoned through 1932.
- 1941 Japanese invade Southeast Asia during World War II.
- 1942 Dutch East Indies fall to Japanese; Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta take posts in Japanese administration.
- 1945 (Aug. 17) Sukarno and Hatta proclaim Indonesia's independence from the Netherlands.

viding the territory into areas that were governed by Dutch officials with local rulers under them. Economically, the Netherlands introduced the cultivation system, under which all villages had to set aside part of their land for growing crops, such as coffee, which could be sold abroad.

The cultivation system made the Indies profitable for the Dutch, but it also led to abuses as colonial officials attempted to maximize their own profits from exports. The system was widely criticized in the Netherlands, and many Dutch leaders and citizens argued that the Netherlands should return some of its profits to the colonies. In the early twentieth century, the Netherlands adopted a program known as the Ethical Policy. The goal of this program was to invest in welfare and education in the Indies, and it helped provide educational opportunities, especially to the elites.

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|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1946 | Dutch attempt to reestablish their control of Indonesia by force.                                                                                                                             |
| 1949 | (Dec. 27) Dutch transfer sovereignty over most of their East Indies colonies to Indonesian government.                                                                                        |
| 1950 | (Aug. 14) Indonesia becomes completely independent with Sukarno as its president.                                                                                                             |
| 1957 | (Mar. 14) Sukarno proclaims martial law and tries to maintain his power through alliances with Communist Party and military.                                                                  |
| 1958 | Army puts down military revolt in Sumatra, strengthening its position in government.                                                                                                          |
| 1959 | Responding to Muslim demands in northern Sumatra, government grants Aceh region special status.                                                                                               |
| 1960 | Sukarno lays claim to West New Guinea.                                                                                                                                                        |
| 1963 | When Malaysia achieves its independence, Sukarno sends in troops in failed takeover attempt; the Netherlands cedes Indonesia control over West New Guinea, which becomes Irian Jaya province. |
| 1965 | (Sept.) Procommunist military attempt to take power is followed by anticommunist backlash, in which thousands suspected of being communist sympathizers are killed.                           |
| 1966 | (Mar. 11) Military forces Sukarno to hand over most of his power to Suharto.                                                                                                                  |
| 1967 | Suharto is appointed acting president.                                                                                                                                                        |
| 1968 | Suharto is officially recognized as president.                                                                                                                                                |
| 1970 | (June 21) Sukarno dies.                                                                                                                                                                       |

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*(continued)*

### Modern Nationalism

The new educational opportunities available to natives of the Dutch colony helped to promote a sense of nationalism. Indonesians were also inspired by the rising power of Japan, an Asian nation, and by nationalism in China and other countries dominated by the West. A number of organizations emerged to work toward self-government for the Indies. In 1914 the Social-Democratic Association was founded, which became the Indonesian Communist Party in 1924.

During the 1920's Sukarno became one of the most prominent nationalist leaders. In 1928 Sukarno, a recent graduate of a technical college in the city of Bandung, and other nationalists founded the Indonesian Nationalist Party, which held Indonesian independence as its goal. After Sukarno was imprisoned

#### Indonesia Time Line (*continued*)

- 1975      After Portuguese leave East Timor, fighting breaks out among Timor's various factions.
- 1975      (Dec. 7) Indonesia invades East Timor.
- 1976      Indonesia forcibly incorporates East Timor, but Timor guerrillas continue to resist.
- 1991      (Oct. 28) Indonesian troops kill peaceful demonstrators in East Timor.
- 1992      New Guinea agrees to crack down on guerrilla camps along its border with Irian Jaya.
- 1992      (Nov. 20) Indonesian forces capture East Timor's resistance leader.
- 1994      Proindependence Timorese stage protest that turns into riot near Jakarta.
- 1996      (July) Rioting breaks out in Jakarta following police raid on Indonesian Democratic Party headquarters.
- 1997      (Feb.) Political uprising breaks out in Kalimantan, Indonesian-controlled portion of Borneo.
- 1998      (Feb.) Indonesian currency loses most of its value in a few days, setting off Asian economic crisis and provoking student demonstrations against government.
- 1998      (May 5) Ethnic riots break out in Medan.
- 1998      (May 12) Indonesian crisis worsens as police kill student demonstrators.
- 1998      (May 21) Suharto resigns in wake of political disorder and his vice president, Bucharuddin Jusuf Habibie becomes president.

by the Dutch from 1930 to 1932, his prestige grew among Indonesians.

In 1941 the Japanese invaded Southeast Asia, and the Dutch government of the Indies surrendered to them in 1942. The Japanese victory boosted hopes for independence in many colonies in Asia. Sukarno and a fellow nationalist leader, Mohammad Hatta, agreed to cooperate with the Japanese, believing that this would bring Indonesia closer to independence.

### **Sukarno Era and the 1965 Coup**

After the surrender of Japan in 1945, Sukarno and Hatta declared Indonesia's independence from the Netherlands. British forces occupied the islands because the Dutch were still trying to recover from the war, and bitter fighting broke out between the

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- 1998 (June 12) East Timor demonstrators carry their protests to Indonesia's capital.
  - 1998 (Aug.) Chinese living in Indonesia are subjected to beatings in response to Indonesia's economic crisis.
  - 1998 (Aug. 5) Indonesia and Portugal announce agreement on autonomy plan for East Timor.
  - 1998 (Oct. 10) Daughter of former president Sukarno, Megawati Sukarnoputri, announces plans to compete in national elections scheduled for 1999.
  - 1999 (Jan. 3) Government troops open fire on separatist demonstrators in Aceh, at northern tip of Sumatra.
  - 1999 (Jan. 17) President B. J. Habibie declares that East Timor will be allowed to hold a popular referendum to decide whether the territory wants to continue as part of Indonesia or to become an independent nation.
  - 1999 (Mar. 11) Indonesia and Portugal agree on plan to allow people of East Timor direct vote on their future relationship with Indonesia.
  - 1999 (Apr. 17) New fighting breaks out in East Timor as territory prepares for United Nations-sponsored referendum on its political future to be held in July.
  - 1999 (June 7) First free national elections in forty-four years give Megawati Sukarnoputri's party 34 percent of national vote and ruling Golkar Party only 22 percent.
  - 1999 (July 26) Refusal of twenty-seven small political parties to certify results of parliamentary elections delays formation of new government.

British and Indonesian forces. The Dutch returned in 1946 and attempted to maintain control over Indonesia, first by reaching a compromise with the new republic and then by military force.

From 1946 to 1950 the Republic of Indonesia battled the Dutch, Muslims who wanted to establish an Islamic state, and communists who wanted to establish communist control. The Netherlands was widely criticized in other countries for its actions in Indonesia, and in 1950 the Dutch pulled out all of their troops. However, they left behind some military advisers, who helped the Indonesian government in Jakarta extend its control over other regions.

On August 14, 1950, Indonesia became an independent state with a parliament and with Sukarno as its president. Since the Indonesian military, shaped during the war for independence, was

### **Indonesia Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1999 (Aug. 30) Referendum on independence is held in East Timor. Following the vote for independence, pro-Indonesian militias and Indonesian soldiers rampage throughout East Timor.
- 1999 (Oct.) Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly casts a vote of no-confidence in the Habibie government.
- 1999 (Oct. 20) Muslim leader Abdurrahman Wahid is elected president and Megawati Sukarnoputri is elected vice president.
- 2000 (May 12) President Abdurrahman Wahid signs a cease-fire agreement with rebels in Aceh.
- 2001 (July 23) People's Consultative Assembly removes Abdurrahman Wahid from office and Megawati Sukarnoputri becomes president.
- 2001 (Sept. 28) Thousands of protesters gather and burn U.S. and British flags in Jakarta to protest impending American intervention in Afghanistan.
- 2002 Report by the International Crisis Group claims that there is an Indonesian Islamic activist group, established during the Suharto years, that has ties to the al-Qaeda group in Afghanistan and to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.
- 2002 (May) East Timor becomes officially independent of Indonesia.
- 2002 (June 5) Kuwaiti citizen Omar al-Faruq arrested by Indonesian authorities. Al-Faruq is believed to be the senior al-Qaeda official in southeast Asia and to have united Islamic militants in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Myanmar, and the Philippines.

the strongest institution in the culturally diverse and geographically scattered nation, the military became involved in the political life of the new country. By 1957 political parties struggled with one another for power, Islamic militancy spread in northern Sumatra, and military officers challenged the central government.

On March 14, 1957, Sukarno proclaimed martial law. He sought to rule the country by allying himself both with the army and the Communist Party and by playing these two powerful organizations against each other. In 1958 a group of army officers in Sumatra revolted against Sukarno. Loyal units in the army managed to put down the revolt, but the army itself became stronger and Sukarno strengthened his ties with the communists to offset the army's increased power.

Tensions between Indonesia and the Netherlands appeared

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- 2002 (Aug.) American diplomat and retired general Anthony Zinni visits Aceh in the hope of mediating talks between the rebels and the Indonesian government.
- 2002 (Aug.) German-based organization Transparency International ranks Indonesia among the ten most corrupt countries in the world.
- 2002 (Aug. 30) Two Americans are killed in an ambush near a gold mine in Irian Jaya. According to official Indonesian sources, the attackers are members of the Free Papua movement, but some observers suspect that Indonesian security forces were responsible.
- 2002 (Sept. 11) Two Western women, an American nurse and a British researcher, are arrested by Indonesian forces for making contact with the Free Aceh movement. The two complain of being beaten and mistreated by Indonesian security forces.
- 2002 (Sept.-October) Counterterrorism unit of the Indonesian military, which was disbanded after the fall of Suharto, is revived in order to investigate activities in Indonesia by the al-Qaeda network and its sympathizers.
- 2002 (Oct. 12) A bomb in a Bali nightclub kills at least 180 people, mostly foreign tourists; Indonesia police later say that the bombing is the work of the Jemaah Islamiyah, a militant Islamic group linked to al-Qaeda.
- 2002 (Nov. 21) Indonesia police arrest Imam Samudra as the suspected organizer and planner of the Bali bombing; Samudra confesses and says that the bombing was ordered by Jemaah Islamiyah.
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again in 1960 when Sukarno claimed West New Guinea, which was still a Dutch colony. In 1963 Indonesia's northern neighbor Malaysia achieved independence from the British, and Sukarno declared his intent to take over the new nation. He sent military troops into Malaysia, which were quickly stopped by Malaysian forces.

By 1965 Sukarno was increasingly opposed by both Muslims and the military because of his close ties to the communists. The Communist Party's attempt to establish an armed force of peasants and workers was especially troubling to the military. In September and October of that year a group of procommunist military officers attempted to take power.

Some historians have argued that the Communist Party was not involved in these actions, but the events provoked a reaction from anticommunists in the military and among the Muslims. Anticommunist rioting and military assassinations resulted in the deaths of an estimated 300,000 people. The Chinese, many of whom were Communist Party members, were especially targeted.

On March 11, 1966, Sukarno was forced to sign over all of his authority to Suharto, an army officer who had distinguished himself in the war for independence. Suharto put down all dissent and remained in power for over three decades. The military was his primary base of support, but he also achieved wide support from civilians as Indonesia rose steadily under his regime from one of the world's poorest nations to a middle-ranking nation in the world economy.

### **Regional Rebellions**

Although conflict between communists and noncommunists in Indonesia largely ended when Suharto imposed his control over the country, separatist forces in several regions continued to struggle against Suharto's government. Many of these separatist movements continued to pose serious problems for the country after Suharto's fall from power in May, 1998. In Aceh (pronounced "ah-chay"), a region on the far northern and western tip of Sumatra, opposition to the central government is largely religious in character.



*Suharto, president of Indonesia  
from 1968 to 1998.  
(Library of Congress)*

The people of Aceh are devoutly Muslim, and the Indonesian government granted Aceh the status of a special region in 1959, giving recognition to the Muslim laws and customs of the area. Nevertheless, some Acehnese are unhappy with a nonreligious government and would like to have their own government, which would rule according to Islamic law, the legal principles of the Muslim faith. The Indonesian military suppressed the Muslim insurgents during the 1970's, but in the late 1980's the Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh) movement took up arms again with foreign support from Libya.

On May 12, 2000, the Indonesian government under President Abdurrahman Wahid, signed a cease-fire agreement with the rebels of Aceh Merdeka. Despite this hopeful sign, there were reports of continual violations of the cease-fire by both the Indone-



sian military and the rebels. In August, 2002, American diplomat and retired general Anthony Zinni visited Aceh in the hope of mediating talks between the rebels and the Indonesian government. However, the new Indonesian president, Megawati Sukarnoputri, identified the Aceh rebels as Islamic terrorists and declared that Indonesian military effort against the rebels was part of her support for the U.S.-led global war against terrorism.

Irian Jaya, a region on the western part of the island of New Guinea, was the site of another struggle against the central government. This region, formerly known as Dutch New Guinea, remained under the Dutch after Indonesia obtained its independence in 1949, although Indonesia claimed it as part of the country. Only in 1963, following conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands, was control transferred to Indonesia.

The people of Irian Jaya are culturally different from the Javanese and this has led to some clashes. In addition, the government has assisted large numbers of people in moving from overpopulated Java to Irian Jaya, creating the impression that the Javanese are overwhelming the New Guinea population.

The forces of the Free Papua movement have engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Indonesians, sometimes escaping across the border into the nation of Papua New Guinea, which occupies the eastern portion of the island. This has led to tensions between Indonesia and New Guinea, and in 1992 New Guinea agreed to crack down on guerrilla camps along its border with Irian Jaya.

As in Aceh, the end of the Suharto government did not bring a solution to regional conflict. In late 1999, several of the towns of eastern Irian Jaya took the side of the Free Papua movement and began flying the movement's flag. The conflict in Irian Jaya took on an international dimension at the end of August, 2002, when two Americans were killed and fourteen were wounded in an ambush near a gold mine run by an affiliate of American multinational corporation Freeport-McMoran. Local people had considered the mine a symbol of Indonesian control and had complained that the company had been damaging the environment and destroying sacred lands. Indonesian authorities blamed the rebels of the Free Papua movement, but some observers claimed

that the attack may have been staged by the Indonesian military to turn world sentiment against the guerrillas.

Conflict in the region of East Timor led to international criticism of Indonesia. This eastern part of the island of Timor was a colony of Portugal until the end of 1975. Upon leaving, the Portuguese turned their weapons over to a political group known as Fretilin. Fighting broke out among Timor's various factions and Indonesian forces invaded, claiming that they were needed to restore order.

In 1976 an Indonesian-supported government in Timor asked to become part of Indonesia. Many, perhaps a majority, of the primarily Roman Catholic Timorese opposed joining Indonesia. Fretilin guerrillas continued to fight against government forces, and some observers have claimed that the Indonesian military has been guilty of widespread brutality and violations of human rights in their efforts to stamp out the Timorese rebellion. In 1992 government troops captured José Alexander Gusmão, a top Timorese rebel leader. In November, 1991, Indonesian soldiers fired into a crowd of about two thousand people at a peaceful funeral, killing as many as fifty. Although the army court-martialed the officers in charge and sent four of them to prison, many people in Timor and elsewhere in the world saw this as an example of Indonesian oppression. In 1994 proindependence Timorese staged a protest that turned into rioting at the site near Jakarta of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit meeting of leaders from various countries in the region.

In January, 1999, Indonesian president B. J. Habibie, who had succeeded Suharto, declared that East Timor would be allowed to hold a popular referendum to decide whether the territory wanted to continue as part of Indonesia or to become an independent nation. The referendum, which was held on August 30, 1999, was marked by acts of violence and terrorism committed by pro-Indonesian militias that had reportedly been organized and armed by the Indonesian military. Despite efforts to intimidate voters, 79 percent of those who voted chose independence.

The Timor referendum was followed by shooting, rampaging, and burning by the pro-Indonesian militias and by Indonesian soldiers throughout East Timor. Many Timorese died, much of

the country was destroyed, and thousands of refugees fled to Australia and other countries. Peace was reestablished only when United Nations forces entered the newly independent country. East Timor became officially independent from Indonesia in May, 2002.

### **Political Conflict and the Economic Crisis**

At the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries, Indonesia experienced conflict for political and economic reasons. Although the standard of living had risen throughout Suharto's presidency, corruption had also increased. Suharto's family and friends controlled many of the nation's major businesses. The gap between the rich and the poor had also grown.

As the presidential elections of 1997 approached, Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Sukarno, rose as leader of the Indonesian Democratic Party to challenge Suharto's power. In July, 1996, following a police raid on the Indonesian Democratic Party headquarters, the most serious rioting in decades broke out in Jakarta. Rioting continued as Suharto's reelection drew nearer, and the violence often turned against the Chinese and Christian minorities.

An economic crisis added to dissatisfaction with the Suharto government. In 1997 the value of many Asian currencies began to drop. In July of that year Indonesia's currency, the rupiah, began to fall. This meant that Indonesian money was worth less compared to other currencies, such as the dollar, and the cost of living in Indonesia became much greater.

In February, 1998, Indonesian university students began to demonstrate against government economic policies. In May, the police reacted to these demonstrations and a number of students were killed. Widespread rioting broke out in major Indonesian cities, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of people and the destruction of large parts of Jakarta. The Chinese, who were identified with business activities, became scapegoats once again, and Chinese-owned homes and businesses were particularly targeted for looting and burning.

After the riots, protesters around the country demanded the

resignation of President Suharto. In Jakarta, an estimated ten thousand students occupied the Indonesian parliament building. It became evident that Suharto no longer enjoyed popular support, and the speaker of the parliament, Harmoko, called on the president to resign. On May 21, 1998, after thirty-two years in power, Suharto resigned. His vice president, Bucharuddin Jusuf Habibie, was sworn in as the new president.

Habibie faced serious problems. In addition to the independence movements in Aceh, Irian Jaya, and East Timor, there were anti-Christian riots by Muslims in the province of Maluku. Since Habibie was associated with Suharto's Golkar Party, he was also criticized when it was discovered that leading party members had been skimming off government funds intended for rebuilding the country's banking system. These domestic conflicts, together with the disastrous secession of East Timor, led the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly to cast a vote of no-confidence in the Habibie government in October, 1999.

In the election that followed, Abdurrahman Wahid, a well-known Muslim leader, was elected president on October 20, with Megawati Sukarnoputri as vice president. Wahid was initially popular for his informal style, but he became notorious for his disorganized approach to administration and for his frequent undiplomatic public remarks. After President Wahid was accused of involvement in financial corruption, the People's Consultative Assembly removed him from office on July 23, 2001. The new president Megawati Sukarnoputri faced the daunting challenges of Muslim violence against Christians, a heritage of political corruption, continuing separatist movements, and an endangered economy that would enter a global economic downturn in 2002.

As in many other countries with predominantly Muslim populations, the activities of radical Islamic groups in Indonesia received new attention after attacks on the United States by Muslim extremists in September, 2001. According to a report published by the International Crisis Group, a private research organization, in the summer of 2002, a network with ties to the al-Qaeda group in Afghanistan and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt had been established by Indonesian activists during the Suharto years. The chief goals of the Indonesian network were reportedly

to support other Muslim extremists and to create a new Islamic state in Southeast Asia that would include Indonesia, Malaysia, and the southern Philippines.

Concern over the involvement of Indonesian groups in a radical Islamic network intensified after a bomb exploded in a Bali nightclub catering to foreign tourists on October 12, 2002. At least 180 people were killed, and about three hundred were injured. The victims came from eighteen different countries, with the majority of those who died from Australia. Indonesian police suspected that the bombing was the work of the Jemaah Islamiyah, a militant Islamic group linked to the al-Qaeda network. A month later, the police arrest Imam Samudra as the suspected organizer and planner of the bombing. Under interrogation, Samudra confessed and reported that the bombing had been ordered by a leader in Jemaah Islamiyah named Hambali, who also headed the al-Qaeda network in the Southeast Asia region.

*Carl L. Bankston III*

### **For Further Study**

*Indonesia: A Country Study* (1992), edited by William H. Frederick and Robert L. Worden, provides a handy introduction to Indonesian history, society, geography, economy, and politics. It should be available in many libraries and it also can be accessed by Internet (<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/idotoc.html>).

Those interested in a short introduction to Indonesia for general readers can find one in *Indonesia: Land Under the Rainbow* (1990), by Mochtar Lubis. Another general introduction, written specifically for younger readers, is Sylvia McNair's *Indonesia: Enchantment of the World* (1993). The third edition of *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200* (2002), by M. C. Rickels, is strongly recommended to those looking for a good historical background on this country. This is one of the standard works on the history of Indonesia, and this edition has been revised and updated to include findings of recent research.

Indonesia's greatest modern writer, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, tells the story of the origins of Indonesian nationalism in a series of novels known as *The Buru Quartet* that follow the life of a young Indonesian intellectual in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. These novels, *This Earth of Mankind* (1991), *Child of All Nations* (1990), *Footsteps* (1990), and *House of Glass* (1992), are all available in English with informative introductions by translator Max Lane.

Books on the political history of Indonesia tend to be fairly scholarly in character. John D. Legge's *Sukarno: A Political Biography* (1972) examines the Sukarno era. Politics during the Suharto period are covered in *Indonesian Politics Under Suharto: Order, Development, and Pressure for Change* (1994), by R. J. Vatiokiotis. *Indonesia in Transition: Social Aspects of Reformasi and Crisis* (2000), edited by Chris Manning and Pieter van Diemen, is a collection of articles on the changing political and social setting of Indonesia. *Civil Islam* (2000), by Robert W. Hefner, looks at the role of Islam in Indonesian political history. Hefner argues against stereotypes of Islam as inherently antidemocratic and argues that the Indonesian Islamic reform movement that led to the 1999 election of Abdurrahman Wahid actively promoted democratic ideals. *Made in Indonesia: Indonesian Workers Since Suharto* (2001), by Dan La Botz, uses interviews with labor activists in Indonesia to analyze the political role of the labor movement from a left-wing perspective.

The conflict in East Timor has received a great deal of attention. *East Timor: Genocide in Paradise (The Real Story)* (1996), by Matthew Jardine and Noam Chomsky, is highly critical of Indonesia's policies toward East Timor and of the United States for supporting Indonesia. *East Timor at the Crossroads: The Forging of a Nation* (1995), edited by Peter G. Carey and G. Carter Bentley, is a collection of essays on Timorese nationalism, with contributions by western scholars and Timorese activists. *Peacekeeping in East Timor: The Path to Independence* (2002), by Michael G. Smith, Moreen Dee, and Louisa May Alcott, is recommended for those interested in the period between the East Timorese vote for independence and its final separation from Indonesia.

Less has been written about the conflict in Irian Jaya, but an introduction to the events there is provided in *Indonesia's Secret War: The Guerrilla Struggle in Irian Jaya* (1985), by Robin Osborne.

Information on Indonesia on the Internet may be found at the Indonesia Homepage, <http://indonesia.elga.net.id>. There is

also an Indonesian Information site at <http://sunsite.nus.sg/SEALinks/indonesia-info.html>, which provides numerous links to other sites that deal with Indonesia. An interview with President Megawati from the Asian edition of *Time* magazine may be found at <http://www.time.com/time/asia/news/interviewwith:0,9754,169338,00.html>. This same site also contains a link to an essay critical of Megawati by Indonesian writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer and a link to a report on the end of ex-president Abdurrahman Wahid's time in office.

## IRAN

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*Several issues have contributed to violent conflict in Iran, including the nature of the Iranian government itself. In 1979 Shiite Muslims overthrew the government and established a theocracy. By the early years of the twenty-first century, Iran was still governed by Muslim fundamentalists, but many Iranians, especially younger people, desired a more moderate form of government. This desire could lead to internal conflict. Another possible source of conflict is Iran's relationship with the United States. In 1980 the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Iran and instituted economic sanctions. Muslim fundamentalists believe that Western culture should be kept out of Iran, while the United States has accused Iran of supporting terrorist activity around the world. A final possible source of conflict is Iran's relationships with other Middle Eastern countries. Iran has supported opposition to the Taliban, a Muslim fundamentalist student group that sought to gain control in Afghanistan after 1994. Iran has also had difficulties with Iraq. After an eight-year war during the 1980's, the two countries remained bitter enemies. Despite their differences, both governments are resentful of the United States, and either further conflict or an alliance between them could lead to a crisis for the United States.*

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**A**n ancient country located in the Middle East, Iran covers 636,293 square miles—about one-fifth the area of the United States. In 1997 its population was about 66.6 million, not counting about two million refugees from Afghanistan. Iran is bordered on the north by Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Caspian Sea, and Turkmenistan; on the east by Afghanistan and Pakistan; on the south by the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf; and on the west by Iraq and Turkey.

The Zagros Mountains stretch southeast from the borders of Turkey and Azerbaijan to the Persian Gulf, forming a wall between Iran and Iraq. Rising east of the Zagros range is the Central range, which features green valleys. The Elburz Mountains form the part of Iran's northern border facing the Caspian Sea



## Profile of Iran

*Official name:* Islamic Republic of Iran

*Former name:* Persia

*Independent since:* before 400 B.C.E.

*Location:* between Iraq and Afghanistan

*Area:* 636,293 square miles

*Capital:* Tehran

*Population:* 66.6 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Farsi (Persian)

*Major religion:* Shiite Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$426 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* petroleum and natural gas; carpets; pistachios; iron and steel

*Military expenditures:* US\$9.7 billion (2000 est.)

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and Turkmenistan. Two deserts, the Dasht-i-Lut and the Dasht-i-Kavir, cover about 38,000 square miles of central Iran.

Although Shiite Muslims represent only about 10 percent of the total Muslim population throughout the world, 90 percent of the population of Iran belongs to the Shiite faith. The only other countries that have large numbers of Shiites are the United Arab Emirates, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. However, Iraq's government leaders are members of the Sunni Muslim group.

Most Iranians speak Farsi, also known as Persian. Farsi is an Indo-European language that incorporates many Arabic words and is written using the flowing Arabic alphabet. In the northwestern provinces of Iran there are many speakers of Azerbaijani as well as many speakers of Kurdish.

### Early History

Iran's history dates from more than 2,500 years ago in the days of the Persian Empire, which included parts of what are now Iran and Afghanistan. However, early people in the regions did not call themselves Persians, which came from the Greek word for the region. Rather, these people called themselves Aryans, from which the word "Iran" is derived. They were nomads who

moved into the area that is now Iran in 900 B.C.E., coming from what is now Russia. They created an empire that lasted over two hundred years. Among their accomplishments were a “pony express” system of mail delivery, an irrigation system, and the first wide use of coins for money.

Around 500 B.C.E. Persia became the nucleus of the Achaemenid Empire. In 331 B.C.E. Alexander the Great, the Greek leader, conquered Persia, making it part of his empire. In 641 C.E. the region that is now Persia was conquered by the Arabs, who brought the new Muslim faith, which had been founded in Arabia. After 641 the Islamic religion spread rapidly across Persia. The Arab caliphs ruled Persia, which became a cultural center for literature, art, and science for two hundred years. In the ninth century the Arab Empire crumbled, and Persia was broken



up into territories ruled by various Persian monarchs.

In 1037 the Seljuck Turks conquered and ruled most of Persia until 1221, when Genghis Khan and the Mongols overtook the region. In the fifteenth century the Mongols lost control of Persia after they started fighting among themselves. In the sixteenth century the Safavid Dynasty gained power in Persia. Their greatest ruler was Shah Abbas I, who ruled from Isfahan, now Iran's second-largest city. Under the Safavids the Shiites became the dominant religious group.

In 1722 Afghanistan captured Isfahan, but it was recaptured by Nadir Shah in 1736. Nadir Shah conquered Afghanistan and took his armies all the way to New Delhi, India, plundering along the way. Upon Nadir Shah's death civil war broke out in Persia. Eventually the war was won by the Qajar Dynasty, but Persia was left very poor. In 1788 the Qajars made Tehran the capital of Persia. More than two hundred years later it remained the capital of Iran.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Iranian politics were greatly influenced by Great Britain and Russia. In 1906 Shah Muzaffar al-Din had to yield to the will of the people and allow Iran to have its first constitution as well as its first Majlis, or parliament. In 1907 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, later known as the National Iranian Oil Company, began to develop Iranian petroleum deposits.

### **Twentieth Century**

Iran was neutral during World War I, although it served as a battleground for Turkey and Russia. After the war, Reza Khan Pahlavi, who had been minister of war, took control of the Iranian government and established the Pahlavi Dynasty. Reza Pahlavi attempted to modernize Iran. During his reign new schools and the University of Tehran were built. After he refused to allow Great Britain and Russia to use the Trans-Iranian Railway to transport oil during World War II, the two countries forced him to give up his throne, fearing he would aid Germany in the war.

Upon Reza Khan's abdication, his son Mohammad Reza Pahlavi took the throne of Iran. In 1956, under the shah's leadership, Iran began a seven-year development plan, using profits from pe-

troleum sales to finance hydroelectric and irrigation projects as well as to build new transportation systems and schools. In 1960 Iran joined four other oil-producing nations to create the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

In 1963 the shah initiated a reform program that became known as the White Revolution. As part of this program, landowners, many of them poor farmers, were required to give up their land to peasants. Part of the social reform program included rights for women. In 1963 women voted for the first time in Iran. The White Revolution, through its provisions for land reform, bankrupted many middle- and lower-class Iranians and created much enmity against Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi.

In 1971 Iran celebrated the 2,500-year anniversary of the Persian Empire. To the outside world Iran appeared very wealthy. The country was receiving billions of dollars of profit from oil exports. The United States and other Western nations regarded the shah's government positively, seeing it as an ally and as a force for Westernization. However, many Iranians did not agree that Westernization was a positive force. These Iranians saw that the wealth of the nation was controlled by a few Iranian families, leaving the majority of Iranians in poverty. Many Iranians believed that the shah himself had plundered Iran to support what they saw as the Pahlavi family's decadent lifestyle.

Many Iranians also objected to the refusal of the followers of the shah to listen to the advice of the mullahs, the Iranian clerics. Some Iranians believed that Iran, in its effort to become Westernized, had moved away from the fundamentalist beliefs of the Shi'ite Muslims and that the shah was responsible for this move.

In January, 1978, U.S. president Jimmy Carter toasted the shah as an "island of stability." One year later the shah was overthrown by the Islamic Revolution, led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

### **Islamic Revolution**

During the time that Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi served as the ruler of Iran, from 1941 to 1979, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini served as a religious leader who opposed the Pahlavi regime. Teaching in Qum, a religious center for the Shi'ite faith, Khomeini

spoke out in opposition to the shah's Westernization of Iran. The ayatollah felt that the modernization process was corrupting many Iranians. In 1964 the shah banned Khomeini from Iran.

Khomeini first went to Iraq to live. When he was ousted from Iraq, he moved to Paris, France, where he continued to speak out against the shah. On January 16, 1979, the shah, who had faced months of rioting and political protests within his country, fled Iran after appointing a new civilian government. On January 31,

## Iran Time Line

- 1906 First constitution is adopted.
- 1907 Oil is discovered in southwest Iran.
- 1925 Shah Reza Khan Pahlavi begins modernization plan.
- 1941 Mohammad Reza Pahlavi becomes shah.
- 1956 Government launches seven-year development plan.
- 1960 Iran helps form Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).
- 1963 Shah begins "White Revolution" reform program.
- 1963 Women are given vote.
- 1964 Shah bans Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini from country.
- 1971 Iran celebrates 2,500-year anniversary of Persian Empire.
- 1975 (June 13) Iraq and Iran sign treaty to avoid larger war.
- 1979 (Jan. 16) Shah flees Iran after months of protests against his regime.
- 1979 (Jan. 31) Khomeini returns to Iran and establishes Islamic Republic.
- 1979 (Nov. 4) Student protesters occupy U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking many American hostages.
- 1980 (Sept. 22) Iraqi troops enter Iran, beginning Iran-Iraq War.
- 1981 (Jan. 20) Iran releases hostages taken in American embassy on day that Ronald Reagan is inaugurated president of United States.
- 1982 (May 24) Iran recaptures port city of Khorramshahr from Iraq.
- 1983 (Apr. 18) Radical Iranians claim responsibility for bomb blasts at U.S. embassy in Beirut.
- 1987 (Nov. 1) Leaders of Arab nations announce support of Iraq in Iran-Iraq War.
- 1988 (Mar. 11) Iraqis use mustard and cyanide gases against Iranians at Halabjah.
- 1988 (June 13) Bloody battle is fought at Basra, where Iran attacks Iraqi oilfields.
- 1988 (Aug. 20) Truce is declared in Iran-Iraq War.
- 1989 (July 3) Khomeini dies.

Khomeini returned to Iran to set up a government based on the principle of *Velayat-e-faghih*, which states that government should be based on clerical jurisprudence. In such a government the ultimate authority rests with members of the clergy.

On February 14, 1979, shortly after Khomeini's return to Iran, Iranian students entered the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took one hundred Americans hostage. Within a few hours some of Khomeini's followers persuaded the students to release the hos-

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- 1989 (July 29) Hashemi Rafsanjani is elected executive president of Iran.
- 1997-1998 Iranian troops and Taliban militiamen skirmish along Iran-Afghanistan border.
- 1997 (May) Mohammed Khatami, a moderate, is elected executive president of Iran.
- 1997 (Dec.) Islamic Conference Organization Summit is held in Tehran.
- 1998 (Jan.) President Mohammed Khatami expresses regret for Iran's taking of U.S. hostages in 1979 and calls for closer cultural ties between Iran and United States.
- 1998 (Jan.) President Khatami urges dialogue between Iranian and American peoples.
- 1998 (Aug.) Five thousand civilians, including eight Iranian diplomats and one journalist, are killed at Mazar-i-sharif, with Iranian government charging Taliban responsibility.
- 1998 (Sept.) Government promises not to support Khomeini's 1989 call for British author Salman Rushdie's death.
- 1998 (Sept. 22) Iran places more than 200,000 troops along Afghanistan border in retaliation against Taliban massacre of Iranians in August.
- 1998 (Nov. 4) Government celebrates tenth anniversary of takeover of U.S. embassy, inviting former hostages to attend as Iran's guests.
- 1999 (Mar. 11) President Khatami has private audience with Pope Paul II at Vatican during tour of Western Europe designed to improve Iran's ties with the West.
- 2000 (Feb.) Supporters of President Khatami gain strength in national elections.
- 2001 (Jan. 13) Revolutionary Court sentences ten reformers to jail terms and fines for taking part in an international conference in Berlin.
- 2001 (Aug.) United Nations special representative Maurice Copithorne issues a report testifying that the 300,000 Baha'is remaining in Iran continued to experience discrimination from the Iranian government in virtually all areas of life.
- 2001 (Dec.) U.N. resolution calls on Iran to cease religious discrimination.
- 2002 Iran declares its opposition to American intervention in neighboring Iraq.
- 2003 (Feb. 15) Iran's Revolutionary Guards renew the death sentence on British author Salman Rushdie renounced by the Iranian government in 1998.
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*Iranians demonstrate in front of the U.S. embassy in Tehran shortly after its occupation by students in November, 1979. (Library of Congress)*

tages. However, on November 4, 1979, students again seized the embassy, taking all Americans who were there hostage and demanding the return of the shah and his riches to Iran. Khomeini's followers supported the seizure and called for the cutting of ties with the United States.

Eventually the students held fifty-two of the Americans hostage for 444 days, finally releasing them on January 20, 1981, the same day that Ronald Reagan was inaugurated as president of the United States. During the fourteen months that the hostages were held, the United States severed diplomatic relations with Iran.

During the hostage crisis, the United States stopped importing Iranian oil and froze Iranian assets in American banks. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) ordered the release of the hostages, but the government of Iran responded that the court had no jurisdiction over them.

Meanwhile, in 1980, the shah of Iran died of cancer after shuttling from country to country trying to find a place of asylum. In November, 1980, Jimmy Carter lost his bid for a second term and

Ronald Reagan was elected president of the United States, in part because Carter had failed to solve the hostage situation. Also, by the time the hostages were released, Iran had become engaged in a war with Iraq that would last eight years and contribute to economic problems for both countries. By the early twenty-first century, diplomatic relations had still not been restored between the U.S. and Iran.

### Theocracy

In 1979 Iran became a theocracy, a government led by the clergy. The members of the clergy who have led Iran have been the ayatollahs, chief leaders of the Shiite Muslim faith. These leaders have represented a fundamentalist approach to their religion. Many followers of Khomeini believed that he was the twelfth Imam, the descendant of the Prophet Muhammad who was lost in the ninth century; others believed he was the emissary for the twelfth Imam.

The regime that Khomeini established was generally seen by the rest of the world as very restrictive. In this regime women's lives were more restricted than they were during the shah's regime. Women were required to wear a chador, or a veil that covers the body from head to toe. The Pahlavi government had specifically banned this form of public dress for women. Iranians who had become Westernized during the shah's reign were sometimes regarded as *taghouti*, followers of the devil. Practices such as using alcohol, playing cards, and dancing to rock music were regarded as sinful.

Two decades after the establishment of the Islamic Republic, as Khomeini's followers called the new theocratic regime, international groups such as Amnesty International and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights were citing Iran for human rights violations.

Although Iran had signed both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which call for basic human rights and generally advocate against cruel and inhuman punishments, international groups often objected to perceived violations of human rights in Iran. In such cases the leaders of the Iranian government re-



## Principal Terms

**ayatollah:** High clerical figure in the Shiite Muslim religion. The word means “reflection of Allah.”

**chador:** Loose, shapeless veil worn by Muslim women to cover the entire body from head to toes.

**jihād:** Muslim holy war against nonbelievers.

**mullah:** Member of the Shiite clergy.

**taghouti:** Iranians who had, according to the mullahs, become too Westernized during the Shah’s regime; the word means “devil’s followers.”

**Velayat-e-faghih:** Government based on law interpreted by religious leaders.

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sponded that Iran is a different type of country and government and that cultural differences must be taken into account when a group is examining the legal system of a country.

In the 1979 revolution the Shiite Muslim clergy made themselves responsible for every aspect of Iranian life. Khomeini saw it as the duty of the country to provide “workers and laborers” with all they needed for productive labor. He also believed that the revolutionaries had to reform the educational system and purge it of all influences from both the East and the West. Khomeini insisted that Islam itself provided all that students needed to know and that universities must be organized so that students could benefit from study of the “Islamic sciences.”

Believing that the Shiite religion was the true religion of God, the leaders of the revolution were not tolerant of other religions. Twenty years after the revolution there was evidence that other religious faiths existed in Iran but that these faiths still faced persecution.

From the time of the 1979 revolution through the early twenty-first century, members of the Baha’i religion, a group that believes that during the nineteenth century an Iranian prophet named Bahauallah appeared on Earth, reported much persecution from the Iranian government. The Shiites are particularly skeptical of the Baha’is because, according to the Shiites, Muhammad was the last prophet.

In August, 2001, Maurice Copithorne, the United Nations Human Rights Commission's special representative on Iran, issued a report testifying that the 300,000 Baha'is remaining in Iran continued to experience discrimination from the Iranian government in virtually all areas of life. The following December, the United Nations passed a resolution calling on Iran to cease religious discrimination in general and to respect a long series of U.N. resolutions that called for the fair and equal treatment of Baha'is. There was no indication that Iranian authorities would yield to international criticism on that issue.

### **Civilian Government**

While the clergy retained ultimate power in Iran after 1979, there was always a civilian government whose decisions had to be reviewed by the clergy. At times there were conflicts between the civilian government and the clerical leaders. In 1981 President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr fled Iran after political troubles and went to Europe. In early 1997 charges that Bani-Sadr made against the Iranian government caused every member of the European Union except Greece to withdraw its ambassadors from Tehran until a new Iranian president was elected in May, 1997.

In 1989 Hashemi Rafsanjani was elected executive president of Iran. Rafsanjani, whose election came just a few months after the death of Khomeini, was closely allied with Khomeini and the leaders of the Islamic Revolution. However, Rafsanjani's administration faced many problems. The clerics who had led the revolution had little training in economic matters. In 1980 Iran was able to produce only one-half the oil that it had produced in 1978.

The Iran-Iraq War, which ended in 1988, took a toll on Iran's people, army, and economy. The United States and other Western nations still held economic sanctions against Iran, contributing further to its economic woes. The educational system, reformed to meet the demands of a religious revolution, failed to prepare citizens to understand the universal demands of technology and globalization. Iranian citizens were also growing weary of the repressive policies of the *Velayat-e-faghih*.

During Rafsanjani's eight-year tenure, the gap between rich

and poor increased. In 2001 it was estimated that one-third of the total assets in Iranian banks was controlled by one thousand Iranian families. Figures released by the Iranian government in 1996 showed that 70 percent of government workers lived below the official poverty level. During that year Iran could not meet its OPEC quota for oil production because it had failed to invest in the oil fields.

In 1996, nineteen years after its revolution began, Iran still had to import food because its farmers had not received the government support necessary for land cultivation. That year the inflation rate stood at 50 percent and the unemployment rate at 11 percent.

By May, 1997, the Iranian people, ready for a change, chose Mohammed Khatami to serve as executive president. Khatami had served as the Iranian minister of culture but had been criticized by the clerics as being too moderate. Khatami seemed to be the favorite of women and younger voters.

Speaking before the U.N. General Assembly in October, 1998, Khatami called for a "dialogue of civilizations." He had already expressed regret for Iran's 1979 takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran. He also called for a dialogue between the American people and the people of Iran. Despite Khatami's moderate stance, the religious clerics had the final say in all matters. When President Khatami expressed regret for the takeover of the embassy, chief religious leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei simply responded that the United States remained the "enemy of the Islamic Republic."

Although the reformers, under President Khatami, gained some strength in elections to the national legislature in February, 2000, the hard-line religious wing of the Iranian establishment still had the power to do more than make symbolic statements. On January 13, 2001, the hard-liners demonstrated their ability to block change when a Revolutionary Court sentenced ten reformers to jail terms and fines for taking part in an international conference in Berlin. In the spring of 2001, the hard-liners arrested dozens of reformist political leaders and cracked down on student organizations and other reform-minded groups. Although the top reformers and hard-liners avoided open confrontation, it

appeared that a quiet struggle for power would remain part of Iran's political landscape for many years.

### **Iran and the West**

In 1980 the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Iran and imposed severe economic sanctions against it. When Khatami took power in 1997 the United States and Iran still had not reestablished diplomatic relations. The United States saw Iran as supporting terrorism that was directed against the United States and its allies and therefore did not seem interested in reestablishing ties.

In 1983 the U.S. embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, was destroyed by a bomb; the terrorists who claimed responsibility for this action were Iranian nationals. From 1985 onward the Shiite Muslim group Hezbollah formulated attacks to protest Israeli forces in southern Lebanon. Hezbollah received support from the government of Iran.

Hezbollah was especially troublesome to the United States because it opposed efforts to bring about a Middle East settlement between the Palestinians and the Israelis, which the administration of U.S. president Bill Clinton desired. Hezbollah's attitude toward Israel and the Middle East peace process reflected the attitudes of the leaders of Iran.

In the fall of 1998 Osama bin Laden was indicted by a U.S. grand jury for murder in the August, 1998, bombings that killed 224 people, including 12 Americans, in Kenya and Tanzania. The U.S. Department of Justice offered a \$5 million reward for bin Laden and charged that he and the group he led, al-Qaeda, had alliances with Iran and Hezbollah.

On September 11, 2001, terrorists who apparently belonged to Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda group hijacked American airplanes and flew them into the Pentagon and the New York World Trade Center, destroying the latter's towers. There was no evidence of Iranian involvement in these attacks, but the two wings of the Iranian establishment responded in markedly different ways. President Khatami publicly condemned the attacks. The Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's reaction was yet another strongly anti-American speech.

On November 4, 1998, the anniversary of the 1979 seizure of the U.S. embassy was marked, as it had been in the past, as an Iranian holiday. However, at ceremonies celebrating the holiday the rhetoric was less inflammatory than in the past. An amazing outcome of the 1998 celebration was that former student leaders who had held the fifty-two Americans hostage invited the hostages to return to Iran as their guests. At least two former hostages accepted.

At times members of the European Union conducted trade with Iran during the 1980's and 1990's, but U.S. economic sanctions against Iran hurt the Iranian people and the Iranian economy. In the fall of 1998 the British foreign secretary renewed ties with Iran. Iranian foreign secretary Kamal Kharrazi had announced that Iran would not seek to enforce the *fatwa*, a death sentence (said to be made by God) that Khomeini had issued against English author Salman Rushdie in 1989.

As Iran began to make more overtures to the West, the United States found it harder to press its position on economic sanctions against Iran. For example, to the displeasure of the Clinton administration, in late 1998 Great Britain and France seemed poised to invest a great deal of money in a pipeline that would carry Iranian oil from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. The pipeline was opposed by the United States because it would benefit the economy of Iran.

Western investment in Iran could lead to an increase in Western influence in the country, the same social conditions that had originally precipitated the Islamic Revolution. Such a situation could lead to much strife and conflict within Iran itself.

### **Relations with Afghanistan**

Iran's relations with its eastern neighbor, Afghanistan, have been complicated. In 1992, the Taliban, a group of fundamentalist Muslim religious students, began a campaign to take control of Afghanistan from other guerrilla factions. By the middle of 2001, the Taliban had control of almost the whole country. However, Iran offered support to the opponents of the Taliban. The equation of alliances changed dramatically after American and British forces became involved in the fighting in Afghanistan in October,

2001, because the Taliban had harbored Osama bin Laden and allowed the al-Qaeda network to use their country as a headquarters. The Iranian government criticized American involvement in Afghanistan and there was evidence that some Taliban leaders had been allowed to take sanctuary in Iran by the fall of 2002.

The opposition groups supported by Iran took many members of the Taliban militia prisoner; during the latter years of the 1990's members of the Taliban entered Iran to attempt to regain the hostages. Also, the Taliban administration publicly expressed outrage because the government in Tehran would not order release of the Taliban prisoners.

By the end of the 1990's, Iran had placed 200,000 of its soldiers on the Iran-Afghanistan border to protect Iran from Afghan incursions and also to prevent drug traffic that originated in Afghanistan and Pakistan from crossing Iran on its way to Turkey. The fundamentalist Islamic government of Iran wanted to prevent the smuggling of opium and heroin from these two countries. Iranian troops on the border, however, got into skirmishes with Taliban militiamen.

In 1998 an incident involving Taliban soldiers occurred at Mazar-i-sharif, a holy city for the Afghani people. As many as five thousand civilians were massacred when Taliban and opposition soldiers clashed. The government of Iran also maintained that during this incident the Taliban militia killed eight Iranian diplomats and one journalist. In 1998 President Khatami asked the world community to attempt to resolve problems in Afghanistan, and the United Nations held diplomatic meetings to attempt to bring the problems between Iran and Afghanistan to a resolution.

Although talks between Iran and Afghanistan gave some signs of improved relations in 1999, the Iranians maintained their forces along the border. The defeat of the Taliban in 2001 by combined forces of the Afghan opposition, the Americans, and the British removed a rival government from the region, but it also raised questions about how the Iranians should deal with the new, American-backed government of Afghanistan, headed by Hamid Karzai. Iran responded by attempting to cultivate ties with the Karzai government, while avoiding endorsing the

American support essential to Karzai's survival. At the same time, however, there were also reports that the Iranian Revolutionary Guard in western Iran was permitting Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters to cross into Iranian territory. According to one Afghan warlord, an Iranian official with ties to Ayatollah Khomeini had met with Taliban and al-Qaeda leaders in late 2001 and offered them sanctuary in Iran. While this last claim was open to question, it seemed probable that Taliban and al-Qaeda members had slipped into Iran and that they would not have been able to remain there without at least some tacit cooperation from the Iranian government.

### **Relations with Iraq**

Iran's relations with Iraq present a complex series of challenges. On September 22, 1980, Iraq sent troops into Iran in an attempt to take Iranian lands and negate an earlier treaty about the use of the Shatt al-Arab, the river that is formed when the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers converge. The Shatt al-Arab forms part of the southern border between Iran and Iraq.

For eight years Iran fought Iraq to regain land, including the port city of Khorramshahr, which was recaptured in 1982. Partially through the use of human waves of people to fight the better-equipped Iraqis, Iran won the war. Nevertheless, the Iran-Iraq War took a huge toll on both the Iranian and the Iraqi people. It left Iran with great feelings of insecurity about its neighbor to the west.

Troubling to Iran was the fact that Saddam Hussein, president of Iraq, had been accused of making chemical and biological weapons and of possibly creating nuclear warheads. The Iranians realized that these weapons could be turned against them. In fact, during the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq had used mustard and cyanide gases at Halabjah.

As the Iraqis often refused to allow United Nations inspections of their factories and arsenals, all nations in the Middle East, including Iran, became wary of Iraq. However, Iran took some precautions against Iraq. In 1998 there was evidence that Iran had created its own nuclear warheads. This evidence led Israel to threaten to bomb Iran in an attempt to get rid of the warheads.

Not only did Iraq present problems for Iran from a military viewpoint, but it also presented problems from humanitarian and economic perspectives. There was evidence that Hussein wished to rid Iraq of the Kurdish population that lived in its northeastern area. Many of these Kurds fled to Iran, creating further burdens for a country already suffering from a weak economy. In addition to Kurdish refugees from Iraq, Iran has also accepted many refugees fleeing from the Taliban in Afghanistan.

At the end of 1998, 600,000 Kurdish refugees were living in northwestern Iran, as were two million refugees from Afghanistan. At that time the United Nations high commissioner for refugees declared Iran to be the “most generous asylum country in the world.”

During 2002, after driving the Taliban out of power in Afghanistan, the government of the United States began to seriously and publicly consider invading Iraq as part of the U.S. global war on terrorism. While no faction of the Iranian government had any love for Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, reformers and religious hard-liners were united in their opposition to an American invasion of Iraq. Many Iranians feared that the overthrow of Saddam Hussein would cause upheavals throughout the region and Muslim religious leaders could not abide the idea of American troops occupying a neighboring country.

*Annita Marie Ward  
Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

A useful starting point in any study of Iran is John H. Lorentz's comprehensive *Historical Dictionary of Iran* (1995). Elton L. Daniel's *The History of Iran* (2001) provides a helpful general historical background. Ethnographer Erika Friedl spotlights Iranian village children but also tells about the lives of their parents in *Children of Deh Koh: Young Life in an Iranian Village* (1997). Information about the philosophy of Iranian president Mohammed Khatami can be found in Deidre Depke, “The Two Irans,” *Newsweek* (October 5, 1998). Sousan Azadi details what it was like to be a Westernized woman in Iran at the time of the Islamic Revolution and how she



escaped from that country in *Out of Iran: A Woman's Escape from the Ayatollahs* (1987).

For a discussion of the state established by the Islamic revolution, consult *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran* (2000), by Vanessa Martin. Those interested in dissent and reformist movements in late twentieth and early twenty-first century Iran should read *Social Change in Iran: An Eyewitness Account of Dissent, Defiance, and New Movements for Rights* (2002), by Behzad Yaghmaian.

For insights into the Iranian hostage crisis, see Robert D. McFadden, Joseph B. Treaster, and Maurice Carroll's *No Hiding Place* (1981), a detailed chronology of the affair. Another contemporary view of the crisis is *America Held Hostage* (1981), by Pierre Salinger, the former senator and press secretary of President John F. Kennedy. See also Barry Rubin's *Paved with Good Intentions: The American Experience and Iran* (1981).

Stanford University maintains a page on the World Wide Web devoted to Iranian history, culture, and travel at <http://tehran.stanford.edu>.

## IRAQ

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*Iraq has great potential for both internal and external conflict. Most of its people are Muslim Arabs, but they are divided into Shiite and Sunni Muslim groups. One large non-Arab ethnic group, the Kurds, wishes to separate from the country and carve out its own national state. Iraq has a tradition of authoritarian rulers and no established democratic institutions. Its transfers of political power have usually been violent. In its external relations, Iraq shares borders with unfriendly neighbors, and some of its borders are in dispute—especially in regions containing large oil reserves. Between 1980 and 1988 Iraq and Iran fought a ferocious war, in which the Iraqi government used chemical weapons. After Iraq occupied Kuwait in 1990, a coalition of twenty-nine nations soundly defeated Iraq in the Persian Gulf War. Afterward, international sanctions with arms inspections were imposed on Iraq. Iraq's failure to cooperate fully with arms inspectors, combined with growing concern over international terrorism by the United States, placed Iraq in serious danger of an American invasion.*

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**S**ituated to the northwest of the Persian Gulf, Iraq stands in the heart of western Asia. Except for a border running along two hundred miles of the Shatt al-Arab (River of the Arabs), its national boundaries are generally arbitrary and largely located in deserts or mountainous regions. The country has frequently had violent confrontations with its two non-Arab neighbors, Iran to the west and Turkey to the north. Iraq has usually maintained normal relations with three of its Arab neighbors—Jordan, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. However, it has had frequent border disputes with Kuwait, its small oil-rich Arab neighbor on its southeastern border.

### **Land and Economy**

Iraq's physical environment is diverse. Most of its people live in the alluvial plains of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, which cover about a third of the country. In contrast to many other Mid-

dle Eastern countries, Iraq possesses sufficient cultivable land to grow enough food to feed itself. However, the increasing salinity of the soil presents a serious problem for the future. Much of western and southern Iraq is a desert region, covering approximately two-fifths of the country. The northeastern highlands, which include a mountainous region known as Kurdistan, occupies about a fifth of the country.

Iraq has a mixed economy, with a large state-owned sector that controls oil, major industries, financial enterprises, transportation, and communication. Private-sector businesses include traditional crafts, small manufacturers, trade, tourism, and restaurants. The use of modern technology is rather limited, and methods of production tend to be traditional and labor intensive. Industry and agriculture each account for about a tenth of the gross domestic product (GDP). Services account for a third.

Iraq has the world's second-largest proven reserves of oil, and it was the second largest exporter of oil before 1980. Iraq's oil industry contributed almost half of the GDP before wars and economic embargoes wrought economic devastation after 1980. The government used oil revenues to make large investments in infrastructure—including roads, water projects, and railways—during the 1970's. However, wars have caused widespread destruction and deterioration of most projects.

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## Profile of Iraq

*Official name:* Republic of Iraq

*Independent since:* 1932

*Former colonial rulers:* Ottoman Empire; Great Britain

*Location:* between Syria and Iran

*Area:* 168,754 square miles

*Capital:* Baghdad

*Population:* 24.0 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religions:* Shiite and Sunni Islam

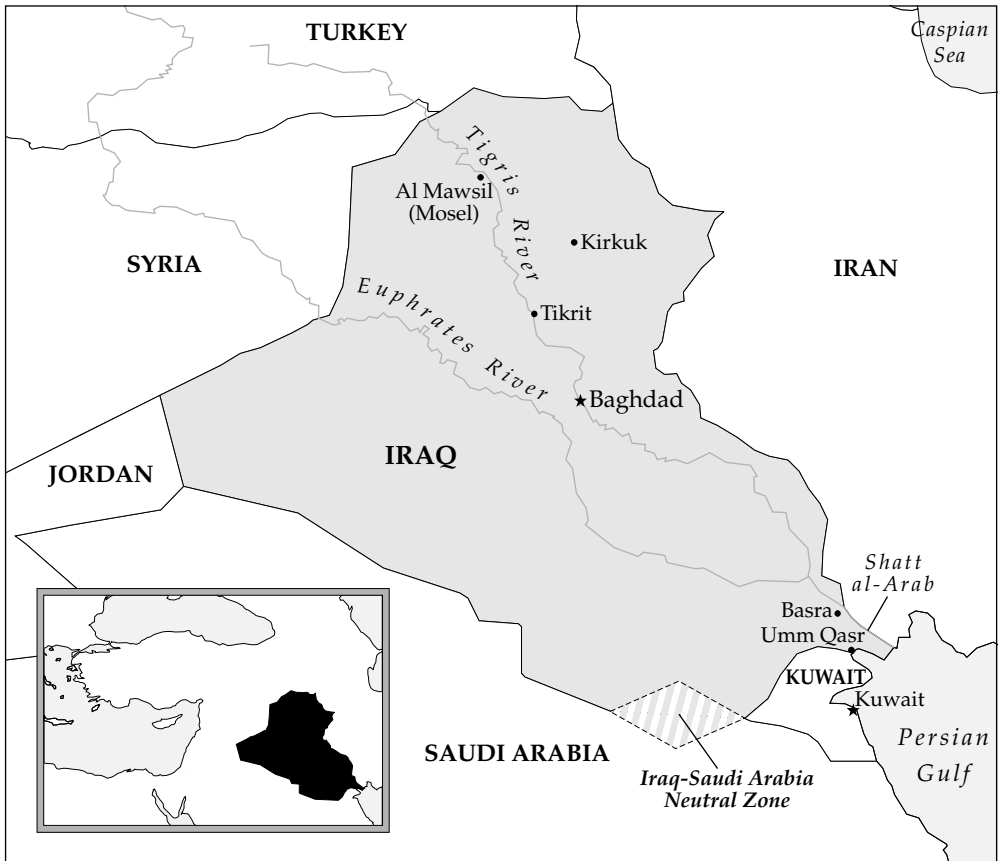
*Gross domestic product:* US\$59 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* crude petroleum and petroleum products

*Military expenditures:* US\$1.3 billion (2000 est.)

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In 2001 Iraq had an estimated population of about 24 million people, with an annual growth rate of approximately 3 percent. The country's birth rate has dropped slightly, but this has been offset by a sharp reduction in the infant mortality rate. Because of the high birth rate, 68 percent of the people were younger than twenty-five years of age in the early 1990's. In 1957 more than 60 percent of the population was rural, but more than 70 percent were living in cities by 1987.

### Religion and Ethnicity

An estimated 78 percent of Iraq's people are classified as "Iraqi Arabs," which means that they speak the Arabic language and share a common Arab culture. Ninety-seven percent of Iraqi

Arabs are Muslims—followers of the Islamic religion. Almost two-thirds of the Arab Muslims are Shiites; the other third are Sunni Muslims. Shiites believe that there were twelve caliphs, or designated leaders after the Prophet Muhammad's death. They reject the Sunni interpretations of the Koran. Shiites tend to be poor and located in the countryside. They strongly resent their lack of political and economic power.

During Iraq's war with Iran, the Iraqi government treated Shiites as potential sympathizers with Iran because Iran had a Shiite government. About 500,000 Iraqi Shiites were deported between 1980 and 1988.

Iraqi Kurds, the country's only large non-Arab minority, constitute about 17 percent of the total population. Mostly Sunni Muslims, the Kurds speak their own language, which is related to Persian. Having lived in mountainous parts of southwestern Asia for at least 3,000 years, they have a reputation for toughness and devotion to their religion, families, and tribes.

In all, it is estimated that there are more than 20 million Kurds in southwestern Asia; most of them are in Iraq. In 1920 the Kurds were promised their own Kurdish state by the Treaty of Švres. Based on a strong sense of national identity, they continue to wish for an independent Kurdistan. Following the old principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," the governments of Iraq, Iran, and Turkey have sometimes cooperated with each other in efforts to suppress Kurdish nationalism within their own borders.

Small groups of other minorities are scattered throughout Iraq. Turkmen make up about 2 percent of the population; Iranians account for 1 percent. A combination of Assyrians, Yazidis, Lurs, and Armenians account for another 2 percent. Before the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, Iraq also had a Jewish population of about 150,000 persons. Since then, forced emigrations have reduced their numbers to less than nine thousand. Smaller minorities usually try to remain inconspicuous. They are usually tolerated if they do not oppose official policies.

### **Early History**

The ancient Greeks called the Iraqi region Mesopotamia, meaning "land between two rivers"—in reference to the region's

great Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The region was clearly one of the earliest places in which humans first developed advanced civilizations. It was there that the ancient Sumerians, Assyrians, and Babylonians made spectacular achievements in religion, law, and literature, using a written language with wedge-shaped symbols called cuneiform.

Islamic Arabs conquered the region in 637 C.E. Baghdad served as seat of the Abbasid caliphate from 750 to 1258—a time recognized as one of the great periods of human civilization. Following the Mongol conquest in 1258, the region suffered from wars with Iran, raids from desert tribes, and frequent conflicts among local chiefdoms.

After being conquered by the Turkish Ottoman Empire in 1517, Iraq became a backwater province that was, in fact, ruled by local tribal chiefs. At the end of the eighteenth century, the reign of Sulayman Pasha was notable for its enlightened administration and suppression of Kurdish chiefs.

During the period of Ottoman *Tanzimat* (or reform) in the nineteenth century, Turkish authorities initiated modernization, including land registration, road construction, and establishment of newspapers and government schools. By 1914 some educated Iraqis, especially army officers, had formed nationalist societies, with the goal of establishing an independent Iraqi state.

During World War I, which lasted from 1914 to 1918, Great Britain invaded Iraq. By 1917 it had taken Baghdad. After the war, the British took control of Iraq away from the Ottoman Empire.

Iraq became a League of Nations mandate territory, administered by Britain from 1920 to 1932. After installing King Faisal I as Iraq's constitutional monarch, the British established a parliamentary system, an independent judiciary, a military force, and a modern civil service. Oil was first discovered in Iraq near Kirkuk in 1927. The Iraq Petroleum Company was organized two years later.

## **Independence**

After Iraq became an independent country in 1932, animosities between Sunni rulers and Shiite tribesmen increased, and the army massacred Assyrian Christians in 1933. A bloody coup

in 1936 further increased political instability: Eight government cabinets, each dominated by groups of army officers, ruled the country from 1936 until the British returned in 1941.

During World War II, British occupiers used Iraq as a passage-way for transport supplies to its ally the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, Kurdish demands for autonomy led to renewed fighting, and a short-lived Kurdish Republic was formed in 1945.

In the postwar years, strongman Nuri al-Said shared power with the regent for young King Faisal II. Iraq was one of the founding members of the Arab League and it participated in the Arab-Israel War of 1948-1949. Following the Arab defeat in that war, the mood of Iraq turned strongly anti-Western and anti-Zionist. Riots in Baghdad in 1948 moved the government to repudiate a treaty it had signed with Great Britain.

Although the 1950's were a period of significant economic development, al-Said's pro-Western policies, as symbolized in the Baghdad Pact, became increasingly unpopular. His refusal to condemn British, French, and Israeli policies during the Suez War of 1956 infuriated Arab nationalists.

### **Abdul Karim Kassim's Revolution**

When Gamal Abdel Nasser seized power in Egypt in 1952, many Iraqi military officers were inspired by his anti-Western, left-wing policies. Calling themselves the Free Officers (a name that had been used by revolutionary Egyptian army officers), they were led by a core organization of fourteen officers. On July 14, 1958, the Free Officers took over the government in a well-planned coup. They killed Prime Minister al-Said, King Faisal II, and most leading members of the royal house. The officers proclaimed a republic and issued a provisional constitution. General Abdul Karim Kassim formed a revolutionary council and named himself commander of the national forces.

The Kassim regime denounced the Western nations and withdrew from the Baghdad Pact. The dictatorial regime tried scores of high officials and senior officers from the previous government in a special court. All democratic institutions were abolished. Conflicts among the revolutionary officers soon appeared, however, and Iraqi relations with Egypt and Syria deteriorated.

In 1959 Kassim was wounded in an attempted assassination. Afterward he spent most of his time in seclusion. In 1961 Kassim suddenly resurrected Iraqi claims of sovereignty over neighboring Kuwait. This brought him into conflict with Britain, as well as neighboring Arab countries. The next year, the government tried to crack down on Kurdish separatists led by Musafa al-Barzani. However, the military campaign failed, and a long guerrilla war began.

By 1963 Kassim's most determined opponents were the active members of the Arab Socialist Baath (or "resurrection") Party. It championed a secular ideology that included a mixture of socialism, pan-Arab unity, economic development, and opposition to European imperialism. Imported from Syria to Iraq in 1949, the party was strictly organized in cells at the local level, and it emphasized strict obedience to party leaders.

Although the Baath Party initially supported Kassim, its leaders soon disagreed with his policies and attempted to assassinate him in 1959. Even after Baath leaders went into exile in neighboring countries, the party continued to grow. By 1963 it had 850 active members and about 15,000 sympathizers.

### **Military Coup of 1963**

With Kassim's loss of both internal and external support, a group of Arab nationalists and Baath officers seized power in a violent coup in February, 1963. Kassim was executed. The coup's organizers established the National Council for Revolutionary Command to assume legislative and executive powers.

Colonel Abdul Salam Arif was installed as the president, and Baathist Colonel Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr was made premier. The new regime made plans for an elected parliament and signed an agreement that anticipated a future Egypt-Syria-Iraq political federation. Both projects, however, were soon given up as impractical.

After President Arif staged a successful anti-Baath coup in November, 1963, the Baath leaders went underground. They reorganized the party and made plans to regain power. Bakr became secretary of the party's regional command. His most trusted assistant was future Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.



After a premature attempt to seize power failed in September, 1964, both Bakr and Saddam were sent to prison. Bakr was soon released for health reasons, and Saddam escaped. The Arif regime never enjoyed much popular support, and discontent grew as the military situation in Kurdistan worsened. President Arif was killed in a helicopter accident in 1966; he was replaced by his brother, General Abdul Rahman Arif.

### **Revolution of 1968**

The Arif regime angered many Iraqis when it failed to support the Arab cause in the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War of 1967. On the

## **Iraq Time Line**

- 1517-1918 Iraq becomes province of Turkish Ottoman Empire.
- 1918 Ottoman rule ends with conclusion of World War I.
- 1921 League of Nations recognizes Iraq as a British mandate territory; King Faisal I is installed as constitutional monarch.
- 1932 Iraq gains its independence and is admitted to League of Nations.
- 1936 Bakr Sidqi takes over government in military coup.
- 1937 (Apr. 28) Saddam Hussein is born in Takrit.
- 1941 British defeat Iraqi forces and control Iraq through most of World War II.
- 1949 Arab Socialist Baath Party ideas are introduced to Iraq from Syria.
- 1958 (July 14) Free Officers overthrow monarchy in bloody coup.
- 1959 Baath assassination attempt on General Abdul Kassim fails.
- 1961 Iraqi army's failure to defeat Kurds launches long guerrilla war.
- 1963 Baath Party coup overthrows Kassim; Colonel Abdul Salam Arif overthrows first Baath regime.
- 1968 Baath Party takes over Iraq government in coup; Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr becomes president.
- 1969 Thirteen convicted spies are hanged in public spectacle.
- 1972 Iraqi Petroleum Company is nationalized.
- 1974 Full-scale war between Iraq government and Kurds breaks out.
- 1975 (June 13) Iraq and Iran sign treaty to avoid larger war.
- 1977 Iraq government begins mass deportations of Shiites to Iran.
- 1979 Ayatollah Khomeini proclaims Islamic Republic in Iran.
- 1979 (July 16) Saddam Hussein becomes president of Iraq and begins purging Baath leaders.

morning of July 17, 1968, Baathist officers invaded President Arif's palace, forcing Arif to resign and go into exile. Determined to prevent another coup, the new Baath leaders quickly purged non-Baathist allies and instituted a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) to exercise supreme authority. Their long-term goal was to govern according to the Baath ideology of Arab nationalism and socialism.

The RCC elected Bakr as both chairman of the RCC and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Iraq. Real power, however, was in the hands of Saddam Hussein. No major decisions were made without his consent.

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- 1980-1988 Iran and Iraq fight major war.
- 1990 (Aug. 2) Iraq invades Kuwait.
- 1991 (Jan.-Feb.) Persian Gulf War devastates Iraq.
- 1996 Iraq intervenes in Kurdish civil war in northern Iraq; United States responds with air strikes.
- 1996 (Dec. 16) Saddam Hussein's eldest son, Uday, is seriously wounded in Baghdad; afterward, he is replaced as Saddam's probable successor by his brother Qusay.
- 1998 (Jan. 30) U.S. State Department's annual human rights report singles out Iraq's "repressive government."
- 1998 (Feb.) Syria reopens its border with Iraq.
- 1998 (June 30) U.S. jet fires missile at Iraqi antiaircraft battery near Basra.
- 1998 (Nov.) United States pressures Iraq to comply with U.N. weapons inspectors.
- 1998 (Dec.) United States and Britain resume air strikes on Iraq.
- 1998 (Dec. 16) United States and Britain begin seventy-hour aerial bombardment of Iraqi military installations in retaliation for Iraq's failure to comply with U.N. weapons inspectors' demands.
- 1999 (Jan. 25) U.S. air strikes on Iraq hit civilian sites near Basra.
- 1999 (Dec.) United Nations adopts a resolution offering to lessen trade sanctions if Iraq will allow U.N. weapons inspectors to return.
- 2000 (Nov.) At an Islamic summit meeting held in Qatar, U.N. secretary-general Kofi Annan and Iraqi representatives agree to begin a discussion on stalled weapons inspections.
- 2001 (Jan.) Discussions of weapons inspections between the United Nations and Iraq are postponed.
- 2001 (Feb. 16) U.S. and British planes attack Iraqi radar systems near Baghdad.

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The provisional constitution of 1970 provided for an elected legislature and an independent judiciary. Because of the revolutionary nature of Iraqi politics, however, constitutional provisions were often ignored. In fact, no elections were held from 1958 to 1980. Constitutional amendments enacted in 1973 greatly expanded the powers of the president, who also serves as supreme head of the armed forces and chairman of the RCC. Chosen by a two-thirds vote of the RCC, Iraq's president was empowered to appoint and dismiss members of the council of ministers.

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### Iraq Time Line *(continued)*

- 2001 Saddam Hussein's son Qusay becomes a member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Baath Party and a deputy commander of the military branch of the party.
- 2002 (Sept.) *New York Times/CBS News* poll reports that 68% of the American public approve of the U.S. taking military action against Iraq to try to remove Saddam Hussein from power.
- 2002 (Sept. 19) U.S. president George W. Bush addresses the United Nations, urging the organization to intervene to force Iraq to comply with U.N. directives on weapons of mass destruction.
- 2002 (Sept. 21) General Tommy Franks, the commander of the U.S. Central Command, announces in Kuwait City that the United States is ready to attack Iraq.
- 2002 (Oct. 1) Iraq announces that it will allow U.N. weapons inspectors to return and that it will allow the inspectors to enter sites unannounced.
- 2002 (Oct. 2) U.S. president George W. Bush and leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties in the U.S. Congress approve a resolution giving Bush the power to attack Iraq if he concludes that diplomacy is not making progress in the United Nations. Under the resolution, Bush would only have to notify Congress within forty-eight hours after deciding to act.
- 2002 (Oct. 3) American and British planes flying over the southern no-fly zone in Iraq drop leaflets warning Iraqi troops not to fire on U.S. and British air patrols. The Iraqis respond by firing on the planes dropping the leaflets and the Americans and British then bomb an air defense operations center.
- 2002 (Oct. 4) Kurds in northern Iraq reopen a regional parliament.
- 2002 (Oct. 11) U.S. Congress gives President Bush authority to attack Iraq if it refuses to give up weapons of mass destruction as required by U.N. resolutions.
- 2002 (Oct. 16) Government announces that Saddam Hussein has won another seven-year term as president after winning a referendum in which all 11,445,638 of Iraq's eligible voters endorsed his candidacy.
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Although real political opposition was not tolerated, in 1973 the Baath Party agreed to form a National Progressive Front which included the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) and the Kurdish Democratic Party. After basic disagreements, however, the ICP left the Front and became an illegal organization.

With a sharp increase in Iraq's petroleum revenues after 1973, the Bakr government expanded social programs, including compulsory private education, creation of new universities, and greater access to medical services. Recognizing the importance of

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- 2002 (Nov. 8) U.N. Security Council approves Resolution 1441, calling on Iraq to disarm and accept weapons inspectors or to face serious consequences.
- 2002 (Nov. 12-13) After Iraqi parliament votes to reject U.N. Resolution 1441, Saddam Hussein agrees to accept the resolution and allow weapons inspectors into the country.
- 2002 (Nov. 27) U.N. weapons inspectors begin searching for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.
- 2002 (Dec. 8) Iraq delivers a massive declaration on weapons of mass destruction to the United Nations; however, the United States maintains that the declaration is incomplete and fails to account for many weapons Iraq is known to have possessed.
- 2002 (Dec. 27) Ruud Lubbers, the U.N. high commissioner for refugees, declares that a new war in Iraq would be a humanitarian disaster.
- 2002 (Dec. 28) Iraq gives U.N. arms inspectors a list of more than five hundred scientists to interview.
- 2003 (Jan. 2) After U.N. weapons inspectors have visited 230 sites, Iraq declares they have failed because they have not uncovered any weapons of mass destruction.
- 2003 (Jan. 27) U.N. inspectors reach their first deadline for beginning inspections in Iraq and filing findings.
- 2003 (Jan. 28) In his state of the union address, President Bush declares he has evidence that Iraq is hiding weapons of mass destruction.
- 2003 (Feb. 6) U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell presents evidence of Iraqi deception of weapons inspectors to the U.N. Security Council.
- 2003 (Feb. 11) Satellite television station broadcasts a recording apparently made by Osama bin Laden asking Iraqis to carry out suicide attacks against Americans.
- 2003 (Feb. 15-16) Millions of people in locations around the world demonstrate against a possible war against Iraq.
- 2003 (Mar. 20) United States launches invasion of Iraq after President Hussein ignores ultimatum to leave the country.
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economic development, the government began ambitious industrial programs in petrochemicals, steel, and other heavy industry. The foreign-owned oil industry was nationalized between 1972 and 1975, further expanding government revenues.

Building on earlier land reform, the Agrarian Reform Law of 1969 relieved peasants of having to pay compensation to previous landowners. Reflecting its leftist ideology, the Bakr regime distanced itself from the Western nations and sought closer relations with Eastern countries. In 1972 Iraq and the Soviet Union signed an important treaty of friendship.

Bakr's government fought two civil wars with Kurdish rebels. In March, 1969, the Kurds, led by the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), resumed their armed struggle for autonomy. However, the fighting ended the following year when the government agreed to allow the Kurds to exercise partial self-rule in the Kurdistan Autonomous Region (KAR).

The KDP nevertheless continued to push for full independence, and a full-scale Iraqi-Kurdish War began in 1974. The shah of Iran provided economic assistance to the Kurds in order to pressure Iraq to agree to a change in its border along the Shatt al-Arab.

By early 1975 Iraq's army was finding it impossible to subdue some 45,000 Kurdish guerrillas. When it appeared that the conflict might lead to a larger war between Iran and Iraq, both countries signed a treaty on June 13, 1975. Iraq agreed to recognize Iranian claims on the boundary issue, while Iran agreed to stop supporting the Kurdish rebellion. The Iraqi-Kurdish fighting then ended temporarily.

The Bakr regime made several efforts in behalf of pan-Arab unity. In 1978 Iraq and Syria signed a charter for "joint national action," and for a time it appeared that the two countries were moving toward full political union. Soon, however, Syria and Iraq began to disagree about which country would exercise more power in a unified state, and relations between the two countries deteriorated. Syria and Iraq, nevertheless, agreed in taking a hard line in relations with Israel. One of Bakr's last official acts as president was to join other Arab states in condemning Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's concessions to Israel in the Egyptian-Israeli treaty.

### **Saddam Hussein's Regime**

On July 16, 1979, President Bakr was forced to resign. He was immediately succeeded by forty-two-year-old Saddam Hussein. A member of the Baath Party since 1957, Saddam had participated in the assassination attempt on Abdul Karim Kassim in 1959, and he had organized the secret police force.

During the eleven years of Bakr's presidency, Saddam had established a reputation as a ruthless operator who believed in killing political enemies. More than any other person, Saddam had been responsible for constructing the institutions of a police state that communicated an aura of fear and government invincibility.

At a large party meeting of July 22, the new regime suddenly announced the discovery of a vast conspiracy to overthrow the government. One of Saddam's assistants read a confession by the secretary of the RCC, asserting that he and other Baath officials were part of a plot funded by the Syrian government. Saddam then read a list of sixty-six alleged traitors, including five members of the RCC. The accused were quickly arrested and taken from the hall. The remaining members of the audience responded with prolonged applause and cries of "Long live Saddam." No person dared express skepticism about the evidence presented.

Party members expressed their unqualified confidence in Saddam's leadership, with several declaring that the party had exercised too much lenience in the past. A videotape of the emotional meeting was widely disseminated to send a signal that Saddam would tolerate no opposition.

A special Revolutionary Court quickly found fifty-five men guilty, and twenty-two were executed. Human rights groups charged that confessions were based on torture and threats against family members. With its political monopoly, the Baath Party allowed no independent investigations of such charges.

In order to increase a feeling of revolutionary solidarity, Saddam obliged senior officials to join him in personally executing several of the alleged traitors. At the same time, hundreds of party members and military officers were purged, and scores were secretly executed. Also, numerous potential opponents were gunned down in mysterious circumstances, probably by the

secret police. Saddam considered all antigovernment dissent—no matter how trivial—as treasonous.

The constitution, as amended in 1973, allowed Saddam to maintain almost total control over the government. In 1980 the first elections were held for a 250-member national assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. Other elections were held in 1984 and 1989. Since the president can override assembly decisions, however, the assembly has exercised no real power. In 1989 a committee was appointed to draft a new constitution which was supposed to expand the role of the national assembly and allow for new political parties. After the later Persian Gulf War, however, the project was postponed indefinitely.

### **Iran-Iraq War**

After the radical Islamic Republic of Iran was established in 1979, its relations with Iraq grew increasingly strained. Iran's new Shiite rulers disliked the secular foundations of Iraq's Baath regime. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the spiritual leader of Iran's revolution, made it clear that he would like to see Saddam's government replaced by an Islamic republic. When several militant Shiite groups in Iraq began committing terrorist acts, Saddam believed that Khomeini was responsible.

Although Iraq and Iran had signed a border treaty in 1975, both countries were unhappy with its terms. Following several military exchanges, Saddam announced on September 17, 1980, that he was voiding the treaty because of Iranian violations. On September 22, Iraqi troops mounted a surprise invasion of Iran, and the Iraqi air force bombed Iranian military bases.

Although Saddam's real motivations for undertaking this war remain somewhat unclear, he apparently was determined to make Iraq the dominant power in the region around the Persian Gulf. Perhaps he wanted to occupy Iran's oil-rich province of Khuzistan, the home to many Sunni Arabs. There were also indications that Saddam hoped to overthrow Khomeini's revolutionary government, which at that time appeared to be chaotic and weak. On September 28, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution calling for a cease-fire and a peaceful resolution to the border dispute, but neither side appeared interested.

For the first few months of the war, Iraq appeared to be winning. By mid-November, Iraqi troops had occupied Khorramshahr and besieged Abadan. However, the religiously inspired Iranian forces managed to stop the Iraqi advance. In September, 1981, the Iranians began a series of successful counter-offensives. The war soon became a stalemate.

On June 9, 1982, Iraq announced that it was ready for a truce, but the Iranian government in Teheran responded that peace was impossible so long as Saddam Hussein remained in power. In July, 1982, Iran began invading Iraqi territory, with the intention of capturing Basra province, and the two opposing forces engaged in the largest infantry battle since World War II.

Between March, 1983, and April, 1984, the Iranians threatened the city of Basra, while a united Kurdish-Iranian offensive threatened a large area in the northeastern provinces. Saddam responded by ordering that chemical weapons be used against Kurdish villages. A stalemate was followed by another Iranian offensive.

By January, 1987, the Iranians got to within seven miles of Basra but failed to take the city. On July 20, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 587. It called for a cease-fire and a withdrawal of all military forces.

Fearing an Iranian victory, the United States increased its support for Iraq, even after an Iraqi missile struck the USS *Stark*, killing thirty-seven American sailors. The United States changed the flags on eleven Kuwaiti tankers and escorted them through the Persian Gulf. In October, U.S. forces began attacking Iranian ships and oil platforms.

By early 1988 Iraq had an advantage over Iran in manpower and money. It demoralized the Iranians by striking Teheran with a medium-range missile. Between April 16 and 18, Iraq retook the Fao peninsula, again using chemical weapons. U.S. warships destroyed an Iranian frigate, and on July 3 a U.S. cruiser shot down an Iranian civilian airliner carrying 290 people which it mistook for a warplane. By July, Iraqi forces were on the offensive in Iran, and Iranian leaders persuaded Khomeini that Iran must accept a truce to save the Islamic revolution. The two countries agreed to peace terms on August 20, 1988, but the war continued. Fighting



finally ended in 1990, after Iraq agreed to respect the 1975 treaty, and the two sides exchanged prisoners of war. Although about a million people died during the war, neither side had accomplished much. Iraq emerged as the most powerful country of the region, as it had wanted. However, it had an accumulated war debt of about US\$80 billion—about half which it owed to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

### **Invasion of Kuwait**

Later in 1990 Iraq invaded neighboring Kuwait. Most Iraqi citizens viewed Kuwait as historically part of Iraq. They argued that under the old Ottoman Empire Kuwait had been part of Iraq's Basra province. Iraqi forces had made brief incursions into Kuwaiti territory in 1961 and 1973. The Baath leadership considered the existing borders as unacceptable remnants of European imperialism, and as socialists, they strongly disapproved of the aristocratic nature of Kuwaiti society. In addition to wanting Kuwait's abundant oil resources, Saddam wanted control over Kuwait's natural harbor, along with its 120 miles of coastline, on the Persian Gulf.

In July, 1990, Iraq complained to the Arab League that excessive oil production by Kuwait was harming the Iraqi economy. For compensation, Iraq demanded that Kuwait should write off its US\$12 billion in loans to Iraq from the latter's recent war against Iran. Iraq also wanted Kuwait to give up some of its territory along their common border.

On July 31, representatives of Iraq and Kuwait met in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, but failed to resolve their differences. As 100,000 Iraqi troops massed along the Kuwait border, the American ambassador to Iraq told Saddam that the United States had no opinion on the Kuwaiti border issue.

On August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait. That same day, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 600, condemning the invasion and calling on Iraq to withdraw immediately. Kuwait's ruler, Sheikh Jabir as-Sabah, and other members of the Kuwaiti royal family fled to Saudi Arabia. On August 3, the foreign ministers of the Arab League voted 14-1 to condemn Iraqi actions.

On August 6, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 661, which imposed economic sanctions against Iraq. The United States and most European countries froze Iraqi assets. Iraq responded by declaring that Kuwait had become its nineteenth province.

### **Persian Gulf War**

U.S. president George Bush and various allies were convinced that Iraqi aggression threatened Western interests in the Persian Gulf. On August 9, 1990, U.S. troops began arriving in Saudi Arabia. On November 29 the U.N. Security Council voted 12-2 to approve Resolution 678, which authorized U.N. member states to use “all necessary means” to force Iraq out of Kuwait.

After negotiations failed, the U.S. Congress authorized President Bush to use force pursuant to U.N. Resolution 678. The Iraqi parliament responded by authorizing President Saddam Hussein to go to war rather than withdraw from Kuwait.

A U.S.-led coalition of twenty-nine countries began an air campaign against Iraq on January 17, 1991. About 106,000 aerial attacks over a period of only thirty-seven days severely damaged Iraqi military installations, as well as civilian infrastructure—such as bridges and communications facilities.

In a desperate attempt to gain radical Arab support, Iraq fired Scud ground-to-ground missiles on Israeli cities, even though Israel was not directly involved in the war. However, the Arab nations remained in the anti-Iraq coalition.

When the allies’ ground attack began on February 24, the Iraqis had no surveillance capacity, and Saddam’s army quickly collapsed. On February 26, Saddam announced his withdrawal from Kuwait. President Bush declared a cease-fire the next day. Some observers wanted coalition forces to overthrow Saddam himself; however, that would have required a difficult occupation of Baghdad. On February 28, Saddam announced he would accept a cease-fire.

It has been estimated that 100,000 Iraqis died as a direct result of the war. The number of U.S. deaths in the war totaled 376. The coalition spent about US\$82 billion in fighting the war. Iraq signed agreements requiring it to submit to several U.N. Security

Council resolutions. Most of the countries of the allied coalition were determined to prevent renewed acts of Iraqi aggression, and the international embargo continued in force. Contrary to expectations, Saddam stayed in power within Iraq.

### **Postwar Conflicts**

With Iraq's defeat in the Persian Gulf War, the Kurdish minority in northern Iraq and Shiites in the south rebelled against Saddam's regime. The Iraqi Kurdistan Front, a coalition of two parties, wanted to establish an independent Kurdish state.

The Shiites, who were receiving support from Iran, hoped to overthrow Saddam and establish a pro-Shiite government in Baghdad. Washington policymakers encouraged Iraqis to overthrow Saddam, but they did not give much support to the rebellions, in part because they feared that breaking up Iraq would lead to Iranian dominance of the Persian Gulf region.

Saddam's forces brutally suppressed the insurrections. After Iraqi troops forced thousand of Kurds to flee to Turkey, the United Nations approved "no fly" zones, where Iraqi aircraft could not fly. American warplanes enforced the U.N. policy, and this allowed many Kurdish refugees to return to Iraq. With expulsion of Iraqi troops from Kurdistan, Iraqi Kurds moved toward a greater degree of self rule, establishing a Kurdish parliament.

During the elections of 1995, however, a civil war erupted between the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). In September, 1996, the KDP allied with Saddam Hussein, and a joint KDP-Iraqi expedition attacked PUK strongholds. Iraq agreed to withdraw after U.S. air strikes on military bases in southern Iraq, but the Kurdish conflict continued.

Although Saddam's regime agreed to abide by U.N. Security Council resolutions, it repeatedly resisted their actual implementation. Saddam particularly opposed inspections by the U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM) to enforce Resolution 687, which prohibited Iraq from possessing any nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. Because of Iraq's defiance, the U.N. Security Council voted to continue the international embargo, which had a devastating impact on the Iraqi economy.

On January 13, 1993, one of George Bush's last actions as president of the United States was to order the bombing of Iraq in retaliation for its incursions into Kuwait, as well as Saddam's refusal to cooperate with international inspectors. Many Iraqis hoped that the new U.S. president Bill Clinton would end the embargo. However, Clinton ordered an air strike against Iraq on June 26, 1993, after receiving evidence of Iraqi involvement in an assassination plot against former president Bush.

### **Saddam and the Future**

Throughout many severe crises, Saddam Hussein has demonstrated a great capacity to survive. In addition to terror, he effectively used propaganda to promote a cult of the "Glorious Leader." Many people in the Arab world admired him for standing up to the West. Nevertheless, during the summer of 1995, he had some difficulty in putting down an Iraqi army revolt, and two of his sons-in-law defected to Jordan.

In October, 1995, Saddam was re-elected to a new seven-year term as president by a 99.96 percent vote in a nationwide referendum. After his sons-in-law returned to Iraq in 1996, they were soon killed in a gun battle with members of Saddam's own clan.

On December 16, 1996, Saddam Hussein's eldest son, Uday, was seriously wounded by a would-be assassin in Baghdad. Although he survived, the injury caused him to be replaced as his father's apparent successor by his youngest brother, Qusay. In 2001, Qusay Hussein became a member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Baath Party and a deputy commander of the military branch of the party. These events seemed to consolidate the hold on power of Saddam Hussein's family and to make it increasingly probable that the clan could not be pushed out without outside intervention.

Meanwhile, Saddam's regime and Western leaders remained unable to agree on terms necessary to end the trade embargo against Iraq. U.N. reports of 1995 stated that the embargo had caused more than 750,000 children to suffer from malnourishment, with 4,500 dying each month. In 1996 Iraq accepted the U.N. terms for inspections in exchange for increased oil sales as

well as for food and medical supplies. However, this agreement did not last very long.

Saddam Hussein repeatedly placed unacceptable conditions on UNSCOM inspectors, backing down only when the United States prepared for renewed military strikes. Russia and other countries wanted to make compromises, but most Western leaders feared that Saddam was secretly planning for new aggression. A solid majority within the U.N. Security Council agreed that the embargo would not be lifted until the international inspectors could certify that Iraq possessed no weapons of mass destruction.

Saddam Hussein's grip on power within Iraq appeared unshakable at the beginning of the twenty-first century. He was able to make his position even more secure by improving Iraq's relations with several of its neighbors. Although relations with Iran continued to be tense, in 2001 Iraq hosted a visit from Syrian prime minister Mustafa Mero, and reestablished air and rail transportation with Syria. Iraq also bettered its relations and reopened rail transportation with Turkey in that year.

Despite Saddam Hussein's ruthless wiliness, the enmity of the United States posed a serious threat to his regime. International sanctions against Iraq had gradually weakened in the late 1990's, but in the early twenty-first century events brought intensified American attention to Iraq. On September 11, 2001, Muslim terrorists with the al-Qaeda network based in Afghanistan hijacked American passenger planes and flew these into the Pentagon and the New York World Trade Center, destroying the center's towers and killing thousands of civilians.

U.S. government officials maintained that before the terrorist attacks, there had been meetings between high-level members of al-Qaeda and representatives of the Iraqi government. However, no evidence was found to indicate that Iraq was directly involved in the terrorist attack of September, 2001. Nevertheless, the wanton destruction and killing provoked a new willingness by the United States to engage in military action. Saddam had long been seen as a villain by American leaders and he contributed to this view when he did not condemn the attacks and offered no condolences to the United States or to its public. When the United States

*Image Not Available*

and the British invaded Afghanistan to aid the opposition to the ruling Afghan regime, Saddam condemned the American action and called on Muslim nations throughout the world to make war on the United States.

Saddam's hostility, his refusal to allow U.N. weapons inspectors back into his country until all sanctions were dropped, and Iraq's efforts to shoot down surveillance planes flying over the country all combined to convince American leaders that Saddam's rule had to be ended. In 2001, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell indicated that after the United States had finished in Afghanistan, it would move on to Iraq. Throughout 2002, U.S. president George W. Bush argued that Iraq's efforts to develop biologi-

cal and nuclear weapons warranted intervention and, in the wake of the September, 2001, attacks on the United States, President Bush appeared to have substantial support from the U.S. Congress on this issue. The American public seemed to support the president's position, as well. A *New York Times* / *CBS News* poll taken in September, 2002, reported that 68 percent of Americans approved of U.S. military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power. British prime minister Tony Blair strongly supported Bush's position on Iraq and, together with the U.S. president, sought the support of the United Nations and of individual nations in endorsing an attack on Iraq.

United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan warned the United States against taking military action alone on Iraq, maintaining that military intervention would require the approval and participation of the United Nations. This was difficult to achieve, however, because France and Russia, both of whom had veto power in the United Nations, were opposed to invasion. In mid-September, 2002, Saddam Hussein made it still more difficult to achieve an agreement on intervention when he offered to allow United Nations weapons inspectors back into his country. The situation became even more complicated on October 1, 2002, when the Iraqi government announced that it was preparing to let inspectors return and that it would allow them unannounced into secret sites. The chief of the U.N. weapons commission, Hans Blix, said that he felt that this indicated a new openness. President Bush and Prime Minister Blair opposed any U.N. resolution on Iraq that did not provide for an immediate military response if Iraq did not comply completely, and both of these leaders said that it was necessary to remove Saddam Hussein.

With some U.N. members hoping that a U.S. invasion of Iraq could be avoided if new inspections were conducted, on November 8, the U.N. Security Council approved Resolution 1441, saying that Iraq must disarm and accept inspectors to prove that Iraq has disarmed, or face serious consequences. The Iraqi government put up a show of defiance, and its parliament voted to reject the U.N. resolution; however, the threat of a U.S. attack finally forced Saddam Hussein to give in. The return of U.N. weapons inspectors to Iraq was tense, and the Iraqi government main-

tained that the real purpose of the inspectors' visits was to create excuses for a U.S. invasion.

Throughout early 2003, U.S. president George W. Bush's administration sought international and domestic support for military intervention in Iraq. However, by March it was clear that there would be no agreement in the United Nations on the matter. The French, Russian, and German foreign ministers issued a declaration stating that their governments would not permit a U.N. resolution authorizing military action. Meanwhile, Turkey's decision not to permit ground troops to use its territory to invade Iraq complicated things, and British prime minister Tony Blair faced political challenges because of his support for war. Nevertheless, on March 18, President Bush declared that Iraq would face an invasion if Saddam Hussein did not step down in forty-eight hours.

American and British planes had been making desultory air attacks on Iraq for some months, but war did not begin in earnest until March 20 (Iraqi time), when U.S. forces launched air strikes on Baghdad. Coalition paratroopers began dropping into northern Iraq in the last week in March, but Turkey's limited cooperation meant that the main coalition forces had to invade from the south. Coalition troops initially encountered light resistance there until they assaulted Nasiriya and the port city of Basra. Coalition expectations of a Shiite Muslim revolt against Hussein in the south were frustrated. By April, as British and American forces encircled Baghdad, the outcome of the conflict remained uncertain, and signs of serious guerrilla resistance raised fears that even if the invasion succeeded, the occupation that followed would be difficult.

*Thomas T. Lewis*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

For comprehensive overviews of the country, see *Iraq: A Country Study* (1990), edited by Helen Metz; Pebe Marr's *Iraq, Troubles and Tensions* (1997); and *Iraq Since 1958* (1990), by Marion and Peter Farouk-Sluglett. For the recent history of Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries, a readable and dependable source is Congressional Quarterly's *The Middle East* (1994), edited by Daniel



Diller. A good introduction to the Kurds and their history is in Michael Gunter's *The Kurds of Iraq: Tragedy and Hope* (1992). For the fate of the Kurds after 1991, see S. T. Laizer's *Martyrs, Traitors and Patriots: Kurdistan After the Gulf War* (1996).

For the nature of Iraqi government before Baath rule, see *Iraq Under Qassem* (1969). To learn about the authoritarian nature of the Baath regime, see Samir al-Khalil's *Republic of Fear: The Inside Story of Saddam's Iraq* (1990) and Amatzia Baram's *Culture, History, and Ideology in the Formation of Ba'hist Iraq* (1991). Efraim Karsh and Inari Rautsi's *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography* (1991) is perhaps the best book about Saddam's career, with an emphasis on the rational aspects of his dictatorial methods.

Judith Miller and Laurie Mylroi's *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf* (1990) provides a shorter journalistic account. Of the many good books on the Persian Gulf War, two concise and readable accounts are in Steve Yetiv's *The Persian Gulf Crisis* (1997) and *George Bush's War* (1992), by Jean Smith. Rick Atkinson gives much information about individual political and military leaders and their strategies in *Crusade: The Untold Story of the Persian Gulf War* (1993).

International efforts to monitor Iraqi biological and nuclear weapons are examined in Michael V. Deaver's *Disarming Iraq: Monitoring Power and Resistance* (2001) and in Sarah Graham-Brown's *Sanctioning Saddam: The Politics of Intervention in Iraq* (1999). An insider's view of Iraqi efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction may be found in *Saddam's Bombmaker: The Terrifying Inside Story of the Iraqi Nuclear and Biological Weapons Agenda* (2000), by Khidhir Hamza. Saddam Hussein's policies toward the United States after the 1991 war are considered in *Study of Revenge: Saddam Hussein's Unfinished War Against America* (2000), by Laurie Mylroie. For a discussion of Saddam Hussein's impact on his country, see *The Reckoning: Iraq and the Legacy of Saddam Hussein* (2002), by Sandra Mackey.

## ISRAEL

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*Creation of the State of Israel in 1948 began a series of conflicts in the Middle East that have yet to be resolved. All of Israel's Arab Muslim neighbors opposed the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, which they viewed as land belonging to Muslims living in the area. Although Egypt and Israel signed a peace accord that ended hostilities between the two countries in 1979, government officials in Iraq, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon—and sometimes Iran and Saudi Arabia—have maintained that Israel has no legitimacy as a nation and should be expunged from the Middle East. Even during periods of armistice between the Israelis and their neighbors, the Palestinians and their sponsors in the other nations of the region have carried out guerrilla raids inside Israel, killing many innocent civilians. The Israeli government has retaliated against suspected guerrilla headquarters in refugee camps in neighboring areas, killing many innocent Arab civilians. This cycle of violence accelerated during the first years of the twenty-first century, when a series of devastating suicide bombings by Palestinians and angry reactions by the Israeli military pushed the country into a critical state.*

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**I**srael lies on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. It is bordered by Lebanon and Syria on the north, Jordan on the east, the Gulf of Aqaba on the south, Egypt on the southwest, and the Mediterranean Sea on the west. Israel possesses few natural resources. Its economy is almost totally dependent on exports, reparations from Germany to Israeli citizens harmed by German anti-Semitic measures during the Holocaust of World War II, bond issues sold mostly to members of the American Jewish community, and U.S. aid in the amount of at least \$5 billion per year.

The total area of Israel is about 8,019 square miles, including the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, both of which are claimed by the Palestinians. Most of the country is coastal plain, with a few low hills. From the city Beersheba in the center of Israel to the port of Elat on the Gulf of Aqaba much of the land is arid desert that

## Profile of Israel

*Official name:* State of Israel

*Former name:* Palestine

*Independent since:* 1948

*Former colonial rulers:* Ottoman Empire; Great Britain

*Location:* eastern shore of Mediterranean Sea

*Area:* 8,019 square miles

*Capital:* Jerusalem (international recognition pending)

*Population:* 6.03 million (2002 est.)

*Official languages:* Hebrew; Arabic

*Major religions:* Judaism; Sunni Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$119 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* machinery and transport equipment; diamonds; chemicals; apparel

*Military expenditures:* US\$8.9 billion (2001)

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can only be farmed with extensive irrigation. The only river of any consequence is the Jordan, which flows into the Sea of Galilee and then into the Dead Sea. Water remains the most precious resource in the area, and its scarcity may prove a source of conflict between the Israelis and their neighbors in the future.

The population of Israel was about 6 million people in 2002, almost evenly divided between Jews and Arab Muslims. Most of the area's residents depend on agriculture for their sustenance. Hebrew is the official language of Israel, but most of its Arab inhabitants speak Arabic. The state religion of Israel is Judaism, but almost all of its Arab inhabitants practice the Sunni version of Islam. Various denominations of Christianity have a few devotees in the area.

### Early History

Around 1200 B.C.E., Hebrew tribes began settling in the area that is today Israel. According to biblical tradition, Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt into Canaan (part of modern Israel), which the Hebrew god Yahweh promised to them as their home for all eternity. At about the same time, the Philistines also moved into

the area. After a series of wars with the Canaanites and the Philistines, the victorious Hebrews under Saul established the kingdom of Israel in 1020 B.C.E.

The kingdom of Israel reached its zenith under Solomon in the middle of the tenth century B.C.E. After Solomon's death it split into two kingdoms: Israel in the north and Judah in the south. In 721 B.C.E. the Assyrians conquered the northern kingdom, but the southern kingdom clung to a precarious existence for two more



centuries. In 587 B.C.E. the Chaldeans conquered Judah, thus ending Jewish political independence until 1948.

Over the following six hundred years, a succession of Persians, Greeks, and Romans conquered and occupied the area that is today Israel. After a series of Jewish revolts against Roman rule, the Romans destroyed the Jewish temple in Jerusalem and scattered most of the Jews to different parts of the Roman Empire. Israelis call this scattering the Diaspora. Most of the Jews so scattered refused to assimilate into the communities in which they found themselves. They dressed in the traditional manner and practiced their own religion with all its rituals.

Reluctance to assimilate contributed to the growth of anti-Semitism in all parts of Christian Europe during the Middle Ages. Xenophobia and ethnocentrism both contributed to this growth, as did the charge that the Jews had crucified Jesus Christ. Anti-Semitism caused European governments to limit the economic activities in which Jews could participate.

European kings adopted laws forbidding Jews to own land or serve in the army and bureaucracy, and excluded them from the arts. Many Jews took up moneylending, which further fueled the hatred of Christians who considered moneylenders to be nothing more than thieves. This growing anti-Semitism resulted in frequent pogroms and expulsion from the nations in which the Jews lived. During the Middle Ages, almost all the European kingdoms expelled the Jews from their countries at one time or another.

When most European nations lifted the laws that restricted Jews after the French Revolution of 1789, Jews began to excel in many fields of endeavor. The success of many Jews added the new dimension of envy to the already existing anti-Semitism. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, a number of writers began to politicize anti-Semitism, which resulted in the first anti-Semitic political parties. The appearance of political anti-Semitism provided the catalyst for the formation of the Zionist movement.

### **Zionist Movement**

Zionism grew out of the Dreyfus affair in France at the end of the nineteenth century. Alfred Dreyfus was an officer in the

French army who was accused in 1894 of selling military secrets to the Germans. French officials subsequently convicted Dreyfus and sent him to a French penal colony. Dreyfus's brother Matieu refused to believe that his sibling was guilty and rallied Jews from around the world to help prove him innocent. French society divided down the middle into anti-Dreyfusards and Dreyfusards. The public debate engendered street battles between the two groups, bitter debates in the French parliament, and a war of words in newspaper editorials around the world. As a result, Theodor Herzl, an Austrian journalist sent by his newspaper to cover the Dreyfus affair, founded the modern Zionist movement.

Herzl became convinced by the outbreaks of anti-Semitic violence in France during the Dreyfus affair that Jews would never be treated justly in Christian society. He felt that Jews must have their own nation, both as a refuge for Jews wishing to return to their homeland and as an international representative for Jews living abroad. He further championed the idea that his proposed Jewish nation should be in Palestine.

Consequently, Herzl organized a meeting of Jewish leaders from all over the world in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897. Many of the Jews who assembled in Basel supported Herzl's proposals and formed the Zionist movement. Some of the representatives were wealthy and agreed to donate large sums of money to establish Jewish communal farms in Palestine—then dominated by the Ottoman Empire—and subsidize any Jews who wished to emigrate to Israel. Already since 1882, Jews from Russia had begun to return to Palestine in the face of increasing pogroms sponsored by Russian anti-Semites.

Between 1897 and 1914, a few thousand Jews from all parts of the world went to Palestine. The Ottoman government, however, was not willing to absorb large numbers of Jews or allow the Jews an autonomous state within their empire.

### **Balfour Declaration**

During World War I the officials of the Ottoman Empire allied their nation with Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire against Great Britain, France, Russia, and eventually the United States. By 1917 the war had exhausted the resources of its original

participants. British government officials desperately attempted to arrange loans in order to buy war materials.

The large Jewish banking house of Rothschild, which had financed many Jewish settlers in Palestine, agreed to loan the British government money if the British would assist in establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine after the war. The British agreed and issued a declaration of their intent called the Balfour Declaration.

Almost simultaneously, T. E. Lawrence, popularly known as Lawrence of Arabia, promised the Arab subjects of the Ottoman Empire independence in return for their aid in fighting on the side of the British. These two commitments could not both be kept as they were not compatible. Their mutual incompatibility set the stage for the Arab-Jewish conflict that developed in the area.

## Israel Time Line

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|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1840's | Old Jewish dream of resettling in Palestine is rekindled.                                                                                                      |
| 1881   | Russian educator Eliezer Ben Yehuda settles in Palestine and resurrects Hebrew language.                                                                       |
| 1882   | Settlements of Russian-Jewish farmers begin forming in Ottoman-administered Palestine.                                                                         |
| 1882   | First Aliyah (ascending) begins with immigration of 12,000 Russian refugees to Palestine.                                                                      |
| 1885   | Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl publishes article promoting Jewish homeland as solution to anti-Semitism in Europe.                                          |
| 1897   | Jewish communal farms, financed by Lord Rothschild, begin forming in Palestine.                                                                                |
| 1897   | (Aug. 29) Modern Zionist movement is launched at first World Zionist Congress in Switzerland.                                                                  |
| 1901   | Jewish National Fund is founded to buy land in Palestine for Zionists.                                                                                         |
| 1904   | Second Aliyah begins as more Jews escape from Russia and Poland.                                                                                               |
| 1909   | Tel Aviv, first modern Jewish city, is founded in Palestine.                                                                                                   |
| 1917   | Balfour Declaration promises British help to establish Jewish homeland in Palestine at end of World War I in return for loans from Jewish banking houses.      |
| 1917   | British forces capture Palestine from Ottoman Empire during World War I; T. E. Lawrence promises Arabs their independence in return for help against Ottomans. |

In 1920 the League of Nations awarded Palestine to the British as a mandate. British officials agreed to administer the area for ten years, during which time they would prepare the people of the area for independence. The British mandate officials, in accordance with the Balfour Declaration, began permitting large-scale Jewish emigration to Palestine but placed limits on the number of Jews who could enter the mandate each year.

Almost immediately violence erupted between the Jewish settlers and the Muslim inhabitants of the area. The violence escalated during the period between the two world wars, with both sides forming paramilitary organizations to prosecute what became an undeclared war. The British found themselves caught in the middle and often became the target of both Palestinian and Jewish guerrilla organizations.

In 1937 a British investigatory committee concluded that the

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|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1918      | (Nov.) World War I ends with about 60,000 Jews living in Palestine.                                                                                                                   |
| 1919-1939 | Jews from around the world emigrate to Palestine with British aid; violence periodically erupts between them and Arab Palestinians.                                                   |
| 1919      | Third Aliyah begins with 20,000 immigrants from Russia and Poland settling in Palestine, forming underground Jewish resistance army known as Hagganah.                                |
| 1920      | League of Nations grants Great Britain mandate to govern Palestine.                                                                                                                   |
| 1921      | Britain angers Zionists by dividing its mandate territory into Transjordan and Palestine portions; first British census of Palestine counts 84,000 Jews (12.9 percent of population). |
| 1924      | Fourth Aliyah brings 80,000 more Jews to Palestine.                                                                                                                                   |
| 1929      | Guerrilla army Irgun is formed by future premier Menachem Begin and other Jewish settlers.                                                                                            |
| 1933      | (Jan.) Nazi rise to power in Germany begins intense pressure on European Jews, many of whom emigrate to Palestine—some with German help.                                              |
| 1939-1945 | World War II is fought in Europe.                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1939      | British White Paper states that Palestine should not be partitioned between Jews and Arabs.                                                                                           |
| 1939      | Chaim Weizmann promises Jewish aid to Britain in its war against Germany.                                                                                                             |
| 1939      | Britain attempts to limit immigration into Palestine to 15,000 Jews per year, creating flood of illegal immigration.                                                                  |
| 1947      | (Nov. 29) United Nations votes to create state of Israel.                                                                                                                             |

*(continued)*

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only solution to the problems faced by the people of Palestine seemed to be the partition of the area into two countries, one Jewish, the other Arab. The report, however, only intensified the violence in the region. The British government responded by releasing the White Paper in 1939, which declared that there would be no partition.

### **Formation of the State of Israel**

When Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, Jewish emigration to Palestine increased greatly, often illegally exceeding the yearly quotas. The Zionists in Palestine even negotiated a deal with the Nazis that permitted German Jews who wanted to emigrate to Palestine to take most of their money with them. When World War II erupted in Europe, Jewish leaders proclaimed their allegiance to Great Britain and in effect declared war on Ger-

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#### **Israel Time Line** (*continued*)

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|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1948 | Palestinian organizations begin conducting decades of guerrilla attacks on Israeli positions; with Israeli retaliation, great losses of life occur on both sides.                         |
| 1948 | (May 14) After British withdrawal from Palestine, state of Israel is proclaimed; United States immediately recognizes its sovereignty.                                                    |
| 1948 | (May 15) Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt launch first Arab-Israeli war; hundreds of thousands of Palestinians flee to neighboring countries where they become permanent refugees. |
| 1950 | Israel begins granting citizenship to all Jews who request it.                                                                                                                            |
| 1956 | (Oct.) Israel invades Egypt, but is forced to withdraw by U.S. pressure.                                                                                                                  |
| 1958 | (May) Israel celebrates its tenth anniversary as a state with over two million Jewish residents.                                                                                          |
| 1964 | Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is formed to coordinate activities of guerrilla groups and political organizations opposed to Israel.                                             |
| 1967 | (June) Israel captures territories from Egypt and Syria during Six-Day War.                                                                                                               |
| 1973 | (Oct.) Egypt attacks Israeli positions in Sinai Peninsula, starting Yom Kippur War.                                                                                                       |
| 1976 | (July 3) Israeli commandos free hostages held by pro-Palestinian terrorists in Uganda airport.                                                                                            |
| 1978 | Under terms of Camp David Accords, Israel returns captured Egyptian territories.                                                                                                          |
| 1982 | Israel invades Lebanon and establishes permanent "security zone" in southern Lebanon.                                                                                                     |
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many. Many Jews fought on the side of the Allies, both in the national armies of the United States, Russia, and Great Britain, and in guerrilla bands in German-occupied Europe and Russia.

The Zionist leaders in Palestine insisted that the quotas on Jewish emigration to Palestine be lifted so that Jews fleeing the Nazi terror could escape Europe. The British refused because they feared that such a policy would prompt the Arabs to ally themselves with Germany. The Zionists responded by helping Jews enter illegally. After the war ended, the Zionists redoubled their efforts to persuade the British mandate officials to allow unlimited emigration to accommodate the hundreds of thousands of Jews who had been in concentration camps and were incarcerated in refugee camps in Europe.

When the British authorities resisted, the Jews used guerrilla warfare against the British and against Palestinians who opposed

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- 1987      Palestinian *Intifada*, a period of protest in West Bank and Gaza, begins.
- 1989      As Soviet Union begins to collapse, more Russian Jews migrate to Israel.
- 1991      (Jan.) Iraq fires missiles on Israel during Persian Gulf War, in which Israel does not participate.
- 1993      Establishment of Palestinian Authority—negotiated between Israeli government and PLO—represents first step toward Palestinian independence.
- 1993      Israel and PLO agree on framework for Palestinian autonomy in West Bank and Gaza.
- 1994      Israeli troops pull out of Jericho and Gaza, with other West Bank towns to follow, handing over control to Palestinian police.
- 1994      (July 25) Israel and Jordan sign agreement to end their forty-six-year-old conflict.
- 1995      Prime minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated by Israeli nationalist.
- 1997      Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's cabinet reaffirms its decision to build new Jewish neighborhood in East Jerusalem, despite repeated warnings of Palestinian resistance.
- 1998      Israeli and Palestinian officials agree on autonomy for Palestine, with promise of establishment of Palestinian state.
- 1998      (May 14) Sporadic violence continues to occur on eve of Israel's fiftieth birthday.
- 1998      (June 16) Israeli warplanes launch missile attacks on suspected Hezbollah military bases near Sojod, Lebanon.
- 1998      (Aug. 27) Pipe bomb explosion in Tel Aviv is blamed by government on Palestinian terrorists.
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(continued)

further Jewish emigration. The violence reached its zenith in 1947 when Jewish guerrillas blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, which housed the British mandate officials. Ninety-three of the officials died in the blast.

The next year the British gave up their role as the mandate power, declared the Palestinian-Jewish problem beyond their capabilities to solve, and withdrew from the area. Simultaneously, Zionist leaders declared the formation of the state of Israel under Jewish rule. President Harry S. Truman of the United States and Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin immediately recognized the legitimacy of the new state and sponsored its membership in the United Nations.

Members of the United Nations adopted a resolution recognizing Israel but at the same time providing that a Palestinian state should be formed on part of the former territory of the Brit-

### **Israel Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1998 (Oct. 23) Netanyahu and Arafat sign interim agreement calling for Israeli withdrawal from part of West Bank.
- 1998 (Nov. 20) Israeli occupation forces begin withdrawal from West Bank territory being handed over to Palestinian Authority.
- 1998 (Dec. 21) Knesset votes to dissolve Netanyahu's rightist Likud Party government and hold new national elections in May.
- 1999 (Mar. 10) First Arab "Miss Israel" is crowned.
- 1999 (July 6) Fifty days after winning May 17 election, Ehud Barak is sworn in as Israel's prime minister and calls for regional cooperation.
- 2000 (Sept.) U.S. president Bill Clinton moderates a summit between Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat at Camp David. Arafat rejects Barak's offer of Palestinian control over most of the lands occupied by Israel in the 1967 war.
- 2000 (Sept. 28) Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visits the Temple Mount. Palestinians react with protests and riots. A new cycle of violence begins.
- 2001 (Feb. 6) Ariel Sharon is elected prime minister of Israel.
- 2001 (Mar.) Palestinians begin a series of suicide bombings against Israeli targets.
- 2001 (Oct. 17) Rehavam Ze'evi, the Israeli tourism minister, is killed by Palestinians to retaliate for the death of a Palestinian leader.
- 2002 (Aug. 17) Israel offers to withdraw from Bethlehem and parts of Gaza if Palestinian security forces demonstrate an ability to control terrorists from those areas.

ish mandate. Most of the independent Arab states of the Middle East refused to recognize the legitimacy of Israel.

### **Arab-Israeli War**

Officials of the Israeli state had hardly declared their independence when their new nation was invaded by the military forces of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Egypt. In this first Arab-Israeli War the fighting was indecisive, but hundreds of thousands of Palestinians had to flee from their homes. Most of them took up permanent residence in refugee camps in neighboring Lebanon and Jordan, where they lived in squalid conditions.

Officials of the United States finally brokered an armistice, but both sides continued to carry out guerrilla raids. Finally a U.S. diplomat, Ralph Bunch, managed to hammer out a peace settlement between the belligerents. None of the officials of the Arab

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| 2002 | (Aug. 19) Palestinian terrorist leader Abu Nidal is reported dead by a Palestinian newspaper.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 2002 | (Sept. 10) Yasser Arafat's Fatah Movement issues a call for an end to terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 2002 | (Sept. 19) Bomb attack on a bus in Tel Aviv leaves six Israelis dead. In response, Israeli forces lay siege to Yasser Arafat's office compound. The Israelis say they are seeking to isolate Arafat and arrest four senior Palestinian officials suspected of involvement in terrorist activities.                                                                           |
| 2002 | (Oct.) Israel's coalition government falls apart when the Labor Party refuses to support Ariel Sharon's 2003 budget, demanding that some of the money slated for Jewish settlements on the West Bank instead go to social spending; Sharon is forced to schedule new elections.                                                                                              |
| 2002 | (Nov. 28) Fighting off a challenge from former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Sharon is reelected head of the Likud Party during a party primary election marked by a Palestinian attack on a polling station. On the same day, a missile is fired at an Israeli airliner taking off in Kenya, and an Israeli hotel catering to Israeli tourists is destroyed by a bomb. |
| 2003 | (Jan. 28) Ariel Sharon's Likud Party wins a plurality in national election and retains power; Palestinian leaders predict an escalation in the conflict.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 2003 | (Feb.) Israeli military steps up operations against the militant Hamas organization throughout Palestinian territories.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
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states, however, was willing to recognize the legitimacy of the state of Israel.

Between 1948 and 1955 Palestinian guerrillas continued to attack targets inside Israel, which sparked off Israeli retaliation against Palestinians in Israel and the refugee camps. In 1956, with the collaboration of French and British officials, the Israeli military attacked Egypt and occupied the Suez Canal zone in retaliation for Egypt's attempt to block the Israeli port of Elat on the Gulf of Aqaba.

U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower brought heavy pressure on the Israelis to withdraw from Egypt, which they did. The United States, however, was involved in the Cold War with the Soviet Union and needed an ally in the Middle East. Over the ensuing years, Israel became that ally.

A special relationship developed between the two nations, with the United States taking Israel's side in their dispute with their Arab neighbors, often in the face of hostile world opinion. The U.S. government and military also supplied Israel with arms and subsidized Israeli economic development. Many historians attribute the development of this special relationship to the power of the so-called Jewish lobby, which subsidized the political campaigns of members of the U.S. Congress.

### **The Six-Day War**

In 1964 Yasir Arafat formed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as an umbrella group to coordinate the activities of all Palestinian guerrilla bands. Increasing guerrilla attacks on targets inside Israel spurred increasing Israeli retaliatory attacks on suspected guerrilla outposts in Israel and in the refugee camps in neighboring countries. In 1967 military and civilian officials in Israel decided to eliminate at least some of the guerrilla bases by a surprise attack on neighboring Arab countries.

During the Six-Day War in 1967 Israeli military forces overwhelmingly defeated the armies of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon and occupied much strategic territory from which guerrillas had launched attacks against Israel. Israeli forces overran the Golan Heights on their border with Syria and Lebanon and occupied the Negev Desert on their border with Egypt.

The General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution denouncing the Israeli actions as aggression and declaring Zionism to be a form of racism. Despite an unprovoked Israeli attack on a U.S. naval vessel that killed thirty-four American sailors, only a U.S. veto in the Security Council prevented the United Nations from taking military action against Israel.

The Six-Day War shifted the locus of Palestinian guerrilla attacks to Israeli targets outside Israel. The new round of violence reached its zenith with the murder of eleven Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympics in Munich, West Germany. The cycle of violence, with the Israelis retaliating for Palestinian guerrilla attacks, continued until 1973, when an Arab oil embargo severely tested the relationship between the United States and Israel.

### **Yom Kippur War**

On the high Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur in 1973, Syria, Egypt, and Iraq launched a surprise attack of their own. The attack caught the Israeli military completely unawares, and the attackers destroyed most of the equipment of the Israeli army and air force at the very outset of hostilities. Only a massive effort sponsored by U.S. president Richard Nixon saved Israel from being completely defeated by the Arab states.

Nixon stripped U.S. military forces in Europe and the United States of much of their equipment and airlifted planes and tanks to Israel. The Israelis were able, with this aid, to fight off their attackers. The Arab states blamed the United States for their defeat and declared an embargo on oil shipments to the United States and its European allies.

The oil embargo created shortages of gasoline and fuel oil in the United States and Europe. For the first time, some U.S. Congressmen openly questioned the special relationship between Israel and the United States. The cycle of violence between Palestinians and Jews continued with guerrilla raids and attacks on refugee camps.

In 1978 U.S. president Jimmy Carter arranged what promised to be a breakthrough meeting between Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. Meeting at Camp David outside Washington, D.C., the two men reached

an agreement that established a lasting peace between Israel and Egypt.

The Israelis agreed to give up the territory they had conquered from Egypt during the Six-Day War in return for Egyptian recognition of the legitimacy of the state of Israel. Many people hoped at the time that the Camp David Accords would lead to similar arrangements with the other Arab nations, but this was not to be.

### **Invasion of Lebanon**

In 1982, following the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador to Britain, Israel invaded Lebanon. The Israeli government intended to destroy the power of the PLO in Lebanon, deprive it of its bases there, and drive Arafat out of the country or kill him.

The Israelis allied themselves with Maronite Christian militias in Lebanon, one of which perpetrated the mass murder of several hundred Palestinian refugees. Many people around the world blamed Israel for the massacre, and only another U.S. veto prevented the United Nations from intervening in the Israel-Lebanon conflict.

The Israelis succeeded in driving Arafat out of Lebanon. He moved his headquarters to Libya and continued to orchestrate ineffectual guerrilla raids against Israel. The Israeli government seemed to have achieved relative security without a peace settlement with the Arab states—other than Egypt—of the Middle East. In 1987, however, the Palestinian people began a revolt that eventually brought Arafat back and promised to end with the creation of a Palestinian state.

In the beginning the *Intifada*, as the Palestinians called their rebellion, took the form of Palestinian youths throwing rocks at Israeli soldiers and policemen. The rebellion was a grassroots, anti-Israeli, pro-Palestinian statehood movement with no leadership. As the years passed, a leadership for the movement did develop and coordinated other activities such as strikes and boycotts of Israeli products. The Israelis reacted to the rebellion with force, equipping their police and soldiers with plastic bullets, which were often fatal when used against Palestinian adolescents and even children. The death toll among Palestinians averaged about

one per day for the next two years. Israeli prestige abroad declined precipitously as television audiences around the world watched the escalating violence.

### **Persian Gulf War**

In 1991 Saddam Hussein's Iraqi military forces invaded and occupied the tiny Persian Gulf protectorate of Kuwait. U.S. president George Bush persuaded the United Nations to issue military sanctions against Hussein and organized an international military coalition against him. U.S.-led military forces quickly defeated the Iraqis, but not before Hussein had launched a number of missiles against Israel. The Israelis did not retaliate because they feared the reactions of the other Arab states and the Palestinians, who were solidly behind Hussein.

In 1993, faced with the continuing *Intifada*, hostile public opinion around the world, and increasing U.S. pressure, the Israelis at



One of the most sacred sites in Judaism, the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem's Old City is a remnant of an ancient temple. Many Jews make pilgrimage to Jerusalem in order to pray at the wall. (PhotoDisc)



last recognized the PLO and Arafat as the spokesman for the Palestinian people and opened negotiations. The Israeli government also allowed the creation of an entity called the Palestinian Authority (PA). They recognized Arafat as the head of the PA and began negotiations designed to eventually lead to the creation of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

In 1995 the representatives of Israel and the PA met in Oslo, Norway, to negotiate a timetable for the establishment of the Palestinian state. After the signing of the Oslo Accords, however, further progress toward a settlement of the Palestinian problem slowed to a crawl. In late 1998, Palestinians and Israelis did agree on a partial Israeli evacuation of the West Bank. Despite this evacuation of the West Bank, a final peace settlement seemed elusive. Hopes that such a settlement would be reached were dashed by the events of the early twenty-first century, when the country was plunged into a new cycle of violence.

### ***A New Intifada***

One of the major difficulties of the Palestinians and Israelis concerned the status of holy places. The Temple Mount in Jerusalem posed a particular problem. Arabs regarded this as the place at which Mohammad ascended to heaven. In the eyes of Jews, this was the site of the ancient Jewish temple. The disagreement resulted in a new Palestinian uprising after Ariel Sharon, leader of the Israeli opposition party, visited the Temple Mount on September 28, 2000. Palestinians reacted with protests and riots. When the Israeli military responded by attempting to put down the riots, the soldiers were met by stone-throwing youths. The militia of the Palestinian Authority became involved and fighting broke out between the Israelis and the lightly armed Palestinian forces. Palestinian civilians, including large numbers of children, were killed in the ensuing violence.

Israeli's relations with its Arab neighbors, which had been improving, worsened rapidly with international attention to Israeli attempts to suppress the new uprising. Within Israel, many citizens concluded that Prime Minister Ehud Barak's efforts at compromise and reconciliation had led only to intensified anti-Israeli

activity by Palestinians. Israeli voters responded on February 6, 2001, by electing as prime minister Ariel Sharon, whose visit to the Temple Mount had touched off the rebellion. Palestinian activists, in the wake of the election, turned to the devastating strategy of suicide bombings. Beginning in March, 2001, a series of suicide bombings staged chiefly by the Palestinian Hamas organization resulted in heavy and unpredictable loss of life among Israeli civilians. Israeli settlers in Palestinian areas were also ambushed and murdered.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, Yasir Arafat made an apparent attempt to bring the violence to a halt by declaring a cease-fire. However, American sympathy for Palestinians, which had been growing as the Israeli military cracked down on civilians, decreased sharply as a result of televised scenes of Palestinians cheering and celebrating the death and destruction in the United States. Arafat's cease-fire proved futile, because the suicide bombing continued. On October 17, 2001, the Israeli minister of tourism, Rehavam Ze'evi, was killed by Palestinians to retaliate for the earlier killing by Israelis of a Palestinian leader. Israeli forces responded by invading Bethlehem and other West Bank cities.

By September, 2002, two years after the beginning of the new *Intifada*, news sources reported that at least 1,537 Palestinians and 591 Israelis had been killed in the uprising. When the Palestinian Legislative Council met in the city of Ramallah in that month, their gathering was held in a city under Israeli military occupation, and the Israelis barred twelve Palestinian legislators from attending on the grounds that they were connected with terrorist activities. Israelis were living with the constant threat of terrorist bombings and nervousness over the consequences of a possible American invasion of Iraq. Palestinians, in turn, felt oppressed by the Israeli military and angry about Palestinian deaths.

As the suicide bombings continued into late 2002, the Israeli military moved into more Palestinian-controlled areas. As a result, anti-Israeli feelings grew more intense among the Palestinians and among sympathizers with the Palestinians around the world. Tensions in Israel also contributed to the mobilization of radical Islamic forces in other countries. In late November, 2002,

an Israeli-owned hotel in Kenya was destroyed by a car bomb, and an Israeli airliner taking off from a Kenyan airport came under missile attack. The al-Qaeda international terrorist network, or a group associated with it, was suspected of being behind the attacks.

*Paul Madden*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

The best account of the genesis, nature, and activities of the Zionist movement is Walter Laqueur's *A History of Zionism* (1972), which follows the history of the movement from its founding to the time of the book's publication. H. M. Sacher's *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* (1996) updates the story.

Linda Jacobs Altman's *The Creation of Israel* (1998) offers an account of the political maneuvering and political deals that surrounded the founding of the nation in 1948. It is written for younger readers. John W. Mulhall's *America and the Founding of Israel: An Investigation of the Morality of America's Role* (1995) is a critical evaluation of the role of the United States and the American Jewish community in the establishment of the Jewish state.

Don Peretz's *The Government and Politics of Israel* (1997) examines the functioning of the Israeli government and makes the complicated political interplay between the various factions within the Jewish community there understandable to most readers. Nassar Hasan Aruri's *The Obstruction of Peace: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians* (1995) gives a Palestinian view of the special relationship between the United States and Israel and its effects on the Middle Eastern peace process. Linda B. Miller offers a more balanced account of the complex issues involved in achieving peace in the Middle East in *Values in Conflict: America, Israel, and the Palestinians* (1990). The development of the special relationship between Israel and the United States is the subject of Edward Bernard Glick's *The Triangular Connection: America, Israel, and American Jews* (1982).

David Matasky presents a readable account of the peace process between the PLO and Israel in *Making Peace with the PLO: The Rabin Government's Road to the Oslo Accords* (1996). A collection of

essays edited by Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz, *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1965-1994* (1995) offers a more comprehensive account of the relationship between the Palestinians and Israel.

Israel's efforts to achieve peace are considered in Mordechai Gazit's *Israeli Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace* (2002). The difficult issue of reconciling the identity of Israel as a Jewish state with democratic government is discussed in *Israel: Challenges to Identity, Democracy and the State* (2002), by Clive Jones and Emma C. Murphy. *Sharon: Israel's Warrior Politician* (2002), by Anita Miller, Jordan Miller, and Sigalit Zetouni, was the first full biography in English of the man who pushed Israeli national policy in a new direction. The book concentrates on the 1990's and early twenty-first century.

# JAPAN

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*Since the 1980's Japan has had the world's second-largest economy. The economic health of the United States and Japan, as major trading partners, is inextricably bound together, although the relationship has, at times, been stormy. During the 1990's Japan experienced severe economic problems, caused in part by attempts to maintain an inefficient and corrupt system of entanglement between industry and government that no longer functioned in a global marketplace. Japan's chronic trade surpluses, accumulated by the double standard of prohibiting or limiting imports while taking advantage of open markets in other countries, has been an ongoing issue with the United States for many decades. By the late 1990's, because of financial problems and poor rice harvests, Japan had begun to accept some previously banned imports. Although Japan is one of the world's safest countries, the terrorist violence manifested during the 1990's undermined citizens' normally complacent expectations of social peace and security.*

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Japan is an island nation in the Pacific Ocean off the east coast of mainland Asia. It consists of four main islands—Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu—and many smaller islands. Tokyo, Japan's capital city, is located on Honshu. Japan is separated from Russia and North and South Korea to the west by the Sea of Japan and from the People's Republic of China to the southwest by the East China Sea.

Japan's total land area is 145,882 square miles, about the size of the state of California. Its estimated population of 127 million people is approximately one-half the population of the United States. Approximately 70 percent of Japan's land is mountainous and undeveloped, while 27 percent is used for agriculture. Therefore, 96 percent of the people are forced to live in crowded conditions on the remaining 3 percent of the land, an industrialized region running from Tokyo to Osaka.

## Early History

From prehistory through the third century C.E. Japan was an

agricultural society made up of many small, independent countries. These eventually consolidated into a single nation ruled by a succession of emperors who claimed to be divine descendants of the Sun God.

The feudal system became firmly entrenched during the eighth century. The nobility took possession of the land and amassed great fortunes by exploiting the peasants. Because this system was unstable, the nobles established the samurai warrior class to repress the farmers. By the end of the twelfth century the samurai had amassed enough power to become the rulers of Japan. When the military government collapsed in the mid-fourteenth century, a 250-year period of civil war ensued as various families struggled to seize power.

In 1600 a brilliant general named Ieyasu Tokugawa subdued his rivals, unified the chaos, and, while paying lip service to the emperor, declared himself the supreme shogun (military leader) of Japan. He initiated an era of peace by imposing a repressive feudal government. His progeny ruled for eight generations. The country was united, and society was stable. Although the peasants were poor, they were content.

Having achieved peace and secured power, the shogun closed the borders of Japan. Missionaries were expelled or executed. Native Japanese were not allowed to leave, foreign visitors were

## Profile of Japan

*Official name:* Japan

*Independent since:* 660 B.C.E.

*Location:* East Asia, east of Korea

*Area:* 145,882 square miles

*Capital:* Tokyo

*Population:* 126.97 million (2002 est.)

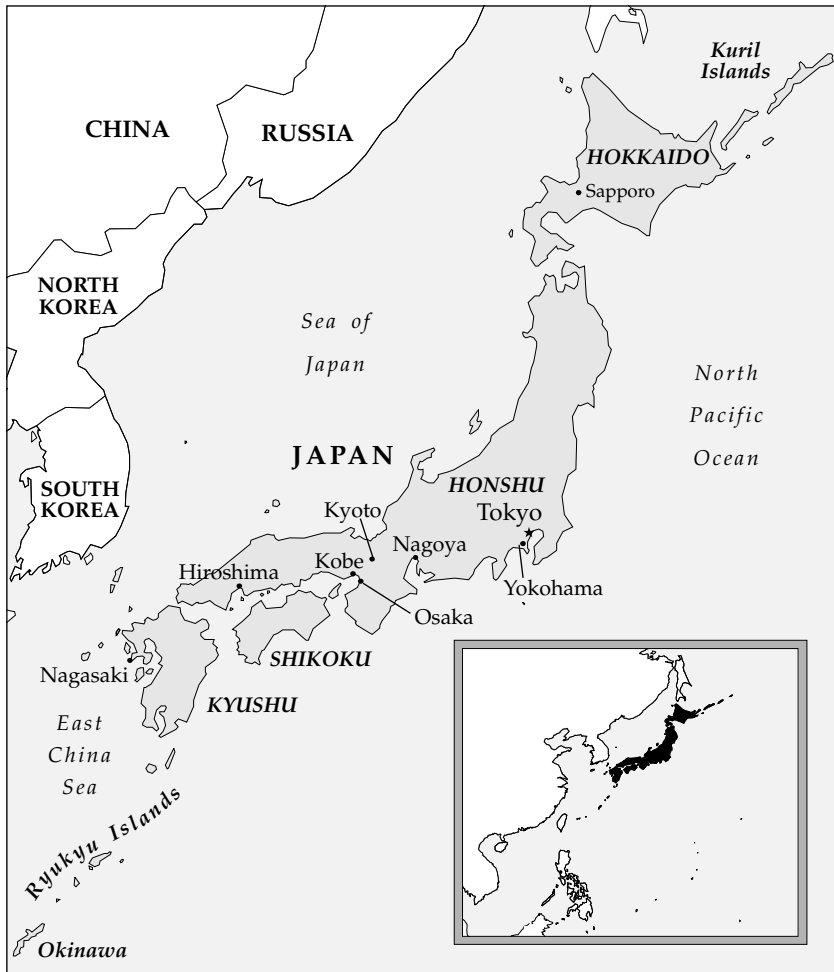
*Official language:* Japanese

*Major religions:* Shintoism; Buddhism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$3.45 trillion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* electrical machinery; motor vehicles; chemicals; scientific and optical equipment

*Military expenditures:* US\$40.9 billion (2001)



prohibited, and trade with other countries was severely restricted. For the next 250 years Japan dedicated its creative energies to refining artistic pursuits while ignoring science. While Japan stagnated technologically, the Industrial Revolution was taking Europe by storm.

In 1853 U.S. warships commanded by Commodore Matthew Perry steamed into Tokyo Bay. The advanced state of Western technology and artillery intimidated the one million occupants of Tokyo. Severely embarrassed, the Japanese realized that in a skirmish their primitive armaments would be completely ineffective.

The ships, however, had come not to invade, but to force Japan into establishing trade relations with the United States. After one year of negotiations, a treaty was approved. Japan reluctantly entered the industrial age.

In 1868, one year after the last Tokugawa shogun abdicated, a new emperor was declared the one true divine ruler of all Japan. As a means of dramatically manifesting his break with the past, Emperor Meiji left the imperial grounds in Kyoto and moved to Tokyo, the new capital.

Emperor Meiji single-handedly brought Japan out of the feudal past and into the modern world with surprisingly little social turmoil. Castes were outlawed, lands were relinquished, the samurai class was abolished, and scholars were sent to Western nations to study. A universal educational system, based on the American model, was established. For the first time Japanese people could choose their profession and live where they wished.

Remembering the humiliation of 1853, Japan resolved to construct a military force that would make it the military lord of the East. Every school became a military training camp, and a system of universal conscription was established. In the early years of the twentieth century, Japan ended European rule in the East by defeating Russia and annexing Korea.

## **Twentieth Century**

Assisted by foreign experts, Japan leaped from a feudal society to an industrialized nation in a few decades. Having the advantages of beginning with modern equipment and loyally submissive laborers, commerce flourished and wealth accumulated. As technology developed, Japan continued to expand its sphere of influence in Asia.

By the 1930's the nation was wholeheartedly committed to a myopic, nationalistic self-interest, thus setting the stage for entering World War II. An intense race between Japan and the Western nations had arisen as each attempted to maintain their foreign interests. In 1941, when sanctions were taken against Japanese trade, Japan felt compelled to retaliate by attacking the U.S. military base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, thus entering World War II against the United States.



On August 14, 1945, the emperor of Japan announced by radio broadcast that the war had been lost. Soon thereafter U.S. military forces occupied Japan and installed a democratic form of government. The emperor, who proclaimed himself not divine, was retained as a figurehead ruler. Japan's existing political system was utilized to help save resources and help the country recover from the devastation of war as quickly as possible. The program was extraordinarily successful because of the ability of the Japanese to quickly abandon a futile course of action and launch themselves in other directions. They accepted defeat, renounced military power, and strove to become a peaceful and respected member of the world community.

In the decade preceding Pearl Harbor, Japan had invested one-half of its national income in armaments. When the occupation outlawed the military, Japanese discipline and the growing economy helped set the stage for economic recovery. During the seven years of occupation, the United States gave financial and economic support to help Japan rebuild. Because the United States had taken on the responsibility of defending Japan, the Japanese could concentrate their energies on building the economy.

By 1960 Japan had embarked on the course that would eventually be known as the "economic miracle." By 1980 Japan's economy was second in the world after the United States. By 1990 the economic miracle had converted Japan into a peaceful, prosperous, and democratic society. The alliance with the United States, however, had not been altogether blissful. During the 1980's trade disputes and friction concerning finance became major obstacles to U.S.-Japanese harmony.

### **Economic Crisis**

The term "Japan, Inc." has been used to refer to the cooperative relationship among Japanese industry, bureaucracy, and politicians that helped fuel the nation's economic boom. Under this system, allied banks, brokerage houses, insurance firms, manufacturers, and trading houses all took care of each other. During Japan's remarkable rise from postwar ruin, this cooperative spirit worked wonders. Economically strong members of an industrial family helped weaker ones. Japan's system of guaranteed life-

time employment offered employees great security. When economic downturns did occur, the risk was distributed, keeping the overall economy sound.

By the 1980's Japan had accumulated, through decades of selling more to foreign countries than it bought, a huge reserve of capital. Some of this excess money was used to buy foreign real estate and foreign companies. The rest was used to increase the price of stocks and real estate in Japan. However, the massive trade surplus encouraged unwise, speculative investments. During the late 1980's billions of dollars were lost by the Japanese because of imprudent investments in the United States. In the early 1990's the bottom also dropped out of Tokyo's real estate and stock markets, causing the banks to stop making new loans and to call in outstanding loans.

By 1997 many banks were perilously close to lacking enough money to pay their depositors. Without new loans to businesses, the economy ground to a halt. Under state mandate, banks had been channeling money to major industries to avoid layoffs and provide a safety net for thousands of unnecessary employees.

The system that had worked during Japan's rapid growth began to falter in an increasingly global economy. Japan's system of state-directed capitalism designed to protect jobs, maintain economic stability, and avoid major policy changes could not be maintained indefinitely. The "cooperative spirit" often led to cronyism and corruption, and "spreading the risk" meant concealing unsound business decisions to sidestep failure. The Japanese system kept unprofitable businesses solvent and needed capital away from entrepreneurs.

By the mid-1990's it became apparent that many banks had accumulated too many bad debts to continue supporting unprofitable companies. For years the United States had been urging the Japanese government to cease propping up troubled financial institutions and let the free market prevail. Japan did that in late 1997 when it allowed a giant securities firm and three other financial institutions to fail, casting 15,000 people out of work.

The Japanese were shocked when it became known that even the banking system was shaky. They began reducing unnecessary

spending, increasing personal savings, and storing their money in safes. When the Japanese curtailed their buying, the economic engine stalled. In a domino effect, business sagged, salaries dropped, inventory remained unsold, manufacturing output decreased, and bankruptcies increased. The problems in Japan also affected its Asian neighbors, who counted on Japan to buy their goods and help alleviate their own financial doldrums. Although the economy of Japan began to improve somewhat in 1999, the recovery was slow and it virtually ceased with the global economic downturn in 2002.

### **Trade Conflicts**

Rice has been cultivated in Japan for over two thousand years. It is a link to Japan's rapidly vanishing agrarian past and an important attribute of self-sufficiency. Rice is so much a part of the

## **Japan Time Line**

- 1630 Japan closes its ports to foreigners.
- 1853 (July) U.S. commodore Perry steams into Tokyo Bay to open trade relations.
- 1868-1912 Meiji era transforms country.
- 1894-1895 Japan takes Taiwan and southern Manchuria from China in Sino-Japanese War.
- 1905 Japan wins war against Russia, is granted supremacy over Korea, and expands economically in Manchuria.
- 1928 Japan seizes China's Shandong province.
- 1931-1932 Japan seizes Manchuria and installs former Chinese emperor Pu Yi as president of its puppet state, Manchuko.
- 1937 (July) Second Sino-Japanese war begins.
- 1939 Government takes legal control of rice distribution.
- 1941 (Dec. 7) Japan brings United States into World War II by attacking U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.
- 1945 (Aug.) After United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Emperor Hirohito goes on radio to announce that Japan has lost the war; U.S. occupation begins.
- 1952 U.S. occupation of Japan ends.
- 1956 Japan is admitted to United Nations.
- 1960 Japanese demonstrate against continuation of Mutual Security Treaty with United States.

culture that the same Japanese word is used for both rice and for meals. However, to Japan's trading partners, rice had been a long-standing symbol of protectionism and trade restrictions.

Because rice assumes such an important role in Japan, rice agriculture is a complex phenomena. Both the farmland and the rice are subsidized, and the price is set by the government. This situation is unparalleled in the world. During the 1960's the price of rice was artificially boosted on several occasions to raise farmers' income to the level of urban workers. Although originally used to protect consumers, the rice regulations doubly rewarded farmers during a time of rapid economic growth. Some farmers even became billionaires by selling their land, which was subsidized by urban taxes, at what seemed to be stupendously high prices. Many urbanites, however, could not afford to purchase even a small plot of land for a house.

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|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1976 | Lockheed scandal rocks Japan.                                                                                                  |
| 1980 | Japanese automobile production exceeds that of United States.                                                                  |
| 1989 | Widespread economic problems begin to develop.                                                                                 |
| 1989 | (Jan. 7) Hirohito dies.                                                                                                        |
| 1990 | (Oct. 21) Taiwan and Japan clash over uninhabited Senkaku (or Diayoutai) Island, which is claimed by China, Taiwan, and Japan. |
| 1991 | (Mar. 25) Japan offers to buy back Kurile Islands it lost to Soviet Union in World War II.                                     |
| 1992 | (Sept. 13) Russian president Boris Yeltsin visits Japan and promises to return Kurile Islands to Japan.                        |
| 1993 | Rice ban is temporarily lifted due to poor harvest.                                                                            |
| 1995 | Japan reopens many previously closed markets to U.S. commodities, including rice.                                              |
| 1995 | (Mar. 20) Deadly nerve gas released in Tokyo's subways kills 12 persons and injures more than 5,500 others.                    |
| 1996 | (Aug. 30) China protests Japanese Youth Federation's building of lighthouse and memorial on Sekaku Island.                     |
| 1996 | (Oct. 10) Taiwan and China clash with Japanese navy over disputed island.                                                      |
| 1997 | (Nov.) Three major financial institutions are allowed to go bankrupt.                                                          |
| 1998 | (Jan. 12) Government officially expresses "deep remorse" for mistreatment of British prisoners during World War II.            |

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Meanwhile, less costly foreign rice had been banned for hundreds of years. In 1986 the U.S. Rice Millers Association filed a petition with the U.S. Trade Office in Washington, D.C. They demanded retaliatory measures against Japan if the ban on American rice was not lifted. Japan's continued reluctance to import rice was based on the position that less expensive foreign rice would make the nation dependent on other countries for its most important food staple.

The problem was not just that the trade barriers raised the price of rice. With flat land in Japan at a premium, rice farms tied up space that could be used as affordable land for housing. The government was aware that protecting rice farms was a drag on the economy but was intimidated by the political clout of the rice farmers. Therefore, they hesitated to change the rules. However, an exceptionally cool and wet summer growing season

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### **Japan Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1998 (Jan. 22) Australia bans Japanese fishing boats from its waters.
  - 1998 (Jan. 23) Japan unilaterally withdraws from 1965 fishing-rights treaty with South Korea.
  - 1998 (Jan. 28) Finance Minister Hiroshi Mitsuzuka announces he will resign after accepting responsibility for corruption scandal in his ministry.
  - 1998 (Feb. 6) Governor of Okinawa announces his opposition to U.S.-Japanese plan to build offshore U.S. helicopter base.
  - 1998 (Apr. 18) Russian president Boris Yeltsin pays state visit to Japan.
  - 1998 (May 1) After government announces highest unemployment rate (3.9 percent) since 1953, hundreds of thousands of workers and unemployed persons stage protest demonstration in Tokyo.
  - 1998 (May 25) Emperor Akihito's visit to London is interrupted by British veterans who were Japanese prisoners during World War II who demand formal Japanese apology, as well as financial compensation.
  - 1998 (May 30) Social Democratic Party and New Party Sakigake announce they will withdraw from ruling coalition led by Liberal Democratic Party.
  - 1998 (July 13) Premier Ryutaro Hashimoto announces he will resign after his Liberal Democratic Party suffers setback in legislative elections.
  - 1998 (Aug. 31) North Korea test-fires missile in direction of Japan, provoking widespread international condemnation.
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caused an unusually poor rice harvest in 1993. Japan was temporarily forced to suspend the rice ban and import 220,000 tons to supplement the harvest. Late in the same year trade negotiators agreed to open the domestic market to small amounts of foreign rice.

In 1994 Japan agreed, under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), to purchase 4 percent of its rice from foreign sources. The percentage was to increase by 1 percent per year until the year 2000. In 1996 51 percent of Japan's imported rice came from the United States. Japanese consumers, being connoisseurs of rice, were dissatisfied with the taste and stickiness of some varieties.

In 1995 further progress was made in trade negotiations between Japan and the United States. Deals to open Japan's closed markets on apples, copper, construction, insurance, government

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- 1998 (Nov.) Jian Zemin is first president of People's Republic of China to visit Japan.
  - 1998 (Nov. 11) Keizo Obuchi becomes first Japanese premier to pay official visit to Russia in twenty-five years.
  - 1999 (Jan. 14) Ruling Liberal Democratic Party and smaller Liberal Party form coalition government with Obuchi continuing as prime minister.
  - 1999 (Apr. 11) Nationalist politician Shintaro Ishihara is elected governor of Tokyo as an independent candidate.
  - 2000 (Apr. 2) Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi suffers a stroke and goes into a coma; the Diet approves Liberal Democratic Party leader Yoshiro Mori as prime minister.
  - 2001 (Feb.) U.S. submarine *Greeneville* accidentally rams and sinks a Japanese fishing boat, killing teachers and students from a fisheries high school.
  - 2001 (Apr. 6-26) Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori resigns; Junichiro Koizumi becomes prime minister.
  - 2001 (Aug. 13) Prime Minister Koizumi visits the Yasukuni Shrine to the Japanese war, angering countries that were occupied by Japan during World War II.
  - 2002 (Aug.) Court in Tokyo rejects claims for compensation by 180 Chinese who say that their relatives were victims of Japanese germ warfare during World War II.
  - 2002 (Sept.) Prime Minister Koizumi goes to North Korea to meet with Kim Jong Il, who admits that North Korea kidnapped Japanese citizens during the 1970's and 1980's.
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procurement, and medical and telecommunications equipment were struck. Progress was also made toward increasing the number of foreign autos that could be imported into Japan.

### **Political Corruption**

During the 1970's Japan's successful economic growth enabled the country to increasingly emphasize manufacturing high-tech items such as electronic devices. As the yen grew stronger against foreign currencies, Japan's chronic trade imbalance, particularly with the United States, increased. Foreign companies, attempting to win contracts in Japan, opened offices in Tokyo.

The strong link between business and government made corruption almost inevitable. In 1976 it was learned that millions of dollars from Lockheed Aircraft Corp., an American company, had been used to corrupt high-level Japanese government officials. Among those indicted was Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. In 1983 he was found guilty of accepting about US\$2 million to promote the sale of Lockheed aircraft in Japan.

A blatant example of Japan's intricate network of political corruption, termed "crony capitalism," is the construction industry. As one of Japan's largest industries, construction accounts for 10 percent of all jobs. However, the construction industry is tied to the political system in a tangled network of kickbacks, bribery, and other dishonest practices. Politicians channel taxpayers' money into their districts for construction projects. In turn, the construction companies kick cash back to the politicians.

Many construction industry executives and government officials were arrested in 1994 when a large construction scandal was uncovered. However, little changed in the ensuing years. The pervasive cronyism and corruption bred a national public works addiction that filled the country with costly bridges, dams, tunnels, and exorbitantly expensive housing.

A primary reason for the high cost of construction in Japan is bid rigging: Companies consult with one another and prearrange the bid winner and the price. Insiders who advocate this system claim that it allows every company to get a fair share of the money and spreads the pain during hard times. The construction companies are, in turn, expected to kick back 2 or 3 percent of

their contract awards to the politicians who had the money appropriated. Likewise, influential bureaucrats are often rewarded with lucrative jobs at construction companies, where they become strong advocates for the firm with Construction Ministry officials.

Under such a system, inefficient and uncompetitive construction companies have no incentive to reform, and politicians have no incentive to reform them. Construction companies are often asked to provide jobs for a politician's constituents. The companies comply because bid rigging yields enough extra money to support many unnecessary workers. Attempts at reform generally fail because the Construction Ministry wields great power. Also, voters seem unperturbed about corruption and cronyism. Many politicians caught in scandals have been reelected. The system, though corrupt, also tends to reinforce the Japanese view that social harmony is best preserved when everyone gets a fair share of the pie.

In 1997 pressure from global financial institutions who ignored Japan's heavily regulated and corrupt financial market caused the government to deregulate the finance industry. Insolvent banks were forced to close, and many inefficient construction companies were forced into bankruptcy.

### **Terrorist Violence**

On March 20, 1995, a deadly nerve gas released in Tokyo's subways killed 12 people and injured more than 5,500 others. The terrorist attack was bungled. Had the bombing been carried out competently, the death toll might have exceeded 10,000. Nevertheless, Japan was shocked. By its own reckoning it had achieved prosperity without the attendant violence and social decay that plagued the United States.

Although Tokyo is one of the world's largest cities, it had long been considered one of the safest. The violent crimes that plague most of the world's other large cities were almost nonexistent, and terrorism perpetrated by a Japanese citizen was unthinkable. Thus, when it was discovered that the subway crime was perpetrated by Shoko Asahara, the apocalyptic guru of the Aum Shinrikyo (Supreme Truth) cult, the country was shocked.



Related terrorist events soon followed. On March 30, 1995, the chief of Japan's national police agency was shot outside his home. On May 5 a hydrogen-cyanide gas bomb was discovered in a rest room before it detonated. On May 15 a bomb exploded at Tokyo's main airport.

In late May of that year, Asahara and thirty-three of his followers, discovered in hiding, were arrested and indicted as the perpetrators of the subway killings. An attempted retaliation followed on June 21 when a group of his followers hijacked a Japanese jet with 365 people on board and threatened mayhem unless Asahara was released. In mid-July cult members allegedly planted two cyanide gas bombs in Tokyo subway stations. Neither bomb detonated properly, and there were no injuries.

By October police had extracted Asahara's confessions to the subway attacks as well as several other crimes. By this time 177 members of the cult had been indicted. In April, 1996, the cult leader was brought to court for trial on seventeen charges, including murder. Because justice in complicated cases tends to be extremely slow, it was believed that the Asahara trial would continue for at least a decade. Since 99 percent of all criminal defendants in Japan are convicted, however, the outcome was virtually assured. The sentence was expected to be death by hanging.

During the early 1990's more than twenty corporate executives were murdered, many by professional hit men, for various business "mistakes" supposedly perpetrated by their companies. In February, 1998, on the eve of the Nagano Winter Olympic Games, the leftist Revolutionary Workers Association lobbed three homemade rockets into a cargo plane area of Tokyo's main airport. Although damage was minimal, the group claimed they had defeated Olympic security and had made a statement against Japan's military alliance with the United States.

Despite these isolated incidents, Japan remains one of the safest countries in the world. The incidents of terrorism have been few, and their impact has been minimal. However, any large metropolitan area is vulnerable to attack by terrorists who have access to weapons of mass destruction and no qualms about using them.



*Tokyo, Japan's capital and largest city. (PhotoDisc)*

Japan entered the twenty-first century as a nation that still had a highly developed economy and a comparatively stable political environment. Nevertheless, it was troubled by new domestic political uncertainties, by complicated relations with the United States, and by the continuing heritage of Japan's role in World War II.

The Liberal Democratic Party, which had ruled Japan since the end of the American occupation, remained in power but its hold was weaker than it had been earlier. Candidates from new political parties increasingly challenged the LDP. On April 11, 1999, Shintaro Ishihara, a nationalist politician and co-author of a nationalist tract titled "The Japan That Can Say No," was elected governor of Tokyo as an independent candidate. Among other controversial positions that he held, Ishihara argued for changing the Japanese constitution to make it possible to build up the nation's armed forces and obtain nuclear weapons.

A series of prime ministers followed in fairly rapid succession as the twentieth century neared its end. On April 2, 2000, Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi, who had been elected in 1998, suffered a stroke; he died six weeks later. While Obuchi lay in a coma, the Japanese Diet, the legislative assembly, approved the Liberal Democratic Party's Yoshiro Mori as the new prime minister. However, Mori rapidly became known for making provocative remarks and was seen as doing little to improve the country's economic situation. With growing opposition, Mori announced his resignation on April 6, 2001, and was replaced by Junichiro Koizumi on April 26 of that year.

The economic disputes with the United States, Japan's chief ally, were aggravated by a series of mishaps and controversies. Nationalists such as Shintaro Ishihara advocated the reduction of U.S. military forces in Japan. American military bases were also unpopular with many of those who lived around the bases. Opposition to the American military presence increased when, in 2001, several American servicemen in Okinawa were accused of sexual harassment and rape in a number of incidents. American-Japanese relations were also troubled after an American navy submarine, the USS *Greeneville*, accidentally rammed and sank a Japanese fishing boat in February, 2001, killing teachers and students from a Japanese fisheries school.

Six decades after World War II, Japan had still not managed to put the legacy of the war behind it. Japan and Russia had still not concluded a formal peace treaty at the opening of the twenty-first century. Russia continued to occupy the islands north of Japan known as the Kuril Islands and talks between the two nations had not resolved the issue of sovereignty over these territories.

Many of the nations that had been occupied by Japan during the war complained that Japan refused to pay compensation and that Japan had not expressed adequate regret for the women of Korea, China, the Philippines, and other nations who had been forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial forces. Japan's neighbors were outraged in 2001 when the government in Tokyo approved a history textbook that gave a positive view of Japan's colonial rule of Korea and parts of China. The Asian countries that had been occupied by Japan were angered once

more when Prime Minister Koizumi visited the Yasukuni Shrine to the Japanese war dead on August 13, 2001. Among others, the shrine honored several Japanese leaders who had been executed as war criminals.

G. R. Plitnik

*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

A general resource that covers Japanese history from its beginnings through the 1990's is Conrad Schirokauer's *A Brief History of Japanese Civilization* (1993). *Japan: A Modern History* (2001), by James L. McClain, is a well-written history of Japan from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the twentieth century. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (2002), by Andrew Gordon, looks at the changes in Japanese society and politics over the course of the last two centuries. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (2000), by John W. Dower, is an indispensable work on Japan during the American occupation after the war. *Japan: A Postindustrial Power* (1991), by Ardath Burks, details Japan's modernization with special emphasis on contemporary society and politics. The importance of rice to Japanese self-identity is explained by Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney in *Rice as Self* (1993).

Once thought to be an economic powerhouse, Japan was having trouble adjusting its economy to the pressures of the twenty-first century. Edward J. Lincoln's *Arthritic Japan: The Slow Pace of Economic Reform* (2001) concludes that Japan's economic stagnation is likely to continue and that its politics will become increasingly nationalistic as a result. *Japan's Economic Dilemma: The Institutional Origins of Prosperity and Stagnation* (2001), by Bai Gao, looks at how the Japanese economic system created a bubble in the 1980's that afterward led to an economic slump.

A free monthly magazine, *Japan Now*, which summarizes contemporary happenings in Japan, is available from the Japan Information and Culture Center, a subdivision of the Embassy of Japan in Washington, D.C. An excellent means of comparing Japan to the United States is the book *U.S. and Japan in Figures* (1991), published by the Japan External Trade Organization. Over one

hundred different aspects of the two countries are compared, with easy-to-interpret data.

The most important Internet sources about Japan are the prime minister's office at <http://www.kantei.go.jp/index-e.html>; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at <http://www.ntts.co.jp/infomofa>; and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry at <http://www.miti.go.jp/index-e.html>.

## KOREA

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*Historically a unified East Asian kingdom, Korea spent the early twentieth century under Japanese rule. After regaining its independence, it was divided—against its own peoples' will—into separate nations. Marxist-ruled North Korea allied with the Communist bloc nations, while capitalist South Korea allied with democratically ruled capitalist nations. The sharp ideological distinctions separating the two Koreas, as well as growing disparities in the wealth of the two nations, created dangerous and lasting strains. The Cold War that once divided Eastern Europe from the Western world ended in the early 1990's with the collapse of the Soviet Union. In Korea, however, the Cold War continued uninterrupted.*

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**A** mountainous country in East Asia, Korea is a peninsula that extends from the northeastern corner of China toward the southern tip of Japan. This peninsula separates the China and Yellow Seas to the west, from the Sea of Japan to the east. Korea shares a long border with China and a shorter border with Russia to the north. It is separated from Japan by a hundred miles of open sea. Since the early 1950's the peninsula has been politically divided between North and South Korea, which meet at the line of 38 degrees north latitude (approximately the same latitude as Washington, D.C.). At the beginning of the twenty-first century an estimated 22 million people lived in North Korea and 48 million people lived in South Korea.

While the collapse of Eastern European communism greatly diminished the danger of an East-West war, Korea has remained a dangerous flashpoint that threatens the peace of the world as a whole. The basis for this danger lies in the modern history of Korea. Wherever nations have been divided—as in Germany, Vietnam, and China—great tensions have existed. When Korea was divided in 1945, at the end of World War II, similar tensions arose there. The peoples of North and South Korea share a common history and cultural heritage, and most Koreans in both nations want their homeland to be reunited. However, leaders of both of

the national governments want Korean reunification on their own terms.

Each side has been guided by opposing ideological systems that have heightened tensions. North Korea (officially called the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) adopted communism as its ideology after World War II. Under North Korean government, only one official political party, the Korean Workers' Party, is allowed, and the government is expected to make all major economic decisions.

In sharp contrast, the government of South Korea (officially the Republic of Korea) adopted an anticommunist, democratic political ideology and made capitalism its economic policy. Despite these ideological differences, however, both governments evolved into authoritarian dictatorships. It was not until the late 1980's that South Korea started to become a truly free democratic country.

### Early History

In earlier times, Korea borrowed much from China including elements of the Chinese language, the philosophy of Confucianism, and the religion of Buddhism. However, while Korea shares many cultural traits with China, its own culture is a distinct and

## Profile of South Korea

*Official name:* Republic of Korea

*Independent since:* 1948

*Former colonial ruler:* Japan

*Location:* East Asia, southern half of Korean Peninsula

*Area:* 38,023 square miles

*Capital:* Seoul

*Population:* 48.3 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Korean

*Major religions:* Christianity; Buddhism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$865 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* machinery and transport equipment; manufactured goods; chemicals; mineral fuels

*Military expenditures:* US\$12.8 billion (2000)

## Profile of North Korea

*Official name:* Democratic People's Republic of Korea

*Independent since:* 1948

*Former colonial ruler:* Japan

*Location:* East Asia, northern half of Korean Peninsula

*Area:* 46,541 square miles

*Capital:* Pyongyang

*Population:* 22.2 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Korean

*Major religions:* Atheism; Ch'ongdogyo; traditional beliefs

*Gross domestic product:* US\$21.8 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* minerals; metal products; cement; agricultural products

*Military expenditures:* US\$5 billion-\$5.1 billion (2001)

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separate one that has developed over the centuries. Korea has its own entirely distinct spoken and written language, as well as its own clothing, housing styles, foods, and traditions. For centuries, Korea served as a kind of cultural bridge, transmitting ideas across the sea to Japan.

Equally important, Korea has also been ruled by a unified state system since 662 C.E. It is thus a country that has existed in its present form, more or less, longer than thirteen hundred years. Through those centuries, Korea had political dynasties, like China, and was ruled over by kings. The last Korean dynasty, the Yi, or Choson, Dynasty, lasted from 1392 until 1910.

Because Korea was a comparatively small country surrounded by larger powers, it often experienced foreign invasion. Perhaps the most devastating invasion occurred during the 1590's, when Japan invaded Korea. Although the Japanese were eventually driven out, Korea was left devastated. Afterward, many Koreans distrusted the Japanese, fearing that Japan still wanted to take over Korea.

Because it feared foreign invasion, Korea adopted a policy of isolation, hoping this policy would protect it from future invasion. As a result, Korea entered the modern era of the nineteenth



century with little knowledge of the outside world. It knew especially little about the Western world, which had become more powerful and imperialistic in recent centuries. As other countries became stronger, Korea became weaker.

### Korea and Japan

Korea's big island neighbor, Japan, decided to copy the Western countries, such as Great Britain and the United States, by building up its economic and military power. As Japanese power increased through the use of Western techniques, Korea's weakness appeared to threaten Japan's security. Korea was perceived as an inviting target for countries that Japan regarded as enemies.



The Japanese thought that Korea's reliance upon Chinese ideas contributed to its weakness. From 1894 to 1895, Japan fought and defeated China to remove its influence from Korea.

With Chinese influence removed, Japan hoped that Korea would become strong and independent and not a security threat. However, Korea turned increasingly to Russia for protection—a move that Japan saw as threatening. In 1904-1905 Japan defeated Russia in a war motivated by its desire to keep Russian influence out of Korea. After fighting two wars over Korea, Japan concluded it had to control Korea itself to safeguard its own security. It hoped to lead Korea on the same path to modernization and Westernization that it had followed itself. To that end, Japan made Korea a protectorate in 1905. Five years later, Japan annexed Korea, ending centuries of Korean dynastic rule and political independence.

### **Colonial Period**

From 1910 until the end of World War II, Korea suffered under Japanese colonial rule. Never fully accepting the Japanese occupation, Koreans constantly struggled to regain their independence. Their struggle involved such nationalist leaders as Syngman Rhee, who lived in Hawaii for many years, and U.S. aid to get Japan out of Korea.

Other nationalist figures included Kim Il-sung, who attempted to fight Japan by military means from his base in China. This nationalist movement was not successful in dislodging Japan, however. What finally got Japan out of Korea was the Allies defeating Japan in World War II. When Japan surrendered in August, 1945, the entire nation of Korea rejoiced because they assumed that their liberation was imminent. However, Korean jubilation was short-lived.

As World War II drew to a close, the victorious Allies for the first time turned their attention toward what should be done about Japan's colonies, including Korea. The United States, feeling that the Koreans were not prepared for independence, proposed that the Allies govern Korea under an international trusteeship until the country was ready for full independence. The other allies agreed.

At the Cairo Conference in 1943, it was declared that Korea would, "in due course," become free and independent. The wording of this resolution puzzled Koreans. They had been free and independent for centuries prior to their annexation by Japan in 1910. They could not understand why the United States thought that they were unprepared for immediate independence.

After Japan surrendered, the Allies had to make another decision regarding Korea: how to administer the Japanese surrender and physically remove Japanese nationals from Korea. To facilitate these tasks, the United States proposed—and the Soviet Union accepted—that Korea be temporarily divided at the 38th parallel of latitude. The U.S. armed forces would then disarm the Japanese in the southern part of the peninsula, while Soviet troops did the same in the northern half. This division was meant to be only temporary, to facilitate the surrender of the Japanese. Afterward, the United States and the Soviet Union would help prepare a unified Korean administration under the trusteeship proposal.

### **Postwar Occupation**

When U.S. and Soviet representatives entered Korea they found that the Korean people were already preparing to resume governing their own country. The Koreans had established "People's Committees" throughout the peninsula to retake the reins of power. Their platform, popular with most of the Korean people, was to punish those Koreans who had collaborated with the Japanese during the colonial period and to divide the land of large estates among the poor and landless peasants.

In the northern half of Korea—the zone occupied by the Soviet Red Army—People's Committees carried out their program with little interference. As a result, collaborators fled, landlords lost their land, and leftist, or communist, ideas were allowed to flourish. The Soviet Union wanted to rebuild a Korea that shared its own socialist values, or one that was, at least, not antagonistic to them. In this sense, the Soviet Union hoped that Korea might act as a buffer state between it and noncommunist nations, just as Eastern European nations were to act as buffer states protecting the Soviet Union from Western Europe.

In addition to these political and economic changes, the Soviet army brought with it a number of Korean guerrilla fighters, including Kim Il-sung, who had fought against the Japanese in China for many years. A communist, Kim quickly became the most important political figure in northern Korea.

In southern Korea, the zone occupied by the American army, the People's Committees were viewed with suspicion. Many Americans, both in the army and in Washington, thought that the committees were dominated by communists. World communism had become the main enemy of the United States after the defeat of Germany and Japan. The United States was determined to "contain" communism, which appeared to be headquartered in the Soviet Union. This was the beginning of what would be called the Cold War. It appeared to many that northern Korea was falling under the domination of the Soviet Union and communism.

The American occupation forces in southern Korea viewed the Soviet Union with suspicion; they ordered the People's Committees to disband. Politically conservative ideas, programs, and political figures then gained the upper hand. Big landlords were allowed to keep their land, and Koreans who had collaborated with the Japanese were left unpunished. When the conservative nationalist figure Syngman Rhee arrived in South Korea from Washington, he quickly became the dominant political figure there.

### **Cold War in Korea**

As the so-called Cold War between the communist Soviet Union and the United States deepened, Korea became one of the first casualties. Northern Korea moved toward the left, while the southern half moved toward the right. This development posed a problem because the United States and the Soviet Union, when they had been allies against Japan, had agreed that Korea's division would be only temporary. However, it increasingly appeared to Koreans that reunification was becoming more difficult because of the clash of Soviet and U.S. ideologies.

From the perspective of the United States, it appeared that if Korea were reunited, communist-inspired People's Committees would reappear, and that Korea would be united under communism with the help of the Soviet Union. That possibility was unac-

ceptable to the United States. The U.S. government decided it would be better to keep the southern half of Korea noncommunist than to risk having the entire country fall under communism. For this reason, the plans for trusteeship, which depended upon cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, were abandoned.

The United States thus began plans to create a separate South Korean nation that would make Korea's division at the 38th parallel permanent. This was an outcome that Koreans had never envisaged. They had been freed from Japanese domination only to find their country split in two. Korean nationalism, which had been directed against the Japanese, now shifted to focus on reunification.

By 1948 the hopes for a reunified Korea were already dim. Syngman Rhee had been elected president of a separate South

## Korea Time Line

- 1895      Japan frees Korea from Chinese control in Sino-Japanese War.
- 1895      (Jan. 7) Korea declares its independence from China.
- 1904-1905      Russo-Japanese War is fought over control of Korea which Japan makes a protectorate.
- 1910      Japan formally annexes Korea, making it a colony.
- 1919      Koreans demonstrate against Japan and in favor of independence.
- 1937      World War II begins in Asia when Japan invades China.
- 1941      (Dec. 7) Japan's attack on U.S. naval base in Hawaii brings United States into war.
- 1943      Korea is promised freedom and independence "in due course" by Cairo Declaration.
- 1945      (Aug.) Korea is freed from Japan by latter's defeat, which ends World War II; 38th parallel is established as temporary demarcation line.
- 1948      (May 10) North Korea officially becomes communist state.
- 1948      (Aug.) South Korea becomes republic, with Syngman Rhee as its first elected president.
- 1948      (Sept.) North Korea declares itself Democratic People's Republic of Korea, with Kim Il-sung as its first president.
- 1950      (June 25) Korean War begins when North Korean troops cross into South Korea.
- 1950      (Nov. 11) Chinese troops enter North Korea and begin engaging U.S. forces.
- 1953      (July 27) Signing of U.N.-supervised cease-fire agreement at Panmunjom ends Korean War in stalemate; North and South Korea remain divided.

Korea, which had been officially named the Republic of Korea. North Korea, calling itself the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, elected Kim Il-sung as president. The temporary division had now been made permanent.

The two Koreas were divided by more than simple geography. Conflicting ideologies also separated the division. Nationalist fervor, which had been aimed against the Japanese before 1945, now was aimed in each half of the country at reunifying all of Korea by eliminating the government of the other half. South Korea's President Rhee wanted to march north and eliminate North Korea, while North Korea's President Kim wanted to march south and eliminate South Korea.

The two major powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, having made their mark on Korea, now withdrew their

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|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1960 | South Korean president Syngman Rhee is overthrown by student uprising supported by discontented army troops.           |
| 1961 | Park Chung-hee becomes president of South Korea in military coup.                                                      |
| 1968 | North Korean commandos attempt to assassinate Park.                                                                    |
| 1968 | (Jan. 23) North Korea seizes U.S. intelligence ship USS <i>Pueblo</i> off its coast.                                   |
| 1968 | (Dec. 22) North Korea releases <i>Pueblo</i> crew.                                                                     |
| 1969 | North Korea shoots down U.S. military aircraft over international waters.                                              |
| 1972 | North and South Korea discuss reunification for first time since Korean War.                                           |
| 1974 | (Aug. 15) Would-be assassin fails in attempt to kill President Park.                                                   |
| 1976 | (Nov.) U.S. president Jimmy Carter is elected with promise to withdraw ground troops from South Korea.                 |
| 1979 | (Oct. 26) South Korean president Park is assassinated; Carter suspends U.S. troop withdrawal.                          |
| 1980 | Military coup makes General Chun Doo-hwan leader of South Korea.                                                       |
| 1983 | North Korean bomb attack in Burma kills half the members of visiting South Korean cabinet.                             |
| 1983 | (Sept. 1) Soviet Union downs South Korea airliner entering its air space, killing 269 persons.                         |
| 1988 | Roh Tae-woo assumes presidency of South Korea.                                                                         |
| 1990 | (June 6) Soviet Union reestablishes diplomatic relations with South Korea, ending its close alliance with North Korea. |
| 1990 | (July 30) North and South Korea resume reunification talks.                                                            |

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troops. Tension mounted between North and South, with small-scale military attacks being launched by both sides. In June of 1950, North Korea, under Kim Il-sung, launched a major offensive against the South. It signaled the beginning of the Korean War.

### **Korean War, 1950-1953**

The United States and its president Harry S. Truman saw North Korea's attack on the South as a direct challenge to the Free World, similar to what Adolf Hitler's Germany had done to other European nations prior to World War II. What had been a Cold War in East Asia now became a "hot war."

Aggression had to be punished, Truman contended, otherwise communists throughout the world would be encouraged to be-

### **Korea Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1991 North Korean economy enters period of decline.
- 1992 North Korea's ability to manufacture nuclear bomb is revealed.
- 1993 (Feb. 25) Kim Young Sam becomes South Korea's first civilian president in thirty years.
- 1993 (Apr. 10) International Atomic Energy Agency reports North Korea to United Nations for refusing to allow inspections of its nuclear sites.
- 1994 Kim Il-sung dies in North Korea; he is succeeded by his son, Kim Jong-il.
- 1994 Signing of Basic Framework eases nuclear crisis between North Korea and United States.
- 1996 Famine hits North Korea.
- 1996 (Apr. 5) North Korean troops enter Demilitarized Zone.
- 1996 (Oct.) North Korean submarine attacks South Korea.
- 1997 Kim Dae-jung is elected president of South Korea.
- 1997 (Jan. 18) Labor trouble breaks out in Seoul, South Korea.
- 1997 (Feb. 16) High-level North Korean official defects to South Korean consulate in Beijing, China.
- 1998 South Korean president Kim eases restrictions regarding North Korea.
- 1998 (Jan.) United Nations launches appeal to provide emergency food aid to North Korea.
- 1998 (Jan. 23) Japan withdraws from 1965 fishing-rights treaty with South Korea.

gin wars. Truman immediately dispatched American troops to help South Korea turn back the North Korean offensive. He persuaded the United Nations to support the South. North Korea was supported by the Soviet Union and China.

After an initial period when North Korean forces enjoyed a military advantage, the United States and South Korean forces managed to push them back to the 38th parallel. However, Syngman Rhee and the general commanding U.S. troops in Korea, Douglas MacArthur, argued that the United States should not just “contain” communism by stopping the North Koreans at the 38th parallel, they should “roll back” communism to the Chinese border and create a unified Korea once again. With President Truman’s approval, U.S. troops pushed in to North Korea and advanced toward the Chinese border in a bid to reunify the country.

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- 1998 (Feb. 19) North Korean government sends letters to seventy South Korean political and civic leaders urging dialogue between the two Koreas.
  - 1998 (Feb. 25) South Korean dissident Kim Dae-jung is inaugurated president, becoming first member of opposition to win an election.
  - 1998 (Mar. 13) Kim Dae-jung approves amnesty agreement that will free 2,300 prisoners, including 74 political prisoners.
  - 1998 (Apr.) Thousands of workers protesting mass layoffs clash with police in Seoul.
  - 1998 (May 1) U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright visits South Korea.
  - 1998 (May 27) Korean Confederation of Trade Unions stages two-day general strike to protest growing unemployment in South Korea.
  - 1998 (June 16) North Korea reasserts its right to develop and sell ballistic missiles.
  - 1998 (July 14) South Korean labor unions begin two-day nationwide strike.
  - 1998 (Aug. 17) South Korea affirms appointment of United Liberal Democratic Party’s Kim Jong Pi as premier.
  - 1998 (Aug. 31) North Korea test-fires missile in direction of Japan.
  - 1998 (Sept. 5) Kim Jong-il is reelected chairman of North Korea’s National Defense Commission.
  - 1998 (Nov. 21) U.S. president Bill Clinton visits South Korea.
  - 1999 (Jan. 19) Talks among North Korea, South Korea, China, and United States to end Korean War resume in Geneva, Switzerland.
  - 1999 (July) Regional tensions increase when the United States charges that Korea is about to test a long-range ballistic missile that will be able to reach its neighbors and possibly Alaska and Hawaii.
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*(continued)*



A year earlier, China had ended a long civil war between the Chinese Communist Party under Mao Zedong and the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek. The United States had backed Chiang and the Kuomintang in their losing effort. As a result, China's new communist government took an anti-American stance. Like the government of the Soviet Union, it did not want to see a unified, anticommunist Korea on its border.

To complicate matters, U.S. general MacArthur—no friend of either Mao or China—hinted that he would not stop at the Chinese border. When China warned him to stop, he refused. The result was that millions of Chinese troops then entered the Korean

### **Korea Time Line** (*continued*)

- 2000 (Mar. 9) In a speech in Berlin, Germany, President Kim Dae-jung announces South Korea's willingness to give economic help to North Korea and calls for meetings between the two states.
- 2000 (June 13-15) Kim Dae-jung and Kim Jong-il meet in Pyongyang.
- 2000 (Oct. 13) South Korean president Kim Dae-jung is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his fight for democracy and his visit to North Korea.
- 2001 (May) South Korea calls off joint military exercises with Japan to protest official approval of textbook that plays down Japanese aggression in World War II.
- 2002 (Jan.) U.S. president George W. Bush includes North Korea with Iran as part of an "axis of evil" involved in world terrorism.
- 2002 (Aug.) North Korea agrees to discuss economic cooperation, transportation, and family visits with South Korea.
- 2002 (Sept.) In meetings with Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi, North Korean leader Kim Jong-il admits that his country kidnapped Japanese citizens in previous decades and pledges to allow international inspections of North Korean nuclear facilities.
- 2002 (Oct.) North Korean government admits that it has a secret program to develop nuclear weapons, in violation of its 1994 agreement with the United States.
- 2002 (Nov. 17) Official radio station of North Korea announces that the country has nuclear weapons.
- 2002 (Nov. 21) North Korea announces that it is no longer bound by the 1994 agreement since the United States has suspended oil shipments in response to its admission of its nuclear program.
- 2002 (Dec. 6) North Korea declares that it will reactivate its nuclear reactor at Yongbyon.
- 2002 (Dec. 9) North Korea begins removing U.N. seals from its nuclear reactors.

War on the side of North Korea. U.S. and South Korean forces were pushed back to the 38th parallel.

MacArthur was fired by President Truman, and containment again became American policy in Korea. Soon, both sides began talking about how to end the war. After three years of bitter fighting, neither side could defeat the other. When fighting finally stopped in 1953, Korea was still divided at the 38th parallel. Nothing had changed.

After the war ended, the United States concluded that South Korea's security was essential to its own national interests, and that renewed warfare in Korea would be disastrous. As a result,

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- 2002 (Dec. 12) North Korea announces that the nuclear issue would be solved if the United States would sign a nonaggression treaty.
  - 2002 (Dec. 19) Roh Moo-hyun is elected to succeed Kim Dae Jung as South Korean president; critical of South Korean relations with the United States, he benefits from anti-American sentiment after two U.S. soldiers are acquitted in a court-martial of killing two schoolgirls in a road accident.
  - 2002 (Dec. 26-27) North Korea moves two thousand fuel rods to a storage facility near the Yongbyon reactor and orders the expulsion of U.N. inspectors.
  - 2003 (Jan.) North Korea says it will withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.
  - 2003 (Jan. 7-8) International Atomic Energy Agency of the United Nations adopts a resolution condemning North Korea for its nuclear program and says that North Korea will face serious consequences it does not readmit weapons inspectors.
  - 2003 (Jan. 27) Outgoing South Korean President Kim Dae Jung sends two envoys to North Korea in an effort to resolve the nuclear crisis.
  - 2003 (Feb. 5) North Korea's official news agency announces that the country has restarted its nuclear facilities.
  - 2003 (Feb. 7) North Korea announces that any attack on its nuclear facilities by the United States will result in a full-scale war on the Korean Peninsula.
  - 2003 (Feb. 13) U.S. CIA director George Tenet testifies to the U.S. Senate that North Korea has an untested ballistic missile capable of reaching the United States.
  - 2003 (Feb. 14) U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell says that the United States will encourage East Asian countries to engage in diplomacy to solve the problem of North Korea's nuclear weapons. Outgoing South Korean president Kim Dae Jung apologizes after revelations that South Korean company Hyundai had paid North Korea in return for its participation in summit meetings with the South in June, 2000.
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the United States signed a security treaty with South Korea, where it stationed American troops to discourage another North Korean attack. The United States also began a program to equip the South Korean army with the latest weapons. The North Koreans saw these moves as a U.S. attempt to divide Korea permanently and refused to sign a treaty that would end the war officially. Despite an end to the shooting and the signing of an armistice, there was no formal end to the hostility between the two sides and no peace treaty.

### **Postwar Korea**

At the end of the war in 1953, both North and South Korea lay in ruins. Millions of civilians and soldiers on both sides had been killed or wounded. Most homes and factories had been destroyed, and both Korean nations ranked among the poorest countries in the world. Despite their poverty, both sides continued to arm themselves heavily, while at the same time coping with the devastation left by the war.

This had a negative effect on both Koreas. In the North, an estimated one-quarter of all government spending went to the military. In the South, the military assumed a great deal of power in 1961, when General Park Chung-hee overthrew the government. During this period, small-scale, but bloody, clashes frequently erupted along the 38th parallel, by then known as the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), which separated the two countries.

Other continuing signs of hostility included an attempt to assassinate President Park in 1968. North Korean hostility also extended to the United States when North Korea captured an American intelligence-gathering ship, the *Pueblo*, off its coast and shot down an American spy plane.

Despite the hostility between the two Koreas, however, most Koreans on both sides of the dividing line wanted their country to reunite. Events in the early 1970's made such a prospect look possible. In 1972 U.S. president Richard Nixon met Chairman Mao Zedong in China and spoke of détente with the Soviet Union. In the face of these power realignments, both North and South Korea saw themselves possibly being abandoned by their big-power allies. As a consequence, they opened direct talks with each other

for the first time. These talks stalled within a year, however, in part because South Korea refused to discuss the removal of American troops protecting against invasion by North Korea.

The failure of this reunification initiative signaled a renewal of hostility. North Korea, which had long wanted American troops removed from South Korea, was emboldened when the United States was forced to withdraw from Vietnam in 1975. Soon afterward, North Koreans murdered several American soldiers at the DMZ. In response, the United States renewed its commitment to South Korea. It suggested that if hostilities were renewed, it might use nuclear weapons against the North.

In 1979 South Korean president Park was assassinated. When another general, Chun Doo-hwan, took power in South Korea in 1980, North Korea demonstrated its hostility to the South by attempting to assassinate him while he was on a state trip to Myanmar (Burma) in 1983. North Korea also blew up two South Korean airliners in attempts to demoralize the South, especially after Seoul was selected to host the 1988 Olympic Games.

These developments failed to bring about either reunification or the removal of American troops from South Korea. In fact, by the end of the 1980's, it looked as if time were on the side of the South. South Korea's economic growth, which had taken off rapidly in the mid-1960's and had averaged a more than 10 percent annual rate of growth, quickly outdistanced its northern rival.

North Korea, by contrast, remained relatively poor as its largely self-sufficient economy was unable to generate significant growth. Further damage was done when China, which by then had become a semicapitalist society, no longer was willing to conduct trade with North Korea, except at prevailing world market prices. China increasingly looked to South Korea as a more lucrative trading partner. A similar transformation came in the early 1990's, after the Soviet Union collapsed, and Russia was also no longer willing to subsidize its former North Korean ally. As a result, the North Korean economy began to shrink.

## **Two Koreas at the End of the Twentieth Century**

All these changes came around the same time that West Germany absorbed East Germany, ending a half century of separate

German nations. It appeared to many observers that comparatively wealthy South Korea was poised to absorb the increasingly poverty-stricken North. However, predictions such as these had been made previously without coming to pass. Not only did North Korea not collapse, it achieved one of its long-term policy objectives—to draw the United States to the negotiating table without South Korea.

North Korea was able to do this because U.S. satellite surveillance in the early 1990's indicated that it had the capacity to produce enough plutonium with its nuclear reactors to make at least one nuclear weapon. Moreover, North Korea threatened to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It was a dangerous gamble, but the North Korean threat spurred the United States to agree to negotiate with it.

The United States wanted North Korea to agree not to produce nuclear weapons. It saw the prospect of a North Korea with nuclear weapons as a threat, not only to the security of Northeast Asia, but also to its global efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. U.S.-North Korean negotiations included American commitments to replace North Korea's old and dangerous nuclear reactors, to supply North Korea with fuel oil until new reactors were completed, and to set up liaison offices in both nation's capitals as a preparatory step to full diplomatic relations.

While many observers thought that North Korea got the best of the United States, it was clear that the North Koreans took the negotiations seriously. They even continued negotiating while their long-time president, Kim Il-sung, was dying in the summer of 1994. That fall in Geneva, the agreement was signed, averting the potential for renewed hostilities in Korea, this time possibly involving nuclear weapons.

While North Korea was clearly a winner in these negotiations, its ailing economy continued to spiral downward. Adding to its chronic problems of too much central planning and recent energy shortages came new problems in the form of natural disasters. In 1995, 1996, and 1997, floods and drought took a heavy toll on North Korea. For the first time, reports of starvation filtered out of the tightly sealed nation.

Many nations, including South Korea and the United States,

sent food aid to North Korea. More was promised, but donor countries wanted assurances that the food would go to those most in need—children and the elderly—rather than the military. The United States and South Korea also offered greater quantities of food aid if North Korea would agree to enter into negotiations to transform the armistice of 1953 into a permanent peace treaty. In 1998 North Korea did agree to come to the conference table. Four-party talks—involving China, Russia, North Korea, and South Korea—began to forge a permanent treaty.

Meanwhile, South Korea remained wary of North Korea's ultimate intentions. Some strategists feared that if the North Korean economy continued to deteriorate, North Korea might commit a desperate act of invading the South. Fear of such an invasion was heightened by the fact that the South Korean capital, Seoul, is only thirty miles from the North Korean border. Moreover, North Korea had never renounced the use of force to reunify the country and had never shied away from using terrorism as a tactic.

Other observers noted that North Korean leadership had passed to Kim Jong-il, the son of the late president, who had been apparently responsible for some of North Korea's terrorist incidents in the past; they feared that Kim might launch an attack on South Korea to bolster his credibility as a leader, particularly among personnel in the army.

### **Prospects and Problems in a New Century**

In the early twenty-first century, the two Koreas were still separated and their relations were often tense and suspicious. North Korea was politically isolated and suffering from economic collapse and famine. Nevertheless, the 37,000 American troops stationed in South Korea had prevented a North Korean attack for nearly a half century. North Koreans were at least talking about a peace treaty, rather than engaging in threatening acts. As its economy spiraled downward, it was becoming more difficult for North Korea to mount an attack against the South.

In 1998 South Korea inaugurated its first elected opposition president, Kim Dae-jung. His new administration quickly called for a summit meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong-il. It also released hundreds of pro-North Korean political prisoners

and allowed South Korean citizens to listen to North Korean radio broadcasts for the first time without fear of arrest.

Kim Dae-jung's efforts received international recognition in 2000, when the South Korean president received the Nobel Peace Prize.

North Korea was motivated to seek reconciliation with the south by a desperate economic situation, as well as by a desire for national unity. According to a United Nations conference held in Beijing, China, in May, 2001, crop failures and other economic problems had produced a declining life expectancy and rising rate of child mortality in North Korea. Food shortages in North Korea worsened even further when China and Korea were hit by torrential rains in August, 2002. However, Kim Jong-il and his military chiefs were apparently determined to retain power.

In the eyes of most expert observers, the North Korean leadership continued to be unpredictable in its actions and authoritarian in its character. In talks between representatives of the two Koreas in August, 2002, North Korea agreed to discuss economic cooperation with its southern counterpart, to set a timetable for



*The capital of South Korea, Seoul had a population of 11 million people in 2002, making it one of the largest cities in the world. (PhotoDisc)*

open road and rail connections between North and South, and to permit more reunions of members of families divided by the border. Although reunification was difficult, given the reluctance of the North Korean government to give up power over its population, it was popular with the Korean people. At the first soccer match on Korean soil between teams from North and South Korea—a World Cup game in Seoul on September 7, 2002—spectators cheered enthusiastically when players on both teams held up a flag showing an undivided Korean peninsula.

At the same time that the two Koreas seemed to be drawing closer, North Korea managed to improve its relationship with Japan, with which it had not had diplomatic relations in fifty-four years. In mid-September, 2002, Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi traveled to North Korea to meet with Kim Jong-il. The North Korean leader unexpectedly admitted to the Japanese prime minister that North Korea had kidnapped Japanese citizens in the 1970's and 1980's, as many Japanese had long maintained. Some of the kidnapped were still living in North Korea. This new openness about past wrongdoing was believed to set the stage for improving ties between the two countries.

The Korean peninsula remained one of the world's most dangerous places, with a half century of bitter hostility and conflict, opposing ideologies, and competing strategic interests of several big powers. Although the United States backed away from its support for peace talks between North and South in 2001, after President George W. Bush came to power, the United States began to renew its dialogue with North Korea at a meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the summer of 2002. A peace treaty between North and South Korea might take many years to negotiate, but it would surely mark a step forward toward peace in Asia and the world.

*Wayne Patterson*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

A good guide for understanding the period leading up to the Korean War is Bruce Cumings's two-volume work, *The Origins of the Korean War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).



A shorter and less complicated book with the same title is Peter Lowe's *The Origins of the Korean War* (London and New York: Longman, 1986). The best study of North Korea's long-term ruler, Kim Il-sung, is Dae-Sook Suh's *Kim Il Sung: The North Korean Leader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). A new book that looks at the relationship between the United States and Korea is *Korean-American Relations, 1866-1997* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), edited by Yur-Bok Lee and Wayne Patterson. Half of this book deals with the period after 1945, and it includes a chapter on American relations with North Korea. *One Korea? Challenges and Prospects for Reunification* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), edited by Thomas H. Henriksen and Lyongsoo Lho, looks at the various issues which surround the difficult question of Korean reunification.

*The Koreans: Who They Are, What They Want, Where Their Future Lies* (1999), by Michael Breen, is a readable account by a British journalist of the history, economy, and culture of North and South Korea that attempts to suggest what will happen to these countries. Marcus Noland's *Avoiding the Apocalypse: The Future of the Two Koreas* (2000) is a comprehensive analysis of the Korean situation and of possibilities for the Korean future that draws on comparisons with other countries, such as former East and West Germany. Looking backward, the revised and updated edition of *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (2002), by Dan Oberdorfer, covers a quarter century of Korean history.

North Korea is often difficult for outsiders to understand. *North Korea Through the Looking Glass* (2000), by Kong Dan Oh and Ralph C. Hassig, attempts to describe how the North Korean leadership and people see their situation; it makes suggestions for how other nations should deal with North Korea. The best work on the armed forces of North Korea is *The Shield of the Great Leader: The Armed Forces of North Korea* (2001), by Joseph S. Bermudez, Jr.

## KUWAIT

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*The 1991 Persian Gulf War brought the small Middle Eastern nation of Kuwait to the attention of the world when an international alliance led by the United States forced neighboring Iraq to withdraw its occupation forces. Afterward the United States became the guarantor of Kuwait's security in the region, but Kuwait still faced potentially dangerous internal and external threats. Its most serious internal threats have come from reformists who accuse its long-ruling monarchy of impeding progress toward real democracy and free political expression. Internal pressures for political reform hold the potential for revolution. Meanwhile, external threats come from Kuwait's much larger and more powerful neighbors, Iraq and Iran. Iraq is suspected of having designs on Kuwait's offshore islands, control of which would improve its access to the Persian Gulf waters. The Kuwaiti monarchy fears that Iran might try to support a Shi'ite Muslim insurgency against it in order to establish a government that is friendlier toward Iran.*

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**T**he tiny wedge-shaped Middle Eastern nation of Kuwait is located at the northwestern head of the Persian Gulf. It covers about 6,880 square miles, an area slightly smaller than the state of New Jersey in the United States. It is bordered to the north and west by Iraq, to the south by Saudi Arabia, and to the east by the Persian Gulf. Its coastline is 180 miles long.

In addition to its mainland, Kuwaiti territory includes nine offshore islands, the most important of which are Bubiyan, Warbah, and Faylakah. Faylakah is the only habitable island among them. The rest are either too small or otherwise unsuitable for habitation. Iraqis used the two uninhabited islands of Warbah and Bubiyan as a base from which to bomb Iranian cities and oil installations during their war with Iran between 1980 and 1988. Annexation of these two islands, which are claimed by the Iraqi government as Iraqi territories, was one of the main objectives of the 1990-1991 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Kuwait is mostly flat desert. The country has virtually no usable surface water, and only 1 percent of its soil is cultivated. Ag-

riculture is only possible with the help of extensive irrigation and fertilizers. Among Kuwaiti agricultural products are tomatoes, radishes, melons, and cucumbers. The Kuwaiti government has also been successful in developing dairy and poultry farms as well as in improving their fishing industries.

Kuwait's access to the Persian Gulf has given this small country strategic global importance. The country supported Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War with financial resources, and Kuwait provided port access for the U.S. Navy. Kuwait's oil resources also give the country global importance. When Iraq invaded the country in 1990, the United States and the United Nations provided military support to Kuwait.

### **Early History**

The name "Kuwait" derives from *kout*, which in Arabic means "little fort." In the early eighteenth century the dominant tribal confederation built a fort to protect the port of Kuwait from nomadic raids. Kuwait originally was a small port with a modest volume of trade. Its economy was based on pearling, fishing, boat building, and sea trade. Because of its excellent harbor in Kuwait Bay, it became the headquarters for the pearl-fishing fleet. British ships used the port on their way to and from India.

By 1921 there were more than seven hundred pearling boats,

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## **Profile of Kuwait**

*Official name:* State of Kuwait

*Independent since:* 1961

*Former colonial rulers:* Ottoman Empire; Great Britain

*Location:* northern coast of Persian Gulf

*Area:* 6,880 square miles

*Capital:* Kuwait City

*Population:* 2.1 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religion:* Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$30.9 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* crude petroleum and petroleum products

*Military expenditures:* US\$1.97 billion (2001)

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and the population of Kuwait had reached about 100,000. However, changing technology and trade patterns, the world economic depression of the 1930's, and competition from Japanese cultured pearls undermined the Kuwaiti pearling industry. The future appeared bleak to Kuwaitis until oil was discovered in the country in 1938. Over the next several decades Kuwait became one of the richest countries in the world and developed a standard of living far above those of its neighbors.

The ruling family of modern Kuwait, the al-Sabah, traces its power back to the eighteenth century. Since then Kuwait has been continuously ruled and has prospered under the al-Sabah family. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the ruling family paid tribute to the Ottoman Empire's sultan, who nominally ruled over the area, in return for the sultan's protection against external threats.

The Ottomans were a powerful Turkish Muslim people who reigned from the fourteenth century until the end of World War I. Although their headquarters were in Istanbul in present-day Tur-

key, they ruled over most of the Middle East and the Balkan Peninsula during the height of their power.

In the late nineteenth century the Ottomans became weak and corrupt. The Kuwaiti ruling family then turned to the British Empire for protection. Sheikh Mubarak, the al-Sabah ruler who reigned from 1896 to 1915, signed an agreement with the British in 1899. According to this agreement, the royal family would only seek advice from the British with regard to their foreign relations. This relationship later led to a self-governing state of Kuwait under British protection.

### **Independence**

According to a 1914 agreement, Kuwait was to become an independent country under British protection. However, World

## **Kuwait Time Line**

- 1756 Al-Sabah family become rulers of Kuwait.
- 1899 Kuwait becomes a British protectorate.
- 1938 First oil discoveries are made in Kuwait.
- 1961 Kuwait regains its independence from Britain.
- 1962 United Nations recognizes Kuwait as an independent state.
- 1963 Iraq recognizes Kuwait's independence.
- 1971 Elections are held for new national assembly.
- 1976 Ruling family dissolves national assembly.
- 1977 Jabir III becomes thirteenth amir of Kuwait.
- 1979 Establishment of Iran's Islamic republic causes tension between Iran and Kuwait.
- 1981-1983 Kuwaiti sovereignty is threatened by terrorist groups.
- 1985 Kuwaiti tankers sail under U.S. flags to discourage Iranian attacks.
- 1990 (July 17-18) Iraq threatens to use force against Kuwait for driving oil prices down by overproduction.
- 1990 (Aug. 2) After two weeks of threatening military action, Iraq invades Kuwait.
- 1990 (Aug. 7) United Nations authorizes trade and financial embargo against Iraq.
- 1990 (Nov. 27) Under U.S. prompting, United Nations authorizes use of force against Iraq if it does not withdraw from Kuwait by mid-January.
- 1991 (Jan. 16) U.S.-led international military coalition launches missile and air strikes on Iraq.

War I postponed many British promises. With the 1922 Treaty of Uqair, the British finally drew the boundaries between Kuwait and its neighbors, Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

British protection, the leadership of the al-Sabah family, and the discovery of oil all helped transform Kuwait from a small pearl-fishing port into a rich and prosperous country following World War II. In 1961 Kuwait and Britain jointly agreed to terminate the 1899 agreement, and Kuwait became an independent country to be ruled by the al-Sabah family.

The Iraqi government, however, did not recognize Kuwait as an independent country and threatened to invade and annex it. Under the Ottoman administrative system, Kuwait had been considered part of the Province of Basra, now a city in southern Iraq. Therefore Iraq always considered Kuwait as part of a larger Iraq.

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- 1991 (Feb. 27) Iraqi troops withdraw from Kuwait.
  - 1991 (Mar. 4) Kuwaiti amir Sheik Jabir al-Ahmed al-Sabah returns from exile in Saudi Arabia.
  - 1991 (June 25) Martial law imposed at end of Iraqi occupation is lifted.
  - 1992 (Apr. 16) U.N. commission awards Kuwait part of Iraq's only operating seaport and the disputed Rumailah oil field.
  - 1992 (Oct. 11) Kuwaiti news agency announces government's agreement to purchase \$4 billion worth of advanced tanks made in United States.
  - 1992 (Oct. 12) Government ends six-year-old policy of prepublication newspaper censorship.
  - 1992 (Oct. 17) New cabinet includes six members from groups opposed to royal family.
  - 1993 (Apr.) During visit to Kuwait, former U.S. president George Bush is awarded medal and honorary doctoral degree.
  - 1993 (Apr. 27) Kuwait arrests Iraqis accused of planning assassination attempt against Bush.
  - 1993 (May 20) Government announces plan to dig security trench along Iraq border.
  - 1993 (June 26) United States launches missile attack against Iraqi intelligence headquarters in Baghdad in retaliation for Iraq's assassination plot against Bush.
  - 1994 (June) U.N. compensation commission distributes first payments to victims of Iraqi occupation.
  - 1994 (Oct. 7) Iraq deploys 20,000 troops along Kuwaiti border, but deployment of U.S. troops forces Iraqis to withdraw.

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They were particularly interested in the two islands of Warbah and Bubiyan, which provided easy access to the Persian Gulf waters. Iraq was also motivated by the desire to control the rich Kuwaiti oil resources.

Facing the threat of invasion, the al-Sabah rulers requested Britain's assistance once again. British troops were quickly dispatched to Kuwait. The Arab League, an organization in charge of Arab unity and cooperation, agreed to assist Kuwait in defending its territory, and several league members sent troops to Kuwait.

The motivation for the Arab League to assist Kuwait was to keep the country from reverting to its protectorate status. In 1963 the Arab League troops were no longer needed. The existing Iraqi government was overthrown, and the new government recognized Kuwait's independence.

#### **Kuwait Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1994 (Oct. 28) U.S. president Clinton visits Kuwait and is honored with medal.
- 1994 (Nov. 10) Iraqi president Saddam Hussein signs statement recognizing Kuwait's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- 1995 (Oct. 31) Kuwait joins other Arab nations in denouncing U.S. plan to move its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.
- 1996 Kuwait holds first parliamentary elections in a decade.
- 1996 (Sept. 11-12) To curb Iraqi military operation, U.S. president Clinton dispatches fighter planes to Kuwait and bombers to island of Diego Garcia.
- 1996 (Oct. 7) In second parliamentary elections since being liberated from Iraq, proroyalists win majority of seats.
- 1997 (May 12) Government plan to send aid to help victims of earthquake in Iran is considered friendly gesture by Iranian government.
- 1997 (Nov. 15-18) Kuwait participates in Middle East and North Africa Economic Conference, which is boycotted by most Arab League nations to protest new Israeli settlements in Palestinian lands.
- 1998 (Feb. 10) During visit of U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright, Kuwait announces its support for armed strike against Iraq for ignoring instructions of U.N. weapons inspectors.
- 1998 (Mar.) Kuwaiti government falls because of a no-confidence vote in its information minister; however, the government cabinet remains in power by reshuffling its members.

## Relations with Neighbors

By the late 1990's Kuwait enjoyed a relatively peaceful relationship with other Arab countries, with the exception of Iraq. Although other Arab countries have criticized the Kuwaiti government for not publicly supporting the Palestinian cause in their continuous territorial dispute with Israel, Kuwait's generous financial contributions to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have somewhat blunted this criticism. Kuwait has also donated large amounts of funding to other Arab states such as Syria and Jordan.

Prior to the 1990-1991 Iraqi invasion, the most serious threat to the Kuwaiti government came from the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution, which ended the Iranian monarchy and replaced it with an Islamic republic government. Kuwait contains a large Shiite

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| 1998 | (May) Emir Jabir as-Sabah dismisses the National Assembly and arranges for a new election.                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1999 | (July) New National Assembly is elected.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 2001 | (Jan.) Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's son asks the Iraqi parliament to redraw official Iraqi maps to include Kuwait as part of Iraq.                                                                                                                                                             |
| 2001 | (Feb. 25) Former U.S. president George Bush, former U.S. general Norman Schwarzkopf, and former British prime ministers John Major and Margaret Thatcher attend a celebration in Kuwait of the tenth anniversary of the Persian Gulf War and the fortieth anniversary of Kuwait's independence. |
| 2001 | (Sept. 21) Emir Jabir as-Sabah suffers a brain hemorrhage.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 2002 | (Sept. 19) U.S. general Tommy Franks visits Kuwait City and announces that the United States is prepared to take action against Iraq.                                                                                                                                                           |
| 2002 | (Oct. 2) U.S. embassy in Kuwait announces that American and Kuwaiti forces are cooperating in war games thirty miles from the Iraqi border. The U.S. government maintains that this is not related to a possible invasion of Iraq.                                                              |
| 2002 | (Oct. 8) Two Kuwaitis open fire on U.S. Marines on Failaka Island in the Persian Gulf, which the Marines use for training; two Marines are killed in what the Kuwaiti government describes as a terrorist attack.                                                                               |
| 2002 | (Nov. 21) Two U.S. soldiers are seriously wounded when they are shot by a Kuwaiti policeman while traveling south of Kuwait City.                                                                                                                                                               |
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Muslim minority population, some of whom displayed sympathy toward the Iranian Islamic Revolution and asked for a similar revolution in Kuwait.

Shiites are a minority group within Islamic populations who have a difference of opinion over the historical leadership of the Islamic community after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 C.E. While Shiites form only around 30 percent of the Kuwaiti population, they account for almost all the Iranian population and about 60 percent of the population of Iraq.

In 1980 Iraq invaded Iran, starting an eight-year war between the two countries. The Kuwaiti government, suspicious of the new Islamic Republic in Iran, sided with Iraq. Angered by this behavior, Iranian jets bombed Kuwaiti oil installations in 1981 and 1983. Iranian supporters also bombed and severely damaged the French and the U.S. embassies in Kuwait.

Following these hostile activities, the Kuwaiti government began deporting hundreds of Iranian residents of Kuwait who were suspected of supporting the Iranian government. Tension between Iran and Kuwait continued to build. In 1985 Iranian jets and missile-carrying patrol boats attacked Kuwaiti tankers.

Facing threats from the new Islamic regime in Iran, Kuwait joined the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in 1981. The other members of the GCC were the southern Persian Gulf states of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman. The GCC's main purpose was to strengthen the economic, cultural, and political cooperation among the member states.

In the following years Kuwait began purchasing weapons and became one of the world's highest defense spenders. Since 1980 the three countries of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait have purchased billions of dollars worth of weaponry, mainly from the United States.

During the 1990's Kuwait and Iran improved their relationship. The hostile rhetoric from both sides has given way to talks of cooperation.

### **Iraqi Invasion**

When the Baath Party took control of Iraq, the Iraqi position with regard to Kuwait changed again. Baath, an Arabic term

meaning “resurrection,” is a socialist party with one branch in Syria and another in Iraq. In 1979, when Saddam Hussein became the new leader of the Baath Party and the Iraqi president, Kuwaiti territorial sovereignty was threatened again. However, the eight-year Iran-Iraq War postponed Hussein’s territorial ambitions toward Kuwait.

The Kuwaiti government was very cooperative with Iraq during the war and allowed the Iraqi military to use the two strategic islands of Warbah and Bubiyan at will. When the cease-fire was reached between Iran and Iraq in 1988, Iraq did not show any intention of leaving the two islands. Iraq’s continued pressure eventually led to the 1990 invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Hussein’s government.

The Iraqi occupation lasted from August, 1990, to February, 1991, and had a devastating effect on Kuwait. The Kuwaiti population was a hostage to Iraq’s demands. Oil production was halted. Iraqi forces drained hundreds of oil storage tanks and poured millions of gallons of oil into the Gulf. This created a serious environmental hazard.

Utilizing the United Nations, the United States quickly orchestrated an international coalition, which included some Middle Eastern countries, to expel the Iraqi military from Kuwait. Operation Desert Storm lasted from January 17 to February 27, 1991, when U.S. president George Bush announced the defeat of the Iraqi armed forces.

As the Iraqi troops retreated, they set fire to eight hundred oil wells, which destroyed production and caused severe environmental concerns. The fires burned for almost one year. During the crisis, Kuwait’s water, electricity, and other services were cut off. Buildings were damaged, homes were vandalized, and three thousand gold bars were stolen and taken to Iraq. Half of Kuwait’s population left the country.

After the war, Kuwait requested that its northern border with Iraq be readjusted. The subsequent adjustment provided Kuwait with full possession of the Rumailah oil field, which Iraq and Kuwait had shared prior to the 1990 invasion, and a portion of the Iraqi Umm Qasr naval base. For further protection, the Kuwaiti government dug a 130-mile trench around the northern border



*Iraqi troops set Kuwait oilfields ablaze as they retreated from their occupation of the country in March, 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)*

with Iraq. United Nations observers were assigned to patrol the border.

After its defeat, Iraq was forced to sign a treaty recognizing Kuwait as an independent nation. Nevertheless, Iraq still posed a potential threat to Kuwait. In January, 2001, Uday Hussein, youngest son and apparent successor to Saddam Hussein, asked the Iraqi parliament to redraw official Iraqi maps to include Kuwait as part of Iraq. It seemed likely that without the constant threat of retaliation from the United States, Iraq would again try to invade its southern neighbor.

### **Relations with the United States**

Early contacts between the United States and Kuwait were unofficial and religious in nature. Around 1910 a group of U.S. missionaries started the American Hospital in Kuwait, which lasted

until the 1950's. These early humanitarian activities created an image of the United States as a goodwill state. This was in sharp contrast with Great Britain's image as an exploitative state. One of the reasons for lack of official Kuwaiti foreign relations with the United States was the 1899 agreement between Kuwait and Great Britain, which did not allow Kuwait to establish other foreign relations without the approval of Great Britain.

By the end of World War II, Great Britain was too weak to continue its traditional dominating rule in the Persian Gulf. The United States gradually replaced Great Britain as the force to preserve Western interests in the region. Over the years the United States adopted a three-fold foreign policy in the Persian Gulf: to assure the free flow of oil from the Gulf to industrialized nations, to contain Soviet communism, and to protect the state of Israel against possible threats from its neighbors.

The Persian Gulf War made the United States the most important foreign power in the Gulf region. The war laid the foundations for a more active U.S. policy toward Kuwait. The United States relationship with Kuwait moved from a hesitant and distant relationship into a relationship of security and cooperation.

The reflagging of Kuwaiti oil tankers with the U.S. flag during the Iran-Iraq War had been the first step in security operations between the United States and Kuwait. In 1985 Iran began attacking Kuwaiti oil tankers to make Kuwait's financial and strategic support for Iraq costly. Kuwait, however, turned to the United States for protection against Iran. The reflagging operation allowed Kuwait to export its oil freely under U.S. control.

Kuwait's relationship with the United States has transformed its foreign policy objectives and priorities. The United States remains the only guarantor of Kuwaiti security against its more powerful neighbors, the role that had been played by Great Britain prior to Kuwaiti independence in 1961.

### **Population and Social Conditions**

Most of the people who settled in Kuwait in the early eighteenth century came from central Arabia. Other people came from other Arab regions and from the non-Arab country of Iran. Kuwait's population reached thirty-five thousand by the early

twentieth century and almost doubled by 1946, when Kuwait exported its first commercial oil.

Economic growth and prosperity from Kuwait's oil revenues attracted a large number of laborers from surrounding countries. By the time of the first official census in 1957, the Kuwaiti population had reached 206,473. By 1965 non-Kuwaitis outnumbered native Kuwaitis. Fearing this trend, the government established a law that granted citizenship only to those whose families had lived in Kuwait prior to 1920. This law, however, did not stop other immigrants from coming to Kuwait. By the time of the Iraqi invasion in 1990, more than 2 million people lived in Kuwait. Almost two-thirds of them were expatriates.

Prior to the Gulf War the largest non-Kuwaiti group was Palestinians. Their number reached over 400,000 by 1990. There were also a large number of immigrants from other Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt, Yemen, Iran, and from South and Southeast Asian countries. Expatriates occupied most of the professional and managerial jobs in the country.

Most Kuwaitis make their living from nonagricultural activities, and about 96 percent of them live in the cities. Kuwait's capital, Kuwait City, had a population of 500,000 by the late 1990's.

The 1990 invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqi military forced more than one-half of the Kuwaiti population out of the country. After the Iraqi expulsion, many immigrants were not allowed to return, especially those of Palestinian, Jordanian, and Yemeni origin, some of whom had supported Hussein during the Iraqi invasion. By 1997 Kuwait's population was 1.8 million, a figure below the prewar numbers. Less than 45 percent were citizens.

Although the population finally passed prewar figures in the early twenty-first century, reaching an estimated 2.1 million in 2002, noncitizens continued to be a large proportion of residents of Kuwait.

The Kuwaiti government has provided Kuwaitis with one of the best and most developed health services in the world. Access to education from kindergarten to college, and even to scholarships abroad, is available to Kuwaitis. Housing is usually affordable, and there are no homeless Kuwaitis. While Kuwaiti women have been given more rights as a result of reforms after

the Persian Gulf War, overall participation by women in decision-making processes is still limited.

### **Government**

Although Kuwait's government is based on its monarchy, the ruling family allowed the drafting of a constitution following Kuwaiti independence. The constitution provides for a fifty-seat national assembly. The members of the assembly are elected by the Kuwaiti population for four-year terms. However, in the first election only 10 percent of Kuwaitis were allowed to vote. Noncitizens, who formed the majority of the population, and women were not allowed to vote.

The relationship between the ruling family and the assembly has been turbulent from the start. The assembly has consistently criticized the ruling family for corruption, censorship, forbidding political parties, and insufficient attention to public services. Anytime the ruling family has considered the assembly non-cooperative, the assembly has simply been dissolved. This occurred several times during the 1970's and 1980's. The lack of cooperation between the ruling family and the assembly has deflected the focus of the assembly from legislating productive laws and democratizing the country to criticizing the ruling family.

In the 1996 elections the voters, who were still limited to males over the age of twenty-one who could trace their family's residency in Kuwait to 1920 or before, elected the new members of the assembly. During the elections, 250 candidates competed for the fifty seats. Pro-royal family and progovernment candidates took the majority of the seats. This immediately caused the opposition in the new assembly to call for a crackdown on public corruption and nepotism. The crowned prince responded by appointing a cabinet, which included nine new ministers. The key positions of defense, oil, interior, and commerce and industry were given to non-Sabah family members.

In March, 1998, the government that had formed as a result of the 1996 election fell because of a no-confidence vote in its information minister, who was a member of the ruling family. However, the same government cabinet managed to remain in power by reshuffling its members. In May, Emir Jabir as-Sabah dis-

missed the National Assembly in a manner consistent with the constitution and arranged for a new election. Between the dismissal of the old government and the election of the new one, the emir issued a number of major decrees. In one of these, he gave full rights of Kuwaiti citizenship to women. These decrees were contested by the new National Assembly, after its election in July, 1999. The National Assembly did not succeed in overturning all of these decrees, but the role of women in Kuwait, in particular, was matter of serious controversy.

In the early twenty-first century, Emir Jabir as-Sabah, the thirteenth ruler of the al-Sabah family, remained Kuwait's head of state, despite suffering a brain hemorrhage in September, 2001. The emir had appointed the nation's prime minister, Crown Prince Saad al-Abdullah as-Salim as-Sabah, as well as the other governmental ministers. The health problems of the emir posed a serious problem for such a centralized national administration.

### **Economy**

Oil is Kuwait's main source of revenue and its only abundant resource. Kuwaiti oil reserves are among the largest in the world. Revenues from oil account for over 95 percent of country's total annual budget. In addition to oil production, other industries include petrochemicals, desalination plants, food processing, fisheries, building materials, and salt production.

Kuwait's economy suffered during the Persian Gulf War. The infrastructure of the country was damaged during the occupation by the Iraqi military, and recovery from the Iraqi invasion was hampered not only by the damage to its oil fields but also by huge welfare subsidies and an overstaffed public service sector. In 1995 the World Bank recommended that Kuwait terminate the state subsidies for water, gas, and telephone services. There was opposition to this recommendation, but the government put the reforms in place. As a result the Kuwaiti economy rebounded, and in 1996 Kuwait became the first state to receive an "A" rating from the International Banking Credit Association. This organization evaluates countries for prospective lenders on the basis of short- and long-term risks.

Following the governmental reforms and its strong credit rat-

ings, Kuwait entered the twenty-first century with optimism. In early 2001, oil prices were high and it seemed that this would bring prosperity. However, demand for Kuwait's oil dropped in the global economic downturn that followed terrorist attacks in the United States in September, 2001. Together with the emir's health problems, the economic slump placed Kuwait in a much more fragile position.

The Kuwaitis were also uncertain about the consequences of a possible American invasion of Iraq in the years that followed the terrorist attack on the United States. Although Iraq was a proven enemy and the United States was Kuwait's most important ally, the Kuwaiti government was reluctant to endorse an invasion of another Muslim nation and concerned about the disorder that could follow from another major war in the region. In September, 2002, Kuwait announced that it opposed military action against Iraq by the United States alone. However, Kuwait declared that it would allow the American armed forces to invade Iraq from Kuwait if this were approved by the United Nations. On October 2, 2002, American and Kuwaiti troops began training together, but both of these nations denied that this was a preparation for involvement in Iraq.

*Masoud Kheirabadi*  
Updated by the Editors

### **For Further Study**

For a comprehensive study of the 1990-1991 Persian Gulf War, see H. Rahman's *The Making of the Gulf War: Origins of Kuwait's Long-standing Territorial Dispute with Iraq* (1998). For an excellent study of Kuwait's early history, see Fredrick Anscombe's *The Ottoman Gulf: The Creation of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, 1870-1914* (1997). The story of Kuwait's independence from Britain may be found in *Kuwait, 1950-1965: Britain, the al-Sabah, and Oil* (1999), by Simon C. Smith. For a valuable study of Kuwait's social, economic, and cultural conditions, as well as gender relations, see Anh Nga Longva's *Walls Built on Sand: Migration, Exclusion, and Society in Kuwait* (1997).

For an analytical study of the Kuwaiti oil industry and its impact on Kuwaiti life, politics, and foreign relations, see Mary Ann



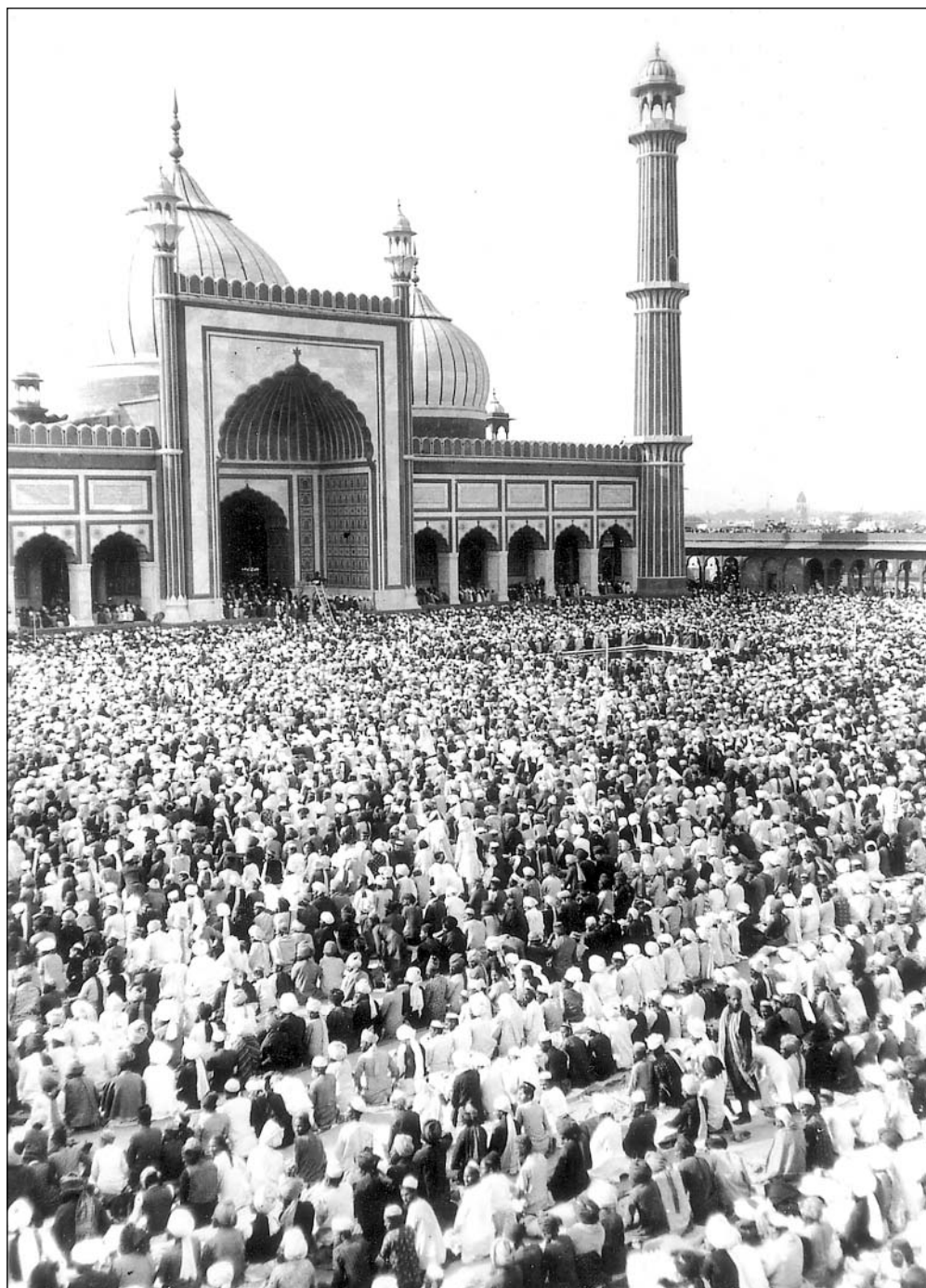
Tétreault's *The Kuwait Petroleum Corporation and the Economics of the New World Order* (1995). Mary Ann Tétreault has also published a useful book on contemporary Kuwaiti political and social issues, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait* (2000). For a critical study of U.S.-Kuwait relations, see part 4 of David Lesch's *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment* (1996).

For access to valuable videos about the Persian Gulf War, go to <http://www.pbs.org> and look for Frontline Videos. *Last Battle of the Gulf War*, a one-hour video, examines the bitter Gulf War Syndrome controversy with regard to exposure of American soldiers to chemical weapons used during the war. Another excellent video called *The Gulf War* chronicles the war and examines decisions that led to American involvement.

For informative and accurate accounts of Kuwait and the Middle East, visit <http://www.middleeast.org>. For more general information about Kuwait, see <http://www.kuwaitview.com>.

**WORLD CONFLICTS**

# **Asia and the Middle East**



MAGILL'S CHOICE

WORLD CONFLICTS

# Asia and the Middle East

**Volume 2**

Lebanon–Yemen  
Appendices  
Index

*edited by*

**Carl L. Bankston III**  
*Tulane University*

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**WORLD CONFLICTS**

# **Asia and the Middle East**



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## LEBANON

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*Although the geographical area of Lebanon is home to some of the earliest human settlements and its Phoenician ports of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos (today's Jubayl) were major centers of commerce and culture dating back to the third century B.C.E., the contemporary state of Lebanon was not created until 1920. Thereafter it became a republic in 1926 and gained full independence in 1943. Since its birth Lebanon's struggles have been caused by internal political, social, and economic strife as the nation's diverse ethnic-religious groups have attempted to coexist. Lebanon's internal conflicts have repeatedly been complicated by confrontations centered on the country's relationship to Israel, its Arab neighbors, and numerous Palestinian refugees who relocated there following the Arab-Israeli wars and the Jordanian civil war. The twentieth century saw Lebanon serve as a continual battlefield upon which both internal forces and foreign powers unrelentingly massacred militiamen and civilians. Lebanon remains an active front in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The seventeen-month Lebanese civil war, which began in 1975, is possibly the bloodiest civil war in modern history, engendering political instability and devastating the infrastructure, economy, and tourism industry of what had been one of the most developed Middle Eastern countries.*

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**T**he modern Republic of Lebanon is an Arab nation located in southwest Asia on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. One of the world's smallest sovereign states, with an area of 4,015 square miles, Lebanon is surrounded on the north and east by Syria and on the south by Israel. Its seaport capital of Beirut formerly operated as the commercial hub of the Middle East.

The rugged and snowcapped Lebanese mountains, which run parallel to the coast from the Kebir River Valley in the north to the Litani River in the south, have made the country an attractive asylum for disparate religious and ethnic groups and political dissidents.

### **Lebanon and Regional Politics**

The territory of modern Lebanon has played a critical role in

## Profile of Lebanon

*Official name:* Republic of Lebanon

*Independent since:* 1943

*Former colonial rulers:* Ottoman Empire; France

*Location:* eastern shore of Mediterranean Sea

*Area:* 4,015 square miles

*Capital:* Beirut

*Population:* 3.7 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religions:* Islam; Christianity

*Gross domestic product:* US\$18.8 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* re-exports; paper products; food and livestock; machinery and transport equipment

*Military expenditures:* US\$343 million (2000)

---

the power politics of the Arabs, Islamic dynasties, Christian Crusaders from the West, and the Ottoman Turks. During the era of the Ottoman Empire many residents of Lebanon, such as the Maronite Christians who formally united with the Roman Catholic Church in 1736, were strongly influenced by French politics.

The territory of Mount Lebanon was established as an autonomous district of the Ottoman Empire in 1861. Foreign missionaries founded the American University of Beirut in 1866 and Beirut's French Saint Joseph's University in 1875. These influential universities produced new intellectual leaders, who formed political parties that aimed for equal rights for Muslims and Turks and cultivated a new sense of Arab identity.

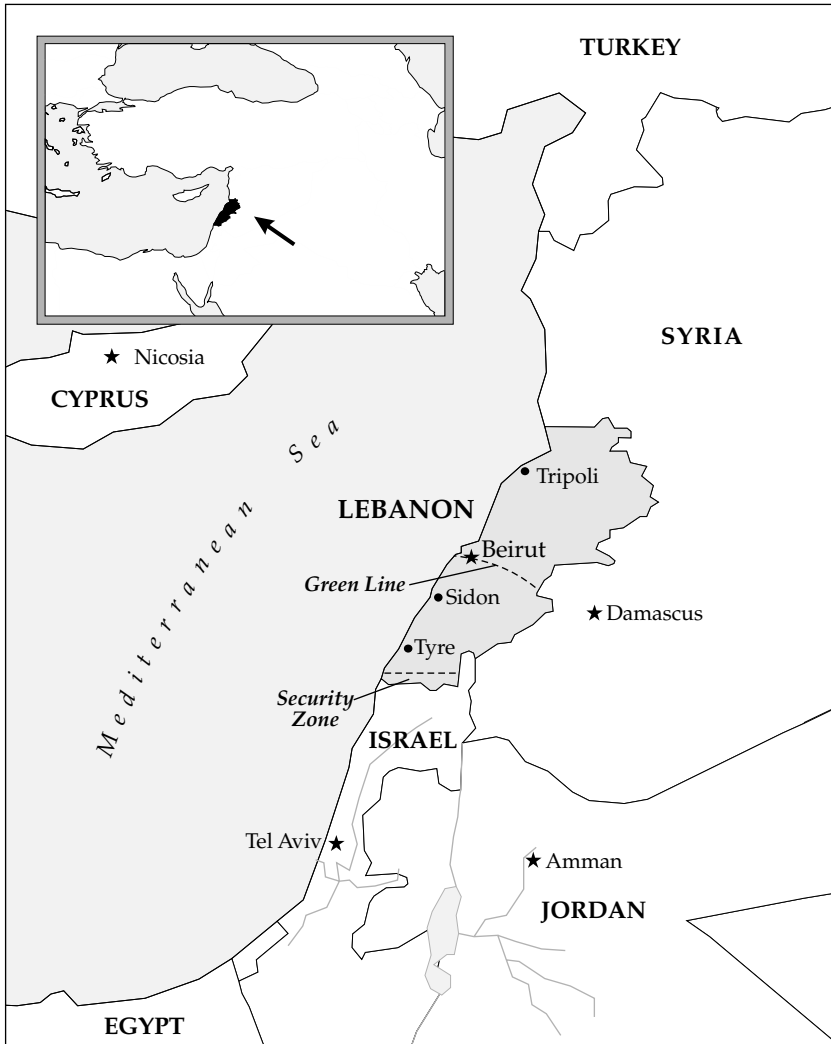
When Ottoman Turkey entered World War I on the side of the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) in 1914, Lebanon suffered as much or more than any other Ottoman territory, as harsh suppression of protests resulted in executions and a blockade around Lebanon that caused famine and plague.

Following the San Remo Conference at the conclusion of World War I, Lebanon was occupied by Allied forces and was es-

established as a nation in 1920 after the inclusion of some additional territories by French general Henri Gouraud.

In 1923 the League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations (U.N.), formally gave the predominantly Catholic French the mandate for Lebanon and neighboring Syria.

In September, 1940, Gouraud formally proclaimed the expansion of prewar Lebanon into Greater Lebanon, with Beirut as its capital, thus expanding Lebanese territory eastward across the



Bekaa Valley to the crest of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains and southward to the present border of Israel. This expansion shifted the population's ethnic balance and fueled the ongoing bitter debate over governmental representation for Lebanon's diverse religious communities.

Following the 1940 German victory over France during World War II, Lebanon was controlled by the Vichy government (named for the city where the German-controlled French government ruled). In July, 1941, Lebanon was occupied by the British and Free French. On November 26, 1941, General Georges Catroux, acting for Free French general Charles de Gaulle, proclaimed Lebanon's independence. However, the new state did not achieve full independence until 1943.

The Free French were initially reluctant to relinquish full control to the Lebanese and arrested almost the entire government on November 11, 1942. The Free French later succumbed to British diplomatic intervention, and the withdrawal of British and French troops was completed by the end of 1946.

Christian leaders of the Constitutional Bloc led by Beshara al-Khoury then reached an unwritten agreement with Muslim leaders that became known as the National Pact. This arrangement defined Lebanon as a sovereign country that would retain its distinct Arab character while allowing for the equitable representation of ethnic-religious groups within its political structure.

### **National Pact**

The years immediately following World War II brought much-needed economic prosperity to Lebanon, with Beirut becoming a popular Mediterranean resort for the wealthy. In 1945 the country became a founding member of both the Arab League and the United Nations and was known as the "playground of the Middle East."

The National Pact was able to maintain peace without the stationing of foreign troops on its soil as long as no call for pan-Arab unity came from outside the Arab nations. When Israel declared its independence on May 14, 1948, Lebanon joined Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq in immediately refusing to recognize the new Jewish state and declared war on the Zionist settlers.

Following the Israeli victory in its war of independence, many of the 400,000 Palestinian refugees who were driven out of the conquered Israeli territories fled north into Lebanon. Also during this period, the devaluation of the French Franc, to which the Lebanese currency was tightly coupled, devastated the economy. Moreover, Lebanon's refusal to enter into a full economic union with Syria brought disruption of trade with that country, escalating unemployment and the cost of living.

In 1955 the World Bank granted Lebanon a much-needed loan of US\$27 million for the Litani River project, which doubled the available electric power and promoted irrigation. With the rapid influx of Palestinian Arabs, Lebanese Muslims critically questioned the National Pact, which distributed seats in the national assembly proportionally between Christians and non-Christians. Mounting Muslim discontent combined with a cry for Arab unity by Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser resulted in six months of anarchy beginning in May, 1958. At this time the Lebanese government appealed to the United States for ground troops to establish a temporary peace.

The presidency of Camille Chamoun from 1952 to 1958 coincided with the ascension of Nasser in Egypt. Chamoun invoked Nasser's wrath by refusing to terminate diplomatic relations with Britain and France, which had united with Israel in attacking Egypt during the 1956 war over the Suez Canal.

During this time, Lebanon received \$20 million in financial, economic, and military assistance from the United States through the Eisenhower Doctrine. These events caused other Middle East nations to view Lebanon as having become too pro-Western. One indicator of this was that Lebanese women obtained the right to vote and hold office in 1953.

In 1958 Lebanon announced that it would not join either the United Arab Republic, a union of Syria and Egypt, or the Arab Federation, a union of Iraq and Jordan.

In 1961 an unsuccessful coup attempt to overthrow the government was led by military and civilian groups that wanted to unite the country into a new greater Syria. Muslims and Christians existed relatively peaceably under a weak central government until about 1969, when Lebanon's political structure, based on a floating

census, was moving toward the outbreak of what would become possibly the most destructive civil war of the twentieth century.

The urbanization of Lebanon brought over 40 percent of the population to Beirut, which became deeply divided into quarters based on religious affiliation. Lebanon's role within the Arab world also became increasingly complex, as many Syrians and Lebanese declared that the French decision to separate Lebanon from Syria in 1920 was invalid.

Jordan's civil war during "Black September" of 1970 saw the Jordanian army led by King Hussein decisively defeat the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), forcing the relocation of PLO headquarters to Beirut. The percentage of the Palestinian population of Lebanon rapidly rose to approximately 10 percent, with these displaced Arabs feeling betrayed by other Arab nations. Ex-

## Lebanon Time Line

- 1861 Territory of Mount Lebanon becomes autonomous district within Ottoman Empire.
- 1918 (Nov.) Great Britain and France occupy Lebanon at close of World War I.
- 1923 Greater Lebanon's boundaries are established, and France begins administering it under League of Nations mandate.
- 1926 Lebanon officially becomes a republic.
- 1943 Lebanon becomes completely independent, and National Pact Agreement is instituted.
- 1945 Lebanon becomes founding member of Arab League and United Nations.
- 1946 Last foreign occupation troops are withdrawn from Lebanon.
- 1948 (May) Lebanon joins other Arab nations in war against new state of Israel; Israeli victory sends many refugees to Lebanon.
- 1953 Lebanese women win the right to vote.
- 1958 Lebanon refuses to join both Syria and Egypt in United Arab Republic and Iraq and Jordan in Arab Federation.
- 1958 (July) U.S. Marines land in Lebanon to quell Muslim rebellion.
- 1961 Attempt by military to overthrow government is crushed.
- 1964 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is founded with headquarters in Beirut.
- 1966 Lebanon faces massive financial crisis.
- 1967 (June) Many Palestinian refugees settle in Lebanon following Six-Day War, in which Lebanon does not participate.

ploited for cheap labor, frustrated Arab groups began seeking allies to help liberate them from their inferior and separate status.

### Civil War

Lebanon's central government gave verbal but no military support to the Arab armies during the 1967 and 1973 wars with Israel amid rumors that secret Lebanese-Israeli agreements had been concluded, causing Arab states to question Lebanon's loyalty to the pan-Arab cause.

As more displaced Palestinians settled in southern Lebanon, the area soon became the major base for PLO guerrilla operations against Israel. When Israel retaliated by raiding PLO bases across its northern border, the Christian-dominated Lebanese government attempted to restrict PLO activities within its jurisdiction.

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- |      |                                                                                                                                                                           |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1969 | PLO begins attacking Israel from Lebanese bases.                                                                                                                          |
| 1970 | (Sept.) Many refugees from Jordan settle in Lebanon following Jordanian civil war.                                                                                        |
| 1973 | (Oct.) Yom Kippur War—in which Lebanon does not participate—displaces more refugees to Lebanon.                                                                           |
| 1975 | (Apr.) Lebanese Muslims and Christians begin civil war.                                                                                                                   |
| 1976 | (Oct.) After cease-fire in civil war is declared, Syria sends troops to Lebanon.                                                                                          |
| 1977 | Government imposes press censorship on all publications.                                                                                                                  |
| 1981 | Israel bombs PLO headquarters in Beirut.                                                                                                                                  |
| 1982 | (Sept.) Israel invades Lebanon, occupying region south of Beirut and forcing PLO headquarters to move to Tunisia.                                                         |
| 1982 | (Sept.) President-elect Bashir Gemayel is assassinated, and his brother Amin is elected president.                                                                        |
| 1983 | (Apr. 18) Truck bomb nearly destroys U.S. embassy in Beirut.                                                                                                              |
| 1983 | (Oct. 23) Truck bomb kills 241 people at U.S. Marine compound in Beirut.                                                                                                  |
| 1985 | (June) Israel withdraws from Lebanon leaving only security zone along its southern border; afterward, terrorist attacks and hijackings by Shiite Muslims become frequent. |
| 1986 | Palestinian forces in southern Lebanon launch rockets against settlements in northern Israel.                                                                             |
| 1987 | Lebanese prime minister Rashid Karami is assassinated, and Syrian troops move into Beirut.                                                                                |

*(continued)*

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Palestinian military forces, which had previously refrained from taking sides in conflicts between Lebanese Christians and Muslims, began giving support to the Muslims, and civil war broke out in April, 1975. Although the official policies of both the PLO and the Lebanese army forbade intervention, dissident groups from both sides joined the fighting and sought international support.

In an attempt to end the war, the Lebanese government offered to amend the National Pact by abolishing the Christian majority in the Chamber of Deputies. However, the Muslims rejected the proposal because the Christians insisted on retaining the office of the presidency. Early Muslim victories in the war created the appearance that Lebanon was about to become divided or become a left-wing Arab state.

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**Lebanon Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1989 (Mar.) Syrians and Christians begin fighting each other in Beirut, and Taif Agreement comes into force.
  - 1992 Lebanon participates in Middle East peace conference.
  - 1994 Palestinian guerrillas in southern Lebanon shell northern Israel positions.
  - 1996 (Apr.) Hostilities expand as far north as Beirut for first time since 1982.
  - 1998 (June 14) First local elections in thirty-five years are concluded throughout country.
  - 1998 (June 16) Israeli warplanes launch missile attacks on suspected Hezbollah military bases near Sojod.
  - 1998 (Oct. 15) National Assembly elects General Emile Lahoud president.
  - 2000 (May) Israel announces that it will withdraw its troops unconditionally from Lebanon.
  - 2000 (Oct.) Election returns Rafiq al-Hariri to office as prime minister, replacing Salim al-Hoss.
  - 2001 (June) Hezbollah attacks sites in Israel and Israel responds by attacking Syrian military sites in the Bekaa Valley.
  - 2001 (July) United Nations cuts its military force in southern Lebanon by about one thousand soldiers and reclassifies its force in the area as an observer mission.
  - 2001 (Aug.) Lebanese security forces arrest a number of people opposed to Syria. This causes a serious break between President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri.
- 
-

Apparently believing that either result would eventually cause an Israeli attack, Syria shifted its support to the Christians. When Israel blockaded ports in Tyre and Sidon and invaded southern Lebanon, some Lebanese with backing from Iraq and Libya began courting the PLO, a movement they had previously regarded as ineffective. After Egypt sought closer relations with the PLO to support its other political maneuvers, the Syrian-aided Christians began winning the war.

A division along the "green line" which passed through Beirut and along the main road to Damascus separated the Christian jurisdiction to the north and the leftist Druze-Muslim-Palestinian government to the south. The civil war officially ended in October, 1976, with an estimated 50,000 Lebanese killed and twice that number wounded. In the aftermath, the major issues that had sparked the fighting remained unresolved.

As sporadic altercations continued, a cease-fire agreement was arranged between the new Lebanese president Elias Sarkis, PLO chairman Yasir Arafat, and leaders of Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Egypt. This agreement provided for the enforcement of the peace through the 30,000-member Arab Deterrent Force, composed mostly of Syrian soldiers, and a commitment by the PLO to refrain from further interference in Lebanese domestic affairs.

During the seventeen-month civil war scarcely a day passed without bloodshed somewhere in Lebanon, leaving the country badly damaged and embittered. The Muslims retained a governmental majority, but the Christians were determined to keep control of key government positions to protect them from becoming second-class minorities as in neighboring Muslim countries. A private Christian militia was established to patrol the buffer zone in southern Lebanon. This militia received supplies and assistance from Israel to prevent Palestinian guerrillas from infiltrating into Israel.

The complexity of Lebanon's internal struggle accelerated when private Christian militia groups began firing upon one another over disagreements regarding the push to fortify the central government. Shelling of the Christian section of Beirut by the Arab Deterrent Force proved only minimally effective in thwart-

ing resistance by the Christian majority to the strengthening of Lebanon's central government. During this period of political instability, Arabs throughout the entire Middle East began to question the dream of pan-Arabism, the unity for all Arabs, because the Arabs had not yet presented a unified front in world politics.

### **Israeli Invasion of Lebanon**

Sporadic fighting continued into the early 1980's between the PLO and Israel despite cease-fire agreements between Syrian, Christian, and Israeli leaders in July, 1981, brokered by United States special envoy Philip Habib. Israel bombed PLO headquarters in Beirut, but the PLO continued to attack Israel from regions of Lebanon that were occupied by Syria.

Recognizing that any PLO forces in southern Lebanon presented an ongoing threat to national security, Israel invaded Lebanon on June 6, 1982, with 60,000 troops and linked up with



*U.S. Marines patrolling Beirut during a multinational peacekeeping operation in 1982.*  
(U.S. Navy)

Christian Phalangist forces northeast of Beirut, leaving 13,000 Lebanese and 650 Israelis dead.

With PLO and Syrian forces trapped in West Beirut, parts of Beirut were shelled into rubble by the Israeli forces, requiring a peacekeeping force from the United States, France, and Italy to evacuate about 14,400 troops. As president-elect Bashir Gemayel was killed in a bomb explosion in September, 1982, and was succeeded by his brother Amin, Israeli forces took control of West Beirut to prevent a regrouping of the PLO.

The Lebanese Christian militia, with Israeli backing, then entered refugee camps in southern Beirut and slaughtered hundreds of men, women, and children. Israel denied responsibility for the massacre, but a later investigation by the Israeli government led to the resignation of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

PLO forces had returned to Lebanon in increasing numbers by 1983, but the effectiveness of the organization was hampered by a deep split over its support for Arafat. As fighting within the PLO broke out, the United Nations peacekeeping force of 2,000 French, 2,000 Italians, 1,600 Americans, and 1,000 British that had previously occupied Beirut to help evacuate the PLO were drawn into keeping the peace between Muslim militia forces. These militia groups were greatly strengthened when Muslims from the Lebanese army chose to defect rather than fight against their fellow Muslims.

A truce was arranged through the mediation efforts of Saudi Arabia and Syria, which allowed Arafat and four thousand of his supporters to depart for Tripoli, Libya, under U.N. protection and seek asylum in Algeria, Tunisia, and the Yemen Arab Republic. The PLO was badly weakened by internal fighting and also from refusal by the Lebanese Shiites to enable it to reestablish military bases in southern Lebanon. Israel began withdrawing its forces in September, 1983, which continued until June, 1985, and the international peacekeeping contingent finally left Beirut in February, 1984.

This abrupt removal of intervening foreign powers only created more political instability, leaving the Christian and rightist movement, the Shiite-Druze alliance, and the PLO split over the question of Syrian leadership in the region. With worldwide at-

## **Ethnic and Religious Diversity in Lebanon**

The modern Lebanese population of approximately 3.7 million contains more Muslims than Christians, with Lebanese Muslims divided almost equally between the Sunni and Shiite sects. The majority of Lebanese Christians are Maronites, who recognize the authority of the pope while also upholding many Eastern rites. Other Christians belong either to the Greek Catholic church (Melkites) or various branches of the Orthodox Eastern church. Lebanon is also an unwilling host to approximately 350,000 Palestinian refugees, creating numerous unresolved problems regarding their absorption into society. To further complicate Arab-Christian and Arab-Jewish conflicts, each group often expresses different opinions concerning internal Lebanese affairs, which has resulted in Muslims opposing Muslims and Christians opposing Christians.

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tention focused on Lebanon when Shiite Muslims hijacked a passenger airplane into Beirut, a constitutional crisis ensued, leaving Lebanon with two heavily armed governments claiming legitimacy: the Christian government in East Beirut and the predominantly Muslim government in West Beirut.

Amid rumors that Syrian and Iranian militias were about to join the Syrian army against the Lebanese, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar called an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council, only the third time the United Nation's emergency powers had been invoked. Nearly all Lebanese opposed the proposed division of their country into two nations, and in March, 1989, General Michel Aoun gained Iraqi assistance and launched a "war of liberation" against Syria and its allies within Lebanon.

Later that year the Lebanese national assembly met in Taif, Saudi Arabia, and agreed on a Charter of National Reconciliation, afterward known as the Taif Agreement. This constitutional compromise adjusted the parliament, presidency, and cabinet so that Christian and Muslim representatives would equally share political power. When Aoun proclaimed the election of Maronite Christian president Rene Mouawad to be unconstitutional, the new government immediately dismissed him as commander of

the Lebanese army, and he retreated into exile in France after failing to gain any foreign support.

### **Efforts to Achieve Peace**

In May, 1991, President Elias Hrawi signed a treaty with Syria with superpower backing, under which Syria committed itself to recognizing Lebanon as a separate and independent state for the first time since the two countries gained independence from France in 1943. The ten-kilometer-wide (six-mile) security zone along southern Lebanon's border remained a site of periodic hostilities between Shiite Hezbollah forces and Israeli-backed Lebanese troops.

After thirteen separate Israeli air strikes into southern Lebanon between January 1 and June 3, 1991, Lebanon joined other Middle Eastern countries in a U.S.-brokered Arab-Israeli Peace Conference in 1992 and called for the immediate implementation of U.N. Resolution 242, requiring Israel to withdraw from southern Lebanon. Israel, however, refused to withdraw from the buffer zone along the Israel-Lebanon border, which Israel had established in 1985 to protect its northern settlements.

By 1992 Syria had emerged as the dominant influence in Lebanese affairs. In 1994 Hezbollah guerrillas in southern Lebanon shelled northern Israel to protest the signing of the Israel-Jordanian peace treaty, which the guerrillas viewed as a break in Arab unity. Israel and the South Lebanon Army returned fire, and political programs that were not government owned were banned from television and radio in an effort to curb the violence.

Many felt that one goal of the Syrians and Iranian-backed Hezbollah guerrillas was to fight a war against Israel within Lebanon, the weakest country in the Middle East, whereas Israel's objective was to flood Beirut with refugees to put pressure on Syria to curtail Hezbollah activities.

Hostilities began expanding north beyond the security zone, and Israel attacked Beirut in April, 1996, for the first time since its 1982 invasion. The expanding conflict based on the calculated use of suffering refugees was condemned internationally, compelling Israel and the Hezbollah to sign a cease-fire mediated by the United States with Syria playing a consulting role.

After accepting the cease-fire, Hezbollah took part in national elections in 1996, sending a representative to Lebanon's National Assembly. This marked Hezbollah's transition from a guerrilla army to a broader political organization.

Elections in October, 1998, replaced Elias Hrawi as president of Lebanon. General Emile Lahoud won the office with heavy military support. General Lahoud also had the backing of the Syrians, who had become essential to any political arrangement in Lebanon. In those elections, also, veteran politician Salim al-Hoss replaced Rafiq al-Hariri. The fact that Lebanon was able to hold regional elections in 1998, for the first time in thirty-five years, signaled peace and an opportunity for rebuilding the political structures of the nation. However, tensions between Christians and Muslims continued and the Christian president, Lahoud, was accused of breaking the Taif Agreement of 1989 by assuming powers thought by some to belong to the Muslim prime minister.

Rafiq al-Hariri returned to office in October, 2000. His relations with President Lahoud were difficult. In August, 2001, Lebanese security forces, apparently acting with the consent of the president, arrested a number of individuals known to be opposed to the Syrians. The arrests caused a serious break between the president and the prime minister, who had not been consulted about these actions.

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## Political Representation in Lebanon

Lebanon utilizes a parliamentary system of government. By an unwritten political-ethnic tradition, the elected president of the legislature must be a Maronite Christian who appoints a premier who must be a Sunni Muslim. The entire government is responsible to a National Assembly, whose speaker must be a Shiite Muslim. This system, through which leaders of Lebanon's various ethnic groups exert influence over governmental policy, ensures interfaith cooperation. Generally, Christians favor an independent course for Lebanon stressing ties with Europe, whereas Muslims favor closer ties with surrounding Arab nations. Economic and political self-interest have inspired these diverse groups to attempt to work together during critical periods in the nation's history. Lebanese adaptations of Western ideas have significantly influenced the remainder of the Arab world.

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It appeared that Syria would continue to dominate domestic politics in Lebanon and this may have been desirable, since the Syrians were able to maintain a semblance of peace in the troubled country. Many Lebanese were nervous about the possibility that the United States would become more involved in the region after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C., in September, 2001. Because some American political leaders regarded the Hezbollah as a terrorist organization, the American global war on terrorism could lead to American actions against this group in Lebanon. Even without new wars in the region, the rebuilding of Lebanon would be a long and difficult process.

*Daniel G. Graetzer*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

Texts that examine Lebanon's political history and its relationship with Israel, its Arab neighbors, and the West include *Lebanon*, by Sean Sheehan (1998); *My Enemy's Enemy: Lebanon in the Early Zionist Imagination, 1900-1948*, by Laura Zittrain Eisenberg (1994); *Lebanon: Death of a Nation*, by Sandra Mackey (1989); *Lebanon*, by Mary Jane Cahill (1987); and Albert Hourani and Shehadi Nadim's *The Lebanese and the World* (1992). Accounts of the Lebanese civil war are documented in *The War for Lebanon: 1970-1983*, by Itamar Rabinovich (1984); *Lebanon—Fire and Embers: A History of the Lebanese Civil War*, by Dilip Hiro (1993); and *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered*, by Kamal S. Salibi (1988). Terry A. Anderson gives reflections on his hostage experience in Lebanon from 1985 to 1991 in the book *Den of Lions: Memoirs of Seven Years* (1993).

Samir Khalaf explains how a civil war in a small country became a matter of international concern in *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon: A History of the Internationalization of Communal Conflict* (2002). Farid el Khazen looks at the years leading up to the Lebanese civil war in *The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon, 1967-1976* (2000).



## LIBYA

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*Discovery of huge oil reserves of exceptionally pure quality in 1959 transformed Libya from one of the world's poorest nations into one of the world's richest. After Colonel Muammar Qaddafi came to power in 1969, oil money enabled Libya to become a complicating force in many violent conflicts that have affected the world. Indeed, Libya has engaged in armed conflicts with five of its six neighbors. It has also tried, though unsuccessfully, to forge many different pan-Arabic and pan-African national mergers to offset dominance by former imperial Western powers. Qaddafi has offered his own political philosophy as a model for a Third World system that is neither capitalism nor communism. However, the greatest problem has been Libya's financing and training of scores of terrorist groups and its possible involvement in planning specific terrorist acts including the bombing of civilian passenger flights. Also menacing have been the numerous assassinations of Libyan dissidents in exile. Human rights violations of opponents at home have also earned the Qaddafi regime condemnation by the U.S. State Department and Amnesty International, among others. Qaddafi's spending of large sums to build a large underground weapons-manufacturing plant has raised fears that dangerous new weapons may be produced for use by future terrorists.*

*The partial resolution of some of Libya's international terrorism cases helped to restore a portion of the nation's diplomatic relations. Following terrorist attacks on New York in 2001, in which Libya was apparently not involved, American concerns over Libyan terrorism were replaced to some extent by concerns with terrorism elsewhere.*

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Libya is a vast country but is sparsely populated because of its great heat and aridity. Two-thirds of its 5.4 million inhabitants, 97 percent of whom are Arab-Berber and followers of Sunni Islam, live in coastal areas. In area, Libya is the fourth largest nation on the African continent, sharing borders with six other nations: Egypt to the east, Sudan to the southeast, Niger and Chad to the south, and Algeria and Tunisia to the west.

“Libya” was a name used by ancient Greeks to describe all of North Africa to the west of Egypt. Some of the earliest historical descriptions were recorded by the ancient historian Herodotus. The ancient name was again used in 1932, when Italian dictator Benito Mussolini created a new Italian province in North Africa that combined the former Italian colonies of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan. These three areas had developed separately from one another, producing distinct historical traditions. The most common experience was brutal treatment in the 1930’s during the trauma of Italian imperialism.

### **Early History**

Cyrenaica (the eastern half of Libya) began as a Greek settlement in 631 B.C.E. It was conquered by Rome in 74 B.C.E. and joined to Crete as a Roman province. Older still, Tripolitania was founded by the Phoenicians in 900 B.C.E. Four centuries later it joined the merchant empire of Carthage, developing three major commercial cities. Following Rome’s defeat of Carthage, Tripolitania fell under Roman control. Roads were built connecting cities, aqueducts brought water into the cities, and irrigation projects gave rise to increased farmlands. Septimus Severii, the Roman emperor from 193-211 C.E., sprang from Libyan roots. Even today magnificent Greco-Roman ruins in Libya can be seen

## **Profile of Libya**

*Official name:* Socialist Peoples’ Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

*Independent since:* 1951

*Former colonial ruler:* Italy

*Location:* North Africa, between Tunisia and Egypt

*Area:* 679,358 square miles

*Capital:* Tripoli

*Population:* 5.4 million (2002 est.)

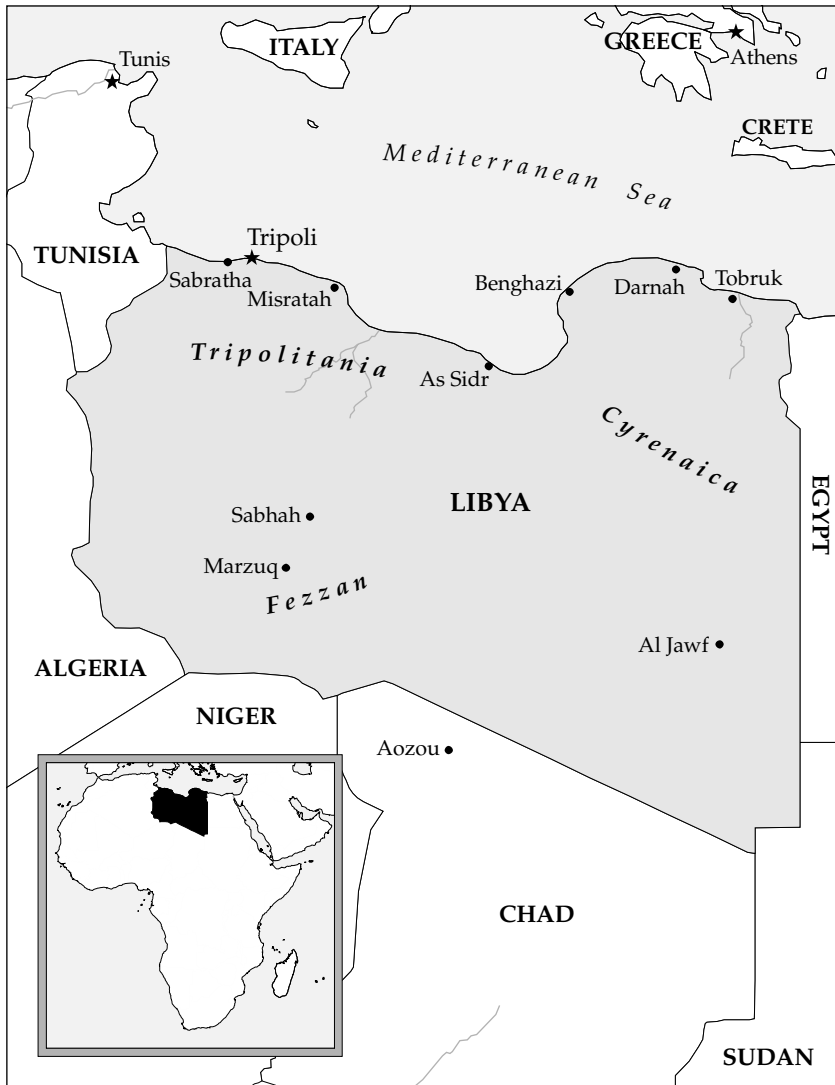
*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religion:* Sunni Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$40 billion (2001 est.)

*Major export:* crude petroleum

*Military expenditures:* US\$1.3 billion (2000)



at Leptis Magna, Sabratha, Cyrene, and Tomaltha. Throughout most of its history, Tripolitania has been a focal point for change in Libya.

The Fezzan, or interior, region of Libya, was settled in pre-historic times. Rock paintings in the oasis of Ghadames predate the earliest civilization in Egypt. The region was inhabited by Berbers, who controlled the trans-Saharan trade routes. During

the fifth century B.C.E., much of the area became part of the Garamantian Empire, which blocked Roman expansion into the Fezzan. Throughout history, the Fezzan region has remained most resistant to change.

With the fall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the Vandals conquered parts of Libya in 455. Their territory was taken over a century later by the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire. The armies of Omar Ibn al-As brought Islamic Arab expansion to Libya in 642. While accepting Islam, the Berbers of the Fezzan proved most resistant to Arab dominance. Caught up in Western Europe's medieval Crusades, part of the Libyan coast fell under Norman control in 1146. Hence, during its early history, Libya came under the influence of many major world events.

### **Early Modern and Modern Libya**

By the mid-sixteenth century Libya came under the control of the Ottoman Turks. However, this meant the payment of taxes, not surrender of local control. During the next three centuries much of coastal Libya was controlled by pirate captains, exacting tribute from ever increasing sea trade. In 1711 domination of coastal trade came under the control of the Karamanli Dynasty, and coastal Libya became known to tribute-paying European sea captains as the Barbary Coast (after Berber).

In 1802 the infant United States became embroiled in a conflict over tribute and Tripoli's holding hostage the crew of the U.S. warship *Philadelphia*. The landing of marines, and the payment of tribute, gained both the crew's freedom and a treaty—as well as a line in the modern anthem of the U.S. Marines: “From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli.”

In the early nineteenth century the materialism of the Karamanli Dynasty stimulated an orthodox Sunni Islam movement, started by Mohamad bin Ali al-Sanusi (1787-1859). Lodges constructed for travelers soon became a network of religious centers particularly appealing to the Bedouin traders of Cyrenaica and Fezzan. The resulting Sanusi movement advocated a reinvigorated Islam and vigorously opposed the spread of European influence. Sanusi lodges continued to play an important role in Islamic life until they were closed by Italians in the early 1930's.

### Italian Imperialism

By the early twentieth century the overextended Ottoman Empire was disintegrating, and all of Africa—except tiny Liberia in the west, the ancient Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, and Libya—had fallen under European rule. After Italy, a relative newcomer to imperialism, failed to conquer Ethiopia during the 1890's, it turned its gaze across the Mediterranean Sea to Libya. Anxious to turn Italy away from supporting Germany, France encouraged an Italian plan to invade Libya in 1911. However, the Italian invasion was met by stiff resistance in Tripolitania and guerrilla warfare in Fezzan.

In 1916, at the height of World War I, an agreement was reached granting Italian control of Libya's cities, and local autonomy in the countryside. However, any form of Italian rule in Libya was opposed by the Sanusi and a guerrilla force of several thousand led by Omar Mukhtar. To a lesser degree, resistance was also led by King Idris al-Sanusi, the former Turkish emir of Cyrenaica.

By 1930 Italy was under Mussolini's Fascist rule. It decided to take control of all of Libya by using modern military equipment, terror tactics, and a large invading force under General Rodolfo Graziani. Libyan resistance was brutally crushed. In September, 1931, Omar Mukhtar's forces were defeated. After a mock trial, Mukhtar was hanged in front of 20,000 Libyan prisoners at Soluk, gaining immortality as a national hero. (Actor Anthony Quinn played Mukhtar in *Lion of the Desert*, a 1981 film financed by the Libyan government.)

Italian subjugation of Libya was complete by 1932. Tens of thousands of Italian settlers were transported to Libya to work the best farmlands. The Bedouins were driven from their grazing grounds, and Sanusi lodges were closed. Libyan resistance was met with mass executions. Although the Italian reign of terror lasted only ten years, it became permanently etched in the national memory.

Adding to the trauma, Libya became a major World War II battleground on which Italian and German forces fought the Allies. Between 1930 and 1943 Libya appears to have lost half its population, directly through repression and warfare, and indirectly to

starvation. In 1943 Fezzan came under French control, and the remainder of Libya was placed under temporary British rule.

### **Constitutional Monarchy**

The conclusion of World War II in 1945 found Libya in a sorry state. With a literacy rate of only 6 percent, an untrained labor force, and the most productive farmlands owned by Italian settlers, Libya was in a poor position to regain its independence. While exporting some tobacco, olive oil, dates, and carpets, the main source of Libyan revenue during the postwar years derived from selling vast amounts of scrap metal reclaimed from military vehicles and equipment littering the desert after World War II. However, a profusion of active land mines and bombs were also left behind as a grim legacy of the war.

In November, 1949, the United Nations passed a resolution that called for Libya to become independent by January, 1952. During this interim period, Idris Sanusi, an indecisive person who had lived much of his life outside Libya, became king of Cyrenaica and was designated heir to the Libyan throne. A lingering problem was the common view that he was a front man for Great Britain.

By 1952 a constitutional monarchy was in place, with a federal structure allowing each of Libya's three provinces to manage its own internal affairs. The king was empowered to dissolve parliament, and frequently used this power. To reduce provincial animosity Libya had two capitals: Tripoli served as national capital during the winter months, and Benghazi during the summer. For defense a small army was created; however, the best military equipment was reserved for the Cyrenaica Defense Force, which protected the king against assassination and coup attempts mounted by the regular army.

As ruler of one of the poorest nations in the world, King Idris rented military bases to Great Britain in December, 1953, to gain annual rental funds. The following year, the United States made a similar rental contract for the building of Wheelus Field, then the largest U.S. military base outside the United States. Thus Libya went from the scrap metal business into property rental. In 1956 contracts were granted to two American companies to resume Italy's aborted attempt to find oil in 1940.

In April, 1959, Esso-Libya announced that a vast amount of low-sulfur oil had been found beneath the Sirte Desert at Zelten, and that work would start on an oil pipeline. By September, 1961, oil began to flow out of Libya, and vast financial resources began to flow into the Idris monarchy. Since Libya's federal system complicated both his own and oil company profits, Idris ended it in 1963 by turning Libya's government into a unitary system. By 1969, when Idris was toppled from power, Libya already ranked as the world's fourth-largest oil producer.

### **Muammar Qaddafi**

Instead of buttressing the Idris monarchy, the huge profits pouring in from oil exports served only to destabilize the government. While some money was spent on urbanization and social

## **Libya Time Line**

- 1551 Libya falls under rule of Ottoman Empire.
- 1911 Italy begins to conquer Libya.
- 1931 As Italians complete occupation of Libya, they close Sanussi lodges and have Omar Mukhtar executed.
- 1941 Two years of intense fighting begin in Libya as part of World War II.
- 1951 (Dec. 24) Libya becomes independent monarchy under King Idris I.
- 1953-1954 Britain and United States gain leases to large military bases in Libya.
- 1959 Oil is discovered at Sirte.
- 1961 Oil pipeline is completed.
- 1963 Federal system is terminated in favor of unitary system.
- 1969 (Sept. 1) Coup topples Idris monarchy, placing power in hands of young army officers headed by Muammar Qaddafi.
- 1973 Qaddafi publishes *The Green Book* and launches Libya's cultural revolution.
- 1977 Revolutionary Command Council is abolished.
- 1979 Libyan troops go to Uganda to support Idi Amin.
- 1980 Worldwide assassination campaign is waged against anti-Qaddafi dissidents.
- 1981 (Aug. 19) Two Libyan jets are shot down by U.S. planes.
- 1983 Libya launches second major invasion of Chad.
- 1986 U.S. fleet attacks missile sites and Libyan patrol boats.
- 1986 (Apr. 14) U.S. resumes airstrikes on Libyan targets.

programs, little of the new wealth reached the population as a whole. Government officials tended to be both incompetent and corrupt. By the mid-1960's the question was not whether Idrisi would be overthrown, but when and by whom.

Since 1956 President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt—Libya's neighbor to the east—had been regarded as a hero throughout the Arab world. Nasser stressed pan-Arabism and socialist egalitarianism. One young Libyan Bedouin, Muammar al-Qaddafi, living in his family's tent in Sirte, listened with fascination and awe to Nasser's words on his radio.

Three years before the 1969 coup, Qaddafi was intently studying radio and electronics in Great Britain. He had attended a small academy in Benghazi, set up by the British, where he had formed a cell of like-minded future officers, all of whom were de-

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|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1987 | Libya loses war with Chad over Aozou Strip.                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1988 | (Dec. 21) Terrorist bombing downs Pan Am airliner over Scotland; two Libyans are implicated in bombing.                                                                                                                |
| 1989 | (Sept.) Terrorist bombing brings down UTA flight over Chad; six Libyans are implicated.                                                                                                                                |
| 1990 | Chemical-weapons plant at Rabata is closed by Qaddafi.                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1992 | U.N.-imposed sanctions on exports to Libya begin.                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1995 | Clashes escalate between Libyan security forces and Islamic militants.                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1996 | United States implements Iran and Libya Sanctions Act to pressure foreign corporations.                                                                                                                                |
| 1998 | Qaddafi offers to have accused airline bombers tried in World Court or neutral nation.                                                                                                                                 |
| 1999 | (Apr.) Libya turns accused bombers over to U.N. officials for trial in the Netherlands; U.N. sanctions against Libya are lifted.                                                                                       |
| 1999 | (July) Libya attempts to settle the 1989 bombing of the UTA flight by paying about \$31 billion to families of the victims; however, a French judge rules that Qaddafi's own role in the bombing must be investigated. |
| 2001 | (Jan.) Netherlands court rules in the UTA bombing case that Lamin Khalifa Fhimah is not guilty and 'Abd al-Baset al-Megrahi is guilty; the latter is sentenced to life in prison.                                      |
| 2001 | (Mar. 14) French court rules that Qaddafi cannot be prosecuted for the UTA bombing.                                                                                                                                    |
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vout followers of Islam opposed to hereditary wealth and power. Meeting with utmost secrecy, this small group of young officers followed the leadership of the articulate and charismatic Qaddafi and planned to overthrow Libya's monarchy.

By August, 1969, three different groups of senior officers were also planning coups against the monarchy. Speeding up their timetable, Qaddafi's group acted first. On September 1, after encountering almost no resistance, a nearly bloodless coup was launched. Power was transferred to the twelve-man Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) headed by Qaddafi. In his first major speech, Qaddafi made it clear that representative democracy was ill suited for Libya.

The newly renamed Libyan Arab Republic immediately made itself popular by taking a vigorous anti-Western stand and granting some immediate socioeconomic benefits. Great Britain and the United States were asked to vacate their military bases in Libya, the oil industry and banks were nationalized, the Italian settlers (who had been given renewed special privileges in 1956) were expelled and their property confiscated. All businesses had to be owned by Libyan nationals. Alcoholic beverages were banned, and even tourists had to carry travel documents written in Arabic. On the internal level, the minimum wage was doubled, rents lowered (along with salaries of government officials), and work was begun to build needed houses, hospitals, and public schools.

Following his pan-Arab dream, Qaddafi negotiated political mergers with Egypt, Syria, the Sudan, and Tunisia. However, these plans did not prove productive and had to be abandoned in 1974. Pan-Arab policies split the RCC, causing in 1970 the first attempted coup against Qaddafi. On the whole, however, Qaddafi's first four years in power—called by some his "Nasserite" years—were quiet ones in which he consolidated his power base.

### **Militancy and Radicalism**

In the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War that Israel fought against Egypt and Syria in 1973, Libya took the lead in declaring and trying to maintain an oil embargo to bring down the Israeli government. Limiting oil shipments long after prices quadrupled

deprived Libya of needed oil revenues. Libya also headed the effort to blacklist both nations and corporations which traded with Israel. A great deal of support was obtained from the cash-starved new nations of Africa. Finally Qaddafi began to subsidize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

By the mid-1980's Libya provided funds and training for a host of nearly fifty organizations engaged in acts of terrorism for causes that Qaddafi approved. Qaddafi also aided South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) in its struggles against the racist white government.

Meanwhile, in 1973, Libya began to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy by invading and taking over the Aozou Strip from neighboring Chad to the south. Although only 45,000 square miles of desolate Saharan land, the Aozou was reputed to be rich in uranium ore. This action was followed by intervention in the lengthy Chadian civil war on the side of forces opposed to Chad's Hissen Habré. French intervention in 1983-1984 ensured Habré's ultimate victory. By 1987 Chad recaptured the Aozou Strip and Libya's retreating forces left behind more than a billion dollars worth of advanced military hardware.

The late 1970's also saw Libyan intervention in Uganda on the side of the ruthless dictator Idi Amin, and violent disputes with Egypt. The unpopularity of Qaddafi's foreign policy helped fuel an army officer revolt against him in August, 1975. However, the revolt failed, and two dozen conspirators were shot. The army revolt persuaded Qaddafi later to end the RCC, creating in its place a wide network of "People's Committees" supervised by Revolutionary Councils whose members were answerable only to him.

In Qaddafi's famous *The Green Book* (1973), he described his new revolutionary structure without classes, elites, or political parties as the Third Way. He claimed it was a means of avoiding problems inherent to both capitalism and communism. Consequently Libya entered its "Cultural Revolution" period, with *The Green Book* serving an inspirational purpose similar to that served by Mao Zedong's *Little Red Book* in China. By 1977 the book was expanded to include a section announcing an economic system in Libya without private-sector wage workers.

Since only the needy could be exploited, Qaddafi announced the abolition of need within Libya. Consequently, foreign workers were imported to do the more demanding manual labor tasks, while multinational corporate technicians were hired for technology-intensive tasks. While Libya's vast oil revenues were great enough to abolish need within Libya's tiny population, they also helped to abolish individual work incentive.

By 1981 *The Green Book* had been expanded to include a third section dealing with the importance of nationalism, and the superiority of Islam in producing multiracialism. At the time it was written, Qaddafi had decided to liquidate the large number of Libyan enemies he had accumulated that were living in exile.

In April, 1980, assassinations of Libyan dissidents were carried out in Bonn, Paris, and Rome. The new Reagan administration in the United States denounced Libya as a "terrorist nation," and U.S.-Libyan relations rapidly deteriorated.

The United States reacted strongly to Libya's offer of US\$100 million in aid to Nicaragua's Sandinista regime in May, 1981. It gave Libya five days to vacate its embassy in Washington, D.C. In August the U.S. Navy's Sixth Fleet was sent on maneuvers off the Libyan coast, and two Libyan fighter planes were shot down when they flew too close to it. In December, the U.S. State Department—acting on skimpy evidence—announced that a Libyan "hit-squad" had been dispatched to the United States to assassinate President Ronald Reagan. In an atmosphere of hysteria, all U.S. citizens were ordered to leave Libya.

Finally on March 10, 1982, the United States placed an embargo on the importation of Libyan oil and the export of many technologically oriented products. Because it helped fund and train so many terrorist groups, Libya continued to reap suspicion and condemnation for most terrorist acts worldwide.

### **Terrorist Bombings and Reprisals**

Palestinian nationalist bombing attacks in the international airline terminals of Rome and Vienna on December 27, 1985, killing five Americans and twenty other persons, again fired strong anti-Libyan policies. Providing little evidence, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) blamed the bombings on Libya.

Within two weeks, all U.S. trade with Libya was stopped, Libyan assets in the United States were frozen, and plans were made to send a large naval task force to Libya.

In March, 1986, three U.S. Navy carrier battle groups were in formation off the Libyan coast in an action called Operation Prairie Fire. The launching of two Libyan missiles at U.S. reconnaissance planes resulted in destruction of the radar-missile sites. In addition, at least two Libyan patrol boats were sunk. In all seventy-six Libyans were killed. Ten days later a bomb exploded in a Berlin discotheque packed with American servicemen, killing three people and injuring nearly two hundred. One Libyan, one Palestinian, and three Germans were eventually implicated in the bombing. (Their trial began in Germany in late 1997.) The U.S. State Department claimed that two intercepted cables clearly indicated Libyan sponsorship.

U.S. president Reagan called Qaddafi "the mad dog of the Middle East" in a press conference on April 9, 1986, and put a new operation, El Dorado Canyon, into motion. Operating from England, eighteen U.S. F-111 bombers, joined by fifteen planes from U.S. carriers in the Mediterranean, bombed Tripoli and Benghazi. Qaddafi's Tripoli home was hit with a two-thousand-pound bomb, killing his infant adopted daughter and injuring two other children and his wife. Terrorist training sites in Tripoli and Benghazi were hit, along with the French, Finnish, and Austrian embassies, and a wealthy neighborhood in Tripoli where many foreign dignitaries lived. The Tripoli raid, taking only eleven minutes, killed nearly one hundred people. The raids produced worldwide condemnation, and even in Great Britain Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came under attack for not informing Parliament.

Two and a half years later, the world reacted in horror when a bomb exploded on Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, on December 21, 1988, killing all 259 people on board and 11 people on the ground. Some believed that the bombing was Iran's response for the downing of an Iranian airliner by the USS *Vincennes* over the Persian Gulf, in July, 1988. Others viewed the act as Qaddafi's revenge for the U.S. bombings of Tripoli and Benghazi.

*Image Not Available*

On September 19, 1989, a French UTA passenger flight exploded over Chad killing all 170 passengers and crew members. By 1996 France had identified six suspects in the bombing, all attached to Libyan intelligence, as well as Qaddafi's own brother-in-law. In 1991, the United States accused two members of Libya's secret service of direct involvement in the Pan Am bombing. Qaddafi placed both individuals under house arrest, but refused to extradite them as Libya had no extradition laws. As a result of this stand, Libya found itself under crushing sanctions of international law until it handed over the suspects in early 1999.

**Sanctions**

In 1992 with vigorous U.S. support, the United Nations (U.N.) placed sanctions on Libya prohibiting petroleum exports, com-

mercial flights to and from Libya, and the selling of military or aviation equipment to Libya. U.N. Security Council Resolutions 731 and 748 were reinforced by Resolution 883, further elaborating details of sanctions. They cited Libya for lack of compliance in delivering the terrorists to justice and for lack of concrete actions to show Libya's renunciation of terrorism. Adding to U.N. actions, the United States passed the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act in 1996, specifying sanctions on private foreign companies investing in, or trading with, either nation.

Bringing to trial so many operatives intimately involved in Libyan intelligence produced a situational nightmare for Qaddafi. Instead of compliance, Libyan policy focused on circumventing sanctions through front companies and helping to erode international support for sanctions. Libyan oil money was used to gain support from financially stressed African nations, such as Ghana (which held the next place in the rotating presidency of the fifteen-member U.N. Security Council). Even more effective were the visits of South Africa's President Nelson Mandela in October, 1997, and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat in July, 1998.

The 1996 visit of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan of the United States demonstrated Qaddafi's creative machinations. Farrakhan was given a \$250,000 "human rights" prize, and was offered a billion dollars for his projects. However, the U.S. government refused to allow him to accept Libyan money. Eventually, Farrakhan declined Qaddafi's "kindnesses."

### **Problems and Improvements**

A subject that caused new concern in the last decade of the twentieth century was Libya's construction of a huge chemical-weapons plant near Tarhunak. It was carved into the side of a mountain in order to protect it from spy satellites and "smart" bombs. In 1990 the United States persuaded Libya to close its huge weapons plant at Rabata by threatening to destroy it.

Through the 1990's the United States waged a concerted international campaign to slow the importation of equipment and technology needed to complete what has been termed "Rabata II." An even more massive and expensive project was Lib-

ya's "Man-Made River Project" begun in Benghazi in 1991 to create a large river from water contained in desert aquifers. If the project were successful, however, it was estimated that there was not enough water to keep such a river running for more than thirty years.

A second and lingering problem for Libya has been human rights. In 1997 Amnesty International issued a thirty-six-page report, "Libya: Gross Human Rights Violations Amid Secrecy and Isolation," documenting mass arrests, prison tortures, disappearance of dissidents, and punishment of whole families for activities of individual members. Like many other Middle Eastern rulers, Qaddafi has faced violent opposition from fundamentalist Islamic groups dedicated to overthrowing his essentially secular regime.

Some of Libya's international conflicts showed signs of improving in 1998 and in the following years. The United States and the United Kingdom, in 1998, agreed that the suspects in the 1988 bombing of Pan American Flight 103 could be tried in the Netherlands, a country that was neutral in this matter. On April 5, 1999, the two suspects, 'Abd al-Baset al-Megrahi and Lamin Khalifa Fhimah, were flown out of Libya and to the Netherlands with Qaddafi's approval. United Nations embargoes against Libya were lifted on that same day. Although the United States did keep its sanctions against Libya in place, the United States did loosen the rules so that food and medicine could be sent to the North African nation. In July, 1999, Libya attempted to settle the 1989 bombing of the UTA passenger flight by paying approximately thirty-one billion dollars to families of victims. However, this effort was complicated when a French judge ruled that Qaddafi's own role in the bombing would have to be investigated.

In January, 2001, the court in the Netherlands reached its decisions. Lamin Khalifa Fhimah was found not guilty and 'Abd al-Baset al-Megrahi was found guilty and sentenced to life in prison. The following March 14, a French court ruled that Qaddafi could not be prosecuted for the UTA bombing. Terrorist attacks on New York and the Pentagon in the United States in September, 2001, by the Afghanistan-based al-Qaeda group helped to improve Libya's situation further. World concern over terrorism turned

away from Libya, and the United States and Britain began to explore the possibility of enlisting Libya's cooperation in the fight against al-Qaeda and other groups.

Irwin Halfond

Updated by the Editors

### For Further Study

Excellent information about Libya can be obtained from Helen Metz, ed., *Libya: A Country Study* (1989), published by the U.S. Government Printing Office. The *CIA World Factbook* (1997) for Libya contains updated information and can easily be found on the World Wide Web. ArabNet contains much information and many linkages.

A standard and balanced account of developments in Libya after World War II is Jonathan Bearman's *Qadhafi's Libya* (1989). An earlier study by David Blundy and Andrew Lycett, *Qaddafi and the Libyan Revolution* (1987), contains colorful detail and is well written. Geoff Simon's *Libya: The Struggle for Survival* (1996) will also become a standard work on the subject for its excellent historical background and scholarly, though highly critical analysis of the U.S. response to problems posed by Libya. Its appendices contain key documents useful for research. Mansour O. El-Kikhia's *Libya's Qaddafi* (1997) provides interesting historical background and a thorough analysis of the political, economic, and social structure in Qaddafi's Libya. Written by a Libyan scholar in exile in the United States, this work aims for objectivity and is written for a wide audience. Nevertheless it is highly critical of the Qaddafi regime for being idiosyncratic, anarchical, and working at cross-purposes.

*Qadhafi's Libya, 1969 to 1994* (1995), edited by Dirk Vandewalle, contains ten perceptive analytical essays by leading scholars. Topics include continuity and discontinuity in Libyan politics, rhetoric and reality in Libyan politics, Libya's experiment in direct democracy, and the future course of the Libyan revolution. For a history of modern Libya that looks in particular at the role of oil, consult Dirk Vandewalle's *Libya Since Independence: Oil and State-Building* (1998). George Tremlett's *Gaddafi: The Desert Mystic* (1993) provides a readable and humanizing biographical analysis



of the Libyan leader's life, actions, and ideas as expressed in speeches, interviews, and in *The Green Book*. Qaddafi's role in the shaping of Libyan internal and foreign policy is thoroughly analyzed in a study by Guy Arnold, *The Maverick State: Gaddafi and the New World Order* (1997). Douglas Waller's article "Target Gaddafi, Again," in *Time Magazine* (April 1, 1996), provides much fascinating information on Libya's chemical-weapons ventures and the concerns about Rabata II.

## MALAYSIA

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*Complex ethnic rivalries, a struggle between the national government and traditional sultanates, and economic instability pose serious problems for Malaysia. The first two problems can be traced to the 1957 constitution, which foresaw a multiethnic Malaysia in which the political and administrative dominance of the Malays would be balanced by the continuing economic importance of the Chinese and the Indians. Within the parliamentary system, the interests of these groups would be represented by their respective elites, the United Malay National Organization (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), which would negotiate policies aimed at preserving the status quo and then at achieving equal social standing of the three communities. It was expected that the Malays would achieve a greater share of the economy while the Chinese and Indians would obtain more political influence. At the same time this ideal political state was being formed, the sultans' positions were enshrined in the constitution, but their power was essentially ceremonial. Nine of the states of Malaysia are ruled by sultans who are totally exempt from the law. For Malays, the sultans are the upholders of Malay tradition and the symbolic heads of Islam. Thus, the royal families have emerged as a modern elite, are very active in government and business, and are very influential in modern Malaysia. The third serious problem facing Malaysia is a fluctuating economy, which during the 1970's was one of the fastest growing economies in Asia, in 1994 was the ninth fastest growing economy in the world, and in 1997 experienced rapid and sharp decline.*

*Although Malaysia began an economic recovery in 2000, it was vulnerable to a general economic slowing throughout Asia. Malaysia's status as one of the world's largest exporters of semiconductors was an important source of economic growth at the beginning of the twenty-first century, but this also made the country sensitive to drops in demand in the global market for personal computers and telecommunications.*

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**M**alaysia has thirteen states and is made up of two different and distinct land regions. Peninsular Malaysia contains nine states, is about the size of the state of Alabama, and is located

## Profile of Malaysia

*Official name:* Malaysia

*Former name:* Malaya

*Independent since:* 1957

*Former colonial ruler:* Great Britain

*Location:* Southeast Asia, Malay Peninsula and Islands

*Area:* 127,316 square miles

*Capital:* Kuala Lumpur

*Population:* 22.7 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Malay

*Major religions:* Islam; Buddhism; Chinese folk-religion

*Gross domestic product:* US\$200 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* machinery and transport equipment; basic manufactures; minerals; fuels; animal and vegetable oils

*Military expenditures:* US\$1.69 billion (2000)

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south of Thailand and north of Singapore. Major palm oil, rubber, and other agricultural plantations are on the peninsula. East Malaysia is located on the island of Borneo and consists of two states, Sarawak and Sabah, with Brunei lying on the coast in between them. Together they are about the size of Louisiana. East Malaysia is covered by dense jungle, with many large river systems.

Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy with a king, who is elected every five years, as its supreme head of state. The king is elected by rulers of the royal states of Johore, Selangor, Perak, Pahang, Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis, and Negri Sembilan, which act on the advice of the state executive council.

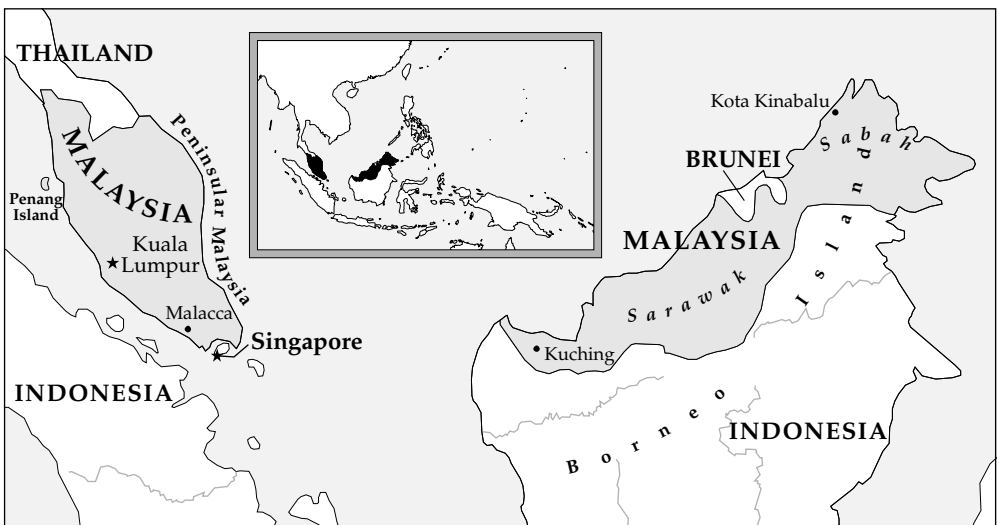
The nonroyal states of Penang, Malacca, Sarawak, and Sabah are headed by governors who are appointed on a four-year basis. They act in accordance with the advice of the respective state governments, which are headed by chief ministers. The state government operates along the guidelines of the federal government in Kuala Lumpur, and every elected king must act in accordance with government advice. Malaysia has a parliamentary demo-

cratic government that is elected every five years. The head of the government is the prime minister. The government is a coalition, but the party of the prime minister dominates.

The 22.7 million people who live in Malaysia are racially diverse and have many different cultural backgrounds. Ties between these groups have developed through educational, social, sporting, and cultural organizations, but ethnic groups still remain essentially segregated. The largest ethnic group is the Malays. Together with other indigenous groups, they make up 59 percent of the total population.

Some of the other groups include the Sea Dayaks, Land Dayaks, Kadazans, Kenyahs, Melanaus, and Muruts. They are mainly farmers, civil servants, or fishermen. The Chinese make up 32 percent of the population and live mostly on the peninsula in the tin and rubber producing areas. The Indians make up 9 percent of the population and are the third largest group. They also live mainly on the peninsula.

Malaysia's population is young; 48 percent of the population is under the age of twenty. Because of this diverse population, things have not gone smoothly politically, in spite of the fact that the Malaysian economy has been one of the fastest growing in the world and that the government instituted policies to counteract conflict among ethnic groups.



**Ethnic Diversity**

To counteract conflict among the three major groups—Chinese, Malays, and Indians—the government has actively promoted diversity of language as a central and indispensable support for ethnic group continuity. Malay (*Bahasa Melayu*) is the official language of Malaysia and is spoken in all areas of the country. The ethnic Chinese speak the Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien, Mandarin, or Min dialect. Tamil is spoken by the Indians.

Government-run primary schools provide language instruction in Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, Telegu, and Panjabi. For the majority of school children, Malay is the medium of instruction. English is taught as a functional second language in all schools, and other languages for which there is a demand are optional. By the late twentieth century most Malaysians below the age of thirty were bi- or trilingual. Newspapers in at least six languages are available, and on one of the two government-run national television stations news broadcasts are in four languages and entertainment programs are in at least six.

Many Malaysians are fatalistic: They believe that successes, failures, opportunities, and misfortunes result from fate or the will of God. Although Islam is the official religion of Malaysia, the constitution guarantees freedom of worship, which must be interpreted in a narrow sense. For example, marriage between Muslims and non-Muslims is against the law, and all school children, whether in public or private school, must study Islam as part of the curriculum.

These restrictions, as well as others, create ongoing conflicts with the Chinese on the peninsula, who are chiefly Buddhists, with some Taoists and Confucianists, and with the Indian population, which is generally Hindu. In Sabah about 38 percent of the population is Muslim, 17 percent Christian, and the rest followers of indigenous beliefs. The majority of the population in Sarawak is Chinese, 24 percent of whom are Buddhists and Confucianists. The rest of the population consists of Muslims (20 percent) and Christians (16 percent).

To most Malaysians a person's ancestral background is very important to social status and future opportunities. Thus, although the people of Malaysia are proud of their country and

usually quite loyal to the Malaysian state, they generally identify first with their ethnic group, island, region, or religion. This creates tension between the Malays (called Bumiputra) and Chinese over preferential quotas designed to improve the economic status of the Malays. The Chinese believe these policies make them second-class citizens, while the majority of Malays believe the policies are the only way Malays can overcome the traditional Chinese dominance in business.

In 1969 the "Principles of Nationhood" were introduced as part of a national philosophy of unity regardless of race or religion. They included belief in God, loyalty to king and country, the supremacy of the constitution, the rule of law, mutual respect, and good social behavior.

### **Historical Background**

The conflict that is apparent in modern Malaysia can be traced to the eighteenth century, when Britain became interested in the peninsula and acquired the island of Pulau Pinang (now Penang) from the sultan of Kedah in 1786. In 1896 the four states of Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Perak, and Pahang were organized under British advisement as the Federated Malaya States (FMS), with the federal capital at Kuala Lumpur.

By the 1900's Britain controlled all of the Malay states as colonies. During the 1800's the mining of tin had continued to expand, and early during the 1900's the British introduced rubber plantations. Both of these industries brought large groups of Chinese and Indian laborers to the region.

In 1909 the four northern states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu, long within the influence of Siam (Thailand), were transferred to British authority and accepted British advisers. In 1914 a permanent adviser was appointed to Johore, the one remaining independent state. However, these five states did not enter the centralized administration of the Federated Malay States but became known as the Unfederated Malay States. By 1914 British authority had spread throughout the Malay Peninsula, although there were considerable differences in administrative practice and constitutional form. Malaysia had a growing economy but also a greatly changed racial mix.

### **British Rule in the Malaysian States**

From 1900 until World War II, Malaysia became increasingly prosperous, and in the various peninsula states British influence increased. The basis of British administration in the Malay states up to the Japanese invasion in 1941 was a phrase in the Pangkor Treaty (1874) that required the sultan to accept a British resident, whose advice was to be asked and acted upon in all questions other than those touching Malaysian religion and custom.

The residential system evolved in the FMS government, in which the sultan ruled in name but executive authority rested with the resident. It was during this time that Malaysia emerged as a major world producer of tin and rubber, which led to a growing work force of Chinese and Indian immigrants.

Between World War I and World War II Malaysian nationalism began to appear. This was brought about mainly by the actions of a vocal generation of village teachers trained at the Malay-

## **Malaysia Time Line**

- |      |                                                                                                      |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1511 | Portuguese capture Malacca.                                                                          |
| 1641 | Malacca falls to Dutch.                                                                              |
| 1786 | English Captain Francis arrives in Penang.                                                           |
| 1795 | East India Company controls Malacca.                                                                 |
| 1819 | Singapore trading settlement is established.                                                         |
| 1824 | Anglo-Dutch treaty establishes Straits as boundaries.                                                |
| 1826 | Penang, Malacca, and Singapore become single administrative settlement known as Straits Settlements. |
| 1841 | James Brooke becomes Raja of Sarawak; begins "white raja" dynasty.                                   |
| 1847 | Brunei cedes island of Labuan to Great Britain.                                                      |
| 1881 | British North Borneo Company is chartered.                                                           |
| 1896 | Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, and Pahang are joined together as Federated Malay States.          |
| 1914 | British authority is extended throughout Malay Peninsula.                                            |
| 1922 | Sultan Idris Training College is founded.                                                            |
| 1930 | Communist Party of Malaya is formed.                                                                 |
| 1942 | British power collapses in Malaya and Singapore.                                                     |
| 1946 | United Malay National Organization (UMNO) is formed.                                                 |

Medium Sultan Idris Training College, founded in 1922. They were mainly civil servants and religious figures whose ideas were influenced by Islamic reformist views coming from the Middle East. The Chinese and Indians in this period were primarily concerned with events outside Malaysia.

When China fell victim to Japanese aggression during the 1930's there was an upsurge of patriotism among the Chinese community in Malaysia. Similarly, the Malaysian Indians focused their attention on the growing struggle for independence in the subcontinent. With the important exception of the Communist Party of Malay (CPM), which was formally organized in 1930, no radical party was formed to secure meaningful support among the Malaysian people. Therefore, the colonial order that was founded on accommodating both the Malaysian aristocracy and the wealthy Chinese mercantile class appeared stable.

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- |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1947 | Colonial government establishes tight controls over trade unions.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1948 | (June 18) Federation of Malaya is established; Singapore is excluded from unified Malaysia; Malaysian government proclaims state of emergency.                                                                                  |
| 1954 | Malaysian Indian Congress is incorporated.                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1957 | (Aug. 31) Malaysian constitution is adopted, and Malaysian independence is declared.                                                                                                                                            |
| 1959 | (June 30) Singapore declares itself a self-governing city-state.                                                                                                                                                                |
| 1963 | North Borneo and Sarawak receive their independence from Britain.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1965 | Singapore is expelled from Malaysia.                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1969 | Malaysian People's Movement and Democratic Action Party gain power in federal elections. New Economic Policy is established.                                                                                                    |
| 1969 | (May) Riots leave hundreds dead in Kuala Lumpur; constitution is suspended, and national emergency is declared.                                                                                                                 |
| 1981 | Mahathir Mohamad is elected prime minister.                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1983 | Mahathir restricts power of hereditary rulers by removing their right to withhold assent from legislation.                                                                                                                      |
| 1987 | Mahathir creates new party, UMNO Baru; government appointments of more than one hundred non-Chinese teachers to Chinese schools provokes mass public protests by Chinese; UMNO youth organizations stage counterdemonstrations. |
| 1988 | New constitutional amendments limit power of judiciary to interpret law.                                                                                                                                                        |

*(continued)*

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### Japanese Occupation

The collapse of British power in Malaysia and Singapore in 1942, followed by three years of Japanese occupation, greatly increased the political awareness and racial antagonisms among the diverse ethnic groups of Malaysia. The Malay rulers who did not evacuate with the British administration collaborated to a great extent with the Japanese. In addition, through the organization of mass demonstrations, pan-Malayan conferences, and paramilitary youth groups the Japanese tried to weaken the allegiance of the Malays to their individual states and sultans.

Moreover, many Indian estate workers at this time were forcibly conscripted for Japanese projects. The Chinese, who offered the only serious resistance to Japanese rule, were harshly treated because they constituted the largest component in the Malaysian People's Anti-Japanese Army. When the Japanese administration collapsed in August, 1945, the CPM was the only viable political-

### Malaysia Time Line (*continued*)

- |      |                                                                                                                                                        |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1989 | Tunku Razaleigh Hamzak announces creation of new political movement, Semangat '46.                                                                     |
| 1990 | (July 7) Plot to have Sabah secede from Malaysia fails.                                                                                                |
| 1990 | (Oct. 20) National elections are held.                                                                                                                 |
| 1991 | UMNO establishes first branch in Sabah.                                                                                                                |
| 1991 | (May 13) More political unrest breaks out in Sabah.                                                                                                    |
| 1992 | Code of conduct for rulers is promulgated.                                                                                                             |
| 1993 | Sultans lose personal legal immunity.                                                                                                                  |
| 1994 | Legislature approves constitutional amendment removing rulers' power to block legislation by withholding assent; code of ethics is created for judges. |
| 1995 | General elections result in triumph for Prime Minister Mahathir.                                                                                       |
| 1996 | Semangat '46 party is dissolved; its members join UMNO.                                                                                                |
| 1997 | Previously strong economy takes downturn.                                                                                                              |
| 1998 | (Mar. 28) Malaysia deports more than eleven hundred Indonesian immigrants.                                                                             |
| 1998 | (Sept. 2) Mahathir dismisses Deputy Premier Anwar Ibrahim for obstructing his economic policies.                                                       |
| 1998 | (Oct. 23) Riot police disperse thousands of antigovernment demonstrators in Kuala Lumpur.                                                              |

military organization in the peninsula. The Japanese invasion and occupation of Malaysia had greatly increased the Malaysian people's feelings for independence from foreign domination. Thus, it was impossible to restore the old colonial order.

### Independence

Previous attempts to simplify the peninsula's complex constitutional and administrative structures had been largely unsuccessful. However, following World War II the need to promote rapid economic recovery provided the impetus to centralized direction. In 1946 the Union of Malaya was announced: All citizens would be granted citizenship, all citizens would have equal rights, and sovereignty would be transferred from the Malay rulers to the British crown.

The British created the union out of Malacca, Pulau Pinang, and the nine Malaysian states on the peninsula. This proposal

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|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1998 | (Nov. 2) Former deputy premier Anwar Ibrahim is put on trial on corruption and sodomy charges.                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1999 | (Mar.) Anwar Ibrahim is found guilty on all charges and sentenced to six years in prison; after his supporters begin street protests, he is charged with additional counts of sodomy.                                                                                        |
| 1999 | (Nov.) Mahathir's Barisan National coalition wins a close parliamentary election largely as a result of Chinese and Indian votes.                                                                                                                                            |
| 2000 | (Aug.) Anwar Ibrahim is again found guilty and sentenced to nine years in prison.                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 2001 | Mahathir begins to arrest Islamic militants on charges of conspiring with international Muslim groups.                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 2002 | (Aug. 1) Following passage of new laws allowing government officers to whip illegal immigrants and imprison them immediately, Malaysian police arrest one hundred suspected illegal immigrants, most of whom say they are refugees from war-torn Aceh province in Indonesia. |
| 2002 | (Oct. 1) Mahathir criticizes new U.S. anti-Muslim immigration rules, adopted after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, that encourage strict inspections of visitors to the U.S. from Muslim countries.                                                    |
| 2002 | (Oct. 3) Speaking at the third annual Malay and Islamic world convention, Mahathir declares that Muslims in oil-producing nations should use oil as a weapon against nations they see as oppressors.                                                                         |
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challenged the long-established privileged position and rights of the Malays as the indigenous people of the country. When the Union was introduced, the Malay community was angered and opposition was brought together in a new political force: the United Malay National Organization (UMNO).

In 1948 this union became the Federation of Malaya. That same year communist insurrections erupted and guerrilla terrorism spread throughout the countryside. This, too, posed a severe military challenge to the colonial government, and in 1951 the guerrilla forces assassinated the British High Commissioner, Sir Henry Gurney.

The CPM, however, received only limited support from the Malaysian population, because its overwhelmingly Chinese membership denied it access to the Malaysian community and its ideology was not accepted among influential Chinese. The insurrections were essentially over by 1959, although communist guerrilla warfare continued on a smaller scale against both the Malaysian and Thai governments until a 1989 cease-fire was signed.

During the mid-1950's the British announced that Malaysia would be granted political independence. Since the late 1940's, the colonial administration had sought to encourage a noncommunal Malaysian leadership and supported Dato' Onn Ja'afar, president of UMNO. However, Onn was unable to persuade his party to open its membership to all ethnic groups. The result was the electoral failure of his noncommunal but elite Independence of Malaysia Party. An alternative approach to securing a stable political leadership for an independent Malaysia emerged from within the Malaysian communities, and in August, 1957, Malaysia was granted independence from Great Britain.

Six years later the Federation of Malaya and the former British colonies of Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo (Sabah) united to become Malaysia in order to avoid a communist takeover in Singapore. However, tension mounted between the Malay-dominated government in Malaysia and the Chinese-dominated government in Singapore. This culminated in the creation of an independent Singapore in 1965.

## **Reshaping the Political Order**

The planners of the 1950's were not aware of the rapid social change that would take place in Malaysia. For example, among the Malays the impact of modernization contributed to growing ties to Islam and to political support for the Parti Islam Sa-Malaysia (PAS). PAS's political base was among rural Islamic teachers and scholars, who were generally unsympathetic to the Malaysian aristocracy dominating UMNO.

In addition, the Chinese became more and more dissatisfied with their role of political subordination, and in the federal election of 1969 the MCA lost considerable ground among the Chinese voters to opposition parties, notably the Malaysian People's Movement. In May, 1969, the racial tension created from this discord resulted in widespread rioting in Kuala Lumpur. Many hundreds were killed. To restore order, the constitution was suspended and a national emergency declared.

The riots of 1969 forced a major readjustment: Communal interests and aspirations were accommodated, and the manner in which the details of the accommodation were negotiated among the major communities was changed. The New Economic Policy (NEP) was implemented over the next twenty years. It provided the Malays with a far greater share in the wealth of the country and a far wider range of employment and educational opportunities. In addition, a quota system was established requiring Malaysian representation (at specified levels) in business, education, and government.

At the same time coalition politics changed. The UMNO-MCA-MIC alliance was replaced by a broader coalition called the Barisan National (BN, or National Front). The BN's objective was to draw as many parties as possible into the government under the leadership of UMNO. The BN has governed Malaysia ever since, and all significant parties except the Democratic Action Party (DAP) and the dissolved Semangat '46 have joined it.

The New Economic Policy has successfully improved the lives of Malays without damaging the economy. In 1991 the NEP was renewed as the New Development Policy and altered to encourage help for poorer people of all races. While this program is cred-

ited with discouraging violence between ethnic groups, it has discouraged racial integration.

### **International Relations**

Since the 1990's international attention has focused on issues surrounding the logging of the rain forest and its effect on the lives of indigenous communities. Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad became the spokesperson for the developing countries against those of the industrialized North. He has led demands for a withdrawal of international criticism of such issues as logging in developing nations, appealed to the countries of the north to stop their "imperialist agendas," and called on the industrialized countries to adjust their own consumption and production patterns to avoid environmental pollution.

During the escalating economic growth of the 1990's Malaysia became a desirable destination for illegal immigrants from nearby countries, especially the Philippines, Indonesia, and Bangladesh. It appears that the treatment of illegal immigrants, both by their employers and the government, might become a future source of friction between Malaysia and immigrants' countries of origin. For example, in 1996 Malaysian and Indonesian authorities agreed on joint measures to limit the flow of illegal workers into Malaysia. In addition, relations with Thailand were strained in early 1996 by Malaysia's construction of a wall along its border with Thailand to curb the arrival of illegal immigrants.

Relations between Malaysia and Singapore were peaceful but often troubled after the 1965 break between the two. In March, 1997, Singapore senior minister Lee Kuan Yew provoked widespread anger in Malaysia when he described the Malaysian state across the causeway from Singapore as rife with crime. The following year, tensions between Malaysia and Singapore rose again after Lee Kuan Yew published a memoir that was critical of prominent figures in Malaysian history, and Singapore refused to allow the Malaysian air force to fly training missions in Singaporean airspace.

### **Ethnicity and Political Conflict**

Despite the Malaysian government's adoption of a policy of

tolerance and the Ministry of Education's promotion of greater understanding among the various ethnic groups, there appears to be a lingering ethnocentricity that is taking a much longer time to remove than formally anticipated.

A backlash occurred against these policies when the integration of groups through the Chinese schools was undertaken in 1987. At that time the government used its extensive powers to appoint more than one hundred nonsinophone teachers to Chinese schools. This provoked mass public protests by the Chinese community. These protests led to counterdemonstrations by UMNO youth organizations. To restore order, the government invoked its powers to detain more than one hundred people without trial. Politicians from all parties, lawyers, journalists, and leaders of pressure organizations were detained. In addition, three newspapers were closed and political rallies were banned.

The government introduced legislation to impose stringent penalties on publishers and editors if they published what the government regarded as "false" news. At the same time, the minister of information was given the authority to monitor all radio and television broadcasts and to revoke the license of any private broadcasting company that did not conform with "Malaysian values."

In June, 1988, the government introduced legislation removing the right of recourse to the courts for persons detained under the Internal Security Act. In 1991 the public sale of political party newspapers was banned. Sections of international publications available in Malay, such as *USA Today* and *Time*, were often censored. These restrictions on a free press have been viewed by many as an attempt to further undermine opposition parties.

The BN's greatest difficulties under Prime Minister Mahathir's leadership came in Borneo, especially in Sabah. It was not until 1991 that UMNO established its first branch there, where the ruling parties had been the Muslim United Sabah National Organization (USNO) and the Sabah United Party (PBS), a multi-ethnic party. The PBS joined the BN in 1986 but withdrew from it prior to the 1990 general election to ally itself with Semangat '46.

After the BN's electoral victory, Prime Minister Mahathir excluded Sabah chief minister Joseph Pairin Kitingan from govern-

ment meetings and withheld development funds from the state. In spite of or perhaps because of this, the PBS won the state election in 1994. However, UMNO managed to engineer numerous defections from Pairin Kitingan and construct a coalition agreement with Tan Sri Sakaran Dandai as chief minister.

The coalition agreement included a promise that the post of chief minister would rotate among Sabah's three main ethnic groups, the Malays, the Chinese, and the Kadazan. However, in March, 1996, Prime Minister Mahathir supported Salleh Tun Said, the Malay incumbent, to stay on provisionally. This move greatly angered and helped to alienate the other ethnic groups.

The general election of April, 1995, was a triumph for the BN and Prime Minister Mahathir. At that time Mahathir insisted on Salleh's resignation as chief minister of Sabah and replaced him, in accordance with his original pledge, with the Chinese leader of the Sabah Progressive Party, Datuk Yong Teck Lee, despite the opposition of the Sabah wing of UMNO.

The possibility of a major restructuring of the UMNO did not appear to be likely in the near future, because the UMNO had adopted the policy of not allowing Mahathir to be challenged at the triennial party congress meetings.

As an emerging nation, Malaysia has successfully dealt with the challenges of industrializing an agricultural economy. However, modern Malaysian cultural and linguistic policies are not geared toward creating a melting pot scenario or cultural pluralism. If Malaysian multiculturalism is to survive and to prosper, it appears that the issue of a more equitable distribution of wealth so that no particular group is economically deprived or sanctioned will need to be addressed.

This problem is greatly influenced by a newly fluctuating downward economic trend that is serving to accentuate cultural differences. This decline was so severe in the late 1990's that the international community had to provide economic aid to Malaysia to stabilize the situation.

While the rapid growth of the Malaysian economy had been stimulated by the policies of the Malaysian government to attract foreign direct investment into the manufacturing sector, the Chinese believed it was a deliberate policy of ethnic bypass, aimed at

reducing the dominance of Malaysian Chinese business. Despite Malaysian Chinese suspicions, Prime Minister Mahathir managed to retain support in Malaysia's minority communities. In November, 1999, the prime minister's Barisan National coalition won a close parliamentary election largely as a result of Chinese and Indian votes.

Conflict is thus created in the economic arena because the Malays control the government while the Chinese still have their fingers on the economic pulse. In addition, Malaysia faces both regional and world conflict as a result of Prime Minister Mahathir's confrontational politics, especially his strong advocacy of the East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) and his proposal of an all-Asian economic zone. That proposed zone would exclude the Western countries of the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which are pushing for a Pacific rim economic zone. Given concerns about increasing pollution and congestion in addition to the broader economic issues, Malaysia emerges as a country that is full of promise but also full of economic and social problems that may precipitate serious political crises.

### **Conflicts Within UMNO**

Prime Minister Mahathir's determination to maintain control of Malaysia's destiny led to a series of political upheavals at the end of the twentieth century. At the beginning of 1998, the second-most important political figure in the country was the deputy prime minister and finance minister, Anwar Ibrahim. Most Malays believed that Anwar would follow Mahathir as prime minister. Disagreements between the two men began to become apparent, however, and Mahathir may have begun to view Anwar as a potential rival, rather than a follower. They had different views on economic policy. Mahathir tended to see Malaysia as threatened by conspiracies and in need of continual protection. Anwar tended to favor relatively open markets and a welcoming environment for foreign investment. As Asian political economies began to worsen in the late 1990's, differences on economic policy led Mahathir to repudiate his deputy.

On September 2, 1998, Mahathir fired the deputy prime minister and arranged for the United Malay National Organization



to expel Anwar. After protesters took to the streets to demonstrate against what many saw as corruption and abuse of power, Mahathir had Anwar arrested on September 20. A little over a week later, Anwar was charged with corruption and sodomy. In March, 1999, he was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to six years in prison. When Anwar's supporters began street protests again, the former deputy prime minister was charged with additional counts of sodomy. In August, 2000, Anwar—who maintained that he was guilty of nothing more than disagreeing with Mahathir—was sentenced to an imprisonment of nine years. The Malay people and the United Malay National Organization were deeply split between the supporters and opponents of Anwar.

### **Religion and Politics**

As in other predominantly Muslim countries, religion played an important political role in Malaysia at the turn of the twenty-first century. Some Malays wanted the country to adopt Shar'iah,



*This large Buddhist temple in Kuala Lumpur reflects the fact that although Malaysia is a predominantly Muslim country, it has large minority populations of Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and adherents of other religions. (PhotoDisc)*

or Islamic law. The most influential of the Islamic parties was the Islamic Party of Malaysia. By 2000, this party had joined together with other parties opposing Mahathir's government to form the Alternative Coalition. The most influential partner of the Islamic Party in this coalition was the secular Democratic Action Party.

The Alternative Coalition was held together only by opposition to Mahathir. In religious matters, the two main opposition parties were also opposed to each other. Mahathir skillfully managed to use religious differences to split the principal partners of the Alternative Coalition. Then, in 2001, he began to arrest Islamic militants on charges of plotting with international Muslim groups. The country's religious diversity, like its ethnic diversity, appeared to make it vulnerable to deft political manipulation as well as to continuing domestic conflict.

Lela Phillips

Updated by the Editors

### For Further Study

An essential guide to modern Malaysia is *Islam, Globalization, and Postmodernity* (1994), edited by Akbar S. Ahmed and Hastings Donnan. In particular the article "How to Be Islamic Without Being an Islamic State: Contested Models of Development in Malaysia" is very informative. *Politics and Cultures of Islamization in Southeast Asia: Malaysia-Indonesia in the Nineteen-Nineties* (2002), by George Stauth, is another good work on Islam in Malaysia. Hyacinth Gaudart of the University of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur is a prolific writer on education and multilingual and multicultural Malaysia who has published many young people's stories based on Malaysian folklore. Her book *Bilingual Education in Malaysia* (1992) is a very readable and understandable source of information on multilingual conflicts and solutions in Malaysia. Ned H. Seelye's *Teaching Culture: Strategies for Intercultural Communication* (1992) is a readable, informative source. The ministry of finance in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, publishes a yearly economic report that is available upon request.

Other useful writings that focus on the causes of conflict in Malaysia include K. S. Jomo's *A Question of Class: Capital, the State, and Uneven Development in Malaya* (1986) and *Malay Peas-*

*ant Women and the Land* (1994), by Maila Stiven et al. Chandra Muzaffar is considered a preeminent scholar on Malaysia, and his "Islamic Resurgence: A Global View" in *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (1986) and *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia* (1987) are particularly insightful. For a comprehensive account of Malaysia's economic development, consult *An Economic History of Malaysia, 1800-1990* (2000), by John H. Drabble.

Mahathir Mohamad has been a powerful leader and a controversial figure in modern Malaysia. R. S. Milne and Diane K. Mauzy discuss his character and ideas in the context of Malaysian society in *Malaysian Politics Under Mahathir* (1999). *Malaysia: Mahathirism, Hegemony and the New Opposition* (2001), by John Hilley, discusses how Mahathir has dominated and transformed Malaysian politics.

The Malaysian embassy in Washington D.C. is a profitable source of information. Information sheets, well-researched and informative articles, and other up-to-date materials are available on such topics as education and the economy. Information on Malaysia on the Internet is basically limited to tourism and travel.

## MOROCCO

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*Morocco's most serious recent conflict concerns Western Sahara, where well-armed independence fighters have fought against Moroccan control. This conflict has also involved Morocco's neighbor, Algeria, which has armed and supported the Western Saharan independence group. As a consequence, relations between Morocco and Algeria have been tense since the early 1960's. Morocco has also been troubled by internal political unrest that helped to generate several coup attempts against the late king, Hassan II. During the 1980's and 1990's, Muslim radicals came to be seen as a threat by the Moroccan government.*

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**T**he Kingdom of Morocco caps the northwestern corner of the African continent, across the Straits of Gibraltar from Spain. On its north, it is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. Morocco has a long border with Algeria on the east, and in the south, Morocco adjoins a territory known as Western Sahara, which Morocco claims should be part of itself. A mountainous country, Morocco has four major ranges.

In 2002, Morocco's population was estimated at 31 million people, most of whom are Arabs and Berbers. Arabs are descendants of those who came to Morocco from the Arabian Peninsula. The Berbers are members of an ethnic group who have lived in North Africa since the beginning of recorded history. Although Arabs make up only an estimated 10 percent of the population, they tend to dominate the country culturally. However, many people of Berber ancestry, especially in urban areas, speak primarily Arabic and identify themselves as Arabs. Most Berbers know Arabic, which is the official language.

### **Early History**

Berbers are believed to have reached North Africa from southwestern Asia by at least 2000 B.C.E. They were mentioned in a number of the works by ancient Greek and Roman writers. Many customs of modern Berbers can be recognized in the first century B.C.E. description of Berber life by the Roman writer Sallust.

Merchants from Phoenicia established trading posts that grew into cities in many parts of North Africa after the Berbers settled the region. One of these was the famous city of Carthage, which often hired Berber mercenaries for its armies. Although Berber social organization was primarily based on fiercely independent family groups, they recognized the limited authority of some kings.

One Berber king, Masinissa, was an ally of Carthage. During the long war between Carthage and Rome, however, Masinissa went over to the Roman side. When Carthage surrendered to Rome in 202 B.C.E., North Africa became a Roman protectorate under the local rule of Masinissa. After the Romans destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C.E., they established more direct rule over part of North Africa. However, the area now known as Morocco continued to be independent and was a close ally of Rome under the rule of the Berber king Juba II, from 25 B.C.E. to 24 C.E. Rome finally made Morocco the Roman province of Mauretania in 46 C.E.

By the time the Prophet Muhammad died in 632 C.E., he had united the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula under Islam, the Muslim religion. Islam taught that not only believers, but also governments and societies, should submit to the will of God (Allah). Arab armies invaded and spread Islam throughout the Middle East and North Africa during the seventh and eighth centuries.

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## Profile of Morocco

*Official name:* Kingdom of Morocco

*Independent since:* 1956

*Former colonial ruler:* France

*Location:* northwest Africa

*Area:* 172,413 square miles

*Capital:* Rabat

*Population:* 31 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religion:* Islam

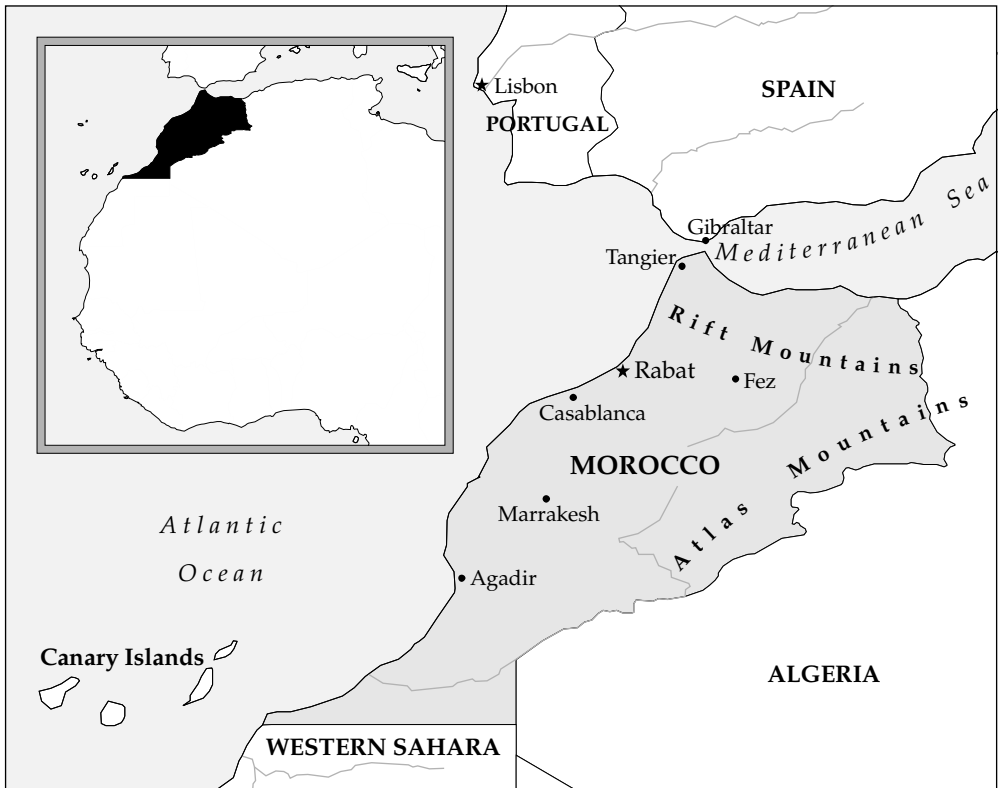
*Gross domestic product:* US\$112 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* food; consumer goods; minerals

*Military expenditures:* US\$1.4 billion (2000)

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In the year 740 the Berbers of Morocco revolted against the Umayyad Dynasty, which ruled most of the Muslim world from Damascus, in the region now known as Syria. For about three hundred years, Morocco was controlled by various, often warring, leaders. In the eleventh century, the Almoravids, a Berber dynasty, gained strength by promising to purify and strengthen Islam. The Almoravids brought all Morocco under their rule and extended their power into Spain, which had been under Muslim control since the beginning of the eighth century. In the twelfth century, another Berber dynasty, the Almohads, rose up against the Almoravids.

The third Berber dynasty to rule Morocco, the Merinids, defeated the Almohads in 1269. While the Almoravids and the Almohads had both promised to restore orthodox Islam, the Merinids appealed to the religious beliefs of the tribal Berbers.

These beliefs were based on Islam, but also contained mystical views and practices not found in orthodox Islam. Cults of marabouts, or holy men, and the form of Muslim mysticism known as Sufism became important parts of Moroccan life during the Merinid period.

By the sixteenth century the Berber dynasties had declined and members of the Arab minority came to political dominance. Sharifs, members of families who could claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad, had the personal prestige to exercise authority. One Sharifi Arab clan that had migrated from Yemen, the Alawis, gained power in the seventeenth century. In 1666 an Alawite leader became sultan of Morocco. The government of that Alawite Sultanate became the basis for the modern Kingdom of Morocco.

### **Beginnings of European Domination**

Tension between Morocco and France developed after the French conquest of Algeria in 1830. The Moroccan sultan, Abd ar-Rahman, sent his army to occupy the Algerian city of Tlemcen, but withdrew under pressure from the French. The Algerian resistance leader, Abdel Kadir, took refuge in Morocco in 1844. The French bombarded the coastal cities of Tangier and Essaouira and engaged the Moroccan army in a battle near the inland town of Oujda. When Morocco was soundly defeated in this battle, its sultan was forced to agree to expel Abdel Kadir.

Morocco also found itself in conflict with Spain. Spain controlled the port city of Ceuta, in Morocco just across the Straits of Gibraltar from Spain itself. Following a disagreement over the boundaries of Ceuta in 1859, Morocco and France went to war. Once again, the European nation, which had a more modern military, won. Morocco paid a heavy indemnity, or fine, and gave Spain its port city of Sidi Ifni on the Atlantic coast.

In the late nineteenth century, the Moroccans attempted to modernize their military and their government system in order to meet the growing European threat. In 1901 a young sultan, Abdel-Aziz, attempted to introduce a system of taxation of land. He also adopted many European customs in his own life and relied heavily on foreign advisers. However, his introduction of Euro-

pean, non-Muslim influences angered Muslim religious leaders. A 1906 international conference in the Spanish city of Algeciras recognized the independence of Morocco but also acknowledged Spanish and French control over Moroccan ports.

In 1907 a brother of Abd-el-Aziz, Abd al-Hafid, raised a revolt against the sultan. Abd al-Hafid became sultan himself but could not control the disorders created in part by the revolt. After requesting French help, he agreed to allow Morocco to become a French protectorate in 1912. Thereafter, Morocco was independent only in name, while under the guidance and control of France.

### **French Protectorate**

Under the protectorate, a French official known as the resident general was the real ruler of the area under French control, although the sultan was still acknowledged as the official ruler. Meanwhile, parts of the north and southwest of Morocco came under a Spanish protectorate. Unable to accustom himself to being under foreign control, Abd al-Hafid gave up his throne to another brother, Moulay Yusuf.

The first French resident general, Louis Lyautey, showed a deep appreciation for Moroccan culture. He maintained many traditional forms of Moroccan government, so that French colonialism was not as disruptive for Morocco as it proved to be for neighboring Algeria. After Lyautey was replaced in 1926, however, French colonialism began to influence Moroccan culture much more deeply. The European population of Morocco grew, and French education became much more common for Moroccans. Even after Morocco became fully independent decades later, many Moroccans continued to speak French.

When Moulay Yusuf died in 1927, the French chose the late sultan's younger son, Sidi Mohammed as the new sultan. The French believed that the quiet Sidi Mohammed, who became Mohammed V, would be easy to manipulate. However, Mohammed V proved to be a devoted Moroccan nationalist skilled in the political arts. Despite the new sultan's commitment to national independence, he called on Moroccans to serve on the French side when World War II broke out in 1939. Germany defeated and oc-



cupied France the following year, and the collaborationist French Vichy regime, which cooperated with the victorious Germans, came to power. Mohammed V then followed his own path. He refused to support anti-Jewish laws passed by the Vichy government.

Moroccan nationalist leaders formed a new political party, known as the Independence Party, or Istiqlal. When its leaders were arrested by the French, rioting broke out and anti-French attitudes became more intense. After the war ended in 1945, Mohammed V protested the continuation of the French protectorate by refusing to sign legislation passed by the French colonial government. Without the sultan's signature, the laws had no legal validity. The French were then forced openly to govern by force alone.

When the French attempted to replace the sultan with the Berber lord Thami al-Glaoui, this only increased the reputation of

## Morocco Time Line

- 1830 French invade Algeria.
- 1844 Algerian independence leader Abdel Kadir takes refuge in Morocco, provoking fighting between Morocco and the French; Moroccans are forced to expel Abdel Kadir.
- 1859 Morocco and Spain fight over boundaries of Spanish enclave of Ceuta in northern Morocco; Morocco pays indemnity and gives up Sidi Ifni on Atlantic coast to the Spanish.
- 1901 Sultan Abd-el-Aziz tries to introduce European-style land taxation; relying heavily on European advisors, he angers many Moroccans.
- 1907 Abd al-Hafid leads revolt against sultan and replaces Abd-el-Aziz.
- 1912 Abd al-Hafid requests French assistance, and Morocco becomes a French protectorate.
- 1912-1925 Marshal Louis Lyautey is French resident general in Morocco.
- 1926 After Lyautey is replaced as resident general, French settlement expands, and French cultural influences increase.
- 1927 Sultan Moulay Yusuf dies, and his son Sidi Mohammed (Mohammed V) becomes sultan.
- 1939 When World War II begins, Mohammed V urges Moroccans to help France resist Germany.

Mohammed V as a national hero and made it more difficult for the French to control Morocco. With the outbreak of the Algerian rebellion against French rule in 1954, the burden of governing Morocco became too heavy for France. In 1956 the French recognized the full independence of Morocco, and Mohammed V formed a Moroccan government.

During that same year the Spanish gave up most of their colonial holdings in Morocco. Under the new governmental system, the country became a constitutional monarchy, governed by elected officials under a king.

### Independence

During its early years, independent Morocco was largely under the control of two kings: Mohammed V and his son Hassan II. Although the monarchy did provide the country with political stability, there was some opposition to the monarchy, particularly

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|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1940 | (June) Germany occupies France, and collaborationist Vichy government comes to power; Mohammed V refuses to approve Vichy's anti-Jewish legislation. |
| 1953 | (Aug.) France tries to replace Mohammed V as sultan with Thami al-Glaoui, inflaming Moroccan nationalism.                                            |
| 1954 | (Nov. 1) Algerian rebellion against the French begins.                                                                                               |
| 1956 | (Mar. 2) France and Morocco sign agreement making Morocco fully independent.                                                                         |
| 1961 | (Feb.) Mohammed V dies and is succeeded by his son, Hassan II.                                                                                       |
| 1963 | Relations between Morocco and Algeria worsen because of boundary issues.                                                                             |
| 1965 | Rioting breaks out in Casablanca; Hassan declares state of emergency and appoints himself prime minister.                                            |
| 1966 | Rivalry between Morocco and Algeria leads to regional arms race.                                                                                     |
| 1967 | Hassan resigns as prime minister.                                                                                                                    |
| 1970 | State of emergency ends; Moroccans approve new constitution in popular referendum.                                                                   |
| 1971 | (July 10) Rebels in Moroccan military stage unsuccessful coup against King Hassan.                                                                   |
| 1972 | (Aug. 16) King Hassan's aircraft is attacked by Moroccan fighters as he returns from France.                                                         |
| 1975 | (Nov.) Moroccans stage "Green March" to support Morocco's claims on Western Sahara.                                                                  |

*(continued)*

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during the reign of King Hassan II. In February, 1961, Mohammed V died suddenly. The young King Hassan II enjoyed some of his father's prestige, but many Moroccans were uncertain of his ability to take up his father's position.

The year 1963 saw a plot to overthrow Hassan by radical opposition leaders. Two years later rioting broke out in the city of Casablanca, where students protested against new educational laws and workers were concerned about a worsening economic situation. In response, King Hassan declared a state of national emergency, appointed himself prime minister, and assumed all governmental powers.

In 1967 the king finally stepped down as prime minister, and a new national constitution was accepted three years later. Despite the election of a new prime minister, however, Morocco was not a constitutional monarchy on the pattern of Great Britain, whose kings and queens are little more than national symbols. Hassan continued to be the most powerful political leader in Morocco.

### Morocco Time Line *(continued)*

- 1976 (Feb.) Spain withdraws from Western Sahara; Saharan jemma approves Moroccan rule of territory, but Saharans announce formation of their own Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.
- 1981 King Hassan agrees to hold referendum on future of Western Sahara.
- 1991 United Nations sends observers to Morocco to maintain cease-fire between Morocco and Western Sahara's Polisario Front.
- 1997 (Mar.) Former U.S. secretary of state James A. Baker is appointed special U.N. envoy to Western Sahara.
- 1998 (Mar. 14) King Hassan appoints country's first opposition-led government, under Premier Aberrahmane Youssefi.
- 1999 (July 23) King Hassan II dies and is immediately succeeded by his thirty-six-year-old son, Crown Prince Sidi Mohammed.
- 2000 (Mar. 12) Islamist-led demonstration of 500,000 people marches in Casablanca to protest a new family law proposed by King Mohammed VI that will give women greater equality with men.
- 2000 (Dec.) Polisario Front releases 201 Moroccan soldiers captured over the previous three decades; nearly 1,500 Moroccan soldiers remain in Polisario hands.

Opposition to Hassan broke out once again in July of 1971. An army colonel led factions of the military against the royal palace at the seaside town of Skhirat while a birthday party for the king was being held. The revolt seemed to stem from complaints about corruption in the royal government. Most of the military rallied to the king's side, however, and the rebellion was quickly ended. A year later, in August, 1972, fighter planes in the Moroccan air force fired on the king's aircraft as he was returning from a visit to France. This time, the attack was traced to a high government official and close associate of the king, General Mohammed Oufkir, minister of defense and former minister of the interior.

King Hassan's efforts to make the Western Sahara part of Morocco contributed to his popularity during the late 1970's. In 1977 his supporters won national elections by large margins. During the 1980's, however, economic problems increased public dissatisfaction with the king's rule. These problems were partially a

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- 2000 (Dec.) Moroccan government bans three newspapers and arrests three French television journalists and dozens of human rights activists, causing concern over whether the government will continue to loosen its controls.
- 2001 (May) Thirty-six human rights activists are sentenced to three months imprisonment.
- 2001 (June) James Baker, special envoy for the United Nations secretary-general, proposes a new peace plan for the Western Sahara.
- 2002 (July 11) Moroccan troops occupy the tiny offshore island known as Perejil to the Spanish and Leila to the Moroccans.
- 2002 (July 18-20) Spanish special forces with helicopters and warships seize the disputed offshore island and take six Moroccan soldiers prisoner; U.S. secretary of state Colin L. Powell helps Morocco and Spain reach an agreement under which both nations are to withdraw forces from the island.
- 2002 (Sept. 25) Explosives are discovered on a Moroccan passenger plane in Paris; investigators suspect that militant Islamic terrorists are responsible.
- 2003 (Feb. 10) Polisario Front releases 100 Moroccan prisoners of war from camps in Algeria, while continuing to hold another 1,000 Moroccans, some of whom have been imprisoned for two decades.
- 2003 (Feb. 21) Morocco jails three Saudi Arabians on charges of helping to plot al-Qaeda attacks on U.S. and British warships in the Straits of Gibraltar.
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*Hassan II around the time of his accession to Morocco's kingship.*  
(Library of Congress)

consequence of Morocco's long and expensive war in the Western Sahara.

Internal political conflict continued to be a problem for Morocco well into the 1990's. In June, 1997, for example, Moroccan police arrested sixty-seven members of a socialist party attempting to organize a boycott of local elections. To opposition political figures, that type of repression proved that Morocco did not have a truly democratic government. Many opponents of the government also complained about continuing corruption among government officials.

On July 23, 1999, King Hassan II died and his son, King Mohammed VI came to the throne. The new king stirred hopes for political liberalization. Despite some advances in areas such as human rights, the government of Mohammed VI continued to respond to internal political conflict with repressive measures. Late

in 2000 and early in 2001, his government arrested three French journalists and temporarily banned several opposition newspapers. Moroccan authorities also arrested a number of human rights activists in 2001 and sentenced them to prison terms.

### **Islamic Radicalism**

From the late 1970's through the 1990's, opposition to Western political and cultural influences and the disintegration of communism as a set of ideals gave rise to radical Islamic movements in Muslim countries from North Africa to Southeast Asia. Although Morocco was less seriously affected by the rise in Islamic radicalism than many other Muslim countries, radical Islam was a source of conflict in the country. Moroccan Islamic radicalism appeared to be growing rapidly, with extensive connections throughout North Africa and in the North African population of Europe.

The Islamic Salvation Front (ISF), a political party based on a network of radical Islamic groups in Algeria, grew increasingly influential in eastern Morocco during the 1990's. In March, 1997, a court in France passed long prison sentences on members of a network of North African Islamic radicals operating out of France who had been responsible for attacking a hotel in the Moroccan city of Marrakesh. In April, 1998, *The New York Times* reported that militant Islamic groups were mobilizing and expanding in many Moroccan cities. The appeal of these groups was especially strong among the young.

The efforts of the new King Mohammed VI at modernization provoked opposition from Islamic activists. When he proposed a new family law giving women greater equality with men, in 2000, this resulted in an Islamist-led demonstration of 500,000 protesters in Casablanca on March 12. Late in 2000, a demonstration demanding the legalization of an outlawed Islamic party ended with the arrest of dozens of demonstrators.

### **Algeria and the Western Sahara**

The two greatest conflicts of modern Morocco have been linked with each other. During Algeria's struggle for independence, Morocco provided support for its National Liberation

Front (FLN). Soon after the French recognized Algerian independence in 1962, however, strains between the two neighboring countries became evident. In part, this was due to differing political philosophies. Morocco was a relatively conservative monarchy, which maintained close relations with the United States and other Western nations.

Algeria's government, by contrast, held socialist ideals, often supported left-wing radical movements in other parts of the world, and generally allied itself with the Communist bloc. Disputes over borders and territory, however, posed a more serious problem than differences in alliances and political philosophies.

In 1963 fighting broke out between Morocco and Algeria over two border regions claimed by both countries. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Guinea's President Modibo Keita arranged for a cease-fire, but relations between Algeria and Morocco continued to be poor. Late in 1963 Moroccan authorities discovered a plot among left-wing Moroccan leaders against King Hassan II. The Moroccans maintained that they had evidence of Algerian backing for the conspiracy.

Distrust between Morocco and Algeria, combined with the global Cold War dividing the United States and other Western powers from the Soviet Union and its allies, led to a North African arms race in 1966. Worried about the large quantities of weapons the Soviet Union was supplying to the Algerians, King Hassan asked the United States for military aircraft. The arms race began to slow down in 1967, after King Hassan appealed for negotiations and as regional and world attention turned to the Arab-Israeli War in the Middle East.

In 1970 King Hassan and Algeria's President Houari Boumediene resolved their border dispute by agreeing on a fixed line for their common border and on sharing natural resources from the border regions. Nevertheless, the two nations continued to distrust each other. After the early 1970's the territory of Western Sahara was the main focus of their conflict.

The Saharan territory south of Morocco had continued to be a Spanish colony after Morocco achieved full independence in 1956. Morocco and Mauritania, farther to the south, both had historic claims to this region. When large deposits of phosphates

were discovered in the Western Sahara in 1963, interest in this desert territory became keener.

A number of guerrilla groups in the Western Sahara opposed Spanish colonialism. The strongest of these groups was the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Saguia del Hamra and the Río del Oro (known in Spanish as the Frente Popular por la Liberación de Saguia del Hamra y Río del Oro, or Polisario). The guerrillas of the Polisario Front advocated complete independence from Spain and all other countries for the Western Sahara, and the guerrillas received support from Algeria.

Spain decided to withdraw from its Saharan territory in 1975. A United Nations (U.N.) commission investigated the claims of Morocco and Mauritania and found that neither had adequate historical bases to its claims. Further, another U.N. commission found that a majority of the people living in the region wanted complete independence. King Hassan of Morocco responded with the "Green March." He called up 350,000 volunteers and sent them unarmed across the border to settle in the Saharan territory and claim it for Morocco.

In late 1975 Spain agreed to share administration of the region with Morocco and Mauritania prior to full Spanish withdrawal in 1976. Instead of holding a popular referendum, or vote, on the future of the Saharan region, the three powers decided to let the wishes of the local people be represented by a council of tribal elders, known as the jemma. The jemma approved Morocco's control over the region, but proindependence advocates have claimed that Morocco used pressure and rewards to obtain the desired decision from this council.

In February, 1976, proindependence groups announced the establishment of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. A month later, Morocco and Mauritania agreed to split the territory between them, with the northern two-thirds going to Morocco. Although Morocco had claimed that Mauritania itself should be part of Morocco when Mauritania gained its independence in 1960, relations between these two countries improved greatly as they cooperated in their efforts to divide up the Western Sahara.

Fighting against the guerrilla forces of the Polisario Front became Morocco's chief military activity. By 1977 between a fourth



and a third of the Moroccan armed forces were kept busy fighting the few thousand Saharan guerrillas. The Polisario fighters maintained camps in Algeria and reportedly received substantial assistance from the Algerians.

In 1981 King Hassan agreed to hold a referendum in the Western Sahara on the future of the territory. The guerrillas rejected the referendum, though, claiming that it would be held on Morocco's terms. By 1986 the Moroccan military had managed to take control of two-thirds of the region and it had contained the area within its control behind defensive walls.

The United Nations sent observers to the Western Sahara in 1991 to maintain a cease-fire between Morocco and the Polisario Front. The United Nations also planned to hold the long-planned referendum, but by the spring of 1996 the United Nations was closing down its voter registration offices in the contested region because U.N. observers were unable to determine who was entitled to vote. The efforts of the United Nations to bring about peace did not end, however. In March, 1997, former U.S. secretary of state James A. Baker was appointed special United Nations envoy for Western Sahara with a mission to attempt to resolve the conflict between the Moroccan government and the Polisario Front that had lasted more than twenty years.

Some observers hoped that the new Moroccan king, Mohammed VI, might be able to break the long stalemate in the Western Sahara. In 2001, United Nations envoy James Baker proposed a new peace plan. However, this plan was rejected by Algeria, the main supporter of the Polisario Front. Mohammed VI continued his father's policy of regarding the Western Sahara as an indivisible part of Morocco.

### **Morocco and Spain**

Although Spain withdrew from most of its territories in the area of Morocco by 1975, there continued to be some conflict over remaining pockets of Spanish control. The two cities of Ceuta and Melilla on the northern coast of Morocco remained under Spain, which classified them as Spanish autonomous territories. Many Moroccans were sensitive to what they regarded as a remnant of the colonial presence in their country. In addition, Spain

and Morocco had disagreements about fishing rights in the waters between the two nations.

On July 11, 2002, territorial disputes between Spain and Morocco resulted in small-scale military conflict. On that day, Morocco sent forces to occupy a small, uninhabited island, known as Perejil to the Spanish and as Leila to the Moroccans, that lies about two hundred yards from the Moroccan coast. The Moroccans maintained that they were establishing a camp to fight illegal immigration and drug trafficking, both of which are widely recognized problems. The Spanish, claiming Perejil as Spanish territory, saw the military occupation as a violation of their national sovereignty. On July 18, Spanish special forces used helicopters and warships to seize the island and took six Moroccan soldiers prisoner. Two days later, however, United States secretary of state Colin L. Powell helped Spain and Morocco reach an agreement under which both nations were to withdraw all their forces from the island.

Carl L. Bankston III

### **For Further Study**

One of the best places to begin learning about the Kingdom of Morocco is *Morocco: A Country Study* (1985), edited by Harold D. Nelson. This book, published by the Foreign Area Studies Department of the American University, has become slightly dated, but it remains one of the best overall resources on Moroccan history, society, politics, and culture. Those seeking more in-depth historical background may wish to consult *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (2000), by C. R. Pennell. For a ready reference on Moroccan history, readers should look at Thomas K. Park's *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (1996). Available in many libraries, this book provides an alphabetical listing of topics in Moroccan history.

An interesting book on the social changes brought about by the struggle against the French is *Voices of Resistance: Oral Histories of Moroccan Women* (1998), by Alison Baker. Baker provides insight into the participation of women in the Moroccan independence movement through the narratives of women who worked for Moroccan independence. Readers seeking more background on Islamic radicals in Muslim countries will find information in

Dilip Hiro's *Holy Wars: The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism* (1989). The conflict between the Polisario Front and Morocco has received relatively little publicity in the West. Two books that give good accounts of this conflict are *The Western Saharans: Background to Conflict* (1980), by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, and *Polisario and the Desert War* (1986), by Thomas Jallaud. Moroccan history during the rule of the late king Hassan II is covered in *Morocco Under King Hassan* (2001), by Stephen O. Hughes.

## MYANMAR

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*Problems of social and political conflict arose at various times in Myanmar (formerly Burma) as a result of social, cultural, economic, and political tensions originating within Myanmar. Many ethnic minority groups, such as the Chin, Kachin, Karen, and Shan, have competed for political power with the dominant Burmese group. Other factors contributing to internal strife and conflict had their origins outside Myanmar. The British, who had established a colonial government in neighboring India, sought to annex Myanmar as part of their Southeast Asian holdings. The British succeeded in their efforts; however, maintaining political and cultural stability proved to be difficult. In 1937 Myanmar was partially successful in obtaining independence from the control of the British-Indian government. In the decades that followed independence, several struggles for political power erupted; these were primarily conflicts between the military and various political organizations, including Marxists (the "Thakins"), Burmese Muslims, ethnic organizations (such as the Karen Nationalism Association), and university student groups. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century Myanmar was ruled by a military government, a government that has been generally successful in stopping all attempts at overthrowing it.*

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**L**ocated in Southeast Asia, Myanmar is a nation of an estimated 42 million people that is typically divided into geographical regions: a central river valley that follows on either side of the Irrawaddy River, which runs north to south; the western mountains, the southern delta (near Rangoon); the northeastern frontier; and peninsular Myanmar, which runs along the Thailand border, extending south along the western edge of the Malay peninsula. Myanmar is bordered in the west by India, shares a common border with China, and abuts Laos for a short distance. This eastern border runs north to south through Myanmar's northeastern mountain region and separates Myanmar from Thailand in the southeast.

### Foreign Conquests

During the later half of the nineteenth century and for part of the twentieth century to 1937, Myanmar, like India, was under British rule. The British did not rule Myanmar—which they called Burma—directly, however; they used Indian political puppets at both the local and national levels to administer British policies. Throughout the middle of the nineteenth century the British actively attempted to gain control over Myanmar's government and its resources.

Traditionally, Myanmar had been ruled by monarchs. The monarchs, or kings, sometimes set themselves up as the heads of religious states—which are called theocracies. Because Myanmar is a religiously diverse country that embraces spirit worshipers, Muslims, Hindus, and Buddhists, these kings, with their claimed divine connections, often had problems gaining support from the general population. The British sometimes were able to gain an advantage over these kings through supporting various groups.

The British fought a series of wars with these divine kings and various Burmese governors under the supervision of the kings. The British were planning to counter the French, who had established colonial governments in Indochina (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam). In 1885, at the end of the third Anglo-Burmese War,

## Profile of Myanmar

*Official name:* Union of Myanmar

*Former name:* Burma

*Independent since:* 1948

*Former colonial ruler:* Great Britain

*Location:* Southeast Asia, between India and Thailand

*Area:* 261,970 square miles

*Capital:* Rangoon (Yangon)

*Population:* 42.2 million (2002 est.)

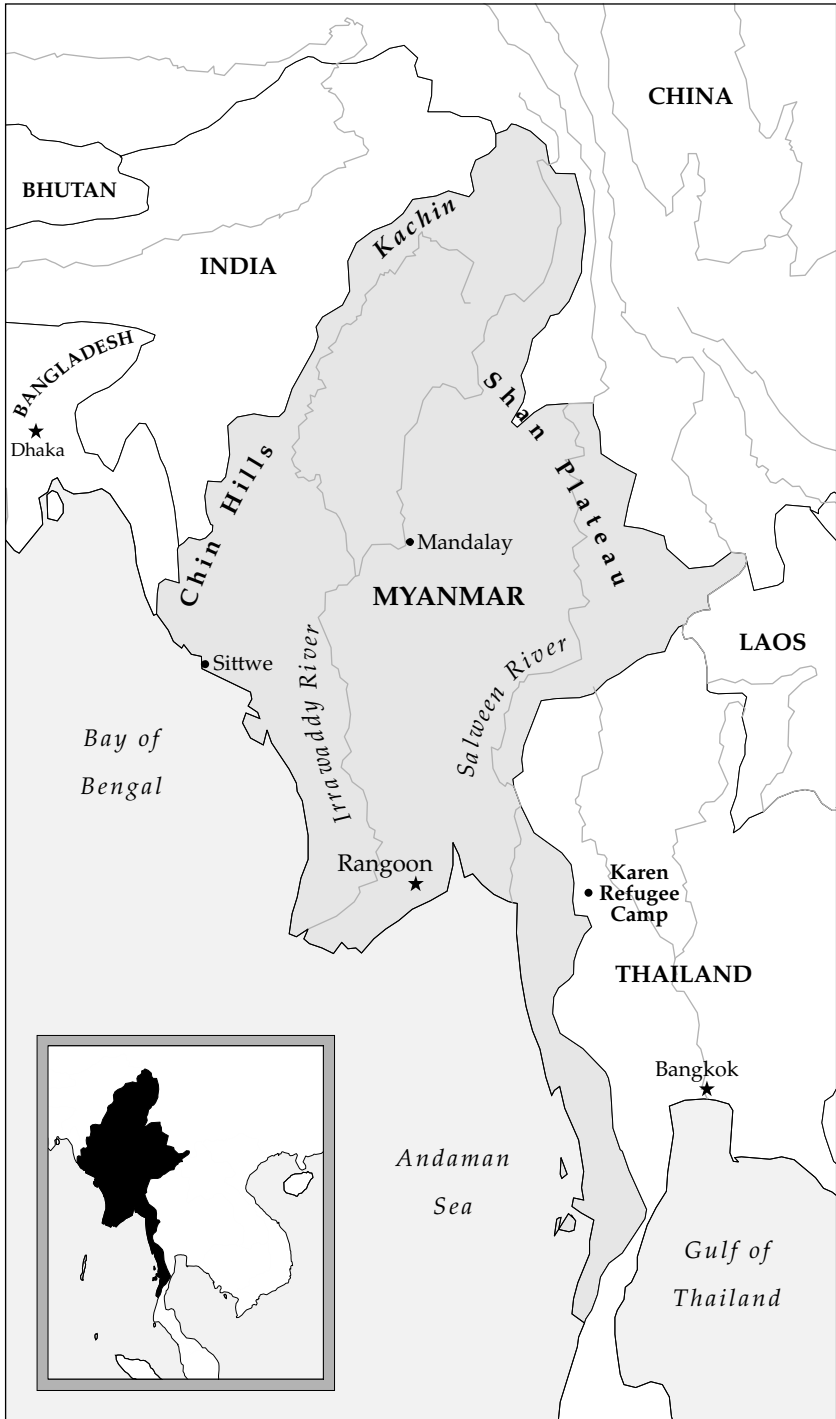
*Official language:* Burmese

*Major religion:* Buddhism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$63.0 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* food and livestock; inedible crude materials

*Military expenditures:* US\$39 million (1998)



which lasted only two weeks, the British and their Indian allies successfully occupied Mandalay, which kings had earlier used as their capital. Thiban, the king of Myanmar prior to the end of the third Anglo-Burmese war, was exiled by the British, and the monarchical system of government was completely eliminated.

### **Forming British Alliances Within Myanmar**

In 1888, in order to secure assistance from important minority groups, the British-Indian government established an alliance with the Shan. The Shan are a large agricultural minority population that occupies much of eastern central Myanmar. By forming this alliance the British were attempting to avoid the problems their predecessors (the kings) had experienced. Moreover, the British hoped that this alliance would assist British merchants in obtaining natural resources for export.

The Shan lived in both highland and lowland regions of eastern Myanmar and had access to the hill country in the east, where large stands of exotic trees for lumber grew. The Shan also grew a variety of crops, including rice, potatoes, and coffee. The British were interested in the highlands for the lumber yield; they were also interested in the lowland regions because the soils there had the potential to grow cotton. Cotton was a major cash crop for the British.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the British established new administrative and civil roles for Burmese villages. These new administrative roles were organized on an Indian model. In fact, many of the local officials were from India. This produced conflicts among the various local ethnic groups. Many local village leaders, usually male elders or Theravada Buddhist monks, began to openly oppose this new “outsider’s” system. These new local administrators also discovered that the dominant ethnic Burmese population did not recognize British-Indian authority. This situation produced a three-way factional conflict.

Many non-Burmese minority groups did not respect and obey the local British-Indian civil administrators. The large Burmese population began to outwardly defy British-Indian rule at the national level, and the British found that a threat of military force was necessary to maintain control in Myanmar. From 1885 to

1945, Myanmar was continuously under a state of martial law. After 1937 the new partially independent government faced the same problems the British had faced earlier. Thus, in order to maintain civil order, martial law was extended. From 1885 to 1937 the dominant Burmese population, based on their experience with the British, developed an extreme distrust of outsiders.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the foundations for further conflicts had been established. During the early years of the twentieth century the British-Indian government had replaced many of the local village leaders with their own Indian officials. These appointments, combined with growing discontent among various ethnic groups, stimulated the growth of separate ethnic nationalist movements. Ethnic groups such as the Karen and the Kachin organized their own nationalist parties. Theravada Buddhist monks mounted an anti-British campaign. Some ethnic Burmese Buddhist monks joined small but growing groups of Marxists; this occurred despite the general Marxist opposition to religion.

### **Growing Divisions Within Myanmar Society**

The ethnic nationalists with religious affiliations continued to grow and diversify. For example, in 1906 the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) was formed. Partially modeled after the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in the United States, this organization's initial goals were to reestablish Burmese cultural and religious values. However, during the decade following its establishment the organization became more political. For example, British dignitaries often refused to remove their shoes when entering sacred Buddhist temples. The YMBA viewed this practice as a direct insult, and they openly criticized the British. As their sentiments against British colonial rule grew the YMBA favored the establishment of an indigenous (a native multiethnic) Buddhist national government. By 1920 the YMBA began to fall apart. Political differences among its members led to infighting.

In 1921 the General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA) was formed. The formation of this organization represented the first united multiethnic front to oppose British colonial rule. The



GCBA did not officially endorse Buddhism and it did not favor any single ethnic group. The primary goal of the organization was to build a large and forceful opposition to the British through the unification of internal Burmese factions.

The first action taken by the GCBA was an organized student strike. This strike, which took place at the newly founded University at Rangoon, started a tradition of student political activism. This and other related demonstrations resulted in a new constitution in 1921.

In 1923 a dyarchy (two-sided) government composed of British and Burmese nationalist officials was formed. Throughout the 1920's and 1930's this dyarchy government was the focus of bitter debates among many nationalists, ethnic populations, and government groups. Despite the fact that public elections were held in 1923, 1925, and 1928, internal dissatisfaction with the dyarchy arrangement persisted.

In 1937 Myanmar obtained a "Reform Constitution," which granted the country a nationalist government free from Indian rule. However, the British maintained officials in key positions, thus maintaining a significant degree of control in Myanmar and, in reality, keeping the dyarchy intact.

### **Population Growth and Increased Conflicts**

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's Myanmar experienced growth in a number of important areas. This growth indirectly contributed to ongoing conflicts that periodically arose during the second half of the twentieth century. First, government bureaucracies at all levels were growing and becoming more complex.

Second, Myanmar was slowly beginning to join the world economy, which further stimulated conflicts with the British and their mercantile (business) interests, because the British wanted to exploit Myanmar's resources for themselves. Also, growing participation in a world economy brought more intrusions from outsiders. By this time many indigenous peoples of Myanmar had grown wary of outside intervention. From 1852 to 1937, 2.6 million Indians had moved to Myanmar.

Thus, the reactions of indigenous Myanmar citizens to outsid-

ers and to a continuing reliance on external markets was based largely on their experience with political and economic forces beyond their control. Moreover, from 1891 to 1941 Myanmar's population had doubled. This rapid increase in population placed a great deal of stress on the resource base and the distribution of resources. The population growth also contributed to increased tensions among Myanmar's various ethnic populations.

### **Moving Toward Independence**

Following the new constitution of 1937 a parliamentary form of government was established. The first prime minister of the new government was Ba Maw. Although Ba Maw had control over most domestic policies, British officials still employed a significant degree of control over Myanmar's international and economic affairs.

During Ba Maw's term of office many people in Myanmar came to realize that the British still managed a large portion of Myanmar's external political and economic activities. The British, for example, still regulated and organized the exportation of commodities such as cotton, wood, rubber, and tea. These goods often reached Britain with few or no tariffs or export taxes. The British also placed tariffs on some imported commodities—goods coming into Myanmar from other parts of the world—making them unaffordable to the common people.

The frustration that accompanied the realization that true independence had not yet been achieved caused some indigenous factions in Myanmar to seek unusual allies. In the late 1930's a small group of Marxist (leftist) revolutionaries called the Thakins, who had grown discontented with this new subtle form of British control, obtained military training from the Japanese, a right-wing military regime. This small group of revolutionaries supported the Japanese cause in Southeast Asia until 1942. At that time it became apparent that the Japanese were interested in the political and economic domination of Southeast Asia (including Myanmar).

Ironically, after 1942 these same leftist revolutionaries sided with the British and United States in an effort to expel the Japanese from Southeast Asia. Several important Burmese leaders

emerged from the struggles associated with World War II. Among them was Aung San, one of the counterrevolutionaries who had been trained earlier by the Japanese.

During World War II other developments occurred in Myanmar. Theravada Buddhist monks began to adopt socialistic political theories. Socialist theories assume that governments should control national economies. This mix of political ideology with eastern religious ideas was based on certain moral and ethical principles believed by the monks to be shared by both philosophies. The link between religion and politics, as expressed in this union, essentially produced Buddhist monks who saw their roles change from passive mystics to political activists. These political monks eventually came into direct conflict with an emerging Burmese military government.

On May 17, 1945, the British announced their post-World War II policy for Myanmar. Their announcement included an explana-

## Myanmar Time Line

- 1853-1878 King Mindon Min controls much of Burma.
- 1885 British-Indian forces take control of Mandalay, ending third Anglo-Burmese War and placing much of Burma under British control.
- 1888 British-Indian government makes alliance with Shan people in highlands of eastern Burma.
- 1906 Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) is formed.
- 1920 YMBA is disbanded.
- 1921 General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA) is formed.
- 1923 British-Burmese dyarchy government is formed.
- 1937 Reform constitution provides partial independence from British, with Ba Maw as first Burmese prime minister.
- 1938-1939 Some Burmese communist and socialist leaders receive military training in Japan.
- 1942 Aung San and other leaders trained by Japanese side with British during World War II.
- 1947 (Jan.) Aung San becomes prime minister.
- 1947 Aung San is assassinated; U Nu becomes prime minister.
- 1947 (Sept. 24) Great Britain grants Burma independence.

tion for how Myanmar was to become a “full self-government within the British Commonwealth.” The constitution laying out this policy was later abandoned. In January, 1947, the draft of a new constitution that proclaimed the complete independence of Myanmar, as Burma, from the British was worked out between members of Aung San’s organization, the Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League (AFPFL), and the British. The terms for a democratic society were discussed and an election was organized for April of that year.

Aung San’s organization won a resounding electoral victory. Because the British had assisted in the formulation of this new constitution and because they had worked closely with Aung San, they assumed that they might still have some control over political and economic matters in Myanmar. This did not happen. During the first year of Aung San’s term in office Myanmar did not maintain its membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

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- 1948-1949 Civil war is fought between communist groups and socialist religious factions.
- 1948 (Jan. 4) Burma is proclaimed an independent republic.
- 1958 Ne Win, a military leader, overthrows U Nu’s government.
- 1960 U Nu regains power.
- 1962 After again taking over U Nu’s government, Ne Win holds power for twenty-six years.
- 1988 Rangoon university students demonstrate against Ne Win’s government, which responds brutally.
- 1988 (Aug. 30) Burma imposes martial law.
- 1988 (Sept.) Ne Win retires but retains control of government from behind the scenes.
- 1989 Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of Aung San and leader of National League for Democracy, is placed under house arrest by military government.
- 1989 (June 19) Burma is officially renamed Union of Myanmar.
- 1990 (May 27) Aung San Suu Kyi wins national election, but Ne Win government ignores its results and remains in power.
- 1991 Myanmar and Thailand clash over border along Salween River.
- 1991 (Oct.) Aung San Suu Kyi wins Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1993 (Jan. 9) Military government holds new constitutional conference, while largely Buddhist government invites Muslim exiles to return from Bangladesh.

*(continued)*

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Aung San's political goals were to maintain local political and ethnic diversity and achieve national political unification. He also favored separation of church and state. Aung San was not able to achieve his goals. In the summer of 1947 he was assassinated. Shortly thereafter U Nu, Aung San's successor, took office as the new prime minister of Myanmar.

U Nu had been a member of Aung San's AFPFL party. However, their political views differed. U Nu was a socialist who wanted to nationalize local industry and agriculture. He also did not entirely share Aung San's commitment to separation of religion and state. U Nu's siding with socialist Buddhists put him at odds with the communist forces in Myanmar. During his term of office, for example, he created a separate system of courts that were designed to hear only cases regarding religious matters.

U Nu wanted to build a state that tolerated religious differences. For example, he passed legislation forbidding the slaugh-

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### Myanmar Time Line *(continued)*

- 1995 (July) Generals lift house arrest on Aung San Suu Kyi.
  - 1996 (June 7) Government imposes new restrictions on party headed by Aung San Suu Kyi.
  - 1996 (Nov. 9) Thugs hired by government attack car carrying Aung San Suu Kyi.
  - 1996 (Dec. 2) New student antigovernment demonstrations erupt.
  - 1997 (Apr. 22) United States imposes sanctions on military government of Myanmar.
  - 1997 (Nov. 15) Military junta changes its name from "State Law and Order Restoration Council" to "State Peace and Development Council" to improve its image.
  - 1998 (Mar.) Karen fighters siding with the government cross Myanmar-Thailand border and attack Karen living in refugee camps.
  - 1998 (Mar.) Karen National Union leaders report killing thirteen immigration officials during heavy fighting with government troops.
  - 1998 (Mar. 11) Military regime subjects Karen minority to new attacks.
  - 1998 (July 24) Aung San Suu Kyi is held in car for six days by troops trying to stop her from meeting with supporters.
  - 1998 (Aug. 12) Aung San Suu Kyi is again stopped in her car and held for six days by troops.
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ter of cattle (consistent with both Hindu and Buddhist religious codes). The conflicts of ideology between those who wanted religion and state to remain separate (mainly the communists) and those who wanted the state to be involved in religious matters (religious socialists) eventually led to civil war from 1948 to 1949. Also, growing discontent among ethnic nationalist groups eventually led many of these groups to increase their activities. They wanted to fill the power vacuum created by what was perceived to be a weakened national government.

U Nu was successful in ending the civil war, but his political problems continued. Throughout the 1950's U Nu's authority was constantly being challenged by ethnic nationalists and by his political rivals in the military. In 1958 General Ne Win managed to remove U Nu from office and assume control of Myanmar.

Leading what was called a caretaker government, Ne Win opposed many of U Nu's ideas—especially his ideas about national

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|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1998 | (Sept. 2) Thousands of students demonstrate against ruling junta in Rangoon (Yangon) in largest public protest in two years.                                                                          |
| 1998 | (Sept. 16) Leaders of opposition party National League for Democracy announce formation of body that is Myanmar's legitimate government.                                                              |
| 1999 | (Mar.) Aung San Suu Kyi's husband, Michael Aris, dies.                                                                                                                                                |
| 2000 | (Jan. 27) Myanmar troops occupy the military base of the Karen group known as God's Army.                                                                                                             |
| 2000 | (Sept.) U.N. envoy Razali Ismail meets with representatives of Myanmar's military government and Aung San Suu Kyi in an effort to achieve a reconciliation between the government and the opposition. |
| 2001 | (May) Bangladesh and Myanmar troops exchange fire.                                                                                                                                                    |
| 2002 | (Mar.) Karen fighters launch their biggest attack on the army since the mid-1990's.                                                                                                                   |
| 2002 | (Mar. 7) The son-in-law and three grandsons of former leader Ne Win are arrested for plotting to overthrow the government; Ne Win is restricted to his house.                                         |
| 2002 | (May 6) Government releases Aung San Suu Kyi from nineteen months of house arrest and proclaims a new page in the country's history.                                                                  |
| 2002 | (Oct. 2) Australian foreign minister Alexander Downer meets with Aung San Suu Kyi at her home in Yangon.                                                                                              |
| 2003 | (Feb. 21) Government sentences Aung San Suu Kyi to one week over a domestic dispute in what Aung's supporters call politically motivated harassment.                                                  |
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religious tolerance. Ne Win's initial stint in power lasted only two years. In 1960 U Nu regained power by winning a national election. In 1962, however, Ne Win organized a military takeover of Myanmar and held on to power for the next twenty-six years.

### **Crackdowns and Internal Conflicts**

Ne Win's strategy for controlling Myanmar's internal conflicts was to use "maximum government." Maximum government was a policy based on the practice of military crackdowns on any activity Ne Win defined as counter to the government's interest. Ethnic, religious, and political factions active during previous administrations were, from time-to-time, still involved in demonstrations. Ne Win's policy of immediate crackdown (including using gunfire) allowed for the suppression of anti-government demonstrations. In order to manage this aspect of his government, he formed what he called the Revolutionary Council. The Revolutionary Council comprised top-ranking army officials.

One of Ne Win's goals was to form a national party that might politically and culturally unify Myanmar. In 1962, with the assistance of his generals and top level urban police officials, he formed the Burmese Way to Socialism (BWS). This party later became the National Unity Party. Because this party's activities and overall visibility (as viewed on posters and through advertisements) were associated primarily with urban centers, ethnic groups in rural areas did not embrace the party. In fact, the presence of this party intensified the separation of the urban military government from the people in the countryside.

By the end of the 1980's Ne Win's government had succeeded in maintaining a great deal of control over the general population. However, Myanmar's problems were many. First, constant military vigilance produced in the general public deep-seated resentment. Second, Ne Win had, to a significant degree, managed to cut off Myanmar from the rest of the world. With a few exceptions this meant that the economy suffered because goods from other parts of the world could not enter Myanmar and many products produced in Myanmar could not, generally, be exported.

Restrictions on foreign visitors were severe. Throughout the 1970's and 1980's visitors could, with a great deal of difficulty, obtain visas that allowed for only twenty-four hour visits. In the early 1990's tourists could visit Myanmar for only two weeks. The lack of outside money, typically brought in by tourism and foreign investors, had a serious negative impact on the economy.

### **Student Uprising of 1988**

The political, social, religious, and intellectual suppression brought about by Ne Win's policies eventually brought the country to a major crisis. In 1988 university students in Rangoon staged a massive demonstration. Students and Buddhist monks stood in front of tanks, formed blockades of government buildings, and tore down insignia's associated with the military government. Several government buildings were occupied by striking students while some government-run operations such as public transportation, local police departments, and government accounting agencies were momentarily shut down.

The demonstrations were so powerful that the entire government was paralyzed for several months. In September, 1988, Ne Win resigned, although he maintained power behind the scenes. After several months of chaos the military government put down the demonstrators, but once again Myanmar found itself under tightly administered martial law.

Some historians have likened the demonstrations of 1988 in Myanmar to the Civil Rights and Vietnam War protests in the United States in the 1960's and 1970's. The focal points of the demonstrations in both cases were university campuses, and the demonstrators were predominantly students. However, many historians reject comparisons between the demonstrations in Myanmar in 1988 and those of the 1960's in the United States when considering how each government responded.

Myanmar's crackdown on the student demonstrators was severe. It may never be known how many Myanmar students and monks were killed during the crackdown of 1988 in Rangoon, but estimates run in the thousands. In fact, several historians have put the number killed as much higher than the number of persons killed during China's 1989 crackdown on demonstrators



at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, where students protested the Chinese government's opposition to free speech and democratic values.

Since the repression of the student demonstrations in 1988, Myanmar has been governed by the same military regime that was established under Ne Win. In 1989 the reestablished military government officially formed the Union of Myanmar, abandoning the old country name, Burma. The military government throughout the early 1990's continued its policies of isolation from the rest of the world. The government also continued its suppression of student groups and political activists as part of a general policy of suppressing free speech.

A year after the reinstatement of the military government in 1990 various factions outside the military called for a national election. In May, 1990, Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of Aung San and leader of the National League for Democracy (NLD), overwhelmingly won a popular national election. The military government allowed the election to take place but, embarrassed by the results, did not concede power to Aung San Suu Kyi. In fact, Aung San Suu Kyi had been under house arrest since 1989. Despite international protests, she was not released until 1995.

The 1995 release of Aung San Suu Kyi did not end governmental attempts to suppress her efforts at democratization. In 1996, the ruling military junta known as the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) passed a law banning rallies by Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy and in October of that year the SLORC arrested hundreds of NLD members and cut Aung San Suu Kyi's telephone. Under intense criticism from abroad, the military leadership did make some effort to use methods other than force to resolve the conflict with the advocates of democratization. In 1997, representatives of the SLORC opened talks with the NLD, and the NLD was allowed to hold a party congress. These movements toward moderation alternated with repressive actions, however. Through 2002, Aung San Suu Kyi was periodically kept in detention in her house and during the times that she was allowed more freedom of movement, she was prevented from attending NLD party meetings or traveling from the capital of Rangoon (Yangon).

As the military government continues to rule Myanmar it is faced with one nagging problem: ethnic nationalism. Many ethnic minority groups have formed organizations that are, in one way or another, opposed to Myanmar's government. This situation has grown increasingly complicated. For example, some ethnic groups have split their allegiances. For several years significant numbers of Karen, a horticultural people who have traditionally lived in the rugged highlands of eastern Myanmar along the Thai border, have been crossing the border into Thailand to escape government persecution. These Karen have taken up residence in several refugee camps in Thailand near the border.

In March, 1998, a group called the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army, an offshoot group of the Karen who had sided with the government, crossed the Myanmar border into Thailand and attacked other Karen who were living in the camps. Nearly fifty structures were burned and numerous refugees seriously injured. Two weeks earlier this same group of Karen fighters attacked another refugee camp at Huay Kaloke, Thailand. Nearly nine thousand refugees were left stranded and at the mercy of further attacks.



*Buddhist temples in the Myanmar countryside. (PhotoDisc)*

Assaults of the Myanmar army enabled it to make some progress in its fight against the rebels. By 2000, Myanmar forces had largely defeated the Karen group known as God's Army, a guerilla corps led by two twelve-year-old brothers. The fighting along the Thai border also brought Myanmar into conflict with Thailand. The year 2001 saw a number of clashes between soldiers and Myanmar.

On its western side, Myanmar's internal ethnic conflicts helped to worsen its relations with Bangladesh. Large numbers of persecuted Muslim refugees had fled from Myanmar into Bangladesh in 1977 and 1978 and again in 1991 and 1992. The Muslim movement from Myanmar continued through the 1990's, and this was a source of tension between Myanmar and Bangladesh. In May, 2001, troops in Myanmar and Bangladesh exchanged fire.

The internal strife and the inability of the Myanmar government to establish workable links with the world beyond its borders bodes ill for Myanmar's future. At the beginning of 2001, an investigating committee from the European Union (EU) visited Myanmar. The committee found extensive violations of human rights and the European Union extended its sanctions against Myanmar, although the EU did agree to increase humanitarian aid to the nation. Its neighbor Thailand has been relatively successful in establishing economic, social, and political ties with other parts of the world. Myanmar, along with Cambodia and Laos, has not been so fortunate.

Myanmar faces a number of critical problems. The domestic economy is weak and an environment for open political discussions does not exist. There is also one important issue that the government of Myanmar must resolve if it decides to join the global community of nations: It must improve its human rights situation.

Myanmar has found itself under the scrutiny of various international agencies, including the United Nations and Amnesty International, which have been looking for evidence of human rights violations. If Myanmar continues to be a closed society, a negative world perception of Myanmar will continue.

*Michael Shaw Findlay  
Updated by the Editors*

### For Further Study

A valuable book of essays on various topics related to ethnic tribal and minority groups in Myanmar (Burma) can be found in Peter Kunstadter's edited collection *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations* (1967). Books on Myanmar's recent and turbulent history cover a wide range of topics. A fine historical account that covers events through the late 1950's is John F. Cady's *A History of Modern Burma* (1960).

For an overview of more recent historical events in Myanmar, *Burma: A Study Guide* (1988), by Ronald A. Morse et al., is quite informative. Also, for a description of the ethnic tribal group known as the Shan, Chao Tzang Yawngnhe's *The Shan of Burma: Memoirs of a Shan Exile* (1987) provides a unique perspective. For a highly readable and satirical view of early twentieth century Burmese politics and society, George Orwell's novel *Burmese Days* (1934) is useful. Several books on religion, politics, and culture are of value. For example, Donald Eugene Smith's *Religion and Politics in Burma* (1965) provides a solid description of the interplay between religion and politics from the time of the early monarchs through the early 1960's.

Surendra Prasad Singh's *Growth of Nationalism in Burma 1900-1942* (1980) describes how various ethnic and political organizations struggled for power in Myanmar during the first half of the twentieth century. See also U Maung Maung's *From Sangha to Laity: Nationalist Movements of Burma* (1980). Jonathan Falla's *True Love and Bartholomew: Rebels on the Burmese Border* (1991) deals with the cultural and political activities of the Karen.

For an account of the student uprisings of 1988 and for a general overview of Southeast Asian history see Nicholas Tarling's *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, Volume Two* (1994). In addition Josef Silverstein's *Burma: Military Rule and the Politics of Stagnation* (1977) is a fine historical account of Myanmar's problem with economic downturns and isolation from the world economy. Perhaps the most comprehensive description of modern Burmese/Myanmar history can be found in Robert H. Taylor's *The State in Burma* (1987). *The Making of Modern Burma* (2001), by Thant Myint-U, covers the history of Myanmar through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Christina Fink's *Liv-*

*ing Silence: Burma Under Military Rule* (2001) looks at life inside Myanmar since the military took power in 1988.

References in the popular press are extremely limited. Occasionally articles dealing with border uprisings (particularly regarding Karen activities) are published in such weekly publications as *Newsweek* and *Time* magazine. For Internet sources search the World Wide Web for topics related to Myanmar, Burma, student activism in Asia, and Web pages dedicated to travel in Southeast Asia.

## PAKISTAN

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*The South Asian subcontinent has been threatened by one of the most dangerous conflicts in the world. It has revolved around the territorial dispute between India and Pakistan over the region of Kashmir but encompassed wider differences and disagreements between the two nations. Split into two separate countries at the time of decolonization in 1947, India and Pakistan have fought wars over mountainous Kashmir several times. The United Nations has taken a role in the Kashmir dispute and maintains observers along the cease-fire line (Line of Control) between Pakistan-controlled and India-controlled Kashmir. Since both Pakistan and India have become nuclear powers, a further escalation of the fifty-year conflict between them could have global repercussions. Another conflict that has shaped relations between Pakistan and India surrounded the secession of East Pakistan to form the independent country of Bangladesh in 1971. Domestic problems faced by Pakistan today include the issue of Afghan refugees, relations between Sunni and Shia Muslims, and relations among Pakistan's various ethnic groups. Pakistan's domestic conflicts were greatly complicated in 2001 when forces of the United Nations, led by the United States, invaded neighboring Afghanistan. Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf's support for the Western-supported attack on the Islamic government of Afghanistan's Taliban regime angered many Pakistani Muslims. The question of the role of Islam in Pakistani life is a matter of ongoing debate that is likely to continue into the future, as is the uneasy relationship between military and political power in Pakistan's fragile democracy.*

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**L**ocated in southern Asia, Pakistan is bounded by India, China, Afghanistan, and Iran. It has a coastline along the Arabian Sea in the south and some of the world's highest mountains in the north, including peaks in the Himalaya, Karakoram, Pamir, and Hindu Kush ranges. The Indus River and its tributaries form the fertile plains that support the bulk of the Pakistani population and provide for its basic nutritional needs. In 2002 Pakistan had a population of almost 148 million people, the overwhelming majority of whom are Muslims.

## Profile of Pakistan

*Official name:* Islamic Republic of Pakistan

*Independent since:* 1947

*Former colonial ruler:* Great Britain

*Location:* southern Asia, between Afghanistan and India

*Area:* 310,401 square miles

*Capital:* Islamabad

*Population:* 147.7 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Urdu

*Major religion:* Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$299 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* textile fabrics; garments; rice; leather goods

*Military expenditures:* US\$2.5 billion (2001)

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Pakistan celebrated its fiftieth anniversary as an independent nation in 1997. As the history of conflict between Pakistan and its neighbors is closely tied to the events surrounding its independence from Great Britain in 1947, an understanding of Pakistan's decolonization and the partition of British India is important to understanding Pakistan's current conflicts.

There were two main parties in British-held India: the Indian National Congress, formed in 1885, and the Muslim League, formed in 1906. The Congress was a secular, proindependence party with a substantial Hindu majority. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who would become the founder of the state of Pakistan, served as the president of the party until 1916, when he shifted to the Muslim League. Along with much of India's Muslim minority community, he believed that the Congress party could not guarantee the rights of the Muslims and that despite a claim to secularism Congress was, for all intents and purposes, a Hindu nationalist party.

Many people in today's Indian subcontinent accuse the British of nurturing differences between Muslims and Hindus as a "divide and rule" strategy. Whether disagreements and fears within the two major communities were exacerbated by the colonial power or not, it was clear by the 1940's that the Indian indepen-

dence movement was not a unitary one. In 1940 the Muslim League met at Lahore to pass a resolution in favor of independent states in those provinces where Muslims were in a majority. This resolution later became the rallying point in the postwar cry for independent Pakistan.

For its part the British government conducted negotiations to resolve the differences between Muslims and Hindus. At the Round Table Conference in 1946 a three-point formula was proposed in which there would be three types of states within a federated Indian system: those with Hindu majorities, those with Muslim majorities, and those where either of the two religions had a strong minority presence. A constitution was to guarantee the rights of the various religious groups.

The Cabinet Mission Plan, as this was called, received the reluctant support of the Muslim League but was rejected outright







Enmity between Pakistan and Indian developed quickly after the two nations became independent in 1947. This picture shows thousands of Indians marching to protest a proposed military alliance between neighboring Pakistan and the United States in 1953. (National Archives)

by the Congress party. As a result of the failure of the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Muslim League declared that nothing short of a wholly independent nation for the Muslims was acceptable.

In the spring of 1947 a boundary commission was appointed with the task of dividing the Indian subcontinent into two separate countries: India and Pakistan. The head of the commission was Cyril Radcliff, and the boundary line drawn was known as the Radcliff Line. However, the drawing of the boundaries was not the end but the beginning of the difficulties between Pakistan and India.

### **Pakistan and India After Independence**

Punjab in the west and Bengal in the east bore the brunt of the violence surrounding the declarations of independence in August, 1947. In the Punjab the districts with Muslim majorities went to Pakistan while the districts with Hindu or Sikh majorities went to India. In Bengal the same formula applied, although a substantial minority of Hindu remained in East Pakistan. Later this area would break away from Pakistan to become the independent country of Bangladesh.

Refugee flows generated by the partition of Pakistan and India were among the largest in recorded history, and untold numbers of people were killed while trying to get to one or the other proposed homeland. The more insidious problems, however, involved situations in which the boundary line was not obviously congruent with majority-minority religious issues. For example, the four northern districts of Punjab went to India, which was criticized by Pakistanis as a blatant attempt by India to claim a land bridge to Kashmir in the north.

## **Mohammed Ali Jinnah**

Mohammed Ali Jinnah was the founder of Pakistan. He is referred to as *Qaid-i-Azam*, or "father of the nation." Leader of the Muslim League in preindependence India, he negotiated the split between India and Pakistan in 1947 with leaders from the Congress Party of India and with the departing British. He died shortly after the independence of Pakistan but is remembered by all Pakistanis for his critical role in Pakistan's birth as a nation.

Kashmir itself was not formally a part of the British Empire but was an independent “princely state” headed by a Hindu maharaja, even though the large majority of the population was Muslim. This maharaja signed an Instrument of Accession that made Kashmir part of India despite its Muslim majority.

As Indian support was rushed to Kashmir, Pakistanis invaded from the west and took about a third of the total territory of Kashmir. From its viewpoint, it was a liberating force sent to defend the Islam Kashmiri Muslims, and the part of Kashmir held by Pakistan is called *Azad*, or “free” Kashmir. The Vale of Kashmir, considered to be Kashmir’s heartland, remained under Indian control and is referred to as “Indian-Occupied Kashmir” by Pakistanis, who feel that because of Kashmir’s Muslim majority it is clearly part of Pakistan and not India.

Much scholarly activity today is devoted to the timing and circumstances surrounding the signing of the Instrument of Accession. The United Nations, which got involved in the Kashmir

## Pakistan Time Line

- 1885 Indian National Congress Party is formed.
- 1906 Muslim League is formed.
- 1916 Mohammed Ali Jinnah leaves post as Congress president to join Muslim League.
- 1940 Muslim League passes “Lahore Resolution” calling for separate homeland for Muslim Indians.
- 1947 British appoint boundary commission to divide India into Muslim-majority areas, to be constituted as Pakistan, and remaining areas, to be constituted as India.
- 1947 (Aug. 15) Pakistan and India become independent as separate nations.
- 1948 First Indo-Pakistan war is fought over Kashmir.
- 1948 (Sept. 13) India invades Hyderabad.
- 1949 Awami League is founded in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) to seek greater regional autonomy.
- 1951 Liaqat Ali Khan, successor to Mohammed Ali Jinnah, is assassinated.
- 1956 Pakistan’s constitution declares country to be an Islamic state.
- 1958 Martial law is imposed.
- 1960 General Muhammad Ayub Khan is elected president.
- 1965 Second Indo-Pakistani war is fought over Kashmir.

issue in 1948, called for a free and fair plebiscite in which Kashmiris across the whole of Kashmir could exert their right to self-determination and choose whether they wanted to join Pakistan or India.

Pakistan has supported this call, confident that it would win the votes of the Muslim majority of Kashmir. India has refused to do so, resting its claim to Kashmir not on popular will but on the Instrument of Accession signed by the maharaja at the time of independence.

India and Pakistan fought another war over Kashmir in 1965, and Kashmir also became implicated in the 1971 war between the two countries over Bangladesh. The cease-fire line after this war was called the Line of Control and marks the informal boundary between the Pakistani and Indian sides of Kashmir. There is a further line of control marking the remote part of Kashmir claimed by the Chinese, who fought a war with India in 1962.

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|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1970 | General Ayub Khan resigns; power is assumed by General Agha Yahya Khan; agitation in East Pakistan is led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.    |
| 1971 | East Pakistan, supported by India, fights for its independence.                                                                        |
| 1971 | (Mar. 26) East Pakistan declares its independence and is renamed Bangladesh.                                                           |
| 1971 | (Dec. 3) India mobilizes for war with Pakistan.                                                                                        |
| 1971 | (Dec. 16) Pakistan surrenders to India.                                                                                                |
| 1972 | Cease-fire line in Kashmir is agreed upon.                                                                                             |
| 1973 | End of martial law; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto becomes prime minister and initiates reforms.                                                  |
| 1974 | (Feb.) Pakistan formally recognizes independence of Bangladesh.                                                                        |
| 1977 | Military coup puts General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq in power.                                                                               |
| 1979 | Former premier Bhutto is hanged.                                                                                                       |
| 1979 | Soviet Union invades Afghanistan, and United States offers support to Pakistan; war refugees pour into Pakistan.                       |
| 1988 | General Zia ul-Haq is killed in air crash; Benazir Bhutto is elected prime minister.                                                   |
| 1989 | Insurgency in Indian Kashmir develops.                                                                                                 |
| 1990 | Ethnic violence and charges of corruption lead to downfall of Bhutto government; Nawaz Sharif of Muslim League becomes prime minister. |
| 1990 | (Aug. 6) Army overthrows elected parliament.                                                                                           |

*(continued)*

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After 1989 the major new development in the Kashmir situation was the rise of a domestic insurgency in the Indian-held portion. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Force, Hizbul Mujahideen, and Harkat ul-Ansar are just three of over a dozen guerrilla forces operating in Indian Kashmir with the aim of separation from India.

While some of the forces aim for a totally sovereign Kashmiri state, others aim for unification with Pakistan. They have joined together in an umbrella organization called the Hurriyet Conference, which calls for the implementation of the United Nations resolution on a free and fair plebiscite for Kashmiris.

India has engaged in a forceful counterinsurgency effort in its portion of Kashmir, and human rights groups around the world have criticized its disregard for the human rights of its citizens in Kashmir. Refugees fleeing the crackdown in Indian Kashmir crossed the Line of Control to the Pakistani side throughout the 1990's. Various Islamic groups from other parts of the world have

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**Pakistan Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1990 (Nov. 6) Namay Sharif is elected prime minister.
  - 1991 Islamic law (sharia) is incorporated into national legal code.
  - 1992 Ethnic violence continues in Sind; continued insurgency in Indian Kashmir with widespread support in Pakistan.
  - 1993 Benazir Bhutto returns to power.
  - 1993 (Apr. 18) Pakistan's president dismisses third elected prime minister in five years and appoints Balakh Sher Mazari as caretaker leader.
  - 1996 (Nov. 5) Pakistani president dismisses Prime Minister Bhutto.
  - 1997 Nawaz Sharif is elected prime minister; he charges Bhutto government with corruption.
  - 1997 (Feb. 30) Pakistan Muslim League, headed by Nawaz Sharif, wins two thirds of legislative seats in national election, crushing former prime minister Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party.
  - 1997 (Apr. 1) Sharif pushes through amendments to constitution to limit president's power to dismiss prime ministers.
  - 1997 (Aug. 11) China strengthens border guard against Pakistan to prevent Uighur fighters from communicating with Kashmiri militants, thereby weakening its relationship with Pakistan.
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expressed their solidarity with the Muslim insurgents in Indian Kashmir.

In 1998 the Hindu nationalist government of India and the Pakistani government both held nuclear tests in disregard of world opinion. Policy makers in the United States feared that Kashmir could easily become the focal point of a future nuclear showdown in South Asia.

Fears of a nuclear war became greater in the years that followed the 1998 nuclear tests. During the summer of 1999, the Indian government became concerned over Pakistani infiltrators who were crossing over the line separating areas controlled by the two countries in the Kargil region of Jammu and Kashmir. At that time, also, the Indian air force shot down a Pakistani spy plane flying over the Indian state of Gujarat.

Pakistani-Indian tensions intensified further when five armed terrorists attempted to make their way into India's Parliament House in New Delhi on December 13, 2001, killing nine people

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|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1997 | (Dec. 2) Pakistan's chief justice is dismissed as new political disorders begin.                                                                                                                                   |
| 1998 | (Jan. 1) Government brings corruption charges against former prime minister Bhutto, her husband, and her mother.                                                                                                   |
| 1998 | (May 11) Yielding to domestic political pressure to demonstrate its strength, India's government detonates five nuclear devices.                                                                                   |
| 1998 | (May 13) United States imposes sanctions on India and fails in attempt to pressure Pakistan not to respond to India's nuclear bomb tests.                                                                          |
| 1998 | (May 28) Yielding to domestic pressures, Pakistan detonates its own nuclear devices in response to India's nuclear bomb tests.                                                                                     |
| 1998 | (June 7) Pakistan blames India for bomb blast on southern Pakistan train that kills more than twenty passengers.                                                                                                   |
| 1998 | (June 11) Pakistan announces it will observe moratorium on nuclear weapons testing.                                                                                                                                |
| 1998 | (Aug.) Riots break out in Pakistan protesting collapsing economy.                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1998 | (Oct. 7) General Jehangir Karamat resigns as head of Pakistan's military forces after criticizing government policies; it is first time disgruntled military chief has resigned instead of taking over government. |
| 1998 | (Nov. 6) U.S. government announces lifting of some sanctions on India and Pakistan to reward their progress in nuclear weapons control.                                                                            |
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*(continued)*

before they were killed themselves. The Indian government maintained that the terrorists were Kashmiri militants backed by groups in Pakistan. In January, 2002, President Musharraf of Pakistan banned two of the groups blamed by India for the violence, but Indian and Pakistani troops continued to mass along the borders in Kashmir and threats of nuclear exchanges grew.

In June, 2002, the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency estimated that if India and Pakistan were to engage in mutual nuclear attacks, 17 million people would be killed during the first few weeks, and more would eventually die from radiation, starvation, and other after-effects over a period of years. Although tension eased somewhat in the late summer of 2002, the threat of nuclear war in South Asia continued.

Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, is very near Kashmir both geographically and emotionally. Kashmir has been a top issue of every leader of Pakistan and has a prime place in the daily news broadcasts to which Pakistanis listen. It is said that no politician

### **Pakistan Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1998 (Dec. 2) Prime Minister Sharif meets with U.S. president Bill Clinton in Washington, D.C.
- 1998 (Dec. 28) Government temporarily stops former prime minister Benazir Bhutto, who is under investigation for corruption, from leaving country.
- 1999 (Feb. 20) Prime Minister Sharif and Indian prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee hold cordial meeting in Pakistan.
- 1999 (Apr. 15) Benazir Bhutto is convicted, *in absentia*, on corruption charges; Bhutto, then in London, calls on fellow party members to demonstrate against Sharif's government.
- 1999 (May-July) Fighting between Indian and Pakistani-backed forces flares up in Kashmir until both governments agree to resume talks on Kashmir's future.
- 1999 (Aug.) Indian air force downs a Pakistani spy plane flying over Gujarat.
- 1999 (Oct.) General Pervez Musharraf takes power and arrests Nawaz Sharif for treason.
- 2001 United States ends its economic embargoes against both India and Pakistan.
- 2001 (June 20) General Pervez Musharraf appoints himself president and says he will return the country to democracy.
- 2001 (July 13) President Musharraf arrives in New Delhi for talks with the Indian prime minister, but the talks end in failure.

in Pakistan could survive who failed to recognize Kashmir as a key national priority.

### **War of 1971 and Creation of Bangladesh**

Relations between West and East Pakistan—facing each other across the entire breadth of northern India—were strained right from the beginning of their creation. In 1948 Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the president of the Muslim League and founder of Pakistan, declared Urdu the national language of Pakistan. Urdu was the language spoken by those Muslims who had fled from India to West Pakistan at the time of partition. In East Pakistan, Bengali was the language regularly spoken. Thus, the East Pakistanis felt neglected.

The list of grievances grew with time. West Pakistan (now Pakistan) was divided into four provinces—Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, and the Northwest Frontier. East Pakistan was just a single province, and this districting meant that the East Pakistanis,

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|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2001 | (Dec. 13) India blames Pakistan for attacks on its Parliament House and demands that Pakistan crack down on separatist groups.                                                                               |
| 2002 | (Jan. 12) President Musharraf says the Pakistani government will crack down on Islamic radicals.                                                                                                             |
| 2002 | (Apr. 30) Pakistani voters overwhelmingly approve another five-year term for Pervez Musharraf.                                                                                                               |
| 2002 | (June) Bombing outside the U.S. consulate kills fourteen Pakistanis.                                                                                                                                         |
| 2002 | (Sept.) Pakistani police arrest members of the Al-Almi militant Islamic group, which is suspected of the June bombing outside the U.S. consulate and of three assassination attempts on President Musharraf. |
| 2002 | (Oct. 5) Pakistan test-fires a medium-range missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead on the same day that India test-fires a smaller missile with a conventional warhead.                               |
| 2002 | (Oct. 10) Coalition of six hardline Islamic antigovernment parties show strong gains in provincial legislative elections.                                                                                    |
| 2002 | (Nov. 16) Pakistan's first elected parliament in three years is sworn in, and Pervez Musharraf begins his second term as president.                                                                          |
| 2003 | (Jan. 3) Thousands of demonstrators throughout Pakistan protest the U.S. presence in Pakistan and a possible U.S. attack on Iraq.                                                                            |
| 2003 | (Jan. 9) Pakistan denounces India's test-firing of a nuclear-capable missile.                                                                                                                                |
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far more populous numerically, were severely underrepresented in the Pakistani national assembly. In addition, economic problems added to the resentment felt by the East Pakistanis, as development in the west proceeded much more rapidly than in the east. Some Bengalis in East Pakistan felt that they had become a sort of colony of West Pakistan.

By the late 1960's a strong people's movement in East Pakistan had started against the military rule of General Ayub Khan, and he was forced to resign. In a subsequent election held on the principle of one-person, one-vote, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from the Awami Muslim League in East Pakistan won the majority of votes.

The political and military elite from West Pakistan, however, prevented him from taking power by banning the Awami Muslim League and launching a crackdown in East Pakistan. A guerilla insurgency began in East Pakistan, with aid and training supplied by Pakistan's enemy, India. Pakistan and India went to war in 1971, and Pakistan lost. The independent country of Bangladesh was declared in what was formerly East Pakistan.

The war of secession that resulted in Bangladesh was difficult for the Islamic world to understand, since it was fought between two Islamic peoples who are normally supposed to be on the same side. As a result of the 1971 war, the three main South Asian nations of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh were among the four largest Muslim countries worldwide (the fourth was Indonesia). Thus, although many people envision Saudi Arabia, with its holy cities of Mecca and Medina, as the heartbeat of Islam, in terms of population size the center of the Islamic global community is in South Asia.

### **Political Instability and Domestic Conflicts**

Throughout its history, Pakistan has had difficulty establishing stable civilian leadership. On October 7, 1958, just eleven years after the founding of the nation, President Iskander Mirza abolished political parties and proclaimed martial law. General Mohammad Ayub Khan became prime minister under Mirza, then forced Mirza to resign and became president in his place. In 1968, there was an attempt to assassinate Ayub and he responded

by arresting Pakistani opposition leaders, including the civilian politician Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Protests and social disorder ensued and in March, 1969, Ayub handed power over to another military leader, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan.

After the civil war that produced the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, General Yahya resigned and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whose Pakistan People's Party had won a surprising victory in national elections, became the country's first civilian leader in many years. However, when Bhutto announced new elections in 1977, violence broke out between Bhutto's party and an alliance of opposition parties. To contain the violence, Bhutto brought in the military and placed the nation under martial law. This proved to be a mistake for Bhutto, whose chief administrator of martial law, General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, had him arrested. Charged with attempted murder, Bhutto was hanged to death on April 4, 1979.

Zia established ties with the United States, helping to channel U.S. arms to Muslim guerrillas fighting against the Soviets in Afghanistan. He also established many facets of Islamic law in Pakistan, partly to maintain the support of Pakistani Muslims and partly as an expression of his own religious beliefs. Both the connections to Afghanistan and the strengthening of the role of Islam in public life would come back to haunt a later Pakistani administration.

On August 17, 1988, Zia was killed in a plane crash. The following December, the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, was elected prime minister. However, the new prime minister had the support of neither the military nor the president, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, a supporter of the late General Zia. After twenty months in office, Bhutto was forced out and replaced by Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, a wealthy Punjabi industrialist.

Sharif also had disagreements with the president, however, and in 1993 both he and Ishaq Khan resigned, reportedly under pressure from the military. Elections returned Benazir Bhutto to power as prime minister in October, 1996. However, she was unable to control the violence in the country, and her second term in office was marred by ethnic violence and by attacks on Christians by radical Islamic groups. The new president, Farooq Ahmed

## Benazir Bhutto

Benazir Bhutto, the first woman to be elected as a national leader in the Islamic world, began her first term as Pakistan's prime minister in 1988. She is the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a prime minister who was executed in 1979 after a military coup. Benazir Bhutto was educated in the West and is head of the Pakistan People's Party. Despite living in a country in which women's rights are still being disputed, Bhutto was able to win the respect of a wide range of Pakistanis; however, she was twice dismissed from office under suspicion of corruption.

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Leghari, forced Benazir Bhutto out again and Nawaz Sharif was again elected in 1997.

In the face of a failing economy and following the nuclear crisis with India in 1998, the military seized power again. In October, 1999, General Pervez Musharraf arrested Sharif for alleged treason. When the United States became involved in fighting in Afghanistan in late 2001, Musharraf decided that cooperation with the United States was the best policy for his country. This led to new problems of domestic order, since the Taliban government of Afghanistan had support in many parts of Pakistani society. There was also substantial apparent support for Musharraf's ability to impose order on the troubled country, since a majority of voters chose to give Musharraf an additional five years of power in a referendum held in late April, 2002.

### Continuing Problems

From the time of Pakistan's founding there has been serious discussion about the extent to which Pakistan should be an Islamic state. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the *Qaid-i-Azam*, or father of the nation, was himself a secularist, although he led the struggle to establish a national homeland for Muslims. Through Pakistan's turbulent history tides have shifted back and forth as governments have changed.

During the regime of General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq (1977-1988), Pakistan underwent an Islamization program, through which elements of Islamic law were introduced into the Pakistani

law code. Subsequent governments, however, have been less strident. Pakistan has sought allies among other Islamic countries as well as with Western powers such as the United States. With American involvement in neighboring Afghanistan, balancing Pakistan's Islamic identity with its Western alliances became an extremely delicate and difficult matter.

Issues of media censorship have been heavily debated in Pakistan, as in many Islamic countries. There are many Islamic schools, and Muslim religious holidays are universally celebrated as Pakistani holidays. Issues surrounding equality for women have become critical, as Islamic law and tradition conflict with the secular legacy from preindependence India and the Western orientation of many of Pakistan's elites.

Poverty remains a serious problem in Pakistan, although in general terms the country has developed far more rapidly than its massive neighbor India. Child labor continues to be practiced and has been the target of criticism from international and domestic organizations. The small Christian minority has experienced some discrimination, and some Christian activists have arisen to agitate for the rights of the Christians.

The tribal areas of Pakistan's remote northern sections are virtually another world from the urban centers of the plains. Fiercely independent tribes recognize no authority over their regions, and the rule of law applies only partially in many areas. The mountainous north remains one of the wildest settings in the world.

Another area of domestic conflict within Pakistan is the domination of Punjab in the life of the nation. The other provinces have each spawned some discontent over the domination of the Punjabis, and tensions in Sind have reached the level of major civil violence.

Another issue is the presence of the *mohajirs*, or immigrants from India, who reside mostly in the large cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. Urban violence involving *mohajirs* has escalated and so have conflicts between Shia and Sunni Muslims. Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, has become one of the most violent cities in the world. Some observers believe that the conflicts involving *mohajirs* may be fueled from India and that conflicts involving the

Shia-Sunni divide may be fueled from Iran. If so, this would only be the latest round in a lengthy history of cross-border politics that permeate the region.

Pakistan has been described by some Western observers as being on the threshold of breakdown. Others feel it is poised for a period of dynamic growth and political maturity. As a country with the dual cultural heritage of Islam and South Asia, it could play a critical role as a link among the world's civilizations. The fact that many educated Pakistanis opt to leave their country for the West, however, points to a downward rather than an upward momentum. The level of military expenditure in Pakistan due largely to the Kashmir conflict with India is likewise not helpful in terms of sustainable economic and human development.

Pakistan was established as a democracy but has undergone several periods of martial law in its brief history. The relationship between military and political power continues to be uneasy, and the potential is there for future swings in either direction. The ongoing pressure to militarize stemming from a fear of an Indian drive to establish hegemony in South Asia has been difficult for many political leaders in Pakistan to resist.

*Khalid Mahmood  
Cynthia Keppley Mahmood  
Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

There are several highly readable narratives of the conflict over Kashmir. Victoria Schofield's *Kashmir in the Crossfire* (1996) is a good place to start. Paula Newberg's *Double Betrayal: Repression and Insurgency in Kashmir* (1995) focuses on the guerrilla war in Indian Kashmir. For the juridical and diplomatic history of the Kashmir conflict Alistair Lamb is the preeminent expert; see his assessments in *Birth of a Tragedy* (1994) and *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990* (1991). Robert Wirsing is another expert on the international ramifications of the Kashmir problem; he wrote *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute: On Regional Conflict and Its Resolution* (1994). Also see the collection *Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of Conflict in South Asia*, edited by Raju Thomas (1992). In *Conflict Unending: Indo-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947* (2002),

Sumit Ganguly examines conflicts between India and Pakistan, arguing that Kashmir has been the focal point of all disputes except for the 1971 war over East Pakistan/Bangladesh. The book leans heavily toward the Indian point of view.

Three books by Ayesha Jalal provide a useful analysis of Pakistan and its history: *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the Demand for Pakistan* (1985), *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence* (1991), and *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective* (1995). On the secession of East Pakistan see *War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh*, by Richard Sisson and Leo Rose (1990). Books relating to ethnic and internal questions in Pakistan include Akbar Ahmed's *Islam, Ethnicity, and Leadership in South Asia* (1986) and Tahir Amin's *Ethno-National Movements in Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors* (1988). *New Yorker* correspondent Mary Anne Weaver's book *Pakistan: In the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan* (2002) argues that Pakistan may become the "next Yugoslavia." She portrays Pakistan as in a state of chaos and argues that if Pervez Musharraf fails to overcome his country's Islamic militants, the result will be disastrous for both Musharraf and the United States.

## PALESTINE

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*Palestine, a region located along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, has long been the site of conflicts among Jews, Muslims, and Christians. A large influx of Jews, who considered Palestine to be their homeland, during the early twentieth century was followed by the establishment of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948. This created friction with the Muslims who were already living in Palestine and who also considered it to be their homeland. While the surrounding Arab nations refused to recognize the legitimacy of Israel, the new Jewish nation aggressively asserted its presence among them. This has led to a steady cycle of guerrilla violence and retaliation between Israel and the Arab Palestinians, which has been punctuated by several full-scale wars between Israel and the neighboring Arab nations. Although Israel and Egypt signed a peace agreement in 1978 and small steps were made toward reconciling the differences between the Jews and the Muslims during the 1990's, Palestine continued to be one of the most volatile regions in the world in the first years of the new century.*

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**P**alestine takes its name from the Philistines, who lived in the area around 1300 B.C.E. First called Philistia, the name was revived by the Romans, who named their eastern Mediterranean province Syria Palaestina. The British used the name to denote one of the territories mandated to them by the League of Nations after World War I. Part of this territory is now the modern state of Israel.

Mandate Palestine was about 150 miles long and 80 miles wide, stretching from the Mediterranean on the west to the Arabian Desert on the east and from the Litani River on the north to the Egyptian border in the south. Most of the land is low hills and coastal plains. Palestine today is, officially, only the territory surrounding Jerusalem on the West Bank of the Jordan River, plus the Gaza Strip in the southwestern tip of the state of Israel.

The Arab inhabitants of Palestine speak Arabic, which is a member of the Semitic language group. Most of them practice the Sunni version of the Muslim faith. The Arab population of Pales-

tine totals around 2 million people. The region is almost devoid of useful natural resources. Most of Palestine's Arab inhabitants still practice agriculture. The only river of any note is the Jordan, which flows through the Sea of Galilee and then into the Dead Sea. Water remains the most prized natural resource in the area. Control of water rights constitutes one of the most contentious issues in Palestine. The climate most of the year is dry and temperate.

### Early History

Palestine has been a crossroads for trade and commerce since before the beginning of recorded history. Jericho, which many archaeologists call the world's oldest city, became a thriving trade center around 7800 B.C.E. Palestine has only rarely enjoyed political independence during those many centuries. It has been a battleground for and dominated by a long succession of kings and emperors.

Walled cities proliferated in Palestine around 3100 B.C.E. No evidence of a political union between the cities exists, so archaeologists assume that each of the cities was independent. The city states were eventually conquered by the Canaanites, who were in turn defeated by the Israelites around 1300 B.C.E. In 1020 B.C.E. the Israelites established the Jewish kingdom of Israel, which split into the kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the middle of the following century. The two kingdoms eventually fell to invaders, after which Palestine experienced a succession of foreign rulers.

The region was taken over by the Roman Empire in 63 B.C.E. In 70 C.E. the Romans destroyed the Jewish temple in Jerusalem and scattered the Jews throughout the Roman Empire. The Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire ruled Palestine until its conquest by Muslim Arabs in 636.

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## Profile of Palestine

*Official name:* (pending)

*Status:* (pending)

*Location:* Portions of Israel

*Area:* 10,425 square miles

*Capital:* (pending)

*Population:* 2 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religion:* Islam

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In 1099 Crusaders from Western Europe conquered Palestine, which they called the Holy Land, and held it for almost 150 years, when it was recaptured by the Arabs. In 1516 the region fell to the Ottoman Turks, who kept it until the end of World War I.

During the trial of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French army accused of selling military secrets to the Germans in the mid-1890's, an Austrian-Jewish journalist named Theodor Herzl despaired of Jews ever receiving justice from the Christians among whom they lived. Consequently, he called a meeting of Jewish leaders from all over the world and proposed that they help establish a homeland for Jews in Palestine.

The movement for resettling Jews in Palestine was called Zionism. During the period between 1897 and 1914, several thousand Jews emigrated to Palestine, financed in part by Lord Rothschild, a Jewish banker living in England.

In 1917, with World War I hanging in the balance, members of the British government made two contradictory commitments. Arthur Balfour issued the famous Balfour Declaration, which

promised British aid in establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine in return for large loans from Jewish banking houses that the British desperately needed to finance their participation in World War I.

Almost simultaneously, a British army officer named Thomas Lawrence, best known as Lawrence of Arabia, promised independence to the Arabs of the Middle East in return for their military help against the Ottoman Empire. Lawrence's promise stirred Arab nationalism.

### **Founding of Israel**

After World War I, the League of Nations awarded Great Britain three mandates in the Middle East: Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq. British officials agreed to prepare the mandates for self-government, which accorded with the promises made by Lawrence. At the same time, the British began allowing the emigration of thousands of Jews to Palestine, in accordance with the Balfour Declaration. The influx of Jews angered many Palestinian Arabs, who expected to form their own nation.

Almost immediately, violence broke out between Jews and Palestinians and against the British officials in Palestine. The violence escalated during the period between the two world wars, with both sides forming paramilitary guerrilla units and carrying out acts of terrorism against each other.

After Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, many European Jews began to emigrate to Palestine to escape the Nazi threat. The German government sent representatives to Palestine to negotiate with the Zionist leadership to facilitate Jewish emigration. This increased influx of Jews angered many Arabs in Palestine, who accelerated their violent attacks on Jews. Jewish paramilitary units such as the Irgun and the Haganah retaliated.

In 1937 a frustrated British official concluded in a report to his home office that the only solution he could see for the Palestinian problem was to divide the mandate between Jews and Arabs, letting each group form its own nation. However, Great Britain declared two years later that such a partition would not take place.

When World War II broke out, Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann declared that Jews around the world would support Great

Britain, in effect declaring war on Germany. As the war progressed, Jews from all over Europe tried to flee the Nazi terror. Many of them made their way to Palestine in defiance of a British quota on the number of Jews who could enter Palestine legally. The violence between Jews and Arabs in Palestine continued throughout the war.

At the war's end, many people throughout the world felt great sympathy for the Jews because of their suffering at the hands of the Nazis. This sympathy was especially pronounced in the U.S. Congress, in part because members of the American Jewish community had made large donations to fund political campaigns.

Jewish guerrilla actions against the Arabs and the British escalated, culminating in the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, which housed many British mandate officials. In 1948 the British gave up on trying to solve the Palestinian problem and withdrew from the area. Simultaneously, Zionist leaders proclaimed the formation of the nation of Israel. President Harry S. Truman of the United States and Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin immediately recognized the new nation and opened diplomatic relations with it.

### **Arab-Israeli Wars and Founding of the PLO**

The Arabs refused to recognize the legitimacy of Israel, and five of the newly independent Arab nations—Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Egypt—sent military forces into Palestine to “restore order.” Their purpose was to destroy the new nation and establish the Muslim-dominated nation of Palestine. The Arab action precipitated the first Arab-Israeli War. The war ended with a precarious armistice and much formerly Arab territory in Israeli hands. The Jews forced hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs to flee their homes. Most of these refugees went to the neighboring Arab states of Jordan and Lebanon, where they lived in appalling conditions in refugee camps.

With the onset of the Cold War, the state of Israel formed close bonds with the United States, which needed a strategic outpost in the Middle East. Nevertheless, when Israel invaded Egypt in 1956 after the Egyptians had attempted to blockade Israel's southern port of Elat on the Gulf of Aqaba, U.S. president Dwight

## **Palestine Liberation Organization**

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed in 1964 by several political and military groups of Palestinian Arabs attempting to liberate Palestine from what they claimed to be an illegitimate Israeli state. In 1974 the PLO was proclaimed the “sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people” at an Arab summit in Rabat, Morocco, and has been recognized as such by the United Nations. Yasir Arafat became PLO chairman in 1969 utilizing the influence of his al-Fatah guerrilla organization, which has been linked to and has taken credit for terrorist activities throughout the world. Since 1983 the PLO has been informally but deeply divided between Arabs who support Arafat and those who do not. The PLO charter was revised in the late 1990’s to eliminate the references to “armed struggle” and the destruction of Israel.

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Eisenhower pressured the Israelis into withdrawing from Egyptian territory.

Throughout this period Arab guerrilla groups, mostly Palestinians, continued to launch periodic terrorist attacks inside Israel, killing many Jewish civilians. The Zionists retaliated with military strikes against suspected guerrilla strongholds in the refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan, which killed many Arab civilians. This cycle of violence continued into the twenty-first century.

In 1964 all the various Palestinian political and guerrilla groups came together under an umbrella organization called the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Led by Yasir Arafat, the PLO began to coordinate the efforts of Palestinians to secure independence and acted as an international representative of Palestine. Because the charter of the PLO endorsed terrorism and called for the elimination of the Zionist state of Israel, the Israelis insisted that it represented nothing more than a group of terrorists who did not speak for the Palestinian people. For many years, officials in Israel refused to negotiate with the PLO.

Nevertheless, the PLO did enjoy wide support among Palestinians, who looked to the organization for leadership in their struggle to establish a Palestinian state. The cycle of terrorism and retaliation continued, with Arafat setting up his headquar-

ters in Lebanon and directing guerrilla activities against the Israelis.

### **Six-Day War and Camp David Accords**

In 1967, with the Egyptians mobilizing troops on their border and Egyptian president Gamal Nasser threatening war, Israeli officials decided on a preemptive strike against their enemies. Without consulting their ally the United States, the Israelis launched a surprise attack against Jordan, Egypt, and Syria. The attack was an unqualified success. The Israelis captured the West Bank from Jordan, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt.

When an American surveillance ship, the *Liberty*, attempted to monitor Israeli military radio, U.S.-supplied Israeli aircraft at-

## **Palestine Time Line**

- 1901 Jewish National Fund is founded to buy land in Ottoman-ruled Palestine for Zionists.
- 1914 (Aug.) World War I begins.
- 1916 Great Britain and France urge an independent Arab state, or confederation of Arab states, with capital in Palestine.
- 1917 Great Britain's Balfour Declaration endorses creation of Jewish state in Palestine.
- 1918 World War I ends with approximately 60,000 Jews living in Palestine.
- 1920 League of Nations grants British mandate to govern Palestine.
- 1936-1939 Arab violence against growing numbers of Jewish immigrants rises.
- 1939 Britain attempts to restrict Zionist activity by limiting legal immigration to 15,000 Jews per year, creating flood of illegal immigration.
- 1947 Britain rejects Palestine mandate and requests help from United Nations, who vote to partition country; civil war erupts as Jews accept partition and Arabs reject it.
- 1948 (May 14) After British forces leave Palestine, Jews declare independence of state of Israel.
- 1948 (May 15) War begins between newly independent Israel and neighboring Arab states.
- 1949 Jordan gains control of Jerusalem and restricts visitation to holy sites.
- 1956 Sinai Campaign begins with Israel occupying Sinai and Gaza.
- 1957 Israel withdraws and turns over Gaza and Straits of Tiran to United Nations.

tacked it in international waters, resulting in over two hundred U.S. casualties. Despite the *Liberty* incident, a U.S. veto in the Security Council of the United Nations was all that prevented that body from condemning Israel for making aggressive war and sending troops to intervene. The war ended in another uneasy armistice between the Israelis and their Arab neighbors.

This so-called Six-Day War only heightened tensions in the Middle East and provoked the Palestinians to increase guerrilla attacks on Israel and Israeli citizens. One of the most deadly of these attacks came during the 1972 Olympic Games, when eleven Israeli athletes died in a terrorist raid in Munich, West Germany.

In 1973 the Arab states launched a surprise attack of their own against Israel. In the first airstrikes of the Yom Kippur War, Egyptian, Syrian, and Iraqi aircraft destroyed many of the airplanes

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|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1964      | Palestine nationalist groups merge to form Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1967      | (June) Israel defeats Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in Six-Day War.                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 1973      | (Oct.) Yom Kippur War begins when Egypt, Iraq, and Syria launch attacks on Jewish holy day.                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1974-1977 | Agreement brokered by United Nations reinstates 1967 Palestinian borders and reopens Suez canal.                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1978      | Egypt and Israel sign Camp David peace accords and Israel withdraws from Sinai.                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 1982      | Israel invades Lebanon to destroy PLO bases along Israel's northern border.                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1987      | <i>Intifada</i> , a period of protest in West Bank and Gaza, begins.                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 1993      | Israel and PLO agree on framework for autonomy in West Bank and Gaza.                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 1994      | Israeli troops pull out of Jericho and Gaza, with other West Bank towns to follow, handing over control to Palestinian police.                                                                                                                    |
| 1996      | (Jan.) Yasir Arafat is elected president of Palestinian Council.                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1998      | (July 7) U.N. General Assembly votes, 124-4, to grant observer status to PLO—a motion Palestinians hail as precursor to full U.N. membership.                                                                                                     |
| 1998      | (Nov. 20) Israeli occupation forces begin withdrawal from West Bank territory being handed over to Palestinian National Authority.                                                                                                                |
| 2000      | (Sept.) U.S. president Bill Clinton moderates a summit meeting between Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat at Camp David in Pennsylvania; Arafat rejects Barak's offer of Palestinian control over most of the lands occupied by Israel in the 1967 war. |

*(continued)*

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and tanks which the United States had supplied to the Israelis. U.S. president Richard Nixon quickly resupplied the Israeli army and air force with weapons. The war ended in another armistice but had serious repercussions for the Israelis.

Officials of the Middle Eastern nations, angered by what they considered favoritism toward Israel on the part of the U.S. government, declared an oil embargo. The embargo resulted in severe gasoline shortages in the United States, with long lines of cars waiting for gas at filling stations. Many Americans blamed Israel for the shortages, and some of the former goodwill felt by U.S. citizens toward Israel dissipated.

At the same time, more U.S. citizens were learning about the plight of the Palestinians and beginning to express support for their cause. Much of the sympathy felt for the Palestinians in the

### **Palestine Time Line** (*continued*)

- 2000 (Sept. 28) Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visits the Temple Mount. Palestinians react with protests and riots, as a new cycle of violence begins.
- 2001 (Feb. 6) Ariel Sharon is elected prime minister of Israel.
- 2001 (Mar.) Palestinians begin a series of suicide bombings against Israeli targets.
- 2001 (Oct. 17) Israeli tourism minister Rehavam Ze'evi is killed by Palestinians retaliating for the death of a Palestinian leader.
- 2002 (Aug. 17) Israel offers to withdraw from Bethlehem and parts of Gaza if Palestinian security forces demonstrate an ability to control terrorists from those areas.
- 2002 (Aug. 19) Palestinian terrorist leader Abu Nidal is reported dead.
- 2002 (Sept. 10) Yasser Arafat's Fatah Movement issues a call for an end to terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians.
- 2002 (Sept. 17) Representatives of the United States, United Nations, European Union, and Russia offer a three-phase plan aimed at establishing peace between Israel and the Palestinians and at creating a Palestinian state by 2005.
- 2002 (Sept. 19) Bomb attack on a Tel Aviv bus kills six Israelis; the government responds by laying siege to Yasser Arafat's office compound in an effort to isolate Arafat and arrest four senior Palestinian officials suspected of involvement in terrorist activities.
- 2003 (Feb. 14) Under international pressure, Yassir Arafat announces he will appoint a prime minister to serve under his Palestinian Authority presidency.

## **West Bank and Gaza Strip**

The West Bank includes approximately 2,278 square miles of disputed lands west of the Jordan River between Israel and Jordan. It contains sites of religious and historic significance to Jews, Christians, and Muslims. The Gaza Strip is a narrow band of desertlike land along the western Mediterranean coast, approximately twenty-six miles long and five miles wide.

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United States, however, disappeared in the face of continued guerrilla raids against Israel that took many innocent civilian lives.

In 1978 Egyptian and Israeli officials met at Camp David in the United States to discuss a permanent peace between the two nations. After months of negotiations, promises of massive U.S. financial aid to both countries, and heavy U.S. pressure on the negotiation teams of the two countries, they finally agreed on terms for a peace settlement. Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat signed the document in 1978, with Egypt reclaiming territories conquered during the Six-Day War in return for their recognition of the legitimacy of the State of Israel.

### **Israeli Invasion of Lebanon**

In 1982 officials of the Israeli government decided to curtail the continued Palestinian guerrilla raids by launching an invasion of Lebanon and driving out the PLO. The invasion succeeded. Yasir Arafat fled Lebanon and set up his new headquarters in Libya, a Muslim nation that favored the establishment of a Palestinian state.

The Israeli army set up a permanent security zone in southern Lebanon, which greatly reduced guerrilla raids inside Israel. However, the Israelis paid a high price for their victory. Lebanese Christians allied with the Israelis massacred several hundred innocent Palestinian refugees during the war. The Israeli failure to prevent the massacre drew worldwide condemnation. Once again, only a U.S. veto in the United Nations Security Council prevented international intervention in Lebanon.



***Image Not Available***

In 1987 the Palestinian people on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip spontaneously rose up against the Israeli government in a rebellion called the *Intifada*. The *Intifada* was originally leaderless and consisted of youths throwing rocks at Jewish soldiers and policemen and a general strike by Palestinian workers. Israeli soldiers and policemen retaliated with often fatal plastic bullets and tear gas. During the next six years, an average of one Palestinian died at the hands of the Israelis every day.

Pressure from continued guerrilla raids on Jewish property around the world, the *Intifada*, and the United States finally

forced the Israelis to negotiate with the PLO in 1993. In 1994-1995 in Oslo, Norway, the PLO and the Israelis worked out a peace agreement and a timetable for implementing it. Arafat returned to his homeland as head of a new organization called the Palestinian Authority (PA) and entered into prolonged negotiations with the Israelis to eventually establish an independent Palestinian state.

### **Continuing Conflicts**

Many problems prevented a quick solution to the problem of Palestinian statehood, the most perplexing of which concerned the status of Jerusalem and the West Bank. Both Palestinians and Jews consider Jerusalem to be a holy city, and both want it as their capital. Both sides also consider the West Bank to be part of their historic territory. These problems and others caused the negotiations to proceed at an agonizingly slow pace throughout the 1990's. Although Israel agreed to return 14 percent of the territory it occupied on the West Bank to the Palestinians in 1998, a final settlement to the Palestinian problem seemed as elusive as ever.

The possibility of a final settlement became even more distant in the twenty-first century. In September, 2000, hardline Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, claimed by both Muslims and Jews as a holy site. Palestinians saw this as a violation of their agreements with the Israelis and staged protests in response. The Israeli military went into Palestinian areas to put down the protests and shooting broke out between Israeli soldiers and the militia of the Palestinian Authority. International sympathy moved to the side of the Palestinians as a result of the widely publicized deaths of Palestinians, including many children, in the fighting. Many Israelis, however, felt that their government had tried to reach a compromise with the Palestinians and that compromise had only resulted in greater demands. On February 6, 2001, Israeli voters elected Sharon to the office of prime minister.

After Sharon's election, Palestinian extremists began to stage a series of shootings and suicide bombings at public places in Israel. Among the groups involved in the suicide bombings was the al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigade, an armed group within Yasser

Arafat's Fatah organization. Arafat and other moderate leaders of Fatah never endorsed the bombings, and Arafat himself eventually condemned all violence against Israeli civilians. However, the existence of extreme elements in Arafat's organization led the Israeli government and some leaders in other countries to conclude that Arafat could not contribute to the establishment of peace. From December, 2001, through 2002, Palestinian leader Arafat was trapped by Israeli forces in his compound in the city of Ramallah. In June, 2002, the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush declared that Arafat was unable to contribute to a resolution of the problems between Palestine and Israel and that the United States wanted new leadership for the Palestinian Authority. Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon declared that Arafat was irrelevant to the peace process.

The rejection of Arafat by Israel and the United States confirmed him in the minds of many Palestinians as their leader. Further, each time the Israeli military responded with force to a suicide bombing, more Palestinians were radicalized. In August and September, 2002, the seemingly irreconcilable opposition between the claims of Palestine and those of Israel were dramatized in the trial of Marwan Barghouti, a leader of the Fatah organization who was accused of involvement in terrorist bombings. Barghouti had been a possible successor to Arafat and a supporter of the Oslo peace accords. At the trial, Barghouti presented himself as a freedom fighter against an oppressive occupying government, while the Israelis regarded him as a murderer of innocent civilians.

The Palestinian situation has been and remains one of the most volatile problems in the world. It threatens at any moment to cause open warfare between the nations of the Middle East. With the introduction of weapons of mass destruction into the area, such a conflict would surely kill tens of thousands of innocent people. Such a struggle might very well draw other nations around the world into the fray, sparking a new world war. Therefore, a lasting peace settlement in the area remains a top priority for the leaders of the world.

*Paul Madden*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### For Further Study

Peter Mansfield's *A History of the Middle East* (1992) gives a concise and balanced account of the history of Palestine and the Palestinian-Israeli conundrum that is understandable to most readers. After briefly introducing the ancient history of the area, Mansfield devotes over one-half of the book to the post-World War II era. In *Palestinian Rights: Affirmation and Denial*, a collection of essays edited by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, sixteen authorities on the Palestinian question explore most aspects of the subject from a decidedly pro-Palestinian perspective. Different essays address such topics as an analysis of the legal status of Israeli settlements on the West Bank and the Israeli use of Palestinian waters.

Several books explore the origins, nature, and course of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Yoav Gelber looks at the origin of this conflict in *Palestine, 1948: War, Escape and the Emergence of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* (2001). Andrew Gowers and Tony Walker, *Behind the Myth: Yassar Arafat and the Palestinian Revolution* (1990), traces the origins and development of the PLO and the efforts of Arafat and other Palestinian leaders to reach a settlement with Israel. Walter Laqueur's *A History of Zionism* (1972) relates the genesis of the Zionist movement from its origins through the Six-Day War. Avi Shlaim's *Collusion Across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (1988) discusses the nature of the Zionist movement and its objectives. Shlaim's book relates the international maneuvering that led to the formation of the state of Israel and the present plight of the Palestinian people. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (2001), by Charles D. Smith, looks at the role of Palestine and the Palestinians in Israel's troubled relations with its Arab neighbors.

David Matasky's *Making Peace with the PLO: The Rabin Government's Road to the Oslo Accords* (1996) is a journalistic account of the peace settlement agreed on by the Palestinians and the Israelis in 1995 in Norway. A more comprehensive account of PLO-Israeli relations is a collection of essays edited by Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz, *The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution, 1964-1994* (1998). Separate essays explore the tortured course of relations between the two entities from the formation of the PLO to the time of the book's publication.

Three other books are also noteworthy, despite their biases: D. Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (1977), and A. Hart, *Arafat: Terrorist or Peacemaker?* (1984), both take a decidedly pro-Palestinian position. N. Lucas, *The Modern History of Israel* (1977), represents a pro-Israeli account of the same events covered in the first two books.

Edward W. Said, a professor of Palestinian origin at Columbia University who has written extensively in support of the Palestinian cause, presents his case in *Power, Politics, and Culture: Interviews with Edward W. Said* (2001), edited by Gauri Viswanathan. Said tells the story of his own exile from Palestine in *Out of Place: A Memoir* (1999). Said has also published a critical analysis of the Oslo peace accords in *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After* (2000).

Links to web sites on Palestine and on the Palestinian side of the conflict with Israel may be found at [www.palestine-net.com](http://www.palestine-net.com).

## PHILIPPINES

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*The Philippines have been troubled by two major internal conflicts. Communist forces have fought against the government in many parts of the country. In the far southern region Muslims have struggled to separate from the rest of the country, which is mostly Christian. Economic inequality has been one of the major sources of the first conflict. The Philippines have had a small number of wealthy people, who own much of the nation's land and resources. Cultural differences between Christians and Muslims and the difficulties of creating national unity in a country made up of many different islands have been major sources of the second conflict. Centuries of foreign control, first by Spain and then by the United States, have also helped to inflame both of these problems.*

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**T**he Republic of the Philippines is an archipelago, or cluster of islands, across the China Sea from mainland Southeast Asia. The country has over 7,000 islands, but there are three major islands or island groups. The large island in the north is Luzon, home to Manila, the capital and largest city. The islands in the center are known as the Visayas. In the south lies the large island of Mindanao. The people of the Philippines speak about two hundred dialects, classified in eight major language groups, but Pilipino (Tagalog), the language of Manila, is spoken and understood by the majority of Filipinos.

In the early years of the twenty-first century, the Philippines had a population of about 84 million people, and this population was growing at the relatively rapid rate of about 2.5 percent per year. Over 80 percent of Filipinos are Roman Catholics. Another 9 to 10 percent adhere to a Christian denomination known as Iglesia ni Kristo (Church of Christ). Muslims make up only 5 percent of the country's population and are concentrated primarily in the south.

### **Early History**

Most historians and anthropologists believe that the earliest settlers in the Philippines were the Negritos, also known as the

## Profile of the Philippines

*Official name:* Republic of the Philippines

*Independent since:* 1946

*Former colonial rulers:* Spain; United States

*Location:* Southeast Asia, north of Indonesia

*Area:* 115,830 square miles

*Capital:* Manila

*Population:* 84.5 million (2002 est.)

*Official languages:* Pilipino (Tagalog); English

*Major religions:* Roman Catholicism; Protestantism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$335 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* electronics; garments; food and livestock; basic manufactures

*Military expenditures:* US\$995 million (1998)

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Aeta, a small, dark-skinned people who probably arrived on the islands about 30,000 years ago. The descendants of these people still live in the islands, mainly in the mountainous regions.

Malay people from the lands that now make up Indonesia and Malaysia sailed to the islands over the course of centuries. They settled in small villages or tribes, to which each person owed allegiance rather than to any larger political unit. Settlements in the mountainous islands often had few connections with one another, and the people developed many different languages and dialects. Chinese traders visited and often stayed, teaching the local people mining, metalworking, and the use of gunpowder.

Islam, a religion founded by the Prophet Muhammad in Arabia in the seventh century, began to reach the islands that became the Philippines during the 1500's. By 1565 Islam had reached Manila and a Muslim chief, Suleiman, ruled Manila. Most of the people, however, continued to worship a variety of gods. Although the Muslims brought with them the concept of political units larger than the village, the people of the islands did not regard themselves as a single nation. A central government was created by the Spanish, and local loyalties would continue to be a problem for the Philippines throughout the country's history.

## Spanish Colonialism

March 16, 1521, is often cited as the beginning of the Spanish period in the Philippines. On that day Ferdinand Magellan, who was sailing around the world, first sighted the Philippines. Magellan claimed the territory for Spain. Forty years later, in 1565, Spain sent its first permanent settlement to the islands, which the Spanish named the Philippines in honor of their king, Philip II.

The first Spanish governor, Miguel de Legazpi, established his capital at Manila because of its convenient harbor and its access to rice grown in Luzon. The Spanish wanted their colony in order to trade with China and with the spice-rich islands of what is now Indonesia. Although they were not successful in these efforts, they did manage to spread their Roman Catholic religion in all





parts of the islands, except among the mountain tribes of northern Luzon and among the Muslims in the far south. The Spanish had been engaged in warfare against Muslims in Spain for centuries, and they taught their views of Muslims along with the Roman Catholic religion. Many of the tensions between Christian and Muslim Filipinos may be traced back to the Spanish tradition of seeing Muslims as enemies.

Although the Spanish ruled the Philippines, there were comparatively few Spanish colonists, and Spanish never became the common language of the islands. Instead, each separate region maintained its own language. Members of religious orders from Spain, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Augustinians, largely controlled the politics and the economy of the islands.

By the mid-nineteenth century educated Filipinos had begun to grow impatient with being ruled from Spain and especially impatient with the rule of the religious orders. Many of these educated Filipinos began to call for removal of the religious orders and for representation in the Spanish parliament. José Rizal, a half-Chinese doctor, scholar, and writer, was one of the best known of the Filipinos seeking greater freedom for the country.

When the Spanish executed Rizal on charges of treason in 1896, this contributed to the cause of more radical Filipinos who were demanding complete independence for the islands. The most successful rebels were under the command of the young Emilio Aguinaldo, who became leader of the independence movement.

In 1898 war broke out between Spain and the United States, which was trying to drive Spain out of Cuba. Aguinaldo's forces allied themselves with the United States and provided information to the American navy, which attacked Manila Bay. After Spain surrendered, the Spanish agreed to grant Cuba independence and to cede the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the United States for US\$20 million.

In the meantime, however, the Filipinos had already created their own government, with Aguinaldo as president. The United States sent in troops and rapidly went from being an ally of the Philippine independence movement to being a conqueror.

### **American Colonialism**

The struggle between the United States and the Philippine independence fighters was a long and bloody one. No one knows how many Filipinos died in the course of this war, but estimates usually run from 200,000 to a half million people. By 1902 the United States had defeated Aguinaldo's troops.

Having established themselves in the Philippines by military conquest, the Americans proceeded to create what they saw as a democratic government. Political offices were filled by popular election. Two major political parties competed. The Nacionalista party favored independence for the Philippines and the Federalista party favored becoming a state in the United States.

The Americans made few attempts to overcome one of the biggest problems in establishing a truly democratic system in their new colony: economic inequality. Ownership of land and wealth was highly unequal in the Philippines, and most of those who took part in the government came from the wealthy families. Since these wealthy families were closely connected to the Americans, foreign domination and economic inequality were intertwined in the society of the Philippines.

In 1934 the U.S. Congress passed a bill establishing a commonwealth in the Philippines. The Commonwealth of the Philippines was to be a self-governing region with its own constitution that would become fully independent after a ten-year period. Following Japanese occupation in World War II the United States did grant full independence in 1946, but the U.S. military continued to rent large military bases from the Philippine government until 1991.

### **Philippines Under Japan**

Japan attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, drawing the United States into World War II. By April, 1942, the Japanese had defeated the combined American and Philippine forces in the Bataan Peninsula and taken control of the Philippines.

In the beginning some Filipinos, including the aging Emilio Aguinaldo, favored the Japanese occupation, believing that this would lead to independence from the United States. Japanese

troops were widely unpopular, though, and their harsh treatment of Filipinos made them even more unpopular. The Japanese-created government of the Philippines under President José Laurel won little public sympathy.

Nevertheless, most members of the wealthy, influential families cooperated with the Japanese. In some cases, this was to protect their country against Japanese abuses. In some cases, it was to promote family or personal interests. Regardless of the motivation, though, their cooperation with the Japanese did strengthen the perception of the upper classes as servants of foreign interests.

Among the common people of the country, several guerrilla movements arose to oppose the Japanese. Some of these movements were associated with the American military. On the island of Luzon, one of the most effective guerrilla forces was the Hukbong ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (People's Anti-Japanese Army), or Hukbalahap. The Hukbalahap grew out of prewar

## Philippines Time Line

- 1521 (Mar.) Ferdinand Magellan reaches Philippines islands and claims them for Spain.
- 1565 Spain begins settling Philippines, which it names for King Philip II.
- 1896 National hero José Rizal is executed by the Spanish; Emilio Aguinaldo announces intention to establish an independent republic in Philippines.
- 1898 Spain loses Spanish-American War to United States, to which it cedes Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam.
- 1898-1902 American troops fight against Filipinos led by Aguinaldo.
- 1907 Under U.S. administration, Filipinos elect their first assembly.
- 1935 Philippines becomes a U.S. commonwealth, with its own government and constitution, guaranteed full independence after ten years.
- 1942 Japanese defeat American and Filipino forces to occupy Philippines during World War II.
- 1944 (Oct.) U.S. forces under General Douglas MacArthur begin reconquest of Philippines.
- 1946 (July 4) Independence of Philippine Republic is declared.
- 1948 President Manuel Roxas declares Hukbalahap movement illegal.
- 1950 Hukbalahap guerrillas rename themselves Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan, or "People's Liberation Army."

peasant movements and included members from a range of political organizations, but it gradually came under communist control.

### **Huk Rebellion**

After World War II, Philippine society was in a dangerous state. Most of the wealthy classes had cooperated with the Japanese. Many poor peasants had fought against the Japanese and were now armed and organized. Social conflict increased as the landowners returned to their lands following the war and began demanding back rents from tenants.

During the war, members of the Hukbalahap, called "Huks," had been allies of the American military. However, General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the U.S. armed forces in the Philippines after the war, saw these guerrillas as communists. MacArthur jailed two of the main Huk leaders, Luis Taruc and Casto Alejandrino and ordered U.S. soldiers to disarm the

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|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1953 | Ramon Magsaysay, credited with overcoming Huk rebellion, is elected president.                                                                                                                    |
| 1964 | Emilio Aguinaldo dies.                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1965 | Ferdinand Marcos takes office as president.                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1968 | (Dec. 26) José Maria Sison helps form Communist Party of the Philippines.                                                                                                                         |
| 1972 | (Sept. 21) Marcos declares martial law, which increases opposition to him.                                                                                                                        |
| 1976 | Organization of the Islamic Conference sponsors talks between Muslim rebels and Marcos government.                                                                                                |
| 1983 | Opposition leader Benigno Aquino is shot to death on his return to Philippines; Marcos is widely believed to be behind his killing.                                                               |
| 1985 | Under U.S. pressure, Marcos announces he will hold elections; Corazon Aquino announces her intention to run for president with Salvador Laurel as her candidate for vice-president.               |
| 1986 | (Feb.) Despite evidence that Aquino leads in voting, Marcos announces he has won; however, under pressure from public and military, Marcos flees to Hawaii, and Corazon Aquino becomes president. |
| 1986 | (Nov. 27) Philippine communists sign cease-fire with new government.                                                                                                                              |
| 1992 | Fidel Ramos is elected president; government begins making progress in communist and Muslim rebellions.                                                                                           |
| 1995 | China occupies Mischief Reef, which both it and Philippines claim.                                                                                                                                |

*(continued)*

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Huk guerrillas. However, many of the Huks hid or buried their weapons.

The United States granted the Philippines full independence on July 4, 1946, and Manuel Roxas was elected president of the Republic of the Philippines. The Huks and other left-wing organizations supported a rival of Roxas, Sergio Osmeña, because Roxas had cooperated with the Japanese during the war and because Osmeña supported new laws that favored poor tenant farmers. Following the election, the Huks began to dig up their weapons, changed their name to the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army), and declared a revolt in central Luzon.

In 1948 the Communist Party of the Philippines (Partido Kommunista ng Pilipinas, PKP) announced its support for the Huk rebellion.

By the mid-1950's the Huk rebellion had largely died down. The popular politician Ramon Magsaysay became secretary of

### **Philippines Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1995 (May 18) Philippines government protests Chinese actions.
- 1998 (May 11) Former film actor Joseph Estrada is elected president.
- 1998 (June 30) Estrada is inaugurated president.
- 1998 (Nov. 29) Navy seizes twenty Chinese fishermen near Spratly Islands for entering Philippine waters illegally.
- 1999 (Feb. 26) Government announces that family of Ferdinand Marcos has agreed to pay US\$150 million in damages to 9,539 people who have won class-action suit against Marcos's estate for human rights abuses endured during Marcos's presidency.
- 2000 (Dec.) Philippine senate begins trying President Estrada on charges of corruption.
- 2001 (Jan.) Army announces that it will not support Estrada, who flees the presidential palace; Vice President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo is sworn in as the new president.
- 2001 (Apr. 25) Estrada is placed under arrest; his supporters demonstrate and riots break out, and President Arroyo declares a state of emergency for several days.
- 2001 (May 27) Abu Sayyaf rebel group stages a raid on the Dos Palmas resort on the southern island of Palawan, capturing three Americans and seventeen Filipinos.
- 2001 (June) Abu Sayyaf rebels behead Guillermo Sobrero, one of the three Americans captured the previous month.

defense in 1950. Relying on American aid and advice, Magsaysay upgraded and disciplined the Philippine military and began a campaign to defeat the Huks and to win public support for the government. Magsaysay's success against the rebels helped him win the presidential election in 1953.

### **Marcos Period**

Ferdinand Marcos began his rise to political power in the Philippines by presenting himself as a leader of a band of anti-Japanese guerrillas during the war. It appears that Marcos did initially fight against the Japanese when Japan invaded the Philippines. Most historians believe, however, that the paramilitary group that Marcos came to head during the Japanese occupation at various times fought with the Japanese, collaborated with them, and engaged in banditry.

After the war Ferdinand Marcos began portraying his group as anti-Japanese resistance fighters. He managed to get hundreds

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|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2002 | (Feb.) At the request of the Philippine government, the United States sends special forces units to help train Philippine soldiers to fight Muslim insurgents.                                                                                                                                                      |
| 2002 | (June 7) During a battle between the Abu Sayyaf guerrillas and the Philippine military, American hostage Gracia Burnham is freed, but her husband, Martin Burnham, is killed.                                                                                                                                       |
| 2002 | (June 21) Abu Sayyaf leader and spokesman Aldam Tilao, known as Abu Sabaya, is reportedly killed in a fight with Filipino soldiers in boats off the coast of Zamboanga del Norte; however, some observers report seeing him alive during the following months.                                                      |
| 2002 | (Aug. 20) Abu Sayyaf guerrillas kidnap six Filipino members of the Jehovah's Witnesses; two days later, severed heads of two kidnap victims are found in an open-air market, along with letters calling for holy war.                                                                                               |
| 2002 | (Oct. 2) Nail bomb explodes in Zamboanga City in the southern Philippines a week after Khaddafy Janjalani, supreme commander of Abu Sayyaf, calls on all believers to strike out against those whom he calls the enemies of Islam; an American soldier, a Filipino citizen, and twenty-one other people are killed. |
| 2003 | (Feb. 13) Government expels Iraqi diplomat Husham Husain on grounds of having ties to Abu Sayyaf, a Philippine Islamic terrorist group linked to al-Qaeda.                                                                                                                                                          |
| 2003 | (Feb. 20) U.S. government announces it will soon send American troops to fight against Muslim rebels in the southern part of the Philippines.                                                                                                                                                                       |
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*Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos speaking in Washington, D.C., around 1970. (Library of Congress)*

of men from his province of Ilocos certified as freedom fighters, making them eligible for American financial payments. This created a political base, which helped him win election to the Philippine congress in 1949, 1953, and 1957.

In 1964 Marcos was elected president of the Philippines. He was a skilled politician and became powerful by making strategic allies, by turning rival political figures against one another, and by maintaining close ties with the Americans. He and his popular wife, Imelda, also received a great deal of support from ordinary Filipinos. His government engaged in extensive public works, building roads, schools, and other facilities. Marcos attached his and Imelda's names to these works so that it appeared that people in the countryside were receiving the roads and schools as gifts from the Marcoses.

Marcos faced a problem as his second term drew to an end in

1972. The Philippine constitution did not allow any president to serve more than two terms. He thus would have to change the entire political system to stay in power. Therefore, he staged the discovery of a boat loaded with guns, supposedly bound for the Communist New People's Army. July and August saw an outbreak of bombings, which Marcos blamed on the communists but which now appear to have been the work of the president's agents. Claiming the country was in danger of a communist takeover, he declared martial law on September 21, 1972.

President Marcos immediately imprisoned his political opponents, including the outspoken Benigno Aquino. Although the communists were actually weak at the time, Marcos used them as an excuse to declare martial law. Opposition to his seizure of power led to a continual growth in the communist guerrilla forces. The greatest threat to the Marcos government came from the alliance of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA), but Marcos also faced a serious challenge from a Muslim rebellion in the south of the country.

### **New People's Army**

By the late 1960's the old Philippine Communist Party, the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, had largely come to accept the government of Ferdinand Marcos, and the Huks had been reduced to small scattered bands. On December 26, 1968, a young intellectual from the University of the Philippines, José Maria Sison, organized a new communist party, known as the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). Sison was inspired by the thinking of Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong. Sison believed that the Huks had been unsuccessful because they were limited largely to the single region of central Luzon. He therefore began to organize small guerrilla groups in rural areas around the country.

Sison entered into an alliance with Bernabe Buscayno, a young man from a peasant background known as Commander Dante. Buscayno had been a guerrilla fighter in one of the remaining small groups of Huks. Together Sison and Buscayno organized the New People's Army (NPA), the military wing of the CPP. When Marcos used the new communist forces as an excuse to



declare martial law, this drew attention to them and helped the communists appeal to those who opposed the Marcos dictatorship.

Even after Sison and Buscayno were imprisoned in the early 1970's, NPA power continued to grow. By 1986, when the Marcos era ended, the NPA had over 22,000 fighters and controlled perhaps 20 percent of the country.

The CPP-NPA began to decline with Corazon Aquino's rise to power in 1986. President Aquino's popularity and the infighting among the communists undermined the guerrilla movement. When the government of the Philippines ended the agreement in 1991 allowing the United States to keep military bases in the Philippines, this also undermined the NPA's claim that it was fighting foreign imperialism. Under Aquino's successor, Fidel Ramos, the nation's economy improved steadily, and although NPA fighters remained in the countryside, it appeared unlikely that they would be able to overthrow the government.

## Philippine Guerrilla Movements

**Huk Rebellion:** Rebellion of former Hukbalahap guerrillas against the government of Philippine president Manuel Roxas after World War II. Although they were largely defeated in the early 1950's, the Huks continued to exist in scattered bands. One of the younger Huks, Bernabe Buscayno, was a key figure in organizing the New People's Army.

**Hukbalahap:** Abbreviation of Hukbong ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon, which means "People's Anti-Japanese Army" in Tagalog. These guerrilla fighters struggled against the Japanese during World War II. Although it was not a communist movement, communists dominated the Hukbalahap leadership.

**Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF):** The most powerful of the guerrilla groups fighting for a separate Muslim state in the southern Philippines. Led by Nur Misuari, the MNLF managed to bring many Muslim groups together in the early 1970's but later experienced problems with fighting among the groups. The Bangsa Moro Army was the military arm of the MNLF.

**New People's Army (NPA):** Communist guerrillas who came into existence in the late 1960's. They were the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The NPA grew stronger after Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in 1972, but their strength declined during the administrations of Corazon Aquino (1986-1992) and Fidel Ramos (1992-1998).

The communist insurgency continued to pose less of an apparent threat to the government during the presidencies of Joseph Estrada, who was elected in 1998, and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, who became president when Estrada was forced from office on corruption charges in 2001. In the twenty-first century, Muslim insurgents replaced the communists as the primary source of organized armed opposition.

### **The Moros**

Relations between Christian and Muslim Filipinos has always been tense. The Spanish never managed to establish complete control over the Muslim south, and the Muslims, known as Moros, had fiercely resisted the American conquest. During the 1950's and 1960's the Philippine government attempted to deal with the problem of land shortages by encouraging people to move from the northern areas of the Philippines to the southern, Muslim-dominated areas. Fighting between Christian and Muslim gangs broke out as the Moros saw themselves become a minority in their own land. When the Philippine army moved in to establish order, the Muslims believed that the soldiers were siding with the Christians.

Marcos declared martial law in 1972 and ordered all civilians to turn over their weapons to the government. Weapons had traditionally been an important part of Muslim Filipino culture, and the Moros did not trust the Philippine government. Widespread rebellions, known as the Moro insurgency, broke out on Mindanao and on the islands of the Sulu archipelago.

The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), led by Nur Misuari, managed to bring most of the rebellious Moros together into a single organization. The goal of the MNLF was an independent Muslim nation in the Philippines, and the MNLF's military, the Bangsa Moro Army, fought for this goal with some support from Muslims in other countries.

The Moro insurgency calmed down in the late 1970's. In 1976 the Organization of the Islamic Conference, an organization of Muslim nations, sponsored talks between the Moros and the Marcos government. Marcos promised to grant the Moros greater control over their own affairs. Fighting among Moro groups also

broke out, so that the united MNLF was less able to resist.

After Corazon Aquino came to power, she sought to reach an agreement with the MNLF. In 1990 the Philippine legislature, under the leadership of Corazon Aquino, established the Autonomous Region for Muslim Mindanao, an arrangement for greater self-government in the Muslim regions. Only a few provinces agreed to participate in the Autonomous Region, though, and Muslim forces continued to pose a potential threat to the central government of the Philippines. This threat was lessened primarily by in-fighting among Muslim factions.

By the late 1990's and early 2000's, Muslim guerrilla fighters became a central concern of the Philippine government. Although the large-scale, organized efforts of the MNLF had faltered, groups smaller and more ruthless than the MNLF continued to be active. These groups drew international attention as they turned to assassinations, bombings, and kidnappings for ransom. The best-known of the Muslim groups was the Abu Sayyaf organization, which kidnapped foreigners, as well as citizens of the Philippines. On May 27, 2001, the rebels of Abu Sayyaf staged a raid on the Dos Palmas resort on the southern Philippine island of Palawan, capturing three Americans and seventeen Filipinos. The guerrillas beheaded one of the Americans, Guillermo Sobrero, in June, 2001. The two other Americans, the missionary couple Martin and Gracia Burnham, remained in captivity for another year.

Authorities in the governments of the Philippines and the United States maintained that there was evidence that the Abu Sayyaf guerrillas had links to the al-Qaeda international terrorist network based in Afghanistan. After al-Qaeda terrorists staged an attack on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., in September, 2001, the United States became more involved with antiterrorist activities around the globe.

In February, 2002, the United States sent special forces units into the Philippines to assist in training Philippine soldiers to fight Muslim insurgents, at the request of the Philippine government. By June, 2002, the Philippine military, with the assistance of American forces, managed to find the terrorists holding the two

American missionaries. In fighting on June 7, Gracia Burnham was freed from her captors, but Martin Burnham was killed. This battle did not end the threat of Abu Sayyaf, however, as the group kidnapped six Filipino members of the Christian Jehovah's Witnesses denomination on August 20, 2002. Two days later, the heads of two members of the Jehovah's Witnesses, together with letters calling for holy war (jihad) by Muslims, were found in an open air market in the island of Jolo in the southern Philippines.

### **People Power and a New Beginning**

By the early 1980's the economy had worsened and Marcos was in poor health. Although many people in rural areas still believed in the Marcos myth, the middle classes began to turn against him. In 1983 Benigno Aquino, who had fled to the U.S. after years in prison, returned to the Philippines. Aquino was shot and killed as he descended from his plane. Many Filipinos believed that Marcos was responsible for Aquino's death.

In early 1986, under pressure from the U.S. and from public opinion in the Philippines, Marcos called an election in order to reestablish his legitimacy. Aquino's widow, Corazon, became the candidate of the opposition. Marcos was declared the winner of the election, but evidence of cheating caused the middle class and portions of the army to turn against him.

On February 22 army general Fidel Ramos and minister of defense Juan Ponce Enrile together demanded Marcos's resignation. They established a rebel headquarters in two adjoining military camps in metropolitan Manila. Marcos sent troops to put down the rebels and their followers, but Roman Catholic cardinal Jaime Sin went on the radio to call on citizens to form a human barricade around the headquarters of Ramos and Enrile in a mass action that became known as "People Power." Government troops refused to fire on the civilians, and many soldiers went over to the rebel side.

With encouragement from U.S. officials, Marcos fled the country for exile in Hawaii, where he died three years later. Corazon Aquino became president and set about trying to reestablish democratic government and to bring the torn country back together. Aquino's successor, Fidel Ramos, served as president

from 1992 to 1998. Ramos worked toward reconciliation with the Marcos supporters, including Imelda Marcos, who had been allowed to return to the Philippines with the body of her husband.

### **Political Conflicts After Aquino**

When President Corazon Aquino came to power in 1986, many people in the Philippines felt great optimism about the future and believed that the country had entered a new and better era. The Aquino administration did manage some impressive accomplishments. Aquino and her backers held the country together during some difficult times, set in place a democratically elected government, and made possible the orderly transition of power. The communist insurgents, who seemed to be on the road to power during the period of the Marcos government, were largely brought into the mainstream of Philippine society. The country demonstrated its sovereignty by closing U.S. military bases against American wishes. Nevertheless, domestic political conflict and corruption continued to plague the nation.

During the 1998 presidential election, voters elected Joseph Estrada, a former action-movie hero who appealed to the masses and accused the country's elite of having looted the country. Before he was even elected, however, Estrada began bringing allies of former president Marcos into his circle of advisers. In 1999, Estrada attempted to amend the constitution and was opposed in public demonstrations by former president Aquino and by Cardinal Jaime Sin, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines.

During the following year, President Estrada was charged with receiving millions of dollars in bribes and kickbacks. These accusations were followed by demonstrations against the president and counterdemonstrations against him throughout the country. His opponents included former presidents Aquino and Ramos and even his own vice president, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. The Senate began trying him in December, 2000, and at the beginning of January, 2001, the army announced that it would not support him and Estrada fled the presidential palace.

After Estrada left the presidential palace, Vice President Arroyo was sworn in. However, Estrada later claimed that he was

still president. After he was placed under arrest on April 25, 2001, demonstrations and riots broke out and President Arroyo declared a state of emergency for several days.

### **Tensions over the Spratly Islands**

Throughout these internal conflicts, there were continual tensions among the Philippines and its neighbors over the Spratly Islands (also spelled Spratley). These are about five hundred small, uninhabited islands in the South China Sea, off the coast of China and midway between the Philippines and Vietnam. China, Taiwan, and Vietnam each claim all the islands; the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei each claim only the islands closest to their own shores. Since World War II, ships of some of these nations have engaged in fighting one another, and they have stopped each other's fishing boats and sometimes arrested each other's fishers.

A 1992 resolution by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to resolve the problem by negotiation failed to end the conflicts. In 1999, a ship in the Filipino navy tried to force three small Chinese vessels to leave one of the islands, sinking one of the Chinese boats. In May of that same year, the Philippine Senate agreed to hold joint exercises with the United States military in order to counter Chinese expansion in the Spratlys. Although the Philippines had closed U.S. military bases on Filipino soil, by the opening of the twenty-first century both the Spratly issue and the Muslim insurgency were leading the Philippines back to some military reliance on the United States.

*Carl L. Bankston III*

### **For Further Study**

One of the best general introductions to the Philippines is the Library of Congress handbook *Philippines: A Country Study* (1993), edited by Ronald E. Dolan. Emily U. Lepthien's *The Philippines* (1986) provides a good introduction to life in the Philippines for younger readers, especially those of middle-school ages. *The Philippines: A Singular and Plural Place* (1994), by David Joel Steinberg, is an overview of Philippine culture, geography, and history. It has separate chapters on the Marcos, Aquino, and Ramos periods.

The classic work on the influence of Spanish colonialism on the Philippines is John Leddy Phelan's *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (1967). The Spanish-American War and the conquest of the Philippines by the United States are covered by John William Tebbel's *America's Great Patriotic War with Spain: Mixed Motives, Lies, and Racism in Cuba and the Philippines, 1898-1915* (1996). The journalist Stanley Karnow provides a readable history of American colonialism in the Philippines in his book *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (1989).

The standard study of the Huk uprising is Benedict J. Kerkvliet's *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (1977). *He Who Rides the Tiger* (1967), by Luis Taruc, is the autobiography of one of the leaders of the Huks. Richard J. Kessler's *Rebellion and Repression in the Philippines* (1991) focuses primarily on the communist guerrilla movement from the 1960's through the 1980's. *Revolt in Mindanao: The Rise of Islam in Philippine Politics* (1980), by Thayil Jaboc Sony George, examines the origins of the Muslim insurgency in the southern Philippines. Wan Kadir Che Man's *Muslim Separatism: The Moros of Southern Philippines and the Malays of Southern Thailand* (1991) is a scholarly study of Muslim minority nationalism in Southeast Asia.

For a comparative view of the Muslim insurgency in the Philippines, see *Between Integration and Secession: The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma/Myanmar* (2002), by Moshe Yegar. *Terrorism in the Philippines: The Bloody Trail of Abu Sayyaf, Bin Laden's East Asian Connection* (2001), by Dirk J. Barreveld, is chiefly concerned with the brutality of the Abu Sayyaf guerrillas and with their connections to the international al-Qaeda network.

*Corazon Aquino: Journey to Power* (1987), by Laurie Nadel, is a biography of the former president of the Philippines, designed for middle-school and high-school students. *People Power—An Eyewitness History: The Philippine Revolution of 1986* (1987), edited by Monina Allarey Mercado, tells the story of the peaceful revolt against the Marcos government from the perspectives of the participants. Former president Fidel V. Ramos, who followed Aquino in office, tells the official version of his administration

in *Developing as Democracy: Reform and Recovery, 1992-1998* (1999).

There are numerous Internet sites devoted to the Philippines. The Library of Congress country study of the Philippines is available at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/phtoc.html>. A Web site that offers useful and interesting information about the country may be found at <http://members.aol.com/atinyrock>. A daily summary of headline news in the Philippines may be found at <http://www.newsflash.org>.



## SAUDI ARABIA

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*Covering nearly 757,000 square miles, Saudi Arabia is the largest country in area in the Middle East. At the crossroads of Europe, Asia, and Africa, it is on the Arabian Peninsula with the Red Sea to its west and the Persian Gulf to its east. Its access to the Indian Ocean to the south is blocked by Oman and Yemen. Saudi Arabia is also bordered by Jordan, Iraq, and Kuwait on the north and Qatar and the United Arab Emirates on the east. It is separated from Egypt and the Sudan by the Red Sea on the west and from Bahrain and Iran by the Persian Gulf on the east.*

*Saudi Arabia's approximately 23.5 million people are about 90 percent Arab with an Afro-Asian minority of about 10 percent. There is an overall population growth of 4 percent per year. The influence of black Africa is evident along the Red Sea coast, where a black population is intermixed in Semitic stock.*

*Influences from Iran, Pakistan, and India are evident in eastern Saudi Arabia. Most of the country's citizens have generational roots established centuries ago. Approximately 78 percent of the population lives in the urban areas. Many of the rest, who live in rural areas, still practice a nomadic way of life, wandering through areas of the country and living off the land. However, agricultural production is severely limited by lack of water, increasing salinity of the soil, and the small sizes of average farms. About three-quarters of the country's food supply must be imported.*

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**B**ecause Saudi Arabia promotes joint international business ventures, large numbers of foreign workers live in the country. Saudi Arabia's most important natural resource is oil (including products produced from oil, such as natural gas and petroleum), which makes up about 85 percent of the country's income. The economy is primarily driven by government contracts, most of which are based upon the continuing growth and industrialization of the country. Therefore, the greatest need is for materials used in building construction, roads, and improving other parts of the infrastructure.

## Culture

There is little cultural diversity among the people: 99 percent of the population is Muslim. The government does not allow the practice of any other religion; it is considered a crime for a person to attempt to persuade a Muslim to convert to another religion. Religion in Saudi Arabia is very important, and worshipping Allah is a high priority in each person's life. The yearly pilgrimage that Muslims from all over the world take to Mecca, a holy city in the southwest part of the country, is a major generator of income for the country. There is a good deal of dissatisfaction among neighboring states because of Saudi Arabia's tight control of Mecca, which millions of Muslim pilgrims visit annually.

Despite the government's strict laws, culture in Saudi Arabia is changing and becoming more cosmopolitan. For example, the official language is Arabic, and all business contracts must be in Arabic in order to be held legally binding. However, English is widely spoken and is taught in the schools.

In addition, although women are not in the business ranks because of the Islamic requirements that men and women who are not related may not associate in public, women are now beginning to participate in the working world in education, medicine, and women's branches of banks. Some women even own and op-

## Profile of Saudi Arabia

*Official name:* Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

*Independent since:* 1932 (unification)

*Former colonial ruler:* Ottoman Empire

*Location:* Arabian Peninsula

*Area:* 756,981 square miles

*Capital:* Riyadh

*Population:* 23.5 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religion:* Sunni Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$241 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* petroleum; petrochemicals

*Military expenditures:* US\$18.3 billion (2000)



erate their own businesses, and there are fourteen colleges dedicated to the education of women.

During the 1980's, Saudi Arabia also began promoting literacy; about 62 percent of its population is literate. Schools teach religion and English as well as the basics. The Saudi Arabian population is greatly concerned that the universities are overextended with students, and the vocational centers and technical schools are reaching capacity. Thus, a high priority with the government is to enact reforms that will increase the literacy rate among the populace, improve the crowded university situation, and ensure a quality education for all of those desiring to further their educations.

## **Early History**

In 622 C.E. the Prophet Muhammad began preaching the oneness of Allah. He migrated to Medina and founded the Islamic religion. He was able to add converts in Medina, so he returned to capture Mecca and designated Medina and Mecca as holy cities of his new religion. However, with the establishment of Umayyad caliphate in Damascus in 661, the political center of Islam left the Arabian Peninsula, never to return.

Medieval Arabia was marked by continuing struggles of local and foreign rulers to gain control of the Arabian Peninsula. Most of these proclaimed obedience to the caliph but were essentially autonomous and independent. Modern Arabian history had its beginnings in the growing opposition to Ottoman rule, which began in the early sixteenth century, and the emergence of a reform religious movement in the early eighteenth century.

In 1745 Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab began preaching the purification of Islam by excluding external and modern influences. He received the support of Muhammad ibn Saud of Dir'iyah, and the resulting Wahhabiyah movement spread across the Arabian Peninsula. Their successes were often stymied by Ottoman and Egyptian resistance, but fighting continued throughout the nineteenth century. The Saudi state was established in central Arabia in approximately 1750.

For the next 150 years, the Saudi rulers fought battles with Egypt, the Ottoman Turks, and other Arabians for control over the Arabian Peninsula. By 1904 Ibn Saud had recovered all of the original Saudi territory in Central Arabia (the Najd). Over the next twenty years he continued to fight for and annex land. In 1927 the British, who had held Saudi lands as a protectorate since 1915, acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the kingdom of the Hejaz and Najd. In 1932 the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was officially established from these land holdings.

## **Independence and Oil**

The discovery of oil in the late 1930's dramatically changed Saudi Arabian history, although production did not begin until after World War II. With this came a rapid gain of wealth and rapid developments in economic and social areas. In sixty years,

the country of Saudi Arabia went from being a secluded and non-industrialized nation made up of nomadic wanderers to a country of rapidly advancing technology and vast global influence.

Since World War II, Saudi Arabia has supported the Palestinian cause in the Middle East, maintained close ties with the United States, and occupied an important leadership role in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). In 1981 it became the seat of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), a regional economic and defense pact involving the countries of the Persian Gulf.

Throughout the 1990's Saudi Arabia supported the United States in political and sometimes military confrontations with Iraq and Iran. For example, when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, the ruler of Kuwait was given refuge in Saudi Arabia, and the United States pledged military defense support to Saudi Arabia. In the latter part of the 1990's, Saudi Arabia was considered to be a strong ally of the United States with its support of antiterrorist activities and its willingness to promote cooperation in the quest for a peace accord between Palestinian and Israeli leaders.

### **Foreign Relations and Internal Affairs, 1932-1953**

Since 1932 Saudi Arabia has had full international recognition as an independent state. In 1934 a boundary dispute with Yemen initiated a seven-week war in which the Saudis were generally victorious. Hostilities terminated with the Treaty of Taif, by which the Saudis gained the disputed land, but relations with Yemen remained tenuous up into the 1990's.

Establishing boundaries for the country remained a problem throughout the 1930's. Much of this was caused by the tradition of tribal overlordship rather than territorial boundaries. The frontiers with Iraq, Kuwait, and Jordan were mostly demarcated by 1930. However, along the southern region, no agreement was reached on the exact site of the frontiers with Yemen, Muscat, and Oman.

During World War II, Saudi Arabia was a neutral country until 1945, when it declared war on Germany. This declaration allowed Saudi Arabia to enter the United Nations. Ibn Saud also joined the Arab League at this time.

Before World War II, the economy of Saudi Arabia was based primarily upon the millions of Muslims who came on pilgrimage to Mecca, as well as customs duties and taxes. In 1941 the Saudi government began to exploit the vast oil pockets that had been discovered near the shores of the Persian Gulf. In early 1944 a number of employees of Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) went to Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia's vast oil reserves created a mixed blessing. Saudi Arabia was unable to supply the oil company with sufficient skilled workers, which meant a large influx of foreign workers into the country. Cultural life began to change, brought about by the disturbance of traditional patterns, and a population shift from rural areas to the major cities occurred. Despite the new wealth, extravagant spending led to governmental deficits and foreign borrowing by the 1950's.

### **Saudi Arabia Under Its Kings**

In 1953 Ibn Saud died, and his eldest surviving son, Saud ibn Abdul Aziz, succeeded him. Faisal, his second son, was declared heir apparent. The two were very different personalities. Saud had many ties among the desert tribes and represented the old, traditional regime. Faisal had played a broader role in world affairs while serving as the foreign minister and advocated modernization of the country.

At the royal court there was constant rivalry between the two brothers. In 1958, as a result of pressure from powerful members of the court, Saud issued a decree transferring all executive powers to Faisal. Instability among the royal leadership lingered. In 1960 Faisal resigned as prime minister, and the king assumed the office.

In 1962 Faisal was once more given executive powers and was supported by the National Guard and the royal princes. In 1964 King Saud was deposed, and Faisal was proclaimed king. Faisal developed the ministries of government and established an efficient bureaucracy. During his reign the United States became the most influential foreign power in Saudi Arabia. This influence was directed toward the oil industry. In 1960 Saudi Arabia helped found OPEC.

During the Cold War, the Saudis allied themselves with the United States against the Soviet Union but opposed U.S. support of Israel. During the Arab-Israeli War of 1973, the Saudis and other Arab oil producers organized a short-lived oil boycott, and the price of oil quadrupled. At that same time the Saudi government gained direct ownership of Aramco, which was its chief economic resource.

In 1975 King Faisal was assassinated. He was succeeded by his

## Saudi Arabia Time Line

- 622      Muhammad of Mecca preaches oneness of Allah, migrates to Medina, and founds Islam.
- 1517      Ottoman Empire takes control of Arabia.
- c. 1750      Saudi state is established in central Arabia.
- 1902      King Abdul Aziz al-Saud captures Riyadh from Rashid family; continues to fight for land over next twenty years.
- 1904      Ibn Saud (Abd al-Aziz II) recovers all original Saudi territory in central Arabia.
- 1913      Saudis bring al-Asha under their control.
- 1915      Ibn Saud signs treaty with British placing Saudi foreign relations under British control.
- 1919      Independent king Hussein Ibn Ali, sharif of Mecca, attacks Saudis; warfare breaks out; Hussein is defeated and the kingdom of Ibn Saud is annexed.
- 1921      Ibn Saud rids Arabia of Rashids.
- 1923      Ibn Saud consolidates kingdom by occupying districts west and north of Ha'il.
- 1925      Ibn Saud takes control of Jiddah.
- 1930's      Oil is discovered in the kingdom.
- 1932      (Sept. 22) Parts of realm are amalgamated into Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- 1934      Saudi Arabia wins disputed lands in brief war with Yemen.
- 1945      Saudi Arabia becomes founding member of Arab League.
- 1953      Council of Ministers is established; Ibn Saud dies and is succeeded by his son Saud ibn Abdul Aziz.
- 1960      Saudi Arabia helps found Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).
- 1964      Saud ibn Abdul Aziz is deposed and replaced by King Faisal.
- 1973      Saudi Arabia joins boycott against Western nations, helping to promote huge rise in oil prices.

half-brother, Crown Prince Khalid. Prince Fahd was designated crown prince. Under Khalid the country saw rapid modernization and a revolution of its educational system. Following the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement on March 26, 1979, Saudi Arabia joined most of the other Arab nations in severing diplomatic relations with Egypt.

The establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979 and the following Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1990 caused the Saudi govern-

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| 1975 | King Faisal is assassinated; he is succeeded by King Khalid.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1979 | (Mar. 26) After Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement is signed, Saudi Arabia joins other Arab nations in severing relations with Egypt.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1981 | Saudi Arabia becomes seat of Gulf Cooperation Council.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1982 | King Khalid dies; Crown Prince Fahd ascends to throne.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1990 | (Aug. 2) When Iraq invades Kuwait, ruler of Kuwait takes refuge in Saudi Arabia; King Fahd requests U.S. troops for defense.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1991 | (Jan.) Saudis play active role in U.S. air strikes against Iraq in Persian Gulf War.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 1992 | King is granted exclusive power to name crown prince; he announces creation of advisory body to provide forum for public debate.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 1998 | (July 19) Saudi warships bombard Yemen-held Duwaima Island, which Saudi Arabia claims.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 2000 | (June) Foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia and Yemen sign treaty on their borders based on their 1934 agreement.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 2001 | (Sept. 11) Islamic militants hijack planes in the United States and use them to destroy the New York World Trade Center and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Fifteen of the nineteen hijackers are Saudi Arabians.                                                                                                                                                           |
| 2002 | (Aug. 15) More than six hundred family members of people killed in the September 11 attacks on the United States file suit against the Saudi Arabian company run by Osama bin Laden's family, three Saudi princes, and the government of Sudan, maintaining that these sources provided the terrorists with funds.                                                           |
| 2002 | (Sept. 15) Foreign minister Prince Saud al-Faisal announces that Saudi Arabia will support an attack on Iraq if the attack is a result of a resolution by the U.N. Security Council.                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 2002 | (Sept. 25) Saudi interior minister Prince Nayef, brother of King Fahd and half-brother to Crown Prince Abdullah, accuses the United States of being hostile toward Muslims and of using different standards for judging Iraq and Israel. On the same day, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak meets with Crown Prince Abdullah to discuss how to prevent a U.S. attack on Iraq. |
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## **Saudi Arabia's Government and Judiciary**

The government of Saudi Arabia is a monarchy. It limits the rulers of the country to the sons and grandsons of the kingdom's founder. The success of the monarchy depends upon the support of the religious leadership and the insular relationships of the royal family, which includes approximately five thousand adult male princes. Some sixty of these are directly involved in contributing to major governmental decisions.

King Fahd is currently the head of the government. The kingdom's ministries and all other government agencies are ultimately responsible to the king. There are no political parties in Saudi Arabia. Local government is broken down into fourteen emirates, each headed by a governor appointed by the king, usually a prince or some other member of the royal household. Village and tribal leaders (sheikhs) must report directly to the provincial governors, which gives the central government some control over outlying regions.

Human rights and equal treatment under the law have become major concerns to Saudi Arabian citizens. Access to the king of Saudi Arabia and the right to petition him are well-established traditions. The king is the highest court of appeal, and he has the power of pardon. There is no constitution. Islamic law prevails in Saudi Arabia; however, justice is also based upon tribal and customary law. Corporal and capital punishment are permitted: An eleven-member Supreme Council of Justice reviews sentences of execution, stoning, or cutting. Although independence of the judiciary is guaranteed by law, courts are subject to influence by members of the royal family.

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ment serious concerns. Serious domestic unrest began at about this same time: The Al-Haram mosque (Great Mosque) in Mecca, the holiest site in the world for Muslims, was seized and occupied by religious extremists for two weeks. Internal unrest continued with rioting by Shiite Muslims in eastern Saudi Arabia.

### **Persian Gulf War**

After King Khalid's death in 1982, Crown Prince Fahd gained the throne. Fahd maintained Saudi Arabia's foreign policy of close cooperation with the United States and began to increase purchases of sophisticated military equipment. Fahd perceived a need to strengthen his government. However, political leadership underwent a serious challenge when Iraq invaded neighboring Kuwait in 1990.

The Kuwaiti government fled to Saudi Arabia, and King Fahd denounced the Iraqi invaders. Fearing an invasion by Iraq, he requested military support from the United States. U.S. president George Bush responded by sending 230,000 troops to Saudi Arabia. King Fahd then expanded his goals beyond the protection of Saudi Arabia to include the liberation of Kuwait, and he established diplomatic ties with China, the Soviet Union, and Iran.

The impact of the 1991 Persian Gulf War was considerable. The nearby countries of Yemen and Jordan supported Iraq diplomatically. Saudi Arabia, while housing and assisting foreign troops and Kuwaiti civilians, expelled Yemenis and Jordanians.

Saudi Arabia also greatly increased its own armed forces and gave financial subsidies to a number of foreign governments that supported them diplomatically against Iraq. Total costs in 1990-1991 ran as high as US\$64 billion. When the United States attacked Iraq by air on January 16-17, 1991, the Saudi government played an active supporting role.

The Saudi government's involvement in the 1991 Persian Gulf War drew it into international conflicts in ways that were unexpected at the time. The American military presence in Saudi Arabia, a consequence of the war, provoked anger among Muslim extremists. On November 13, 1995, a car bomb struck a building in Riyadh connected to U.S. military advisers. The following year, the Saudi government arrested four Saudi men, three of whom had been volunteers with Muslim units fighting against the Russians in Afghanistan. After their execution, a fuel truck loaded with explosives blew up outside a military complex housing U.S. personnel, killing nineteen U.S. servicemen, in an apparent act of revenge.

These bombings were the beginning of a series of terrorist attacks on American targets and, eventually, on targets within the United States itself. Muslim extremists, many of whom had become organized and developed military skills during guerrilla fighting in Afghanistan, were outraged by the presence of American troops in the historic center of Islam.

Osama bin Laden, whose father had moved to Saudi Arabia from Yemen and become wealthy in the construction industry, was the central figure in the al-Qaeda network. This organization

was dedicated to driving the Americans out of Muslim holy lands, and especially out of Saudi Arabia. Stripped of his Saudi citizenship years earlier, bin Laden, had been living in Afghanistan since 1996. Afghanistan's Taliban government had become heavily dependent on the financial support provided by Bin Laden, who retained a great deal of personal wealth and had resources available through supporters of al-Qaeda.

On August 7, 1998, terrorists bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The United States maintained that this was the work of al-Qaeda and responded by bombing suspected al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. On September 11, 2001, terrorists affiliated with al-Qaeda hijacked airplanes and flew two of them into the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., destroying the World Trade Center towers and killing thousands of civilians. Fifteen of the nineteen hijackers were known to have been Saudi Arabians.

The Saudi government condemned the hijackings but did not allow American forces to use its territory in the invasion of Afghanistan that followed. King Fahd's administration was publicly opposed to al-Qaeda, since Osama bin Laden had criticized the Saudi leadership as corrupt and had called for its overthrow. The Saudis played a key role in getting the Organization of the Islamic Conference to pass a resolution condemning terrorism in general and the September 11 attacks in particular.

### **Changes in Society and Government**

Urbanization, mass public education, the presence of numerous foreign workers, and access to new media are all effecting rapid change in Saudi values and mores. While Saudi society has changed profoundly, however, political processes have not. The political elite has come to include more and more bureaucrats and technocrats, while the real power continues in the hands of the royal dynasty. To counter this, in 1992 King Fahd issued a decree entitled "A Basic System of Government." This created a quasi constitution and an advisory body to provide a forum for public debate for citizens not belonging to the royal family.

The new laws also changed the process used to select the heir to the throne, established a right to privacy, and prohibited in-

fringements of human rights without cause. However, the monarch retained ultimate power, including the authority to dismiss the advisory council at his will. These changes, although modest, have combined with continued economic growth to help the regime maintain its base of popular support in spite of the challenges posed by the uncertain political environment in the Middle East. The continued threat from Iraq, as well as the collapse of the Soviet Union, which diminished Saudi Arabia as a strategic location of defense against communism, compromised the stability of the region.

While King Fahd and his government needed the support of the United States and other Western powers, the Saudi monarchy also needed to retain its Muslim identity and the support of its staunchly Muslim population. This meant that the Saudis had to be careful in balancing leadership in the Muslim and Arab worlds with policies that would maintain good relations with the West. With the intensification of the conflict between the Israelis

*Image Not Available*

and the Palestinians after September, 2000, the emergence of the American-led war on mainly Muslim terrorists after September, 2001, and the growing possibility of an American invasion of Iraq in the summer and fall of 2002, keeping this balance became increasingly difficult.

By early years of the twenty-first century, the Saudi monarchy had come under international, regional, and domestic pressures that threatened its future. Saudi Arabia's international influence was based on two main factors: its position as the world's leading producer of oil and site of the largest oil reserves, and its importance as the home of Islam's holiest shrines. Much of the international support for the monarchy, particularly from western countries, was due to the view of developed, oil-consuming nations that the dynasty of Saud maintained political stability and a steady, dependable flow of oil. At the same time, these developed nations also generally had ideological commitments to constitutional, elected, representative governments. These commitments were incompatible with the hereditary monarchy of the Saudis.

Among other Middle Eastern nations, Saudi Arabia's attempts to maintain close ties to the west and to maintain an international image of itself as a moderating influence in the region created suspicions. On matters such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Iraqi compliance with United Nations weapons inspectors, the Saudis needed to keep a delicate balance that would alienate neither the Western, oil-consuming nations nor the other countries in the region. This balance was complicated by the fact that a large part of the regional legitimacy of the Saudis was due to their status as guardians of Mecca and the other holy places of Arabia. Suggestions that the monarchy was falling short of religious purity therefore struck at the heart of the regime's legitimacy.

Within the country, the Saudi royal family's monopoly on political power, and the family's possession of a disproportionate share of the nation's wealth, created opposition. In the context of Saudi society, this opposition took a chiefly religious form. Islamists asked whether the royal family earned its position by sufficient adherence to the faith of Islam. To satisfy potential domestic critics, the Saudi royal family had to uphold Islamic law and enforce extremely conservative measures in the society re-

garding matters such as religious conformity and the rights of women. These kinds of measures often outraged opinion in western countries and were often insufficient to stem the growth of radical Islam within the country.

The issue of succession was a major domestic problem for the Saudis. The monarchy had never developed a consistent principle, such as primogeniture or inheritance of the oldest son, for passing power from one generation to the next. By 2002, King Fahd was eighty-three years old and had suffered a stroke. Crown Prince Abdullah, who was running the day-to-day affairs of the government, was generally believed to be next in line for the throne, but this depended on the agreement of the royal family and there was some opposition to Abdullah, who was a comparatively youthful seventy-nine in 2002. The very size of the Saudi royal family and its deep roots in the society suggested that some version of the monarchy would probably remain into the indefinite future, but it was unclear whether a king would eventually emerge who would ally himself with radical Muslim forces, move the country toward a relatively democratic constitutional monarchy, or maintain some version of self-serving dynastic concentration of power.

*Lela Phillips*

*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

Alexei Vassiliev's *The History of Saudi Arabia* (2000) is an excellent account of the origins of the nation, written by a former Russian journalist who became director of the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. *The Rise, Corruption, and Coming Fall of the House of Saud* (1996), by Said K. Aburish, examines the ruling dynasty of Saudi Arabia. Its tenth chapter, "Oil, OPEC and the Overseers," and chapter 7, "Big Deals and Dangerous Games," provide in-depth examinations of how the Saudi government operates. Aburish is considered a leading authority on and critic of the Saudi Arabian monarchy. *The Great Power Intervention in the Middle East* (1979), edited by Milton and Gabriel Sheffer Leitenberg, provides a good deal of insight into the machinations and interplay of governments in the Middle East.

*Arabia, the Cradle of Islam: Studies in the Geography, People and Politics of the Peninsula* (1980), by Samuel M. Zwemer, is an interesting and thorough history of the founding and development of Saudi Arabia. Researchers will find published documents from Amnesty International in London, the Department of State in Washington, D.C., and Middle East Watch very readable and available free upon request. Informative facts and figures regarding Saudi Arabia can be found on several Internet Web sites, including <http://www.saudi.net/publications> and <http://www.arab.net/saudi>.

## SRI LANKA

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*A civil war between Sri Lanka's government, dominated by the Sinhalese, the largest ethnic group, and the Sri Lanka Tamils, the largest ethnic minority, has persisted since 1983. Over 60,000 people have died in the conflict, which has torn the nation apart. The Tamil guerrilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), have demanded an independent state for the Tamil people. They have argued that the government has failed to treat the Tamils fairly by favoring the majority Sinhalese in government jobs, university admissions, police protection, and the placement of development projects. The issue has been further complicated by the "colonization" of large numbers of Sinhalese in areas of the country that were almost exclusively populated by Tamils. Although there were government-led efforts to negotiate a settlement in 1995, the two sides have rarely negotiated, much less communicated, with each other.*

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The island democracy of Sri Lanka lies off the southern tip of India. Although culturally an extension of the Indian subcontinent, it has never been ruled by India through the nearly three thousand years of its recorded history. The small tear-shaped island is home to several large ethnic groups, despite being not much larger than the U.S. state of West Virginia.

Since receiving its independence from Great Britain in 1948, when it was known as Ceylon, Sri Lanka has struggled to unify its people within a democratic government modeled after that of Great Britain. During colonial rule, Sri Lankan ethnic differences were largely ignored. Once the British left the island, conflict between the island's two largest ethnic groups emerged and became an important part of political debate.

The conflict between the island's two largest ethnic groups escalated into open civil war in 1983 and has continued ever since. By the mid-1990's the Sri Lankan civil war was killing ten thousand people per year. Not only did it undermine the fragile democracy that continued to exist in the country but it also created a culture of violence that had begun to destroy the peaceful way of life that many Sri Lankans had grown to love and expect.



The largest ethnic group on the island is the Sinhalese, who constitute 74 percent of the population of nearly 20 million people. They speak the Sinhala language, which is part of the Indo-European family of languages that includes English, French, and the languages spoken in northern India. Most Sinhalese are Buddhists, although a significant number converted to Christianity during the colonial era. The Sinhalese constitute a majority in the southern and western parts of the country.

The second largest ethnic group is the Sri Lanka Tamils, who constitute 12.7 percent of the population and speak the Tamil language of southern India. Most Sri Lanka Tamils are Hindus, but some are Christians. Tamil is part of the Dravidian family of languages, which includes the aborigine language of Australia. Although there are Tamils in all the major cities of Sri Lanka, they are an overwhelming majority of the population in the northern part of the country and a plurality in the Eastern part of the country.

Related to the Sri Lanka Tamils are the Indian Tamils, descendants of Tamil speakers who were brought from southern India to Sri Lanka in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries first to work on the coffee plantations and later on the tea plantations. They constitute 5.5 percent of the population. Largely found in

## Profile of Sri Lanka

*Official name:* Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

*Former name:* Ceylon

*Independent since:* 1948

*Former colonial ruler:* Great Britain

*Location:* southern Asia, off of southern tip of India

*Area:* 25,332 square miles

*Capital:* Colombo

*Population:* 19.6 million (2002 est.)

*Official languages:* Sinhala; Tamil

*Major religions:* Buddhism; Hinduism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$62.7 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* clothing and accessories; tea; gems; rubber products

*Military expenditures:* US\$719 million (1998)

the central hill country of Sri Lanka, they constitute a majority of the population in the mountainous Nuwara Eliya district. They speak the Tamil language and are mostly Hindus.

The Sri Lanka Moors, who are Muslims, constitute 7 percent of the population. Many of them are the descendants of early Arab traders and are found in all the island's cities. They constitute a majority in portions of the Eastern Province.

### From Colonialism to Independence

The early history of Sri Lanka was marked by a series of kingdoms in the north and western parts of the island. What little is known about the relations between the ethnic groups indicates that there was very little ethnic conflict; the ethnic communities lived alongside each other in relative harmony. However, the communities were largely concentrated, with the Sinhalese in the southwest and the Tamils in the north. During the period of European colonial rule, inter-ethnic harmony continued. Although their members rarely married each other, the groups interacted in social and economic life.

Over a period lasting nearly 450 years, Sri Lanka was ruled by three European nations: the Portuguese starting in 1505, the Dutch starting in 1656, and finally the British starting in 1796. The most important legacy of British rule was the development of a



parliamentary democratic system of government. While many formerly colonized countries have struggled with dictatorships, Sri Lanka is one of the strongest democracies in the world. However, colonialism was not all good.

After independence the quest for power among the ethnic groups led to conflict between them. After the British left, many Sinhalese felt anger over the way the British treated the Sinhalese Buddhist culture and the sense of discrimination they felt from the British era. They believed that the Sinhalese Buddhist culture had been severely damaged by British rule. As a majority in the country they now sought to reassert their rights. They also sought to correct a series of wrongs carried out by the British.

These wrongs included the use of English in government, the promotion of Christianity at the expense of Buddhism, the preferential hiring of Tamils in the government bureaucracy, and the importation of Tamil speakers to the island from India.

During British rule the government bureaucracy had become filled with many Tamils. The Tamils had taken advantage of Christian missionaries, who had taught the English language and British ways of life. As a result, the British often preferred Tamils over Sinhalese in government jobs. When independence came, the Sinhalese Buddhists attempted to restore their culture to its "rightful" place in the society.

### **Sinhala Only**

The first target of the Sinhalese Buddhists' efforts was the Indian Tamils who, because they had originally been brought to Sri Lanka by the British, were not considered to be "Sri Lankans." Shortly after independence, the government passed a law in 1949 determining who was a citizen of Sri Lanka. The law was written in such a way that most Indian Tamils were unable to claim citizenship. Even though almost all of them had been born in Sri Lanka, those who could not prove their ancestry were to be deported to India. India, however, was not interested in granting citizenship to large numbers of people with few ties to India and resisted Sri Lanka's efforts.

At the time the Indian Tamils constituted about 12 percent of the Sri Lankan population. The legislation strengthened the influ-

ence of the Sinhalese majority but was also supported by Sri Lanka Tamil leaders, who supported the legislation because the Indian Tamils tended to support left-wing and communist candidates for office. For many years large numbers of Indian Tamils remained stateless while the Indian and Sri Lankan governments negotiated their fate. Although most were either given citizenship or deported to India during the 1980's, about fifty thousand still remained stateless by the late twentieth century.

In 1956 a newly elected government passed the Sinhala Only Act. This law made Sinhala the official language of Sri Lanka. Prior to this, English had been the language of government, even though most Sri Lankans could not understand or speak it. However as English was the language of the educated elite of Sri Lanka, most Sinhalese and Tamil leaders were comfortable using it in government. After the Sinhala Only Act, Tamils became angry over what they saw as the government's effort to exclude them from public life. Sinhalese argued that because they were a majority in their country, their language deserved to be the language of government.

During the 1960's efforts were made to restrict Christian schools. In 1962 private religious schools, which were almost all Christian, were taken over by the government. This action was followed in 1972 when the name of the country was officially changed from Ceylon, the name the British gave the island, to Sri Lanka, the name that most Sinhalese used for it in the Sinhala language. These actions alienated many Tamil speakers. However, the action that most affected ethnic relations was to occur during the 1970's.

### **Beginning of War**

The conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese was largely fought out in parliamentary debates until the 1970's, when the first violent acts by Tamil guerrillas were carried out against Sinhalese targets. With the population boom during the 1950's, a large, new generation of Tamils became adults during the 1970's. This younger generation had also benefited from one of the best educational systems in Asia. They were well educated and expected good jobs.

However, while the population and educational system were growing, the economy of Sri Lanka was not. Thousands of youths were graduating from high school and college with no job prospects. Among the Tamils, this generation became impatient with the politics of cooperation carried out by the older generation of Tamils who were part of the transition from British rule to independence. Tamil society had become obsessed with education.

This was a product of the Methodist missionaries who, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, came from the United States and Great Britain to the Jaffna Peninsula, which is located at the northern tip of the island and is almost exclusively populated by Tamils. Jaffna is the heartland of Sri Lanka Tamil culture, and education is a very important part of that culture.

During the 1970's the government changed how students were admitted to the universities. Prior to this, students took exams that determined who would receive admission to the universities. The educational system was modeled after that of Great Britain, with advanced and ordinary level exams. The advanced, or A-level, exams were for students who wanted to go to college; they were given in English, Tamil, and Sinhala. For many years the scores for exams taken in the Tamil language were higher than the scores for exams taken in the Sinhalese language.

During the 1970's some Sinhalese accused the Tamil graders of cheating on the scores and grading Tamils higher than Sinhalese. As a result, a system of quotas was established to increase university admissions among Sinhalese. The new rules allowed Sinhalese test takers to gain admission to the universities with lower scores than those required of Tamil test takers. Many Tamil youths were angered by this, and some joined one of several militant Tamil groups that advocated violence against the government.

Until 1983 the Tamil youth groups occasionally attacked the government with little loss of life on either side. In July, 1983, however, a group of guerrillas attacked and killed thirteen Sri Lankan government soldiers in the Jaffna District. When news of the attack reached the south of the country, Sinhalese rioters began attacking Tamils. Thousands were killed in the riots and many homes were destroyed.

Even more serious was the involvement in the riots of several government ministers, who arranged government buses to take rioters to areas where many Tamils lived. In addition, police often stood by and watched or walked away when rioters attacked Tamil houses. Sri Lankan president Junius Richard Jayawardene initially made no effort to address the nation or to appeal for calm. He waited for three days before making a television address asking Sri Lankans to stop rioting. By this time many Tamils had already been killed and the riots were subsiding.

The riots made many Tamils believe that they would never be able to live safely in Sri Lanka. The occasional conflict became an open war in the north and east of the country. The attacks became more violent as the Tamil guerrillas began setting off bombs in the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo, and the intensity of the fighting increased. Both sides sought bigger and better weaponry and training.

### **Tamil Youth Movements**

The Tamil youth groups challenging the government were an interesting collection of educated young men and women. Sri Lanka Tamil society was very conservative, and Tamils were initially hesitant to support the groups. However, the militant youths were often the brightest and best school children in the country, and soon support or at least sympathy for the groups began to spread.

The first group to appear was the New Tamil Tigers, founded in 1972 by eighteen-year-old Vellupillai Prabhakaran. Prabhakaran eventually killed or drove other leaders from his organization and formed a new organization called the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). This group eventually split into a number of other groups, and by the early 1980's there were six or seven major youth groups fighting against the government. By 1984 the LTTE had become the largest and most important group. It eventually attacked the other militant groups, either defeating them or reducing their fighting ability.

In 1987 Sri Lankan president Junius Richard Jayawardene negotiated a peace settlement of the war, which called for the guerrilla groups to lay down their arms and for India to send peace-

keeping troops to Sri Lanka to oversee the peace. All the youth groups fighting the government joined the agreement except for the LTTE. The LTTE cooperated with the Indians for a few months before attacking them.

The Sri Lankan civil war resumed again in the fall of 1987, with the Indians now fighting the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government no longer participating. After killing 1,500 Indian soldiers, the LTTE drove the Indians from Sri Lanka in 1990. All the militant Tamil groups except for the LTTE gave up their guns and became legal political parties. This left the LTTE as the only group fighting the government.

### **Tamil War II**

After the Indian departure, the war entered its most bloody phase. For the first six months of 1990 the two sides cooperated, and it appeared that a peaceful settlement to the war might be

## **Sri Lanka Time Line**

- 1505-1656 Portuguese occupy coastal Sri Lanka.
- 1656-1796 Dutch occupy coastal Sri Lanka.
- 1796-1815 Great Britain occupies coastal Sri Lanka.
- 1815 British establish control over all of Sri Lanka.
- 1948 (Feb. 4) Sri Lanka becomes independent as Ceylon.
- 1948 (Feb. 4) Britain grants Ceylon dominion status.
- 1956 Sinhala Only Act establishes Sinhala as the official language of government.
- 1960 Sirimavo Bandaranaike becomes prime minister—the first woman in the world elected head of a national government.
- 1972 New Tamil Tigers are formed in Jaffna.
- 1972 (May 22) Ceylon becomes Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.
- 1978 New constitution is enacted.
- 1981 (July 30) Government declares state of emergency in the wake of ethnic riots.
- 1983 Severe anti-Tamil riots occur in southern Sri Lanka, as civil war escalates.
- 1987 Indian peacekeeping forces arrive in Sri Lanka.
- 1989 (June 28) Tamil Tigers declare cease-fire.
- 1990 (Mar.) Indian peacekeeping forces leave.
- 1990 (June 11) Tamil Tigers end cease-fire.

found. But in June the LTTE carried out a series of strikes against police stations in Eastern Sri Lanka. Hundreds of police officers were slaughtered in the attacks, many after surrendering to the LTTE. Even more Tamil civilians were killed as an angry Sri Lankan army reconquered the major towns of the Eastern Province.

Both sides were now well armed, and the once rag-tag army of Tamil youths became a fierce and well-trained guerrilla army. The fighters for the LTTE are considered to be the most dedicated and fiercest guerrilla fighters in the world. They wear amulets of cyanide around their necks and are expected to commit suicide before they can be captured by Sri Lankan forces. They are known for their suicide corps, which carries out bomb attacks. In 1991 they killed Rajiv Gandhi, the former Indian prime minister, while he campaigned for reelection in India. In 1993 they blew up Sri Lankan president Ranasinghe Premadasa during a May Day parade in Colombo.

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|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1991 | (May 21) Former Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi is assassinated by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).                                                                                                             |
| 1993 | President Ranasinghe Premadasa is assassinated by LTTE.                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 1993 | (Jan. 14) Anglican cleric attempts to negotiate peace between Tamil Tigers and government.                                                                                                                                     |
| 1994 | Chandrika Kumaratunga is elected president.                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 1995 | (Dec.) Jaffna peninsula is recaptured by government troops.                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 1996 | (Jan.) Central Bank building in Colombo is bombed by LTTE.                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1997 | (Jan.) Tamil Tigers launch major attacks in civil war.                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 1997 | (May) Government's Operation Jayasikurui (Final Victory) campaign begins.                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1998 | U.S. government designates LTTE a terrorist organization.                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1998 | (Oct. 27) Tamil Tigers overwhelm well-fortified army base.                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1999 | (July) Human rights activist and parliamentarian Neelan Thiruchelvam is murdered by LTTE.                                                                                                                                      |
| 1999 | (Dec.) Sri Lankan government attempts to pass a constitutional reform bill, ensuring greater regional autonomy, in order to win Tamil support.                                                                                 |
| 2000 | (Oct.) President Kumaratunga's People's Alliance coalition calls a new election, hoping to win the two-thirds majority needed to amend the constitution; the election leaves the president's party in an even weaker position. |

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*(continued)*



The LTTE leader Prabhakaran is known for his unwillingness to tolerate opposition within his organization. Many leaders who challenged him have either disappeared or been killed. Those who have fled to the government controlled areas of Sri Lanka have often been assassinated.

After 1990 the war became bloodier and more intense. Both sides also increased their attacks on civilians. The guerrillas attacked Muslim and Sinhalese villages in areas of the north and east which they felt belonged to the Tamils, while the government army and police rounded up thousands of Tamil civilians who were executed without trials.

The human rights abuses of both sides have appalled the rest of the world and led to demands that both sides stop killing civilians. In addition to the human rights abuses, there have been LTTE bomb attacks in Colombo. In January, 1996, the LTTE bombed the Central Bank building in the heart of Colombo, kill-

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**Sri Lanka Time Line** (*continued*)

- 2000 (Dec.) LTTE call a cease-fire in hopes of reaching a settlement with the government.
- 2001 (Apr.) LTTE calls off its cease-fire, saying that the government has not responded to the rebel organization's efforts; government begins an offensive that is beaten back by the rebels.
- 2001 (June) Sri Lanka Muslim Congress withdraws from the president's People's Alliance, causing a political crisis; President Kumaratunga suspends parliament and calls for a national referendum.
- 2001 (July) Fighters of the LTTE seize Bandaranaike International Airport and destroy about half the planes of Air Lanka.
- 2001 (Dec. 9) Opposition United National Party wins control of the Sri Lankan parliament.
- 2001 (Dec.) Under new prime minister Ranil Wickremesinghe, the government establishes a cease-fire and begins making efforts at negotiating with the rebels.
- 2002 (Sept. 5) Government ends the ban on LTTE as a precondition for talks with the rebels.
- 2002 (Sept. 16) Government representatives and LTTE leaders begin official face-to-face talks on a Thai naval base at Satthip, Thailand.
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ing more than one hundred people. In December of the same year nearly one hundred were killed in the bombing of a commuter train in the Colombo suburbs.

During 1999 and 2000, the Tamil fighters unleashed a new heavy wave of violence. In July, 1999, the LTTE murdered human rights activist and parliamentarian Neelan Thiruchelvam and in September the guerrilla organization massacred scores of unarmed Sinhalese villagers. At the end of the year a suicide bomber attempted to assassinate President Chandrika Kumaratunga. This was followed by bombings and shootings throughout the southern part of the nation. In April, 2000, Sri Lankan military forces lost an important military camp to the rebels, but the Sri Lankan soldiers were later able to recover much of their lost ground.

### **Kumaratunga Era**

In 1994 Chandrika Kumaratunga was elected president of Sri Lanka. Her Sri Lanka Freedom Party replaced the United National Party, which had ruled Sri Lanka since 1977. The latter had been in power when the war escalated, and many people believed that a new leader from a different party would be able to end the war. Kumaratunga was the daughter of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, creator of the Sinhala Only policy and the first woman ever elected head of a modern nation. Bandaranaike served as prime minister in Chandrika Kumaratunga's administration until two months before Bandaranaike's death in October, 2000.

Kumaratunga created a coalition of leftist parties under the label of the People's Alliance and was elected to office by promising to negotiate with the LTTE to end the war. She acknowledged that the government of Sri Lanka had been unfair to the Tamils and offered to change the government in order to create peace. From January until April, 1995, her government negotiated with the LTTE until the LTTE broke off negotiations and resumed the war.

Feeling betrayed by the LTTE, Kumaratunga unleashed a massive military offensive that recaptured most of the Jaffna Peninsula in December, 1995. The Jaffna Peninsula was populated almost exclusively by Tamils and had been largely ruled by the LTTE since 1984. The city of Jaffna had become the capital of the

area held by the LTTE. The government's capture of Jaffna was a symbolic victory that humiliated the LTTE.

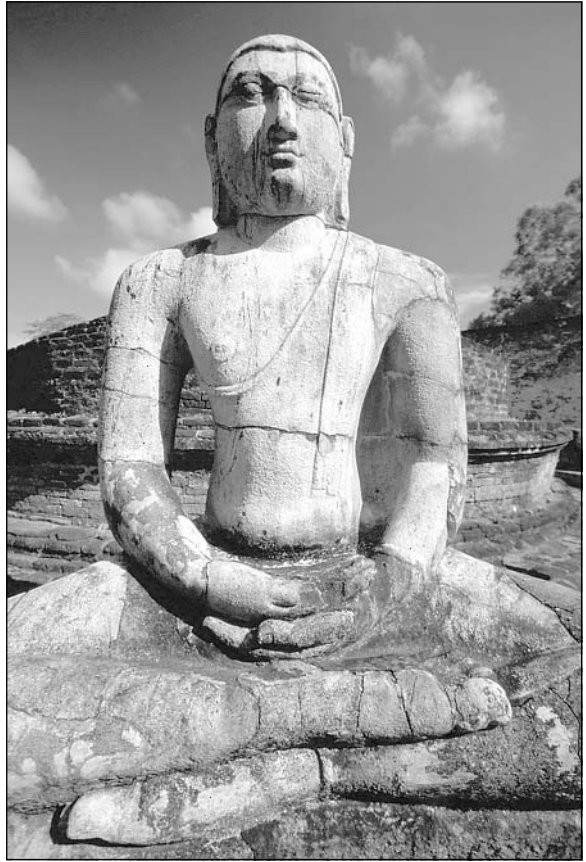
Two months later the LTTE set off the bomb at the Central Bank building in Colombo. After consolidating its victory, the government began a campaign to capture the Vavuniya jungles south of the Jaffna Peninsula. The area is a largely uninhabited jungle in which the LTTE can easily hide. Although the government recaptured all the major towns of the region, they failed to weaken the guerrillas or to defeat them militarily. The LTTE still controlled the jungles of the Vanni and the inland jungles of the east coast.

Once the LTTE was confined to the jungles of the Vanni and the east, the government sought to open up the roads to the Jaffna Peninsula. In May, 1997, they began "Operation Jayasikurui," or Final Victory. It sought to capture the main north-south road through the Vanni. About forty miles of the road was controlled by the guerrillas. The government operation ran into very stiff resistance from the guerrillas, and by its first anniversary in May, 1998, it had become the bloodiest battle of the war. Over four thousand fighters were believed to have been killed during the first year of the operation.

While the Kumaratunga government carried out its military offensive against the LTTE, its diplomats carried out a diplomatic offensive against the LTTE. The LTTE had developed intricate networks of supporters throughout the world, who raised funds for the war, bought munitions, and carried out business operations. The government sought to make the operations more difficult. It was believed that if they could stop the flow of funds to the LTTE, the LTTE would be unable to carry out its military operations.

Under the guidance of Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar, a Sri Lanka Tamil, the government succeeded in isolating the LTTE. Supporters and fund-raisers in Canada and Australia were restricted in their activities or deported, while in the United States the LTTE was declared a terrorist organization and barred from raising funds in the United States.

The Kumaratunga government went from being the strongest hope for peace in the eleven-year-old war to a government committed to a military solution. While the war continued, both



*Ancient statue of the Buddha in  
Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka.  
(PhotoDisc)*

Tamil and Sinhalese society began to feel the negative consequences of the war. The once proud Tamil culture of the Jaffna Peninsula was all but destroyed, as the wealthier and better educated Tamils fled the country.

The war destroyed not only the younger generation but also many of the historic and inspirational sites of Tamil culture. For example, the Jaffna public library, which held thousands of important historical documents about Tamil culture, was burned by government soldiers in 1982. In the Sinhalese south society was undergoing a drastic change as well. The once peaceful society now experienced high levels of violent crime, as many of the 100,000 deserters from the military turned to lives of crime.

Crime gangs emerged in the Colombo area, allying themselves

with powerful politicians and carrying out a wide range of illegal activities. These changes were intensified by the high death toll from the war. Sinhalese soldiers were dying at the highest rate ever, while LTTE fighters were dying at an even greater rate. In between the two fighting forces were thousands of civilians who were also dying each year. Tamils living in the war zone and Sinhalese and Muslims in the border areas were targeted by both sides.

The original complaints of the Tamils against the government changed over the years as the war progressed. By the late 1990's the issues had become a debate over how much autonomy the Tamil-populated areas of the country should have. In 1997 the Kumaratunga government offered to transfer power from the central government to the Northern and Eastern Province. However, its offers fell short of the Tamil demand for a federal system not unlike that of the United States or Canada. The LTTE had indicated that it would consider a federal offer from the government, although the LTTE itself refused to offer a federal plan for the country.

In addition, the issue of the Eastern Province became important. The Eastern Province (Batticaloa, Ampara, and Trincomalee districts) were overwhelmingly Tamil in the early twentieth century. However, government settlement programs had changed the composition of the population in the region so that by the mid-1990's it was believed that the region had a Sinhalese majority. Since no census of Sri Lanka had been conducted since 1981 because of the war, no one was sure how large the population was.

Government officials who estimated population statistics were forbidden to discuss them. However, the LTTE, responding to the growing Sinhalese population in the region and the massive influx of Sinhalese since the start of the civil war, has insisted that the Northern and Eastern Provinces be combined into one province with a Tamil majority. Sinhalese nationalists have responded by claiming that establishing a Tamil homeland in the north and east would lead to the eventual breakup of the nation.

Despite the death and destruction and the undermining of the culture, Sri Lanka held onto its democratic institutions and political processes, at least in the Sinhalese areas of the country. Na-

tional elections were held in 1994 in which the opposition party was able to defeat the governing party.

In 1998, local government elections were held in the “liberated” areas of the Jaffna Peninsula. Although the elections were held while the area was under military rule and the results were largely a farce, the government’s efforts to hold the election reflected the strong commitment that Sri Lankan leaders have to democratic rule.

Despite the bombings and the attempted assassination of President Kumaratunga herself in December, 1999, the Sri Lankan government tried to win Tamil support when it attempted to pass a constitutional reform bill in 2000. This bill would have put substantial power in the hands of regional councils, making it possible for the Tamils and the minority Muslim community to control their own local affairs. When the reform bill failed in parliament, in part because of opposition from Buddhist monks and Sinhalese activists, Kumaratunga’s People’s Alliance coalition called a new election, in October, 2000. Kumaratunga and her allies hoped that in this election, the People’s Alliance would win the two-thirds majority needed to amend the constitution. However, the violence-filled election left the president in an even weaker position.

The failure of the government’s “Final Victory” campaign at the end of the twentieth century reflected the inability of the government to win a military victory over the LTTE. The persistence of the government in resisting the secessionist efforts of the LTTE also reflected the inability of the LTTE ever to win a military victory over the government. The two sides had reached a stalemate in which neither side could achieve its goals. Although in 2000 the Norwegian government began trying to help the two sides work out preconditions for talks, there was still little effective communication between the LTTE and the government. However, the tradition of democracy continued to survive, as did the hope that the reasonable and rational nature of the Sri Lankan people, which had led to that democratic tradition, would one day lead to a resolution of the conflict.

*Robert C. Oberst*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### For Further Study

The best short history of Sri Lanka is Chandra Richard de Silva's *Sri Lanka: A History* (1987). A discussion of the political background and politics of Sri Lanka can be found in the Sri Lanka chapters of *Government and Politics in South Asia* (4th ed. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998), by Craig Baxter et al.

Although there have been many books on the Sri Lankan civil war, many are slanted toward one of the two sides. Many of these works have been published in Sri Lanka, India, and Europe and are not easily available in the United States. Among the works easily found in the United States are a pair of articles written by Sri Lankan president Chandrika Kumaratunga and Robert Oberst in the June, 1996, issue of the *Harvard International Review*. They provide a good description of the differing perspectives of the conflict. An overview of the conflict written by a Tamil is Chelvadurai Manogaran's *Ethnic Conflict and Reconciliation in Sri Lanka* (1992).

Readers looking for more information on the growth of Tamil nationalism may consult A. Jeyaratnam Wilson's *Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism: Its Origins and Development in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (2000). For a scholarly work on ethnic identities and allegiances, *Ethnic Attachments in Sri Lanka: Social Change and Cultural Continuity* (2001), by Lakshmanan Sabaratnam, will be useful.

A great deal of information is available on the Internet, although readers should be careful, because most of it reflects the viewpoints of one side at the expense of the truth. These sites include the Sri Lankan government news site (<http://www.news.lk>) and the Ministry of Defence military press releases (<http://www.news.lk/another.htm>). Tamilnet publishes news from a Tamil perspective (<http://www.tamilnet.com>). The LTTE Web site also provides news and analysis (<http://www.eelam.com>).

## SYRIA

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*Syria's central position in the Fertile Crescent of the Middle East has made it a crossroads between the Mediterranean Sea and the Asian heartland. Throughout its history—which is almost as long as recorded history itself—Syria has been ruled by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Ottomans, and French. In the twentieth century, this central position has brought Syria into conflict with the modern countries that border it. Much of the conflict and confrontation that has involved Syria is related to Israel. The creation of Israel in 1948 aroused the opposition of most Arab countries. Syria made a major commitment to oppose Israel and fight for the rights of the Palestinian people. Syria has viewed Israel as an expansionist country that seeks to keep the Arab nations weak and divided. The goal of achieving “strategic parity” with Israel has dominated Syrian military and political thinking. Syria has built up a large and powerful military that it believes is needed to pressure Israel. A second goal that has guided Syria is its ambition to restore a Greater Syria and be the leading Arab power in the region.*

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Syria, located in the Middle East, is bordered to the north by Turkey, to the east by Iraq, to the south by Jordan, to the southwest by Israel, and to the west by Lebanon and the Mediterranean Sea. It is 71,498 square miles in size, and its capital is Damascus. Hafiz al-Asad, who became prime minister in 1970, assumed virtually dictatorial powers as president in 1971, and governed the country until his death in June, 2000, was the dominant figure in recent Syrian history. He used his power to consolidate his regime, establish stability, expand Syria's Arab leadership role, and lead the confrontation with Israel.

Asad's son, Bashar al-Asad, was named president by the country's People's Assembly in July, 2000. The younger Asad began taking steps toward democratization of his country, but some political controls were reimposed in 2001.

### **Creation of Modern Syria**

The area traditionally known as Greater Syria included present-



## Profile of Syria

*Official name:* Syrian Arab Republic

*Independent since:* 1946

*Former colonial rulers:* Ottoman Empire; France

*Location:* between Turkey and Iraq

*Area:* 71,498 square miles

*Capital:* Damascus

*Population:* 17.2 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religions:* Sunni Islam; other Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$54.2 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* petroleum and petroleum products; vegetables and fruits; cotton; textiles and fabrics

*Military expenditures:* US\$921 million (2000 est.)

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day Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this area was part of the Ottoman Empire. During World War I the Ottoman Empire sided with Germany. After the German defeat, the Middle East was divided between British and French spheres of influence. What are now Syria and Lebanon were under control of the French mandate.

The state of Greater Lebanon was established in 1920. Like most parts of the Middle East, Lebanon contained many Christian and Muslim communities. The Muslim communities disliked being under the control of the Maronite Christians. Many Muslims continued to think of themselves as Syrians and looked to Syria for protection. In 1924 Syria was created out of the governmental areas of Damascus and Aleppo. Most Syrians resisted the French mandate, and in 1925, there were many local uprisings. It took France two years to crush the revolt, but popular discontent remained.

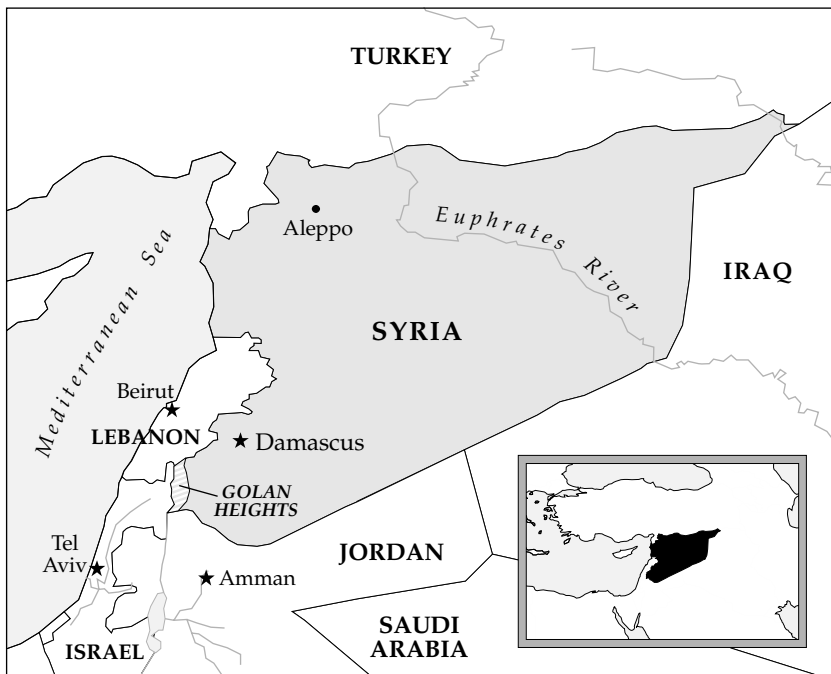
In 1936 France signed separate treaties with Lebanon and Syria. These treaties created an enlarged Syria, granted it entry into the League of Nations, and transferred political power to nationalist parties. However, the French parliament's refusal to rat-

ify the treaties led to strikes and outbreaks of violence that lasted until 1943. In that year the British persuaded the French government to hold general elections. In both Lebanon and Syria, nationalist governments took office. They vowed to end the French mandate and become independent. Their goals were achieved in 1946 when France withdrew from Syria and Lebanon.

### Conflict with Israel

The event that has generated almost unbroken conflict in the Middle East since World War II was the United Nations' (U.N.) creation in 1948 of Israel out of part of Palestine. The Jewish state was given more than one-half the territory of Palestine. Israel, a modern European state created by the United Nations, fulfilled the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish Zionist movement. To Israel's Arab neighbors, however, it was an unacceptable foreign presence forcibly placed on their soil that had to be opposed.

As the Zionist movement's dream of a Palestinian homeland for Jews grew closer to reality during the 1930's, Syria was a



leader in the Arab movement to support the local Palestinians and reject a fully independent Jewish state. Syria believed a Jewish state would be an obstacle to Arab unity and a potential threat to Syria.

Many Syrians joined the Arab revolt in Palestine during the late 1930's. As a member of the Arab League (established in 1945), Syria was the first member to carry out anti-Zionist measures. In 1947 Syria mobilized troops along the Palestinian border. One day after the establishment of the State of Israel in May, 1948, troops from Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel.

During the war Israel occupied additional Arab territory beyond that granted by the United Nations partition. The remaining parts of Palestine were taken over by Jordan and Egypt. One result of the creation of Israel was the mass emigration of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees from areas controlled by the new Jewish nation.

In 1949 Syria and Israel signed an armistice agreement but not a full peace treaty. This agreement could not prevent periodic armed clashes along the border, which finally led to war. Of all the Arab nations, Syria has been the most strongly anti-Israel. Since 1948 it has posed the greatest military threat to Israel. Israel, in turn, has treated Syria as a hostile foe. During the 1950's domestic instability and political radicalism, alliances with Arab countries, and fear of Israeli military action increased Syria's militant attitude toward Israel.

### **Arab World**

During the 1950's the Arab world was becoming polarized between pro-Western forces and the Arab nationalist vision of Egypt's president Gamal Abdel Nasser. Syria was a leader of the nationalist camp. In 1954 a Syrian military coup led to the emergence of nationalist, leftist groups.

The most prominent of these was the Arab Baath Party, which had branches in other Arab states. Under the slogan "one Arab nation with an eternal mission," its goal was the creation of a united, democratic, socialist Arab republic. The Baath Party gained increasing influence in the government, army, and profes-

sional classes. In 1958 strong domestic agitation finally led to Syria joining Egypt in the United Arab Republic (UAR), with Nasser as president.

The creation of the UAR stirred up division in Lebanon. Muslim communities celebrated and demonstrated in the streets. Muslim delegations were sent to Syria to congratulate its leaders, who in turn invited Lebanon to join the UAR. Lebanon's ruling Christian community just as strongly wanted the country to remain independent. The divisions between the two communities broke out into a civil war in 1958, during which Syria extended military support to the Muslim nationalists. After the civil war, stability returned to Lebanon, and the Muslims achieved a greater role in politics.

In 1961 a military coup installed leaders who withdrew Syria from the UAR and reestablished its independence. Syria's departure was a blow to Arab unity and Arab military strategy against Israel. Syria was now isolated in the Arab world and less of a threat to Israel. In 1963 army officers established a radical Baath military dictatorship. The government's strong anti-Israeli hostility, reinforced by Soviet support, was motivated by Arab nationalism and rivalry with Egypt. Moreover, it was convenient to be able to redirect domestic pressure against an outside enemy, Israel.

### **Six-Day War**

Years of minor armed conflicts between Syria and Israel were finally followed by the Arab-Israeli War of June, 1967, often called the Six-Day War. Between Syria and Israel, the major causes of the war were Syrian opposition to an Israeli plan to divert the Jordan River, Syrian calls for a war of liberation against Israel, Syrian sponsorship of Palestinian guerrilla raids into Israel (to which Israel retaliated), and an Egyptian-Syrian defense pact of 1966. Israel was militarily superior, but Syria and Egypt were armed with modern Soviet weapons.

In May, 1967, Soviets and Arabs accused Israel of massing troops on its Syrian border. Egypt came to the defense of Syria, moved troops into the Sinai Desert, and closed the Tiran Straits to Israeli shipping. Jordan in turn signed a mutual defense pact with

Egypt. Troop movements among Arab countries convinced Israel an attack was imminent.

Israel attacked first on June 5 and in a stunning surprise destroyed most of Egypt's air force in only three hours. In six days, Israel overran the Sinai, Jordan's West Bank, and East Jerusalem. An Israeli assault easily captured the Golan Heights in southwestern Syria. Israeli troops were only 40 miles from Damascus, the Syrian capital.

After a cease-fire, Syria rejected the Israeli offer to withdraw in

## Syria Time Line

- 1516 Ottoman Empire incorporates Syria.
- 1914 (Aug.) At outbreak of World War I, Ottoman Empire declares war on Great Britain and France.
- 1918 After British troops conquer Syria in war, an Arab military government is established; France takes over coastal area of Lebanon.
- 1920 League of Nations places Syria and Lebanon under French mandate, with Lebanon a separate state.
- 1924 State of Syria is created.
- 1936 Treaty provides for Syrian independence, but France does not ratify treaty.
- 1941 During World War II, France allows German aircraft to use Syrian airbases, and British and Free French forces occupy Syria.
- 1946 British and French withdraw from Syria, which joins United Nations and Arab League.
- 1948 After creation of state of Israel, Syria joins Arab countries invading Israel.
- 1958-1961 Syria joins Egypt in United Arab Republic (UAR), with Gamal Abdel Nasser as president.
- 1961 Military coup restores Syria as an independent country; parliamentary elections are held.
- 1963 Baath Party takes power in coup and removes non-Baath politicians and military officers from office.
- 1967 (June) Israel occupies Syria's Golan Heights during Six-Day War.
- 1970 (Nov.) Military coup brings General Hafiz al-Asad to power.
- 1973 (Oct.) During Yom Kippur War, Syria gains and again loses Golan Heights.
- 1975-1976 Syria enters Lebanon civil war and occupies much of Lebanon.
- 1980 Syria supports Iran during Iran-Iraq War.
- 1982 Israel attacks Syria and PLO in Lebanon, but later withdraws.

return for a permanent peace and insisted on unconditional Israeli withdrawal. The Syria-Israel conflict was firmly locked in place by the Syrian defeat and loss of the Golan Heights, the United States' backing of Israel, and Syria's refusal to sign a peace treaty with Israel.

Syria continued trying to undermine Israel by sponsoring Palestinian guerrilla attacks from Lebanon and building up its army. Israel in turn began retaliatory raids against Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon. With Syria's rejection of any peace

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- 1983 (Dec. 4) Syria shoots down U.S. plane over Lebanon.
  - 1991 Syrian-Lebanese Friendship Treaty establishes joint institutions in Lebanon.
  - 1991 Syria contributes troops to U.N. coalition that liberates Kuwait from Iraqi occupation.
  - 1993 Syria withholds opposition to separate Israeli-Palestinian peace proposed in Oslo Accords.
  - 1996 New Israeli government suspends Syrian-Israeli peace talks.
  - 1998 (Feb.) Syria reopens border with Iraq.
  - 1998 (Feb. 8) President Hafiz al-Asad dismisses his brother Rifaat al-Asad as vice president for national security affairs.
  - 1998 (July 12) Syria reportedly begins testing nerve gas for use in Scud missiles.
  - 1998 (Oct. 21) Turkish and Syrian leaders announce agreement settling dispute over Turkey's charge that Syria has supported antigovernment Turkish Kurds.
  - 1999 (Feb. 11) President Hafiz al-Asad is reelected, unopposed, to fifth seven-year term.
  - 2000 (June 10) Hafiz al-Asad dies.
  - 2000 (July) Bashar al-Asad, son of Hafiz al-Asad, is named president by Syria's People's Assembly.
  - 2000 (July 17) In his inaugural address, Bashar al-Asad repeats Syria's refusal to consider ceding any territory to Israel.
  - 2000 (Sept. 10) Interior ministers of Syria and Turkey meet and agree to cooperate in combating terrorism.
  - 2001 (June) Hezbollah in Lebanon attack sites in Israel and Israel responds by attacking Syrian military sites in the Bekaa Valley.
  - 2002 (Sept.) Bob Graham, chairman of the U.S. Senate Intelligence committee, declares that Syria and Iran are greater threats to the United States than Iraq and maintains that al-Qaeda forces have taken refuge in Syria and in Syrian-controlled Lebanon.
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treaty and continued hostility, Israel adopted a new policy. It would keep the Golan Heights and establish Israeli settlements there.

Israel believed possession of the 500-square-mile Golan Heights was necessary to protect its northern settlements from Syrian attacks. It also provided a buffer zone of security for each country. The Syria-Israel conflict was one of the many flash points of the Cold War, with Syria having Soviet backing and Israel strongly supported by the United States.

### **President Hafiz al-Asad**

In September, 1970, a ten-day civil war broke out in Jordan between the Jordanian army and the Palestine Liberation Army, the military force of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Syria sent in about two hundred tanks to help the Palestinians. Under attack by the Jordanian army, the Syrians lost half their tanks and withdrew. Large numbers of Palestinians were expelled from Jordan. The PLO moved its headquarters and bases to Lebanon, from where PLO guerrillas launched raids against Israel.

The Syrian fiasco in Jordan was a major reason for Syrian general Hafiz al-Asad to mount a coup in November, 1970. Asad became prime minister of Syria and was elected president on March 14, 1971. He achieved a position of absolute power and became the nation's leading figure. Asad belonged to the Alawite sect of Muslims. While they make up only about 12 percent of Syria's population of about 17 million people, under Asad the minority group ruled the country and repressed its opponents. Under Asad's leadership, Syria enjoyed its most stable period since independence.

Asad continued Syria's strong anti-Israeli policy and built up its military with Soviet aid in preparation for further war. Under Asad, Syria emerged as the leading Arab military power and the only country that posed a real military threat to Israel. In November, 1970, Syria and Egypt signed a military agreement and began planning strategy. Despite the continued military buildups, Israel did not believe the Arabs would attack.

Syria and Egypt mounted a surprise attack against Israel on October 6, 1973. This war is often called the Yom Kippur War after

the Jewish holy day of that name. Syria and Egypt defeated Israeli troops and overran fortifications in the Sinai Desert and Golan Heights. Israel counterattacked and quickly recaptured the Golan and marched farther into Syria, stopping only twenty-five miles from Damascus. Before a cease-fire was in place, Israel also crossed the Suez Canal into Egypt.

After the cease-fire agreement, Israel withdrew from the new areas it had captured. Although defeated in the war, the prestige of Asad and Syria increased in the Arab world. Asad presented himself as the great champion of the Palestinian cause. Israel continued to increase settlements in the Golan Heights and in 1981 annexed the occupied territory.

### **Civil War in Lebanon**

The Arab defeat in the 1967 Six-Day War had shattered the peace in Lebanon. After the war, Palestinian refugees fled the West Bank of Jordan and settled in camps in southern Lebanon. From these camps, radical Palestinian guerrillas—chiefly sponsored by Syria—raided northern Israel. In 1968 Israel began a policy of instant retaliation against countries sheltering Palestinian guerrillas. Israel began attacking villages and refugee camps in southern Lebanon and Syria that it suspected of harboring Palestinian guerrillas.

By 1969 Palestinian guerrillas had created a state within a state and become a separate political and military force in Lebanese politics. In May, 1973, renewed fighting broke out between the PLO and the Lebanese army. The Palestinians armed themselves and their leftist Muslim allies with help from Syria, Iraq, and Libya. The Lebanese Christians, afraid that Muslims would take over the country, armed their own militias in defense.

Armed clashes in Lebanon in 1974 and 1975 led to a full civil war. Although it is somewhat a simplification, the conflict was primarily between the Lebanese Front, composed mainly of Maronite Christians, and the Muslim Lebanese National Movement with its Palestinian allies. The civil war posed a threat to Syrian interests, for Syria wished to defend the unity of Lebanon. Communal and religious strife in Lebanon could produce similar conflicts in Syria itself.



Either outcome of the civil war would be disastrous for Syria. If the Maronites were victorious or suffered a limited defeat and set up a tiny state, it would be an anti-Arab, pro-Israeli Christian state. If the National Movement and Palestinians were victorious, Lebanon would become a radical Muslim state that would likely provoke an Israeli invasion and takeover of southern Lebanon. An Israeli presence in Lebanon would threaten southern Syria and its defenses on the Golan front. An Israeli-Syrian war would be likely.

Because Syria saw itself as the strongest Arab supporter of the Palestinians, it initially backed the National Movement and Palestinian alliance. In January, 1976, after a number of Maronite victories, Syria sent Palestinian troops into Lebanon to aid the Muslims. In March, 1976, the Lebanese army began to disintegrate as officers and soldiers mutinied and joined up with Christian or National Movement forces.

The army breakup was a result of its leaders' support of the Maronites and the unwillingness of Muslim soldiers to attack their own communities. With the disintegration of the army, the one institution that could have prevented total anarchy and civil war was gone.

When a March, 1976, cease-fire broke down, Syria became desperate and tried unsuccessfully to get a government of national reconciliation formed. To prevent either side from winning the civil war, in June, 1976, Asad sent Syrian troops into Lebanon against the Palestinian-National Movement alliance. Syria's goals were to prevent the PLO from emerging as a regional power or independent state, to put Lebanon under Syrian protection and dominance, to use Lebanon as a means of confronting Israel, and to strengthen Syria's leadership role in the Arab world.

### **Lebanon's Civil War Ends**

Asad hoped to end the fighting quickly but was met by stiff resistance from the Palestinians. By mid-October, Syria controlled large parts of Lebanon. As the Syrians advanced toward Beirut, the prospect of prolonged fighting between Syrians and Palestinians arose.

Saudi Arabia decided that the war must end and in October, 1976, called for an Arab summit. The major Arab countries—Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Kuwait—decided that settlement of the Lebanese civil war would depend on Syria. The summit called for a peacekeeping force primarily consisting of Syrian soldiers already in Lebanon. In November Syrian troops entered Lebanon's capital, Beirut, and the civil war was over.

The Syrian intervention was approved or silently accepted by the international community, a large part of Lebanese society, the United States, and Israel. They all viewed the Syrian presence as the only way to prevent the complete disintegration of Lebanon. Syria's intervention, especially their attempts to eliminate the PLO, at first brought forth strong criticism from the Arab world. Asad's alliance with the Maronite Christians was unpopular with

*Image Not Available*

Muslims in Syria. After the Arab summit, however, Asad's prestige increased at home and throughout the Arab world.

Politically, the intervention was a mixed success for Syria. It prevented a Maronite victory and partition of Lebanon. By blocking a Palestine-National Movement victory, it prevented an Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon. Syria had stopped the civil war but had not eliminated the underlying causes of strife. Factions were not completely eliminated, and Syria did not face the problem of how to get itself out of Lebanon. In Syria one consequence of intervention was increased antigovernment violence lasting through 1982. By 1984 Syria was the dominant power in Lebanon. Syria's role in Lebanese politics was solidified by the 1991 Lebanese-Syrian Friendship Treaty.

While Syria was in control of most of Lebanon, radical Palestinians in southern Lebanon were still mounting attacks on Israel. In 1981 a new, hard-line Israeli cabinet resolved to remove the Syrian and PLO presence from Lebanon and try to install a pro-Israeli government. In June, 1982, Israeli forces moved into Lebanon and partially occupied Beirut.

Israel's invasion was initially successful. However, by means of a guerrilla war of attrition, in 1985 Syria finally forced the withdrawal of the Israeli army to a "security zone" in southern Lebanon. As a result, in addition to heavy casualties, Israel lost its political influence in Lebanon. Again in 1993 and 1996 Israel unsuccessfully launched strikes against Lebanon to destroy Palestinian guerrillas and remove Syrian influence in the country.

Despite the Israeli efforts, Syrian influence in Lebanon continued and even increased. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Syria played a central part in the domestic politics of Lebanon and Syrian involvement was essential to maintaining the delicate balance between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon. In 1998, the Christian General Emile Lahoud was elected president of Lebanon with Syrian backing. When, in 2001, serious conflict arose between President Lahoud and the Muslim prime minister, Rafiq al-Hariri, Syrian pressure convinced the two leaders to continue working together.

Israel decided to withdraw unconditionally from Lebanon in May, 2000. However, conflicts between Syria and Israel continued

in Lebanon. In June, 2001, the Hezbollah attacked sites in Israel and Israel responded by attacking Syrian military sites in the Bekaa Valley.

### **Persian Gulf War**

Even before the fall of the shah of Iran in 1979, Syria supported the exiled opposition leader, Ayatollah Khomeini. Syria was the first Arab country to recognize the new Islamic revolutionary government, which it regarded as an important partner against Israel.

Asad and Iraqi president Saddam Hussein were rivals for leadership in Arab world. When Iraq invaded Iran in 1980, Syria extended political, economic, and military support to Iran, especially by shutting down Iraq's oil pipeline across Syria. This support of Iran isolated Syria in the Arab world, and no Arab states aided Syria against Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

After 1988 Syria expanded its two-track policy toward Israel. Syria offered Israel peace in return for Israel's full withdrawal from occupied territories and rights for the Palestinian people. At the same time, Syria developed its military to gain a strategic balance with Israel and continued its anti-Israeli propaganda campaign. Israel, though, remained unwilling to give up the Golan, even in exchange for peace.

Because of Syria's isolation in the Arab world, peace between Egypt and Israel, and the collapse of its superpower backer the Soviet Union, Syria slowly began to adopt a more flexible policy toward Israel and to improve relations with the United States. The United States did not, however, remove Syria from the State Department's list of countries that sponsored terrorism.

When Hussein invaded Kuwait in August, 1990, Syria was the first Arab country to condemn the invasion and call for the removal of Iraqi forces. From the beginning of the crisis, Syria backed all United Nations resolutions and led Arab countries in pledging and sending troops to join the U.N. coalition to defend Saudi Arabia during the Persian Gulf War in early 1991.

At home Asad faced opposition for his support of the U.N. action. Many Syrians objected to fighting a war against another Arab country and especially fighting alongside the United States,

which Syria usually condemned for its support of Israel. Participation in the anti-Iraq coalition strengthened Syria's position and prestige with the Arab Persian Gulf states. It also weakened the domestic opposition, strengthened Syria's control over 90 percent of Lebanon without objection from the West, and improved Syria's relations with the United States.

When the United States began to call for renewed international intervention in Iraq in 2002, it seemed unlikely that Syria would support a second anti-Iraqi action. A new invasion had little support throughout the Middle East and Syrian relations with Iraq had improved considerably in the late 1990's. Moreover, some in the United States maintained that Syria itself was a major part of the problem of world terrorism. In September, 2002, the chairman of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee, Bob Graham, declared that Syria and Iran were greater threats than Iraq. Graham argued that forces of the al-Qaeda network from Afghanistan had taken refuge in Syria and in Syrian-controlled areas of Lebanon.

### **Turkey and Continuing Conflict with Israel**

Syria still faces potential conflict with its northern neighbor Turkey. Relations have been strained since Turkey annexed the port city of Iskenderun in 1939. Since the 1980's Turkey has undergone an eastern revolt by Kurdish Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) guerrillas.

Turkey has accused Syria of supporting PKK terrorists and sheltering them in Syria. Syria fears that Turkey's Anatolia Project, which completed a dam on the Euphrates River in 1989, could be used to deprive it of needed water. Indeed, Turkey has threatened to stop water unless Syria stops aiding the PKK. An Israel-Turkey military treaty that was signed in February, 1996, was seen as anti-Arab. Syria worried about being encircled by unfriendly states.

In 1998, the concern about encirclement created by the tactical alliance of Israel and Turkey led Hafiz al-Assad to seek to markedly improve relations with Iraq. Syria and Iraq established a free trade zone along their common border, a Syrian cabinet minister visited Iraq, and an oil pipeline from Iraqi fields across Syria to

the Mediterranean was reopened. Syrian ties to Iraq continued to grow warmer even after the death of Hafiz al-Asad in 2000. However, although Syria remained wary of Turkey, the Turkish and Syrian interior ministers did meet on September 10 and agreed to cooperate in combating terrorism in their two countries.

After the Persian Gulf War Syria agreed to participate in the direct Arab-Israeli peace talks sponsored by the United States. The talks began in Madrid, Spain, in October, 1991, and later moved to the United States. Despite its participation in the peace process, Syria continued an impressive military buildup.

It is not clear whether participation indicated any deep change in attitude toward Israel or merely Syria's hope that it can find ways to contain Israel through diplomacy instead of through united Arab cooperation or its own military power. Syria may drag out the peace process to gain time to improve its military position.

Syria's condition for a comprehensive peace with Israel was that Israel completely withdraw from the Golan Heights. This was Asad's principle of "total peace for total withdrawal." This principle continued to direct Syrian policy toward Israel after Hafiz al-Asad's death. When President Bashar al-Asad made his inaugural address on July 17, 2000, he repeated clearly his government's refusal to consider giving up any part of this territory to Israel. Israel, however, remained unlikely to return the Golan Heights because of its settlers, the desire for a buffer zone between Syria, and the area's water resources. For Asad, who was defense minister during the 1967 Six-Day War, the Golan is a highly symbolic part of Syria that must be returned. Thus, as long as the Golan is in dispute, peace between Israel and Syria is unlikely.

*Thomas McGeary*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

A thorough overview of Syria's history, people, economy, government, and politics is *Syria: A Country Study* (1988), edited by Thomas Collelo. John F. Devlin provides a more general overview in *Syria: Modern State in an Ancient Land* (1983). As the domi-

nant figure in Syria, Hafiz al-Asad's career provides good insight into Syrian foreign relations. Good studies are Moshe Ma'oz's, *Asad: The Sphinx of Damascus: A Political Biography* (1988), and, more briefly, Daniel Pipes's "Understanding Asad," in *Middle East Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (December, 1994). A good overview of Syria's objectives in the Middle East is Michael Eisenstadt's *Arming for Peace? Syria's Elusive Quest for "Strategic Parity"* (1992). Raymond Hinnebusch discusses the efforts of the Syrian regime to modernize the country in *Syria: Revolution from Above* (2001). Neil Quilliam considers Syria's part in the modern world system in the wake of the Persian Gulf War in *Syria and the New World Order* (1999).

Syria's role in Lebanon is described in Adeed I. Dawisha, *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis* (1980); the chapter "The Syrian Intervention" in David Gilmour, *Lebanon: The Fractured Country* (1983); Reuven Avi-Ran, *The Syrian Involvement in Lebanon Since 1975* (1991); and Walid Khalidi, *Conflict and Violence in Lebanon: Confrontation in the Middle East* (1979).

Syria's conflict with Israel and the difficulties of achieving peace are discussed in Aryeh Shalev, *Israel and Syria: Peace and Security on the Golan* (1994); Raymond Cohen, "Negotiations across the Golan Heights," in *Middle East Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (September, 1994); and Alon Ben-Meir, "Why Syria Must Regain the Golan to Make Peace," in *Middle East Policy* 5, no. 3 (September, 1997). Syria's role in the Kuwait crisis and entry into the new peace process is described in Daniel Pipes, *Damascus Courts the West: Syrian Politics, 1989-1991* (1991).

Several books for younger readers are Martha N. Kessler, *Syria: Fragile Mosaic of Power* (1987); Stephen C. Pelletiere, *Asad and the Peace Process: The Pivotal Role of Lebanon* (1995); and Charles Patterson, *Hafiz al-Asad of Syria* (1991).

## TAIWAN

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*An East Asian island nation, Taiwan faces unique problems both at home and abroad. Although it is a fully functioning independent nation, it is generally considered to be part of China. Indeed, its rulers claim to be China's legitimate government. At the same time, the communist government of the nearby People's Republic of China claims Taiwan as a province. Large political and economic differences between the two countries make the possibility of peaceful reconciliation between them appear unlikely. Taiwan's prosperous people are divided on whether they should reunify with the mainland, remain entirely separate, or negotiate a new type of relationship with mainland China. These conflicts spring from the islands' history: management by China's Ching Dynasty, occupation by Japan, participation in China's revolution in the early twentieth century, Taiwan's return to China after World War II, development under Chiang Kai-shek and his son as the leaders of the Republic of China, and the evolution to a democratic government and international economic power.*

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**L**ying across the Taiwan Strait, ninety miles east of mainland China, Taiwan is an island nation just under 14,000 square miles in area—approximately the size of the U.S. state of Maryland—with dozens of smaller islands. Its government controls the big island of Taiwan (formerly known as Formosa), twenty-one nearby islands, the sixty-four Penghu Islands, twelve Quemoy Islands, and nineteen Matsu Islands. Taiwan's total population in 2002 was 22.5 million people.

### **Early History**

In the year 607 C.E. China's Sui Dynasty began sending officials to Taiwan to govern the island. The dynasties that followed did the same. In 1624 the Dutch occupied a portion of the island, but Chinese forces drove the Europeans out in 1661. In 1683 the Ching Dynasty began to pay attention to Taiwan, building roads and encouraging farming and trade among the small population. Most inhabitants were Kaoshan, a group with its own language.



## Profile of Taiwan

*Official name:* Republic of China

*Autonomous since:* 1948

*Location:* East Asia, off of China coast

*Area:* 13,892 square miles

*Capital:* Taipei

*Population:* 22.5 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Mandarin Chinese

*Major religions:* Buddhism; Confucianism; Taoism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$386 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* machinery; plastics; synthetic fibers

*Military expenditures:* US\$8.04 billion (2001)

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By 1811 two million Han people, China's majority group, lived in Taiwan. The area they cultivated continued to grow. During the 1860's Taiwan opened harbors and began to trade officially with other countries. Foreign influence entered the islands. In 1874 Japan invaded Taiwan, but the Ching Dynasty defeated Japan's forces. The invasion persuaded China to strengthen the island's coastal defenses. Taiwan became more important in China's eyes, and in 1885 the Ching Dynasty made Taiwan a province of China. The dynasty modernized Taiwan, making it a model province.

The Chinese people and government considered Taiwan a fertile and rich province. Because Taiwan also controlled access to seven of China's coastal provinces, China promoted rapid development in Taiwan. China built three major roads in south, north, and central Taiwan. On the plains the roads were ten feet wide. In the mountains the roads were narrower, but never less than six feet wide. Along the roads the government built forts that housed soldiers and served as agricultural centers.

China also established schools for the mountain people, the Kaoshan, and improved their living standards. The Kaoshan had not developed a written language for their dialect, so the language of instruction was Chinese.

Until this time China had restricted the flow of mainland residents to Taiwan. Now it began to promote migration by providing free boat transportation, as well as farming equipment, cattle, and seeds. Agricultural production increased, especially rice, tea, and coffee production. As Taiwan's population grew, China divided its four counties into eight counties.

New machinery allowed the development of large-scale coal mining in the north. Taiwan also had smaller mines for copper and gold. Shipping increased, with new steamships coming and going between Taiwan and Fuchien province. When China began developing its navy, it made Taiwan its major southern naval base.

In 1884 France sent its navy to invade Taiwan. The Ching Dynasty sent Liu Ming Chuan, an official in Fuchien, to lead the re-



sistance. He defeated the French and stayed in Taiwan as the governor for six years. During that period he completed many building projects and reorganized the provincial government into eleven counties. He created the foundation for modern Taiwan.

The government set aside land for the Kaoshans and did not permit soldiers to go there. The government built schools, and in Taipei it established a free boarding school that taught basic mathematics, Chinese, the Kaoshan dialect, and etiquette. All development funds had come from China rather than Taiwan. Liu Ming Chuan began to tax commerce and industry to raise money for improvements, such as roads, schools, agriculture, and new industry.

During this period the government began constructing a railroad running from north to south. The section from Chilung to Taipei was completed in 1891. The section from Taipei to Hsinchu was completed in 1893. The government bought additional steamships, and these carried trading goods as far as Southeast Asia. Wires were strung to carry electricity from north to south and across the strait to Fuchien province.

The government promoted the planting of tea, sugarcane, cotton, and mulberry trees, whose leaves were valuable as food for silkworms. It also strengthened Taiwan's irrigation program.

The government created schools to prepare people for jobs in the new economy. Subjects taught included foreign languages, business, political science, and law.

### **Japanese Rule**

In 1894 Korea asked the Ching Dynasty to send troops to stop the chaos there. The dynasty sent the troops and, as the 1885 Treaty of Tientsin required, notified Japan of the action. Japan also sent many troops to Korea, supposedly to protect Japanese citizens there. This precipitated a war between China and Japan over control of Korea. Soon the Japanese army occupied the Korean capital, Seoul. Japan defeated the Ching Dynasty's army and navy.

In August, 1894, Japan occupied Pyongyang (later the capital of North Korea). In September Japan's army crossed the Yalu River into China and occupied two important cities, Dairen and

Port Arthur. In 1894 the Japanese navy defeated the Chinese navy in the Yellow Sea on China's east coast. In February, 1895, Japan occupied China's Liaotung Peninsula and attacked Weihaiwei, a Chinese coastal region on the Shantung Peninsula.

China accepted Japan's terms for peace on April 17, 1895, the two countries signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki. One of its provisions was that China cede Taiwan to Japan.

### **Resistance to Japanese Occupation**

During the treaty negotiations Japanese warships appeared in waters off Taiwan. The Ching Dynasty did not want to give up Taiwan. Public opinion was set against it. Local government officials took petitions to the Ching Dynasty in Beijing pleading that it not give up Taiwan. When Taiwan's residents heard Japan was going to take over, many proclaimed they would rather die than live under Japanese rule.

Nevertheless, the Ching Dynasty's troops returned to the mainland. The civilians organized a volunteer army to fight the Japanese. However, this force lacked training and weapons. In May, 1895, Japanese forces landed in the northern harbor of Chilung, where volunteers held out for a month before the city fell. Taipei then fell immediately, but the volunteers continued to resist in the countryside. Many died, but they forced the Japanese to send in many more troops, who landed on Taiwan's north, west, and south shores. The volunteers went down to defeat in four months, but their heroism became legendary.

During the fifty years through which Japan occupied Taiwan, resistance continued, though mostly in small ways. As Japan industrialized its own economy, it promoted agriculture development in Taiwan. The Japanese also mined aluminum in Taiwan. The island's major products were aluminum, bananas, camphor, rice, sugar, and tea. Japan completed the railroad running north and south. The Japanese government encouraged the Taiwanese to study medicine and agriculture, but not politics or law.

### **Sun Yat-Sen's Revolution**

The Ching Dynasty signed many treaties forcing China to cede territories and pay large indemnities. These impoverished the

Chinese people and gave China a low standing in the world. Many Chinese turned against the government. When China and Japan were fighting in 1894, Sun Yat-Sen, a young medical doctor, began planning a revolution to overturn the Ching Dynasty. For their own safety, he and others went abroad to plan the revolution.

Sun Yat-Sen established the Hsing Chung Hui, a political party later called Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), while he was living in Hawaii, where his mother and older brother lived, and where he had attended school. Many Chinese in America, Canada, Asia, and Europe strongly supported this party; however, his revolution took seventeen years to complete.

After more than twenty battles between Hsing Chung Hui and the Ching Dynasty, Sun Yat-Sen's revolutionaries overturned the government on October 10, 1911, and established the Republic of China (ROC). It was the first republic in Asia.

The Hsing Chung Hui had branches in Taiwan, and party members participated in Sun's revolution. One of the ROC's poli-

## Taiwan Time Line

- 1683      China's Ching Dynasty begins to develop Taiwan.
- 1874      Ching Dynasty wards off Japanese invasion.
- 1884      Ching Dynasty wards off French invasion.
- 1885      Taiwan becomes province of China.
- 1891      China builds section of Taiwan's first railroad.
- 1895      China cedes Taiwan to Japan after losing Sino-Japanese War.
- 1911      (Oct. 10) Sun Yat-sen leads overthrow of Ching Dynasty and creation of Republic of China (ROC).
- 1928      Chiang Kai-shek unifies Republic of China; Taiwan remains under Japan.
- 1931      Japan invades northeastern China.
- 1935      Chiang Kai-shek defeats Communist Party army.
- 1937      China declares war on Japan.
- 1945      Republic of China becomes one of five permanent members of new U.N. Security Council.
- 1945      After defeat in World War II, Japan returns Taiwan to China.
- 1946      Civil war breaks out in China.

cies was to recover Taiwan from Japan, but the new government lacked the power. Instead Japan continued to invade China, which had many warlords, who controlled both small and large territories and whose allegiance to the central government existed only in words. In 1926 Chiang Kai-shek led the Northern Expedition against the warlords. By 1928 he had unified the Republic of China.

Neither Japan nor Russia wanted to see China become unified and powerful. Japan made unreasonable demands of China. In 1931 Japan's army invaded and occupied the northeastern part of China known as Manchuria. The following year the Japanese established a puppet government there. Civil war divided China, draining its power to resist Japan.

### **Communist Revolution**

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which had been founded in Shanghai in 1921, formed an army to fight for political power. During the 1930's the ROC government sent an army to

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|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1949 | (Oct.) Communist Party under Mao Zedong completes conquest of most of China and creates People's Republic of China (PRC); ROC government moves to Taiwan.       |
| 1968 | ROC extends compulsory education from six years to nine years.                                                                                                  |
| 1971 | PRC replaces ROC on U.N. Security Council; ROC withdraws from United Nations.                                                                                   |
| 1975 | (Apr. 5) Chiang Kai-shek dies.                                                                                                                                  |
| 1978 | United States announces discontinuation of its diplomatic relations with ROC.                                                                                   |
| 1978 | Chiang Ching-kuo becomes president of ROC.                                                                                                                      |
| 1983 | Nongovernmental representatives of PRC and ROC begin talks on possible reunification.                                                                           |
| 1988 | (Jan. 13) President Chiang Ching-kuo dies and is succeeded by Lee Teng-hui.                                                                                     |
| 1990 | (Oct. 21) Taiwan and Japan clash over uninhabited Senkaku Island.                                                                                               |
| 1992 | (Dec. 19) First fully democratic Taiwanese elections return Nationalist Party to power, while showing rising support for minority Democratic Progressive Party. |
| 1995 | ROC extends free health care coverage to all citizens.                                                                                                          |
| 1995 | Nongovernmental representatives of PRC and ROC stop talks.                                                                                                      |
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*(continued)*

put down its rebellion. In 1935 the CCP's defeated army retreated to Yen-an in the northern part of Shanhsi Province. This retreat was called the Long March, during which tens of thousands of marchers died.

Chiang Kai-shek wanted to settle China's internal problems before trying to oust Japan from Manchuria. In 1936, when he went on an inspection tour to Shanhsi, local military officers attacked his field headquarters, captured him, and demanded that he cooperate with the Communist Party. They also asked that he deal immediately with the Japanese invasion.

On July 7, 1937, the Japanese army attacked China's army near Beijing (then known as Peking). The Chinese government responded by declaring war against Japan. The war continued until World War II ended in 1945.

Meanwhile, in December, 1941, Japan mounted an attack on the U.S. Navy base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. War quickly broke out throughout the Pacific Ocean. On January 2, 1942, the Allied nations asked Chiang Kai-shek to serve as supreme commander

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### **Taiwan Time Line** (*continued*)

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|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1995 | Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui's visit to the United States provokes protests from Beijing.                                                                        |
| 1996 | (Mar. 15) China begins test firing missiles in East China Sea thirty miles from Taiwan in attempt to influence Taiwan's national election.                           |
| 1996 | (Mar. 23) Lee Teng-hui's reelection defeats China's attempt to intimidate Taiwanese voters.                                                                          |
| 1996 | (Oct. 10) Taiwan and China clash with Japanese navy over disputed islands.                                                                                           |
| 1997 | (Jan.) Lee Teng-hui's attempts to eliminate provincial governments are interpreted as anti-Beijing move.                                                             |
| 1997 | (May 1) China and Taiwan resume direct shipping services.                                                                                                            |
| 1998 | Nongovernmental representatives of PRC and ROC resume talks.                                                                                                         |
| 1998 | (July 14) In unofficial visit, Zhu Lilan becomes first Chinese government minister to go to Taiwan since 1949.                                                       |
| 1998 | (Oct. 14) China and Taiwan renew cooperative talks.                                                                                                                  |
| 1998 | (Oct. 14) Koo Chen-fu, Taiwan's chief officer in charge of relations with China, visits China to conduct highest-level talks between the two governments since 1949. |
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in China's war zone. He directed the Allied armies in China, Vietnam, and Thailand.

World War II cost China the lives of millions of people—civilians as well as soldiers—and much of its industry. The United States and Great Britain wanted to strengthen their friendship with China, so they cancelled many earlier treaties and approved new, more equitable treaties.

In November, 1943, Chiang Kai-shek met with U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston S. Churchill in Cairo, Egypt. There they announced that after the war ended, Manchuria, Taiwan, and the Penghu Islands would be returned to the Republic of China and that Korea would become independent.

In October, 1944, China joined Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States in announcing a plan to establish the United Nations. When the United Nations began its work in 1945, the Republic of China became one of five members of the Security Council, its central deliberative organization.

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|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1998 | (Dec. 5) Ruling party makes gains in nationwide local elections.                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1999 | (Jan. 27) Establishment of formal diplomatic ties with Macedonia raises number of nations recognizing Taiwan to twenty-eight.                                                                                                                                             |
| 1999 | (Mar. 2) Prime Minister Vincent Siew survives no-confidence vote in legislature.                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1999 | (July) Lee Teng-hui's belligerent remarks about Taiwan and China regarding each other as "separate states" raise tensions between the two countries.                                                                                                                      |
| 2000 | (Mar.) Democratic Progressive Party candidate Chen Shui-bian is elected president, ending more than fifty years of KMT rule.                                                                                                                                              |
| 2001 | (Apr.) U.S. president George W. Bush restates American support for Taiwan by agreeing to supply Taiwan with a wide range of weapons and military goods.                                                                                                                   |
| 2002 | (Aug.) At a Taipei rally, President Chen Shui-bian and former president Lee Teng-hui make pro-independence remarks and Chen calls for a referendum on independence; Chen later qualifies his remarks but mainland China responds with anger and veiled threats to invade. |
| 2002 | (Sept.) Authorities of mainland China accuse Taiwan-based members of the Falun Gong sect of hacking into Taiwan's satellite television signals to send messages criticizing the communist government.                                                                     |
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### **Taiwan Returns to China**

After Japan's surrender to the Allies in August, 1945, the Chinese government sent military and government officials to Taiwan. On October 10 the Taiwanese celebrated their first Double Ten (tenth month, tenth day) national holiday, and Taiwan became a province of the Republic of China.

Eight years of war against the Japanese left much of Taiwan, like the rest of China, in ruins. The people needed to recover, and the government needed to rebuild cities, industry, agriculture, education, and every aspect of life. Chiang Kai-shek held a conference on reconstruction in Chungching, to which he invited all the political parties' leaders. These included the Communist Party's Mao Zedong.

The Chungching conference decided that China would follow Sun Yat-Sen's three principles: democracy, nationalism, and national livelihood. Moreover, it decided that China's government was to be democratic. To that end, it was to hold a political conference immediately, and the government was to call a national assembly to approve a constitution.

The conference also decided that the national military should be reorganized so it belonged to the nation as whole, rather than to parties. When the government tried to carry out these decisions, the CCP refused to cooperate. It kept its own army.

Meanwhile, in January, 1946, the government held its promised political conference, to which it and each political party sent representatives. The conference scheduled a national assembly for May, but when the CCP rejected this date, the meeting was postponed until November. All parties except the CCP attended the assembly, which approved a new constitution. For the first time in its long history, China was governed under constitutional law. The assembly elected Chiang Kai-shek president and Lee Tsung-Jen vice president.

The CCP responded to these developments by launching a civil war. As the situation deteriorated, the United States sent General George C. Marshall to mediate. Marshall made great efforts before giving up and returning to the United States in January, 1947. Because most Americans blamed the Kuomintang for not compromising, the United States cut off aid to the new gov-

ernment of China. The Soviet Union sent aid to the CCP, so it had more resources for fighting the civil war.

Vice President Lee thought that if the government compromised with the CCP, the government would again receive U.S. aid. He publicly called for negotiations with the CCP and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek step down. In January, 1949, Chiang Kai-shek turned the government over to Lee, who immediately sent delegations to negotiate with the CCP. However, the CCP responded by telling the government to surrender. Instead of responding to this ultimatum, Lee went to Hong Kong and then the United States, leaving the Chinese government without a leader.

In April, 1949, the CCP army moved from northern China, crossed the great Yangtze River, and took over most of China. The republican government shifted its base to Taipei on Taiwan. In July the CCP leaders declared they would favor the Soviet Union and not the United States. On October 1 the CCP established a new government, the People's Republic of China (PRC), in Beijing.



*Chiang Kai-shek inspecting Nationalist Chinese troops in 1952. (National Archives)*

Under the CCP, China adopted a new national flag and national anthem. The Soviet Union immediately established diplomatic relations with the new government. From that moment, China technically has had two governments: the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan and the People's Republic of China in Beijing.

On October 25, 1949, the People's Republic of China attacked the Quemoy Islands, strategic outposts off China's coast, across from Taiwan. However, the Taiwanese government held off the invasion.

When the Korean War started in 1950, the CCP army soon went to assist North Korea against South Korea and United Nations forces. For several years the Korean War kept the Chinese army occupied. However, in August, 1958, China again sent a large force against Quemoy. After two months of hard fighting, the Taiwanese army again succeeded in defending the islands. Afterward, the PRC army shelled Quemoy several times a week; however, these attacks were largely symbolic.

### **Political Development**

When the government of the Republic of China relocated to Taipei in 1949, it had no official leader. As China prepared to attack Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, China's position in the world remained uncertain. The Taiwanese legislature and national assembly requested that Chiang Kai-shek return as president. After he accepted he was re-elected four times and eventually served as president of Taiwan for twenty-five years. During his last few years as president his son Chiang Ching-kuo served as premier. In 1978 Chiang Ching-kuo became president; he was re-elected in 1984.

As president, Chiang Kai-shek focused on three major tasks: strengthening the constitutional foundation, maintaining the legislature and national assembly, and carrying on the system of self-government. He reorganized Taiwan's administrative regions into sixteen counties to make elections and self-government easier.

Five major cities came under the provincial governments' control. Two big cities came under the central government's control.

The citizens of Taiwan now had self-government, with residents electing the county heads and mayors. The central government's legislature and the national assembly became stronger. Many Taiwanese initially did not understand the importance of voting, but gradually more and more went to the polls and the quality of their representatives improved.

### **Economic Development**

By the late 1990's Taiwan had the third-largest foreign exchange reserve of any country in the world. It also was the seventh-largest trading partner of the United States. Its per capita income level was more than US\$13,000—much less than that of the United States, but two-thirds more than that of East Asia as a whole and three times more than that of Eastern Europe.

Some have called Taiwan's rapid economic development since the 1950's an economic miracle. The territory Taiwan controls is small, and its natural resources are limited. The basis of the country's successful economic development lies in government economic policies. These are based on Sun Yat-Sen's principle of people's livelihood, which rests on private ownership.

The Taiwanese government sold or leased land to tenant farmers at low prices and made large landholders reduce their rents to the remaining tenant farmers. Landlords with huge holdings had to sell part of their property to tenant farmers. The land reform process was mainly peaceful, and both the landlords and the small farmers ultimately benefited. Landlords received a great deal of money, which they invested heavily in industry and commerce. Meanwhile, the growing class of land-owning small farmers increased Taiwan's overall production of rice, tea, and sugar cane.

### **Social Changes**

In 1950 nearly three-quarters of Taiwanese lived on farms, and most farmers were poor. Land reform and industrialization raised farming income, and many Taiwanese moved to cities, which developed a large middle class. By 1977 Taiwan's cities were home to nearly half of the country's people. The cities' population continued to grow, but new residents brought new prob-

lems: insufficient housing and schools, inadequate water supplies and sewers, heavy motor traffic, and air pollution.

As Taiwan's economy developed, increasing numbers of people attended college. The middle class grew as many more people became involved in business, engineering, construction, law, medicine, accounting, and other occupations of a modern economy. The new middle class became the backbone of the industrialization and modernization movement.

Women especially benefited from the new economy and growing opportunities. In traditional Chinese society women had almost no power in the government, the economy, or even within their own homes. The Taiwanese government legislated sexual equality, but the laws alone did not give women the same opportunities for education and jobs that men had. After the government began building schools, however, education and employment opportunities for women improved dramatically. Sexual equality moved closer to being a reality.

In 1950 Taiwan had no organized government system of social services. Soon, however, the national government established a workers' insurance program that helped to create job-placement offices and unemployment and disability payments. Later the government established children's health care programs, family planning, disability insurance for government employees, pensions for the elderly, and income for persons with disabilities. During the 1990's the government passed laws helping workers and employers negotiate with each other.

Taiwan also had no health care system in 1950, and trained physicians and hospitals were rare. The government began to establish clinics in the countryside and hospitals in towns and cities. The health services gave special attention to preventing the spread of infectious diseases and inspecting food and water supplies. By the 1990's the average life expectancies of Taiwanese had risen to 71.9 years for men and 77.9 for women. In 1995 the government began providing free health care to all citizens.

In 1968 the government extended compulsory education from six years to nine years. It also increased the number of professional schools, universities, and graduate schools. The universities took on much more advanced research, particularly in tech-

nology, offering advanced degrees in increasing numbers of subjects. Students continued to study traditional Chinese culture, but they also increased emphasis on Western culture. The government sent many graduate students abroad for advanced study, and later they also sent undergraduates abroad. The universities also invited foreign scholars to teach in Taiwan.

### **Taiwan and the United Nations**

The Republic of China was both a founding member of the United Nations and one of the five original members of the U.N. Security Council. In 1950 the Soviet Union began annually objecting to seating Taiwan as a member, arguing that the People's Republic of China should replace it. Every year, however, the U.N. General Assembly turned down the Soviet motion.

Over time, world attitudes toward China changed, and the United States eventually saw the country as a potential ally against the Soviet Union, rather than as an enemy. In 1971 several countries wanted to admit China to the United Nations to serve as a balance against the Soviet Union. This influenced Taiwan's position at the United Nations.

When the U.N. General Assembly voted to admit the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, the Taiwanese ambassador announced Taiwan's withdrawal from the United Nations and walked out. Since then, Taiwan has ranked as the largest country in the world that is not a member of the United Nations.

In late 1978 the United States announced it would establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China the following year and would withdraw its recognition of the Republic of China as China's legitimate government. Nevertheless, the United States maintained cultural and economic ties with Taiwan. Although the United States does not have an embassy in Taiwan, it maintains the American Institute there; the institute performs many of the functions of an embassy.

Similarly, Taiwan does not have an embassy in the United States but maintains the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representatives Office in the United States of America (TECRO) in Washington, D.C. It, too, functions like an embassy. TECRO has more

than ten branches in major American cities, and these function like consulates.

Despite its international setbacks, Taiwan continued to evolve politically. Under Chiang Ching-kuo, the country made four important reforms. It increased direct participation of the public in electing members of parliament; it removed martial law; it increased freedom to start political parties and establish new media; and it restored the right of Taiwanese to travel to mainland China.

### **Taiwan After Chiang Ching-Kuo**

After Chiang Ching-kuo's death in early 1988, his vice president, Lee Teng-Hui, succeeded him as president. In 1996 he was elected to a new term, which ended in 2000. Born in Taiwan, Lee studied agricultural economics in Taiwan and earned a doctorate at Cornell University in New York. Under his administration Taiwan made major changes. The government extended freedom of speech, set up a new system of parliamentary elections, revised the constitution to permit direct election of presidents, and opened talks (through nongovernmental organizations) with the People's Republic of China.

Of the more than one hundred political parties in Taiwan, only three have significant influence. The Kuomintang (KMT), the party created by Sun Yat-Sen in 1894, remained the ruling party in Taiwan until the election of March, 2000. Although the KMT continued to maintain a majority in the legislature, the party's loss of the presidency surprised most international observers, who had expected the KMT to control the government for many more years.

The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was founded in the late 1980's but it grew quickly. One of its goals is to make Taiwan a fully independent country—a position that places it in direct conflict with the government of the People's Republic of China, which has repeatedly asserted that Taiwan is an integral part of China. China has threatened to use force to prevent Taiwan's independence. During the 1996 election, the People's Republic of China issued a thinly veiled threat against proindependence candidates by firing missiles off the Taiwanese coast. In 2000, main-

land Chinese representatives warned repeatedly that the people of Taiwan should not elect DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian. After Chen was elected, he made efforts to placate China by declaring that there was no need for Taiwan to declare formal independence. These declarations failed to put the concerns of the PRC to rest.

The New Party (NP), established during the 1990's, has fewer members than the other two and has won few electoral offices. Although the party does not have enough members in parliament to pass legislation, its representatives control votes other parties need. They sometimes work with the KMT, sometimes with the DPP.

Public opinion surveys have indicated that most Taiwanese are contented with Taiwan's current status and want neither full independence nor immediate reunification with mainland China.

### **Reunification Question**

Taiwan's political and economic systems differ greatly from those of China. During the late 1990's the People's Republic of China began speaking of "one country, two systems." Under this principle, China took control of Hong Kong—long a British colony—in 1997. China would like to apply the same principle to taking over Taiwan.

The view of the KMT has been that the "one country, two systems" formula will not work for Taiwan. Many in Taiwan would like to see Taiwan and mainland China reunify, but only after the PRC becomes more democratic, freer, and more prosperous. Others, including many supporters of the DPP, would like Taiwan to break away completely from the mainland but are afraid of military invasion if Taiwan tries to do so.

Although Taiwan is heavily armed and fortified, the mainland Chinese could probably force the Taiwanese to reunite with the mainland if it were not for the support of the United States for Taiwan. The United States has attempted to convince the leaders of the People's Republic of China that if the mainland invades, American forces will become involved in the fight. In April, 2001, U.S. president George W. Bush reiterated American support for



Taiwan when he agreed to supply the island nation with a wide range of weapons and military goods that the Taiwanese could use against an attack from the Chinese mainland.

Many people in China, Taiwan, and other nations want to dissolve enmity through communications and replace confrontation with consultation. Few are willing to predict how long that may take.

George C. Y. Wang  
Updated by the Editors

### **For Further Study**

A good guide to the modern history of Taiwan is Jonathan Spence's *The Search for Modern China: Ming to Present* (1990). Roy Huang's *China: A Macro History* (1997) gives a simple but comprehensive historical overview. Insights into China's literature and art, as well as its history, are found in *A History of China* (1996), by J. Gernet. *Pacific Century: The Emergence of Modern Pacific Asia* (1992), by Mark Borthwick, gives information on issues facing the Pacific area today and its role in the global economy.

The political status of Taiwan is discussed in *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (1999), by John F. Copper. The status of Taiwan as an international issue is dealt with by various authors in *Taiwan Strait Dilemmas: China-Taiwan-U.S. Policies in the New Century* (2000), edited by Gerrit W. Gong. Shelly Rigger's *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (1999) looks at Taiwan's internal politics, focusing on how the country developed toward a multi-party democracy.

The World Wide Web has thousands of sites that provide information on Taiwan. A site that gives particularly valuable current information can be found at <http://www.roc-taiwan.org>.

## TIBET

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*Although a province of the People's Republic of China since 1951, Tibet is culturally a separate nation whose peoples want to regain their historical independence. For this reason, it has been one of China's most rebellious and volatile territories. The problems that most threaten violence in Tibet concern who rules the country and who lives there. The first issue revolves around the right of Tibetans to self-rule, against the right of the Chinese government to maintain what it sees as a historical sovereignty over the region. The Dalai Lama, Tibet's highest-ranking religious leader, has acknowledged that Tibetan independence is unlikely unless China breaks up, as the Soviet Union did in 1991. Meanwhile, both a Tibetan government-in-exile and many Tibetans inside Tibet want to be governed by Tibetans who speak Tibetan and appreciate local culture and values, which they claim the Chinese do not. The influx of Chinese workers and businessmen into Tibet in search of jobs and new opportunities worries many Tibetans. They are concerned about the possibility of eventually becoming a minority population in their own country, as happened in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. The economic success and political power of the Chinese has raised the level of ethnic tension.*

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**T**ibet lies on a plateau averaging 12,000 feet above sea level. One of the highest large political entities in the world, Tibet is sometimes referred to as the Land of Snows, the Roof of the World, or the Third Pole. Its terrain includes not only snow-covered mountains, but also glaciers, green forests, grasslands, and salt lakes. Its climate is harsh, with vast daily and seasonal temperature swings. Tibet is part of south central Asia's landlocked Tibetan Plateau, which covers an area nearly half the size of the United States. The plateau is as large as Western Europe.

The Tibetan Plateau is the source of many of Asia's major rivers. Its Mekong River flows into Myanmar and Laos; its Salween River flows into Myanmar; its Yangtze and Yellow Rivers flow into China; its Sutlej River into Pakistan; and its Indus into India. In addition to water, the plateau also has abun-

dant exploitable natural resources, including timber, natural gas, minerals such as coal and gold, and salt.

For centuries Tibet was a buffer zone between the two most populous nations in the world—India and China. Tibet's large and thinly populated land mass has offered China space to settle some of its burgeoning population, as well as access to enormous exploitable natural resources. Since China occupied Tibet in 1950, China and India have shared the longest disputed border in the world. Moreover, since China began supplying Pakistan with nuclear weapons during the 1990's, the nuclear tension between India and Pakistan has, in effect, been tension between India and China.

### **People and Language**

With a population estimated at anywhere between 2.4 and 7.5 million people, Tibet is one of the most sparsely populated regions on earth. The severities of Tibet's environment and the need to adapt to it to survive have contributed to the sparse settlement. Four million of Tibet's people are ethnic Tibetans, who typically define themselves as either high-altitude plains people, or lower-altitude valley people. Ethnic Tibetans live not only in what China has designated the Tibetan Autonomous Region, but also in Nepal, Bhutan, and other parts of China.

The Tibetan language is the best-known member of the Tibeto-Burman languages, a subgroup of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages. The Buddhist religion and people of India have significantly influenced the Tibetan language, which has also borrowed

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## **Profile of Tibet**

*Official name:* Tibet Autonomous Region

*Status:* province of China

*Location:* western China

*Area:* 471,700 square miles

*Capital:* Lhasa

*Population:* unknown; estimates vary between 2.4 and 7.5 million

*Official language:* Mandarin Chinese

*Major religion:* Buddhism

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freely from Chinese. The written language, however, is derived from Sanskrit, not Chinese.

### Early History

Before 1950 Tibetan society was a feudal theocracy, similar to that of medieval Europe. Tibet's secular and ecclesiastical ruler was the Dalai Lama, whom Tibetans believe is God's manifestation on earth. Under the Dalai Lama were aristocratic lords. They were descended from the ancient kings of Tibet, as well as families descended from past Dalai Lamas, families that had been rewarded for meritorious service, and families that had inherited their nobility. Land, not titles, was the main source of power and wealth. Serfs, slaves, and outcasts made up the rest of the population.

Formal relations between Tibet and China date to the seventh century C.E., when King Songsten Gampo unified Tibet. His dynasty lasted approximately two centuries. During this imperial period, China and Tibet were separate nations. They negotiated treaties with each other that fixed their borders and regulated relations between them. Buddhism was introduced to Tibet during its imperial era, and the first Buddhist monastery was built in the late eighth century.

In 1207 Tibet became part of the Mongol Empire of Genghis Khan. Forty years later it entered a “priest-patron” relationship with the Mongols. Tibet’s lamas provided the Mongols with religious instruction, performed sacred rites, and conferred special titles. In return, the Mongols’ ruling khan protected and advanced the interests of the lamas. Thus, the lamas, in effect, became the agents through which the Mongols ruled Tibet.

Some Chinese intellectuals have argued that Tibet became a part of China when the Mongol leader Kublai Khan conquered China and founded the Yuan Dynasty in 1279. Tibetan nationalists deny this. They contend that because Tibet and China were separately incorporated into the Mongol Empire, Tibet was never officially a part of China. Under the Ming Dynasty, which lasted from 1368 to 1644, that succeeded that of the Yuan, Tibetans ruled their nation as if it was independent.

The modern conflict between Tibet and China is rooted in religious and political disputes of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. During that period Tibet was governed as a protectorate of Manchu-ruled China. Despite its protectorate status, Tibet continued to use its own language, officials, laws, and army, and did not pay taxes to China. Chinese control over Tibet loosened during the nineteenth century, when China’s government was caught up in external and internal struggles.

Meanwhile, in 1637 the fifth Dalai Lama invited the Mongols into Tibet to help seize power in the kingdom. Tibet became subordinate to Chinese rule during the Manchu or Qing Dynasty in the early eighteenth century. The Manchu Dynasty ruled Tibet until it was overthrown in 1911. By the early twentieth century, Tibetans offered only symbolic allegiance to the Chinese emperor. In fact, Tibetans decided their own internal affairs.

On August 3, 1904, British troops became the first Western troops ever to conquer Tibet. By 1906, Britain and Russia agreed not to negotiate with Tibet, except through China. In effect, the international powers affirmed Tibet's political subordination to China. Britain's invasion of Tibet and the accords recognizing Tibet's subordinate role to China changed China's attitude toward Tibet. Previously, the Manchu Dynasty had shown little interest in directly administering Tibet.

The British invasion, however, spurred China to protect its national interests by strengthening its cultural, economic, and political ties to Tibet. Tibet was a part of China. The Chinese tried to control Tibet through the Dalai Lama rather than replacing him. In 1910, the Chinese army occupied Tibet, forcing the thirteenth Dalai Lama into exile in India. In 1911, the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown. Shortly after, the Dalai Lama proclaimed his intention to control Tibet. The proclamation was a declaration of independence. Tibetans expelled the remaining Manchu military and civilian personnel in 1911.

For more than 40 years, until 1951, Tibet was an independent nation for all practical purposes. On April 12, 1912, the Chinese republican government declared that Tibet, Mongolia, and Xinjiang were on an equal footing with the other provinces of China. In 1913, the thirteenth Dalai Lama succeeded in expelling all Chinese officials and troops from Tibet. At a conference (called the Simla Convention) in 1914, Tibet was guaranteed control over its own internal affairs, while China was permitted to maintain a small military contingent in Lhasa, the capital. Tibet remained autonomous from China, but acknowledged the political control of China.

Tibet's status spared Tibet war with China and gave Britain a protective buffer between China and India. Tibetans failed to win their objective of political independence. The possibility of future hostilities with China prompted a group of young Tibetan officials to urge modernization. Tibet needed to be economically and militarily strong to remain independent. Religious leaders who saw modernization as a threat to Buddhism and their own authority successfully resisted this effort in the mid-1920's.

Tibet's status did not even change with the establishment of the People's Republic of China by the Chinese communists in 1949. Britain, India, and later the United States dealt with Tibet as if it were an independent state but continued to acknowledge that Tibet was a part of China. Tibet was treated in this manner, as China was an important ally of the U.S. and Britain. Chinese sensibilities were paramount. International realities had changed. Britain no longer needed a buffer zone in Central Asia as it had granted India independence in 1949. However, the Tibetan government wanted to retain its de facto independence and not become an autonomous nationality region in the People's Republic

## Tibet Time Line

- 1207 Tibet becomes part of empire of Genghis Khan.
- 1578 Title "Dalai Lama" is used for first time.
- 1904 (Aug.) British troops become first Western force to conquer Tibet.
- 1910 China occupies Tibet, and thirteenth Dalai Lama goes into exile.
- 1911 Tibetans expel Chinese after China's Manchu Dynasty is overthrown.
- 1949 Communists take power in China.
- 1950 (Oct. 7) Chinese troops enter Tibet.
- 1951 Chinese troops move peacefully into Tibet capital, Lhasa.
- 1951 (May 23) Tibet signs Seventeen-Point Agreement acknowledging Chinese sovereignty; Dalai Lama goes into exile in India.
- 1962 (Oct. 20) China invades India in boundary dispute along Tibet border.
- 1986 Dalai Lama launches campaign to win international support for a free Tibet.
- 1987 (Oct.) Anti-Chinese riots leave at least twenty Tibetans dead.
- 1988 (June) Dalai Lama acknowledges that Tibetan independence is unrealistic goal.
- 1989 China and Dalai Lama struggle over reincarnation of second highest lama—the Panchen Lama.
- 1989 (Jan. 28) Panchen Lama, procommunist leader from Tibet, dies, weakening Chinese support in Tibet.
- 1989 (Mar.) China declares martial law in Tibet following riots.
- 1989 (Oct.) Dalai Lama wins Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1990 (Apr. 30) Martial law ends in Tibet.
- 1995 Dalai Lama rebukes China for interfering in recognition of Panchen Lama's reincarnation.

of China. It also wanted to avoid a military confrontation with much stronger China.

### **Seventeen-Point Agreement**

On October 7, 1950, Chinese troops crossed the Yangtze River frontier and attacked Tibetan border troops. China began its military annexation of Tibet in 1951. The Tibetan government quickly conceded defeat. On May 23, 1951, Tibet signed the "Seventeen-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet." For the first time in more than 1,300 years of recorded history, Tibet formally acknowledged Chinese sovereignty. Rioting then erupted

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|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1996 | (Apr. 9) Tibet and Xinjiang officials agree on new border, inaugurating new campaign to define China's internal borders.                                                                                   |
| 1997 | (Aug.) Dalai Lama acknowledges willingness to accept self-rule for Tibet, not independence.                                                                                                                |
| 1998 | (Mar. 10) Tibetans in New Delhi, India, launch hunger strike, hoping to persuade U.N. General Assembly to address question of Chinese rule over Tibet.                                                     |
| 1998 | (Oct. 1) Tibetan government in exile admits having accepted financial aid from U.S. Central Intelligence Agency during 1960's.                                                                             |
| 1998 | (Nov. 10) Dalai Lama meets with U.S. president Bill Clinton and other top U.S. government leaders, seeking U.S. support in coming Tibetan negotiations with Chinese government.                            |
| 1999 | (Mar. 10) Dalai Lama leads mass demonstration of Tibetan exiles living in northern India to mark fortieth anniversary of Tibet's revolt against Chinese rule on date commemorated as Tibetan National Day. |
| 1999 | (June 22) World Bank votes to lend China US\$160 million to resettle sixty thousand poor Chinese in sparsely populated parts of Tibet.                                                                     |
| 2000 | (Jan.) Fourteen-year-old Karmapa Lama flees Tibet and joins the Dalai Lama in India.                                                                                                                       |
| 2002 | (Apr. 4) Chinese government frees Tanak Jigme Sangpo, a Tibetan activist who had been in prison since 1983.                                                                                                |
| 2002 | (Sept. 11) Representatives of the Dalai Lama visit Beijing in the first official contact between the Chinese government and the Tibetan leader in ten years.                                               |
| 2002 | (Sept. 16) Envoys of the Dalai Lama visit Tibet.                                                                                                                                                           |
| 2002 | (Oct. 1) Dalai Lama urges his supporters not to demonstrate against Chinese president Jiang Zemin during the latter's visit to the United States and Mexico.                                               |
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## Religious Succession in Tibet

Reincarnation as a method of religious succession was articulated by the Karma Kargyo Buddhist sect in 1193. The idea emanated from the Buddhist belief that all humans are trapped in an unending cycle of birth, death, and rebirth until they achieve enlightenment, or nirvana. According to Tibetan Buddhists, some enlightened beings return to human form to aid others in their progress toward enlightenment.

In the late twelfth century, the great Karma Lama Dusum Khyempa prophesized his own rebirth. Shortly after he died, his disciples discovered a child into whom they believed the deceased lama had transformed himself. Belief in reincarnation became a widespread tradition because it enabled the orderly succession of power in lamas.

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in the Tibetan capital city of Lhasa. Unable to quell the unrest, the Dalai Lama fled to India. He then renounced the Seventeen-Point Agreement and campaigned to win international support for Tibet's independence.

In 1959, the Chinese military reportedly killed approximately 1.2 million Tibetans or starved them to death in labor camps and collective farms. After the 1959 uprising, the Chinese destroyed Buddhist institutions and attacked traditional Tibetan culture and values. They also endeavored to extinguish Tibetans' belief in the sanctity of the Dalai Lama. China also launched an economic reform program in Tibet.

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, both sides in the Tibetan dispute struggled unsuccessfully to resolve their disagreements. The Dalai Lama tried to enlist the international community in Tibet's fight for independence. Economic interests prevailed, however. In the late 1960's, the United States moved to improve its relations with China. Despite such setbacks, the Tibetan government-in-exile defended Tibet's right to independence and attacked Chinese policies and alleged human rights violations in Tibet. It also crusaded for creation of a Greater Tibet that would include the Tibet Autonomous Region and Tibetans living elsewhere in Central Asia.

Starting in 1984, China's program to develop Tibet's economy quickly led to a large influx of ethnic, or Han, Chinese and Mus-

lims. Labor shortages and the lure of economic opportunity spurred the emigration. Many Tibetans resented Chinese control of their economy and feared that the Chinese would one day outnumber them. On October 1, 1987, rioting broke out in Lhasa. Between the fall of 1987 and March of 1989, Tibetans held twenty-one protest rallies against the Chinese authorities. Most of the protests during this period were nonviolent.

In a speech on June 15, 1988, the Dalai Lama, for the first time, announced he would return to Tibet but only on the condition that Tibet would become a totally autonomous territory within China. He acknowledged that Tibet was part of China. Following riots in March of 1989, China declared martial law in Tibet. Martial law was not lifted until 1990. After the Dalai Lama won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, he used his new international stature to embarrass China throughout the 1990's. In August of 1997,



*Tibetan refugees flee their country as it was being occupied by China in 1950. (National Archives)*

China renewed martial law in Tibet under a campaign called “Strike Hard” to punish people who challenged or resisted Chinese rule. The Chinese also intensified their assault on the Buddhist religion, the foundation of Tibetan civilization, culture, and values.

The Dalai Lama and the Chinese government view Tibet differently. For the Tibetans, Tibet is a nation deprived of its independence since the Chinese occupied it in 1951. The country has had its own centralized form of government since, at least, the seventh century. Tibetans view themselves as equals with the Chinese.

For the government of China, Tibet is an integral part of China. The Chinese authorities promoted regional autonomy everywhere except Tibet to spark local initiative and rapid economic growth. By contrast, the Chinese authorities pursued the opposite course—increased central control—in Tibet, hoping such a strategy would produce stability in the most politically unstable region ruled by communist China. The Han Chinese looked upon Tibet and its traditions as backward and feudal. The cultural biases of China’s leaders in Tibet parallel those of the Chinese leadership during the Maoist era, when propaganda attacked Tibetan culture and society as barbaric and encouraged Tibetans to adopt Chinese ways. They felt it was their duty to modernize Tibet.

Following the Chinese communist program of modernization, Chinese media sources such as the *Tibet Daily* urged Tibetans to renounce their allegiance to Tibet’s traditional religious leaders and to turn to atheism. In 2000, the Dalai Lama accused the Chinese government of practicing cultural genocide with these kinds of policies.

China’s policies toward Tibet changed following the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. Following the breakup, there were ethnic revolts in Eastern Europe, the influence and aggressiveness of the Muslim states on China’s northeastern border rose, and numerous formerly communist countries became democracies. These events coincided with increased international pressure on China to improve its human rights record. In 1992, the Chinese authorities in Tibet launched efforts to dictate the incarnation process for choosing high-level lamas, or living Buddhas.

In 1995, the six-year-old boy identified by the Dalai Lama as the Panchen Lama, the second-most important religious leader in Tibet, disappeared. A year later, the Chinese government admitted that it was holding him in protective custody and he remained in Chinese custody into the first decade of the twenty-first century. The Chinese replaced the boy with their own candidate for Panchen Lama, whom they forced the Tibetan clergy to recognize. The Chinese attempt to take over the Tibetan religious leadership suffered a setback in January, 2000, when the fourteen-year-old Karmapa Lama fled Tibet and joined the Dalai Lama in India. This also increased tensions between China and India, since India decided to allow the Karmapa Lama to remain.

In the fall of 2002, relations between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government seemed to improve. In September of that year, representatives of the Tibetan leader visited first Beijing and then Tibet. In early October, hoping to move closer to reconciliation, the Dalai Lama urged his followers abroad not to stage protests against Chinese president Jiang Zemin during the president's visits to Mexico and the United States.

The conflict boiled down to whether China would grant self-rule, not independence, for Tibet. China opposed granting the status. The Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government-in-exile wanted self-rule. Both sides seemed reluctant to take the risks to arrive at a compromise that would settle the conflict. Many Tibetans hoped communist China would fall as the Manchu Dynasty had in 1911 and the Soviet Union in 1991. Chinese officials were concerned that disturbances in Tibet might spread to other minority areas such as Inner Mongolia. The key to resolving the conflict was finding a solution that would create a Tibet for Tibetans in a framework the Chinese communists would find acceptable.

*Fred Buchstein*

*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

Valuable guides to Tibet include Victor Chan's *Tibet Handbook: A Pilgrimage Guide* (1994) and Gyurme Dorje's *Tibet Handbook with Bhutan* (1996). Anthropologist Melvyn C. Goldstein has written several valuable works on Tibet, including *A History of Modern Ti-*

*bet, 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State* (1989) and *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama* (1997). Useful books on the history of Tibet include A. Tom Gruneld's *The Making of Modern Tibet*, the revised edition (1996) and *Tibetan Nation: A History of Tibetan Nationalism and Sino-Tibetan Relations* (1996), by Warren W. Smith, Jr.

For information on the Tibetans' struggle to regain freedom, read *Resistance and Reform in Tibet* (1994), edited by Robert Barnett and Shirin Skinner, and *Tibet: A Sourcebook* (1995), edited by Anand Kumar. Christopher Beckwith provides a useful examination of Tibet as a major regional power in *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power Among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese During the Early Middle Ages* (1987). To understand the region's importance, read *Central Asia in World History* (1993), by S. A. M. Adshead. Gilles van Grasdorff examines the abduction and captivity of the Panchen Lama in *Hostage of Beijing: The Abduction of the Panchen Lama* (1999).

General and academic publications containing articles on the situation in Tibet include *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Helpful sources of information on the viewpoints of the Tibetans in exile include *Tibet Press Watch* and *World Tibet News*. The Foreign Broadcast Information Service provides translations of articles in the Chinese news media. Publications devoted to the scholarly study of Tibet and Tibetans include *Tibet Society Bulletin*, *Tibet Journal*, and *Tibet Society Journal*.

Information on Tibet on the Internet is limited. However, it is likely to increase in the coming years, so it may be profitable to search the World Wide Web for specific topics at any time. The government in exile, the Dalai Lama, and other Tibetan refugee groups such as the Tibet Society each maintain sites.

## TURKEY

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*Turkey has inherited many conflicts from its predecessor state, the Ottoman Empire. These include conflicts with Greece over Cyprus and islands in the Aegean Sea, and conflicts with Armenia arising from the Armenian genocide of 1915 and Armenian relations with the Turkic people of Azerbaijan. Friction with Russia, which also dates back to the days of the Ottoman Empire, was fueled by Turkey's NATO membership during the Cold War. In addition, Turkey has faced a long-term insurgency from Kurds who aspire to create an independent Kurdish nation in the southeastern portion of Turkey. In October, 1998, Turkey came close to war with Syria over Syria's support for a Kurdish group that has engaged in significant terrorism against Turkey both at home and abroad. Finally, potential disputes with Germany may arise from the status of Germany's large population of immigrant Turks.*

*As the only Middle Eastern member and only predominantly Muslim nation in NATO, Turkey has often been viewed with suspicion by its neighbors. During the American-led intervention in Afghanistan that began in late 2001, Turkey actively cooperated with the United States and its allies.*

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**T**urkey is an overwhelmingly Muslim nation that connects the Middle East with Europe. It is bordered by the Black Sea on the north and the Mediterranean Sea on the south. Georgia, Armenia, and Iran are eastern neighbors of Turkey. The Arab nations of Syria and Iraq are south of Turkey and do not share Turkey's generally pro-Western orientation. Bulgaria and Greece border Turkey to the northwest. The small European portion of Turkey bordering Greece west of the Bosphorus Strait is called Thrace.

More than 80 percent of the people of Turkey are ethnic Turks, and Turkish is the nation's official language. Use of other languages—especially Kurdish—has been actively discouraged, although no official language restrictions have been imposed. The Turkish language is related to many languages of Central Asia and Russia.

## Profile of Turkey

*Official name:* Republic of Turkey

*Independent since:* 1923

*Location:* between Mediterranean and Black Sea

*Area:* 301,381 square miles

*Capital:* Ankara

*Population:* 67.3 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Turkish

*Major religions:* Sunni and Shiite Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$443 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* textiles and clothing; iron and steel; electric and electronic machinery; edible fruits

*Military expenditures:* US\$8.1 billion (2002 est.)

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The peoples of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan speak Turkic languages. Within Russia and China, there are additional pockets of Turkic-speaking peoples. However, Turkish is most closely related to Azeri, the language of Azerbaijan. Turkey is very interested in its Turkic-language cousins, although it probably lacks the expansionist plans seen by its most worried adversaries.

Turkey is more than 99 percent Muslim, despite the continued existence of small Greek Orthodox and Armenian Christian communities. Also, a small Jewish community survives in and around Istanbul. The Islamic crescent appears on the national flag, even though Turkey has officially been a secular, democratic state since 1924.

### Early History

Most of Turkey's territory lies on the Anatolian Peninsula, which has been home to several significant civilizations since Neolithic times. Among these were the Hittite Empire, Lydia, and Phrygia. Troy, the legendary city of Homer's *Iliad*, was also located on the Anatolian Peninsula. During the Christian era, Constantinople, later renamed Istanbul, on the Balkan Peninsula, was

the seat of the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire. This empire collapsed with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

The Ottoman Empire was a major world power from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. At its apex during the seventeenth century, it controlled Cyprus, Greece, the Balkans, and large portions of the Arabic-speaking world, including Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, the Ottoman Empire dramatically declined in military and cultural vitality. During World War I the Ottomans allied themselves with the Germans. Their defeat led to the partitioning of most of the remaining empire by the victorious Allied powers. The Ottomans retained control of most of the Anatolian Peninsula, although part of it was awarded to Greece in 1920.

In May of 1919 an Ottoman general named Mustafa Kemal, later known as Kemal Atatürk, launched a Turkish rebellion against the weakened Ottoman regime. In April, 1920, he was







*Kemal Atatürk (center), founder of Turkey's modern secular state. (Library of Congress)*

elected president of the provisional government of Turkey. The modern Turkish republic was founded on October 29, 1923. The following year Atatürk declared Turkey a secular state and introduced the new nation's first constitution. Atatürk aggressively enforced a policy of secularization until his death in 1938.

### **Regional Conflicts**

Turkey has had long-standing conflicts with several of its neighbors, most notably Armenia and Greece. In 1915 and 1916, Turks who wished to preserve the faltering Ottoman Empire decided to rid Anatolia of foreign influences. The Armenian community within the empire became a primary target of this campaign. It is estimated that up to one million Armenians were killed or deported. The Turkish government's official policy has been to refute Armenian claims of genocide. It accepts no moral responsibility for massive Armenian deaths during the period.

In addition, Armenia, which gained its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, blocks Turkish access to Azerbaijan, with which it shares close linguistic ties. Given the simmering hostility between Turkey and Armenia, it is not surprising that Armenia is the only former Soviet state that has no formal relations with Turkey. In late 1997 the Turkish government indicated that it was ready to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia, provided that Armenia resolve its own territorial dispute with Azerbaijan.

Turkey and Greece have serious differences over control of the Aegean Sea, the narrow arm of the Mediterranean Sea that separates the east coast of Greece from the west coast of Anatolia. Despite their protestations to the contrary and occasional, half-hearted attempts at reconciliation, Greece and Turkey remain bitter enemies. Some observers foresee a future in which Greece and Turkey may be drawn into a new Balkan War, since the Greeks sympathize with the Serbs and the Turks sympathize with the Albanian and Bosnian Muslim antagonists of the Serbs.

Greece retains bitter memories of its control by the Ottoman Empire, which was responsible for damaging Athens's ancient Parthenon during the seventeenth century. Greece did not attain its status as a modern nation until 1830, when the first kingdom of Greece was formed. At that time, the declining Ottoman Empire was forced to relinquish control of Greece. Memories of past wrongs stimulate current confrontations and may stimulate future conflict.

Greece and Turkey have already come close to armed conflict in the Aegean Sea. Turkey has declared that if Greece extends its territorial waters from six to twelve miles offshore, Turkey will consider this a justification for war. Other disputes between the two countries include Greek claims to airspace and Greek fortification of its Aegean islands. The Turkish government will not allow the Aegean to become a totally Greek sea.

Disasters finally brought some improvement to Greek-Turkish relations in 1999. On August 17 and November 12 of that year, Turkey was struck by severe earthquakes and other countries, including Greece, contributed to disaster relief. On September 7, less than a month after Turkey's first earthquake, an earthquake

shook Greece and Turkey helped with that nation's disaster relief. In November, 2001, the two countries took another important step toward resolving their differences when their representatives signed an agreement for the return of illegal immigrants from Greece to Turkey.

### Cyprus

The Ottoman Empire conquered the eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus during the sixteenth century. The island had been ethnically Greek since Minoan and Mycenaean times in antiquity. Ottoman sultans settled a significant Turkish population on the island because of its strategic location and the strong devotion of Cyprus's Greek population to Greek Orthodox Christianity.

## Turkey Time Line

- 1453 Fall of Constantinople to Turkish sultan Mehmet II begins Ottoman Empire.
- 1683-1699 Ottoman Empire is at height of its power.
- 1687 Athens's Parthenon is damaged by explosion of powder stored in it by Ottoman forces.
- 1914-1918 Ottoman Empire allies with Germany in World War I.
- 1914 (Nov. 5) Great Britain occupies Cyprus.
- 1915-1916 Turkish government is responsible for massacre of Armenians.
- 1918 Defeat of Central Powers in World War I ends Ottoman rule of Arab territories.
- 1919 (May) Mustafa Kemal (later known as Kemal Atatürk) launches rebellion against Ottoman regime.
- 1920 Postwar Treaty of Sevres gives part of Anatolia to Greece.
- 1920 (Jan.) Creation of League of Nations places most former Ottoman territories under administration of European nations.
- 1920 (Apr.) Atatürk is elected president of provisional government of Turkey.
- 1923 Treaty of Lausanne recognizes Turkish sovereignty over parts of Anatolia occupied by Greeks since antiquity.
- 1923 (Oct. 29) Modern Turkish republic is declared by Atatürk.
- 1924 Atatürk makes Turkey a secular state and introduces its first constitution.
- 1935 Atatürk's last reform gives all Turks surnames.
- 1938 (Nov. 10) Atatürk dies.

The Ottoman Empire was forced to cede control of Cyprus to Great Britain in the nineteenth century. Cyprus attained its independence in 1960. International guarantees were signed at that time by Britain, Greece, and Turkey to protect the island's Turkish population against Greek abuses. The majority Greek population wanted *enosis*, or union, with Greece. Both the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey feared the consequences of *enosis* for civil rights and strategic reasons.

Cyprus remained tense throughout the 1960's and early 1970's. In 1974 the junta then controlling Greece organized the overthrow of Cyprus's president, Archbishop Makarios. An alarmed Turkey occupied the northern portion of the island in order to protect both the Turkish Cypriots and its own strategic interests.

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|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1939      | France's cession of predominantly Arab Syrian border district to Turkey lays basis for future Syrian grievance against Turkey.                                           |
| 1952      | Turkey joins NATO and allies with United States in Cold War.                                                                                                             |
| 1960      | (Aug. 16) Cyprus becomes independent.                                                                                                                                    |
| 1974      | (July) During attempted coup against Cyprus's President Makarios, Turkey occupies northern portion of Cyprus; it later ignores U.N. resolutions against its occupation.  |
| 1975      | (Feb.) United States imposes arms embargo against Turkey.                                                                                                                |
| 1989      | Bulgaria sends its Turkish-speaking residents to Turkey.                                                                                                                 |
| 1992      | Greece and Turkey hold high-level talks in New York.                                                                                                                     |
| 1993      | Tansu Ciller becomes Turkey's first woman prime minister.                                                                                                                |
| 1996-1997 | Necmettin Erbakan, of the pro-Islamic Welfare Party, serves as prime minister.                                                                                           |
| 1997      | Turkey expresses willingness to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia.                                                                                             |
| 1998      | (Jan.) Turkish high court rules that the Welfare (Refah) Party is a religious party and bans the party's leaders, including Necmettin Erbakan, from politics.            |
| 1998      | (Jan.) Turkey and Italy agree to coordinate efforts to stem flow of Kurdish refugees from Turkey into Western Europe.                                                    |
| 1998      | (Jan. 28) Government issues report confirming that government officials were partly responsible for assassinations and kidnappings of Kurdish leaders during mid-1990's. |
| 1998      | (Feb.) Thousands of people demonstrate in Istanbul to protest government enforcement of ban on religious apparel in schools.                                             |

(continued)

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The Turkish Cypriot state is recognized only by Turkey. In addition, ethnic Greeks have been expelled from the northern portion of the island. Significant numbers of mainland Turks have settled there, even though Turkish Cypriots have been emigrating to Turkey for greater economic opportunity. The Turkish occupation of Northern Cyprus represents the first important victory of a predominantly Muslim power over a Christian power since the seventeenth century.

Tensions over the future of Cyprus remain at the boiling point. Turkey has ignored United Nations (U.N.) resolutions unfavorable to its positions. Supporters of Turkey have noted that U.S. public opinion has allowed Turkey far less latitude to protect its security interests than it has allowed Israel. The United States has

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#### **Turkey Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1998 (Feb. 23) Government begins formal dissolution of Welfare (Refah) Party, whose members regroup under banner of new Virtue Party.
  - 1998 (Mar. 10) Government announces that army soldiers have killed thirty-two Kurdish separatists in southeast part of country.
  - 1998 (June 16) Premier Mesut Yilmaz agrees to resign in December in return for support of his government by Republican People's Party.
  - 1998 (June 18) Turkey responds to Greece's landing of warplanes in Cyprus by sending six warplanes of its own to island.
  - 1998 (Oct.) Turkey and Syria almost go to war over Syria's support of Kurds' Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).
  - 1998 (Oct. 21) Turkish and Syrian leaders announce agreement settling dispute over Turkey's charge that Syria has supported antigovernment Turkish Kurds.
  - 1998 (Dec. 2) Premier Mesut Yilmaz's government falls when it loses no-confidence vote in parliament.
  - 1999 (Jan. 17) Parliament installs Bulent Ecevit of the Prosecurar Party of the Democratic Left as prime minister, ending his government's caretaker status.
  - 1999 (Apr. 18) With 21.7 percent of the national vote, Ecevit's Democratic Left party wins a narrow plurality in national parliamentary elections; President Suleyman Demirel asks Ecevit to stay on until a new government can be formed.
  - 1999 (Aug. 17) When Turkey is struck by the first of two severe earthquakes, neighboring Greece is among the nations contributing to assistance.
  - 1999 (Sept. 7) When Greece suffers an earthquake, Turkey provides aid.
  - 1999 (Nov. 12) Turkey suffers a second earthquake.
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a strong and politically active Greek community and only a small Turkish American community. Therefore, it has been difficult for U.S. presidents since 1974 to both satisfy Congress and avoid alienating Turkey and compromising U.S. security needs.

Advocates of human rights repeatedly note that the Turkish occupation of Northern Cyprus created a serious refugee problem and that there are a large number of missing people as a result of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

In February, 1975, the U.S. Congress imposed an arms embargo on Turkey based on the view that U.S. arms had been used illegally in the conquest of Cyprus. Congress refused to listen to the security concerns expressed by President Gerald Ford, and U.S.-Turkish relations deteriorated. Later that year Congress par-

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- 1999 (June 29) State security court sentences Abdullah Ocalan to death.
  - 1999 (Dec. 10) European Union accepts Turkey as a candidate for membership.
  - 2000 (May) Ahmet Necdet Sezer is elected president of Turkey; his first official trip to a foreign country is to Northern Cyprus.
  - 2001 (Oct.) After the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, the Turkish parliament authorizes sending Turkish troops abroad for antiterrorist actions.
  - 2002 (Aug.) Turkey abolishes the death penalty.
  - 2002 (Sept.) Turkish defense minister Sabahattin Cakmakoglu urges Iraqi to permit U.N. weapons inspections.
  - 2002 (Oct. 3) Turkey's state security court formally lifts Abdullah Ocalan's death sentence, which was commuted to a life sentence in August, when Turkey abolished the death penalty.
  - 2002 (Oct. 5) One day after Kurds in northern Iraq reopen a regional parliament, Turkish prime minister Bulent Ecevit warns the Iraqi Kurds that Turkey will not allow them to establish an independent state. Turkey is concerned that such a state would encourage separatist Turkish Kurds.
  - 2002 (Nov. 3) Islamic-based Justice and Development Party, founded after the banning of the Welfare Party, wins a landslide victory in national elections.
  - 2002 (Nov. 15) Abdullah Gul becomes prime minister.
  - 2003 (Feb.) Turkey asks the United States for economic aid in return for opening its bases and seaports for use in prospective war against Iraq.
  - 2003 (Mar. 11) Recep Tayyip Erdogan replaces Gul as prime minister.
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tially lifted the arms embargo against Turkey. President Jimmy Carter persuaded Congress to end the embargo in 1978, although periodic reviews of Turkish-U.S. military relations were required.

Turkey's support for Northern Cyprus continued into the twenty-first century and survived Turkey's reestablishment of close relations with the United States and even its improving relations with Greece. After Ahmet Necdet Sezer was elected president of Turkey in May, 2000, his first official trip to a foreign country was to Northern Cyprus. This emphasized Turkey's intention to maintain its support for its client state.

### **Internal Problems**

Kurds are the largest minority population in Turkey. Although there are no reliable statistics to document their numbers, they probably constitute at least 15 to 20 percent of the Turkish population, which totaled about 67 million people in 2002. Kurdish rebellions against the central government in the capital of Turkey, Ankara, began during the 1920's. The Kurdish population is concentrated in the southeastern portion of Turkey. Controlling this population constitutes a major problem for the Turkish government.

Some Turkish politicians have proposed that Turkey become a binational Kurdish-Turkish state and try to integrate the Kurdish populations of Iran, Iraq, and Syria in a binational republic. However, there is very little prospect of this idea gaining significant support among the Turkish people as a whole.

Turkish public opinion has turned against concessions to Kurdish desires for greater autonomy because of terrorist acts committed by the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which seeks a Kurdish homeland in the southeastern corner of Turkey. Turkey has accused Syria of aiding the PKK and harboring Kurdish guerillas. In October, 1998, the two countries narrowly avoided going to war over the issue.

The Kurdish problem in Turkey received new international attention in 1999 when the leader of the PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, was captured in Kenya and brought back to Turkey for trial. Ocalan had been forced out of his base in Syria the previous year by the Syrian-Turkish tensions over the Kurdish issue. On

## Turkish Political Leaders

**Kemal Atatürk:** Born Mustafa Kemal in 1881, he became the savior of Turkey after World War I, earning the title of Atatürk (“father Turk”). He worked for the secularization of Turkey and decreed that Turkish would henceforth be written with the Roman alphabet. Although often brutal, Atatürk secured Turkish control of the Anatolian peninsula and successfully abrogated the Treaty of Sevres.

**Tansu Ciller:** Yale University-educated economist who became the first woman prime minister of Turkey in 1993. Her administration was generally considered corrupt and inefficient.

**Mehmet II:** Conquered Constantinople in 1453 and established the Ottoman Empire.

**Mehmet VI:** Reigned as the last sultan of Ottoman Turkey (1918-1922). After World War I, the Allies forced him to sign the Treaty of Sevres. Although the sultanate was abolished in 1922, Mehmet’s brother, Abdülmecid II, was allowed to perform religious functions as caliph from 1922-1947.

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June 29, a state security court sentenced Ocalan to death. However, Turkey’s desire to become a member of the European Union saved the Kurdish leader. His case was referred to the European Court on Human Rights in 2000 and in early August, 2002, while Ocalan was still waiting on death row, Turkey abolished the death penalty in a series of reforms aimed at preparing the country for European Union membership. These reforms also included liberalizing laws regarding the teaching and use of the Kurdish language and greater recognition for Kurdish political rights.

Although the Turkish economy is not as complex or strong as the economies of Western European nations, modernization is in full swing. However, Turkey’s fragile democracy has proved prone to military coups, and economic stability has been difficult to attain. Turkey’s attempts to attain official candidate status in the EU were dramatically rebuffed in December, 1997. Lack of political and economic stability, combined with opposition to Turkish membership by Greece, hindered Turkish efforts to join the European Union. However, on December 10, 1999, Turkey was finally made a candidate for membership in the union.



Turkey's movement toward joining the European Union was a source of optimism about the country's ability to modernize its political and economic system. However, Turkey also faced complications in the process of modernization. Like most other Muslim nations in Asia and the Middle East, Turkey experienced a rising Islamic movement in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. During the 1990's, the pro-Islamic political party known as Refah, or Welfare, became active in civil affairs. A Welfare Party politician, Necmettin Erbakan, served as prime minister for a year in 1996-1997. Turkey's powerful military and many of its secular politicians saw the Islamists as a threat to the principle of a secular state established by Turkey's founder, Kemal Atatürk. A Turkish high court ruled in January, 1998, that the Welfare Party was a religious party and banned the party's leaders, including Necmettin Erbakan, from politics. In 2000, the Turkish government discovered that some of its civil servants, most of whom were Kurds, had ties to the radical Islamic Hezbollah group. All these officials were fired.

While it might be a problem for modernization if an Islamic party came to power in Turkey, the banning of individuals from politics was a serious problem for democratization. The Welfare Party, moreover, had won more votes than any other in the elections before it was banned. Suppressing the civil participation of religious parties raised the danger that their adherents might be radicalized and alienated from the official political system.

The role of Islam in Turkey attracted increased international attention when the Islamic-based Justice and Development Party, founded at the banning of the Welfare Party, won an overwhelming victory in an election held on November 3, 2002. Since the leader of the new party, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, was barred from becoming prime minister because he had been convicted of sedition in 1999, the party's Abdullah Gul took office on November 15. Gul was believed to be one of the moderate and pro-Western members of the Justice Development Party, but the election results raised questions about whether Turkey would be moving away from its nonreligious foundations.

### Relations with Russia and Germany

In 1952 Turkey became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It thus became a threat to the security of its northern neighbor, the Soviet Union, during the Cold War. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, a buffer zone of newly independent states has separated Turkey from Russia. However, relations between the two powers are still weak. Turkey has reason to fear Russian nuclear power, and Russia has reason to fear Turkish influence on other Turkic-speaking peoples such as the Azeris. Arguments over the placement of oil pipelines also separate the two powers.

The antagonism between Turkey and Russia is long-standing. Russia was one of the allies that defeated Turkey in the Crimean War of the 1850's. Later in the nineteenth century czarist Russia backed its fellow Slavs in the Balkans as they sought independence from the Ottoman Empire. Russia also supported non-Slavic Christians such as the Armenians against the declining sultanate in an era when the Ottoman Empire was the "sick man of Europe." Many Turkish-speaking individuals were expelled from Eastern Europe as state after state gained independence.

Since Turkey's economy is undeveloped in comparison to that of Western Europe, Turks sought employment abroad from the 1950's until the oil crisis during the 1970's. More Turks settled in Germany than in any other Western European country. They were called *gastarbeiters* (guest workers), and all parties concerned initially expected that they would return to Turkey after relatively limited stays abroad.

Germany continues to have a *gastarbeiter* problem. Neither these workers nor their children have returned in significant numbers to Turkey. Many German-born Turks are becoming culturally alienated from their homeland. Still, no matter how well they assimilate into German culture, these individuals are excluded from a German citizenship that still emphasizes blood ties to Germany. With high unemployment in a newly unified Germany, anti-Turkish incidents have risen. Many of these incidents are instigated by neo-Nazis. By the early twenty-first century, both Germany and Turkey were beginning to give serious consideration to the future of these individuals and their descendants.

### Turkey and the United States in the Middle East

Despite tensions with the United States over the issue of Cyprus, Turkey has long been regarded as a U.S. ally. During 1990 and 1991, Turkey supported the United Nations in its war against Iraq and, as part of the war effort, allowed the United States to use air bases on Turkish soil. After the war, the United States continued to maintain a no-fly zone in northern Iraq, in which Iraqi planes were not permitted to fly, because American aircraft were able to patrol Iraqi skies from Turkey.

After the United States was attacked by radical Islamic hijackers based in Afghanistan in September, 2001, Turkey immediately agreed that as a NATO member it would cooperate in a U.S.-led intervention in Afghanistan. Again, it allowed the United States to fly from Turkish bases. In October, 2001, the Turkish parliament even authorized sending Turkish troops abroad, a decision that was strongly opposed by Islamist elements in the country.

As the United States began threatening to invade Iraq in the summer of 2002, however, Turkey began to take a position different from that of its ally. Like most countries in the Middle East, Turkey opposed a new American attack on Iraq on the grounds that such a conflict might destabilize the entire region. In addition, the Persian Gulf War of 1991 had created a Kurdish-dominated zone in northern Iraq and Turkey was concerned about the possibility that a Kurdish state, with claims on Turkish territory, might emerge after the overthrow of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. Trying to avoid the outbreak of war, the Turkish defense minister, Sabahattin Cakmakoglu, in September, 2002, urged the Iraqis to open up their country to United Nations weapons inspections.

*Susan A. Stussy*

*Updated by the Editors*

### For Further Study

Andrew Mango, *Turkey: The Challenge of a New Role* (1994), provides an American view of Turkey and its international relations that is very sympathetic to Turkey and its aspirations to modernize and gain European acceptance. *Turkey: A Country Study* (1996), edited by Helen Chapin Metz, is a comprehensive overview of

modern Turkey that includes chapters on government, politics, and national security. Each chapter has a separate author, but all attempt to be objective. Eugene T. Rossides, "Cyprus and the Rule of Law," in *Syracuse Journal of International Law and Commerce* 17, 1 (1991), is an anti-Turkish article that stresses that Turkey has been in violation of international law since it invaded Cyprus in 1974. Donald Quataert's *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (2000) provides a comprehensive background to the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of modern Turkey.

*The Cyprus Problem* (1995), published by the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus, is a well-documented study of the differences between Cyprus and Turkey from the viewpoint of the Cypriot government. It is available from the Cypriot embassy in Washington, D.C.

Mehrdad R. Izady's *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook* (1992) provides a comprehensive overview of the Kurdish people's history and present life. It includes charts, figures, and maps. The author is very sympathetic to the Kurdish people and their aspirations. *Kurds* (1999), by Ann Carey Sabah, is a short introduction to the Kurds, intended for young people. *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview* (1991), edited by Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stephan Sperl, is a pro-Kurdish study that provides an overview of "19 million Kurds" in five countries. Two chapters are devoted to the Kurds in Turkey. *Islam, Kurds, and the Turkish Nation State* (2001), by Chris Houston, is an excellent historical work on the problem of national identity in Turkey.

For the Turkish government's view of its foreign relations, search <http://www.turkey.org>. This site covers Turkish government objectives with regard to Greece, Cyprus, Syria, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. For Internet sources on Cyprus, see the Cyprus News Agency at <http://www.cyna/org.cy>. For the Cyprus government's views, see <http://www.pio.gov.cy>, the Web site of the Cyprus Press and Information Office.

## VIETNAM

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*Since the collapse of most communist governments in the early 1990's, Vietnam has gradually abandoned socialism in favor of a free enterprise economy, resulting in dramatic growth in its economy. However, political change has not matched economic growth, and this has caused increased tensions between the economic and political systems. Vietnam's shared land borders with China, Cambodia, and Laos offer the opportunity for many potential conflicts, as does its claim to many neighboring islands. Ultimately, its rising economic and military power may bring it into conflict with China, other Asian neighbors, or the United States.*

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Vietnam is a long, narrow country on the eastern side of the Annam Mountains, which run north and south up the Indochinese Peninsula. It is bordered to the west by Laos and Cambodia, to the north by China, and to the east and south by the South China Sea. Vietnam has the largest population on the Indochinese Peninsula: 81 million people, compared with neighboring Cambodia's 12.7 million people and Laos's 5.6 million people. It is, in turn, dwarfed by China to the north, which has a population of 1 trillion people.

Mountains and hills make up 80 percent of the land, and 75 percent of the country is covered with jungle or rain forest. Only 20 percent of the land is level enough for efficient farming. This farmland—which supports the densest population—is located in the Mekong River Delta in the south. The key agricultural product of Vietnam is rice, although sugar, tea, coffee, and rubber are also produced there.

### **Chinese Cultural Legacy**

Culturally, the Indochinese Peninsula occupies a middle ground between the cultures of India and China, the two largest nations in Asia. Of all the countries in Southeast Asia, Vietnam is the most influenced by China. China conquered the northern half of Vietnam two thousand years ago and controlled it until Vietnam won its independence in 939 C.E. After 939, China continued

to treat northern Vietnam as one of its tributary states. Vietnam paid China money for protection while being allowed to manage its own internal affairs.

Vietnam's continuous struggle for complete independence from China has created centuries-old animosity between the two countries. Although Vietnam was a tributary colony of the Chinese, the Vietnamese were likely to fight fiercely over any outside political influence in their internal affairs.

Vietnamese diet and recreational pleasures are similar to those of other Southeast Asian countries. However, the Vietnamese, unlike people in other Southeast Asian countries, use Chinese chopsticks and have a political and intellectual life strongly influenced by Confucianism, rather than Buddhism or Islam. Vietnam's resistance to Chinese cultural hegemony restricted the growth of Chinese culture elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Generally, Southeast Asian countries resisted Chinese Confucian influence and followed Buddhism, which they acquired from India.

The Vietnamese, like the Chinese, spoke of their single ruler as "son of heaven" and expected the emperor to mediate between the spiritual and physical world to forestall natural disasters and provide good crops. The Vietnamese followed the Chinese notion of a strongly hierarchical bureaucracy with each grade having its

## Profile of Vietnam

*Official name:* Socialist Republic of Vietnam

*Independent since:* 1945

*Former colonial ruler:* France

*Location:* Southeast Asia, coast

*Area:* 127,243 square miles

*Capital:* Hanoi

*Population:* 81.1 million (2002 est.)

*Official language:* Vietnamese

*Major religions:* Buddhism; Taoism; Roman Catholicism

*Gross domestic product:* US\$168.1 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* crude petroleum; fish and fish products; coffee; rice

*Military expenditures:* US\$650 million (1998)



qualifications established in advance. The bureaucracy in Vietnam was open to all who could demonstrate the best command of Confucian scholarship.

As in China, the strictness of the test and the amount of corruption that crept into the testing process was related to the age of the dynasty. Usually, the children of those who were well-to-do had an advantage since their parents could afford to give them the necessary schooling. The hereditary aristocracy that was typical of other Southeast Asian countries was absent in Vietnam.

Vietnamese officials tended to dress in a manner similar to the Chinese, while most other Southeast Asian countries did not borrow fashion from their neighbors.

### **French Colonial Experience**

Along with other Asian countries, Vietnam fell to European colonialism. The 1862 Treaty of Saigon gave the French government control over Vietnam. Although Vietnamese nationalism developed slowly, it was a tenacious and fierce form of nationalism that directly opposed France's ruthlessness. In the nineteenth century, Vietnamese people were often sharply divided between those who wished to make peace with foreign rulers and those who wished to expel them. By the twentieth century, however, the Europeans were at a disadvantage in domestic Vietnamese politics.

As is true elsewhere in Asia, the Vietnamese were much influenced by Japan's success over Europeans in the latter's 1905 war with Russia. The Japanese Meiji reforms became a model for Vietnamese reformers aiming at independence.

World War I provided a boost for Vietnamese independence because the colonial government sent thousands of Vietnamese to France to fight in the conflict. The Vietnamese who returned home after the war brought their impressions of the freedom that citizens had in independent states as well as contempt for what was perceived as the decadence of European society.

After World War I the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia stimulated a Marxist movement in Vietnam. One of the most successful leaders was Ho Chi Minh, who first came to international attention when he attempted to petition the Versailles Peace Conference for Vietnamese independence. Although Ho's petition was rejected, the Soviet communist elites saw in Ho a very promising Southeast Asian leader. From that point on, Ho was a committed communist who wanted to expel all foreigners and destroy existing aristocratic elites.

In line with other nationalist revolutionaries, Ho was tactically opposed to the strongest non-Vietnamese forces trying to dominate his native country. Between the two world wars, he opposed the French. During World War II, he fought the Japanese. For a



brief time after World War II, he resisted the Chinese Nationalist army that sought to accept Japan's surrender in Vietnam, fearing Chinese conquest. At that point, Ho actually invited in the French as a counterweight to the Chinese.

### **Vietnam War**

After the Chinese were brought under control, Ho opposed the French again. The French were defeated by Ho's forces at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and withdrew. After the conflict, Vietnam was divided into two countries. Ho's procommunist government presided over North Vietnam, and Ngo Dinh Diem's anticommunist government held power in the south.

With the French gone, South Vietnam turned to the United States for help against the communist north. The French had promised elections that would reunify the country in 1956. However, the United States did not sign the agreement that sanc-

## **Vietnam Time Line**

- 939 Vietnam regains its independence from China.
- 1862 French force Vietnam to become their colony of Cochinchina in Treaty of Saigon.
- 1942 Japan occupies Vietnam.
- 1946 Vietnam declares its independence.
- 1946-1954 Although France announces it is ending its Indochinese colonies, it tries to retain control by forcing colonies into its new French Union.
- 1946 (Dec.) Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh forces start fighting in Indochina.
- 1949 (Mar. 8) France recognizes Vietnam's independence within French Union—a decision that does not satisfy Ho Chi Minh.
- 1954 (July) Vietnamese communists defeat French in battle of Dien Bien Phu; settlement splits Vietnam into two countries.
- 1961-1973 United States becomes directly involved in Vietnam War.
- 1963 (Nov. 1) South Vietnamese president Ngo Dinh Diem is overthrown in coup.
- 1968 (Jan. 30) North Vietnam begins Tet Offensive.
- 1969 (Sept. 30) Ho Chi Minh dies.
- 1973 (Jan. 27) After peace agreement is signed, United States begins withdrawing troops.
- 1975 (Apr. 30) North Vietnam's occupation of Saigon ends Vietnam War.

tioned the elections and was not technically required to support them.

In the end, the United States quietly opposed the elections that almost certainly would have led to communist rule over all of Vietnam. The dictatorial Ngo regime continued to rule South Vietnam. President Ngo was a Catholic supported by wealthy, Western-oriented elites. These pro-Western forces were increasingly corrupt and easy targets for nationalists supported by North Vietnam. The United States gave limited military assistance to South Vietnam as early as President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration during the 1950's, but the heaviest support came after 1960.

Apparently frustrated by the inability of the Ngo regime to eliminate corruption and succeed against the communists, U.S. president John F. Kennedy approved the overthrow of Ngo by other anticommunist groups. Ngo was killed in the violent

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|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1976 | (July 2) North Vietnam absorbs South Vietnam and declares Socialist Republic of Vietnam.                                             |
| 1979 | (Jan. 6) Vietnam invades Cambodia.                                                                                                   |
| 1979 | (Feb. 17) China invades Vietnam but withdraws a month later.                                                                         |
| 1985 | (Jan. 14) Vietnamese-supported Hun Sen becomes Cambodian president.                                                                  |
| 1988 | Vietnam claims to have sunk three Chinese ships transporting troops to Spratly Islands.                                              |
| 1988 | (May 26) Vietnam agrees to withdraw from Cambodia.                                                                                   |
| 1990 | (Aug. 6) United States and Vietnam meet to discuss Cambodia.                                                                         |
| 1991 | China normalizes relations with Vietnam, but relations remain cool.                                                                  |
| 1991 | (Apr. 20) United States opens office in Vietnam as relations improve.                                                                |
| 1991 | (June 17) Vietnam begins economic market reforms after collapse of Soviet Union.                                                     |
| 1993 | (Feb. 2) Vietnamese-backed Cambodian government launches offensive against Khmer Rouge.                                              |
| 1993 | (May 23) After Cambodian elections take place under U.N. auspices, Vietnamese-backed government of Hun Sen refuses to give up power. |
| 1997 | (Mar. 24) Vietnam accuses China of violating international law by occupying Spratly Islands claimed by several Asian countries.      |
| 1997 | (July 5) Cambodia's Vietnamese-backed Hun Sen government drives Prince Norodom Ranariddah into exile.                                |

*(continued)*

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overthrow on November 1, 1963, and an even less effective government came to power. After the 1963 Kennedy assassination, President Lyndon B. Johnson responded to the deteriorating situation by building up U.S. military forces to achieve a military victory.

Throughout the 1960's, the North Vietnamese army, aided by the Viet Cong, their communist allies from the south, fought against the U.S.-supported South Vietnam government. By January, 1968, more than 500,000 U.S. troops were fighting in Vietnam.

On January 30, 1968, the North Vietnamese launched a major offensive on the Vietnamese Lunar New Year festival known as Tet. The Tet Offensive was a North Vietnamese military failure but a stunning political and public relations success. Opposition to the war in the United States had been growing. The war's opponents could now argue that if 500,000 U.S. troops could not even stop the Tet Offensive, then winning the war through mili-

### **Vietnam Time Line** (*continued*)

- 1998 (Mar. 10) U.S. president Clinton lifts trade curbs on Vietnam.
- 1998 (Aug. 28) Vietnam government announces it will release more than five thousand prisoners in mass amnesty; U.S. government praises decision and offers to permit several prominent dissidents to settle in United States.
- 1999 (Jan.) General Tran Do is expelled from Vietnam's Communist Party for criticizing the party's closed and undemocratic practices.
- 2000 (July) Vietnam reaches a trade agreement with the United States, allowing U.S. companies to sell goods in Vietnam, while lowering tariffs on Vietnamese goods entering the United States.
- 2001 (Feb.) Members of highland minority groups in central Vietnam protest the confiscation of their farm lands.
- 2002 (May) Vietnam elects a new national assembly of 498 members. By most estimates, nine out of ten of these members are controlled by the Communist Party.
- 2002 (July) Two members of the Communist Party's central committee are expelled for having ties to criminal gang members; many observers maintain that the movement to a market economy has led to widespread corruption
- 2002 (Sept.) Author Nguyen Vu Binh is arrested for writing an essay criticizing the Vietnamese government for giving too much land to China in efforts to settle disputes over borders.

tary action was impossible. Within a few months of the Tet Offensive, President Johnson announced a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, initiated peace talks in Paris, and announced that he would not run for reelection.

### **Fall of South Vietnam**

The Paris Peace Conference did not achieve immediate success, and fighting continued, although at a somewhat slower pace, throughout the next four years. The Vietnam War became an issue during the 1968 U.S. presidential campaign, won by Richard M. Nixon, who announced that he had a program to end the Vietnam War called "Vietnamization." Apparently, he meant gradually to withdraw U.S. troops. The South Vietnamese would have to fight on their own.

With the remaining U.S. troops in Vietnam, Nixon decided to launch a major offensive against Vietnamese forces hiding in Cambodia in April, 1970. This offensive weakened neutral forces in Cambodia and ultimately assisted the rise of indigenous Cambodian communists called the Khmer Rouge. Led by a radical agrarian communist named Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge takeover of Cambodia ultimately led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of Cambodians.

The U.S. offensive only strengthened domestic opposition to the Vietnam War in the United States. The Paris Peace Talks continued throughout the first Nixon term, finally resulting in a January, 1973, agreement providing for a complete U.S. military withdrawal and a cease-fire between the communists and the South Vietnamese.

By March, 1973, the last American combat troops left Vietnam. The cease-fire quickly broke down, with each side accusing the other of violating its terms. The North Vietnamese apparently hoped the South Vietnamese would collapse easily, but this did not happen. The South held out in low-level fighting for the next two years.

In early 1975, the North Vietnamese felt strong enough to launch a major offensive. South Vietnamese resistance collapsed quickly, and the North Vietnamese army conquered the south. On April 28, 1975, South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van



*U.S. soldiers leaving Vietnam in 1973. (Library of Congress)*

Thieu resigned and fled the country. By April 30, U.S. military helicopters were evacuating the remaining Americans off the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese stormed the South Vietnamese government offices, and the Vietnam War ended.

### **Conflict with Cambodia**

Although the communists had succeeded in taking power over all of Vietnam, real peace was not yet present in Indochina. The Pol Pot regime in Cambodia carried out a massive program of relocating people from the cities to the countryside, a scheme that resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths.

Eventually the North Vietnamese became afraid of Cambodia's disorder and sought to control Cambodia through military action. The North Vietnamese invaded Cambodia and drove the Pol Pot regime into near-exile on the Thailand-Cambodia border.

This confirmed that, at least in Southeast Asia, communist governments were as likely to oppose one another as to be allies.

By 1979 China, North Vietnam's erstwhile communist ally, decided that they had had enough of the increased Vietnamese control in Cambodia and attacked Vietnam. The battle-hardened Vietnamese army exacted more than twenty thousand Chinese casualties and stopped the much larger but less effective Chinese forces only a few miles inside the Vietnamese border. This was a major setback for China's prestige. After that, the Vietnamese exercised political control in most of Cambodia, ending the massive killing directed by Pol Pot.

Pol Pot survived for many years fighting a guerrilla war against the Vietnamese using Chinese weapons and supplies shipped through neighboring Thailand. Ultimately, the Khmer Rouge split, and other neutralist forces led by former Cambodian leader Prince Sihanouk reentered Cambodian politics as the result of several attempted negotiated settlements.

Although the Vietnamese withdrew their troops in 1989, they left the government that they had established in power. This government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Hun Sen, a former Vietnamese ally, shared power for a time with other factions. By the late 1990's, however, Hun Sen had managed to push out most of the other groups and he was the acknowledged leader of the country by the first decade of the twenty-first century. There is no indication that Hun Sen was still in league with the Vietnamese, but Cambodia had largely ceased to be a threat to Vietnamese interests.

### **Relations with China**

The principal source of conflict in Vietnam is with China. During the Vietnam War, North Vietnam appeared closely allied to both the Soviet Union and China against their common external enemy, the United States. This apparent alliance hid many disputes between the Soviets and Chinese, both of which were competing for influence over Vietnam. The Vietnamese, in turn, attempted to play each of their two larger presumed allies against each other. It is now apparent that the disputes among the Soviet Union, China, and Vietnam were major.

The Vietnamese fear of the Chinese is well known, and several grounds for future conflict still exist. The Vietnamese perceived themselves as being threatened by their much smaller and less developed Southeast Asian neighbors, Laos and Cambodia. This led to the occupation of most of Cambodia and Laos by Vietnamese troops. Not only did Vietnam invade Cambodia and install their own supporters in power, but they also sent more than forty thousand troops into Laos, where they shored up another government allied to them. The Chinese oppose Vietnam's involvement in both countries.

These disputes between Vietnam and its neighbors are complicated by alliances between the Chinese and various subgroups, particularly in Cambodia. Thailand, fearing the Vietnamese more than the Chinese, sides with China. The Malaysians and Indonesians support Vietnam, but Singapore supports the Chinese position. While a wider regional war does not seem likely, the grounds for future conflict may exist.

The dispute between Vietnam and China over who influences Cambodia is insignificant compared to the longer-standing conflict over the border between China and Vietnam. The boundary the Chinese crossed in 1979 had stood for hundreds of years. Even if the incursion was only a few miles in dense inhospitable jungle, national pride for both China and Vietnam is important. For different reasons, both sides may feel that they lost face: the Chinese because of the heavy casualties and the Vietnamese because of the lost territory.

An additional significant conflict between Vietnam and China exists over a number of island groups claimed by both China and Vietnam, most particularly the Spratly Islands at the very southern edge of the South China Sea. While there are some Chinese communities in the more remote southern islands of this chain, the principal source of conflict is not the occupants on the islands but the contents of the seabed in the area surrounding the islands. Any country that can enforce its claim on the Spratly Islands is then able to make claims on the various natural resources, particularly oil, thought to exist there.

While Vietnam is principally concerned about its relationship to China, its claims to the Spratly Islands and other island groups

also raise the possibility of conflicts with Indonesia and the Philippines.

### **Economic Change**

For centuries, countries along the North Atlantic Ocean dominated the international economic system, while Asia lagged behind. After World War II and particularly after 1970, Asia awakened economically. Many economists have since predicted that the global economic center will eventually shift from the North Atlantic to the Pacific.

Japan was the first Asian economy to emerge, followed by Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Ironically, some part of this progress was the result of the United States and its allies in the Vietnam War spending large sums of money maintaining their military troops in the area. Vietnam did not benefit from this expenditure. Rather, it suffered from the destruction of the war.

Still, this adversity may have hardened the character of an already disciplined people. Among Vietnam's neighbors, the Vietnamese are sometimes referred to as the "Prussians" of Asia. This is a reference to the section of Germany generally regarded as providing the most disciplined military forces during Germany's dramatic military prominence between 1850 and 1945.

Vietnam, a presumably communist state, persevered with its socialist system until after the collapse of the socialist system in the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe. Vietnam stuck with the system, in part, because it felt it needed the Soviet Union's support to counterbalance China. In sticking with the socialist system, the Vietnamese ignored the progress China was making with its economic reform—an effort that started earlier than the Soviet reform.

After the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991, the Vietnamese had nowhere to turn. They evidently could not expect much from the Chinese. In any case, the Chinese made it clear that they were not interested in bailing out a country that would not undertake sensible reforms. Finally, the Vietnamese undertook economic reform and began to join some of their comparably sized Asian neighbors in economic growth. Vietnam also began to court



better relations with Japan and the United States, again seeking at least some partial counterweight against the Chinese.

By the early years of the twenty-first century, Vietnam's economic reforms were beginning to give the country many of the characteristics of a market economy. In July, 2000, Vietnam reached a trade agreement with its former enemy, the United States. Under this agreement, American companies would be able to sell goods to Vietnamese consumers and Vietnamese goods would be allowed into the United States with substantially lower tariffs than before. In that same month, Vietnam opened its first stock exchange in Ho Chi Minh City.

Vietnam has shared some of the benefits of economic reform with its neighbors. It also shares the economic tension that exists throughout Asia as it sees other countries both as customers and competitors. Clearly, Vietnam would benefit considerably if it could share in the giant Chinese market, but first the Vietnamese must overcome their past animosity toward China and build a successful economic relationship.

Complicating this situation is the fact that Vietnam is one of many Southeast Asian countries with a sizable Chinese minority. This minority is economically successful within Vietnam. As is true elsewhere, native Vietnamese often display envy and jealousy toward the Chinese. In Indonesia in the mid-1960's, this attitude resulted in widespread anti-Chinese persecution and killing. Were this to happen in Vietnam, a Chinese reaction to help fellow Chinese could not be ruled out, especially since so many other pretexts for conflict exist.

Vietnam also faces the same risks of an economic downturn that its neighbors do. Rapid economic growth is often accompanied by significant economic corrections or recessions. Disorders are also possible where an economic downturn might spread from elsewhere in Asia.

### **New Political Tensions**

Although Vietnam liberalized its economy somewhat in the 1990's and 2000's, it retained a highly centralized political system under the strict control of its Communist Party. Many Vietnamese people began to chafe at this system, and some of those people

were in influential political positions. In late 1998, General Tran Do, a party member and senior officer in the Vietnamese military, wrote a series of open letters criticizing the closed and undemocratic practices of the party. After he was expelled from the party in January, 1999, another officer, Lieutenant General Pham Hong Son, spoke out against the party's corruption and undemocratic ways.

The dissatisfaction of ethnic minorities in Vietnam drew international attention in February, 2001. Members of groups in the central highlands of the country joined together in protests against the Communist Party's confiscation of farm lands. Since many of the highland people, known as Montagnards (or "Mountaineers" in French) had cooperated with the Americans during the earlier war years, there was a long tradition of suspicion between the ethnic minorities and the Vietnamese government.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Vietnam faced continuing domestic tensions as it attempted to adapt to new global realities. While there were democratizing forces even within the Communist Party, the party did not appear likely to give up easily its tight hold on power. Since tourism had increased rapidly from 2000 through 2002, the Vietnamese population experienced more contact with outsiders and with new ideas. In addition, although most party leaders were aging veterans of Vietnam's long fight for independence and unity, nearly one out of every three Vietnamese in 2000 was under fifteen years of age. As a new generation comes of age in a new, more internationally connected nation, Vietnam faces almost certain change and the possibility of new conflict.

*Richard L. Wilson*  
*Updated by the Editors*

### **For Further Study**

For secondary students, there is a growing body of accessible literature on Asia. See *The Columbia Project on Asia in the Core Curriculum: A Guide for Teaching*, Myron L. Cohen, editor (1992), which contains several sections on Vietnam written for use in a secondary school curriculum. Mark Borthwick's *Pacific Century: The Emergence of Modern Pacific Asia* (1992), developed for use as a

text for a college-level telecourse by the same name, has been used successfully in secondary school programs and contains several good chapters on Vietnam.

The United States Army publishes the Area Handbook series with books on individual countries. Their *Vietnam: A Country Study* (1989) is a valuable source of information. A tremendous number of books have been published on the history of the United States' participation in the Vietnam War. A good one-volume history is Stanley Karnow's *Vietnam: A History* (1983). David Halberstam's *The Making of a Quagmire* (1964) is a highly readable classic. Somewhat more specialized is William J. Duiker's *China and Vietnam: The Roots of Conflict* (1986).

*Why Vietnam Invaded Cambodia: Political Culture and the Causes of War* (1999), by Stephen J. Morris, is essential reading for those wishing to understand the complexities of the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict. *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States* (1998), by Min Zhou and Carl L. Bankston III, is primarily about Vietnamese young people in the United States but also offers a succinct narrative of the political and economic pressures that created a refugee exodus from Vietnam, the movement of refugees out of the country, and the massive resettlement of Vietnamese people in other countries.

On the more advanced level, Colin Mackerras has edited a very comprehensive history and political analysis entitled *East and Southeast Asia* (1996), again with chapters on Vietnam. James C. F. Wang's *Comparative Asian Politics* (1995) is the best recent political science work on Vietnam and the surrounding region.

The collection of articles in *Vietnamese Foreign Policy in Transition* (2000), edited by Carlyle Thayer and Ramese Amer, concentrates on the development of Vietnamese foreign relations after 1995, when Vietnam became a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Editor Carlyle Thayer is one of the foremost authorities on contemporary Vietnamese government and politics and all of his earlier books are also strongly recommended to all those with a serious interest in this subject.

There is no deeper, more advanced, or more sophisticated examination of the Vietnamese character and its relationship to Confucianism than that found in the classic work on Asian poli-

tics, *Asian Power and Politics* (1985), by one of America's leading Asian scholars, Lucian W. Pye. Although it is written for a scholarly university audience, it may be suitable for advanced students and is necessary for anyone who hopes to understand the real cultural forces behind Vietnamese politics.

*World Monitor* magazine frequently provides interesting articles. *Current History* is well known for the quality of its articles. *The Economist*, a weekly newsmagazine published in England, is another excellent source for international news.

## YEMEN

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*Fighting is commonplace in Yemen and often escalates into war. Violence erupts between groups that want to modernize the country into a strong republic and other groups that fear losing Arab and Islamic culture. For most of the twentieth century Yemen has been split into two countries known as North and South Yemen. The North had long been occupied by the Ottomans and was more recently influenced by Egypt. The South came to be administered as a British protectorate and was often referred to as Aden, after the port city. During the 1960's both Yemens revolted, the North against the Yemeni monarchy that had been in place for centuries and the South against the British. The North formed the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR). The South formed a Marxist-Leninist government later named the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Both countries endured civil war and assassinations caused by political unrest. In 1990 the two countries united to form the Republic of Yemen (ROY), but fighting continued.*

*The ROY survived civil war in 1994 and held parliamentary elections in 1997, the country's first direct presidential elections in 1999, and local elections in 2001. Islamic militants in Yemen drew international attention in the late 1990's and early twenty-first century, after one group of militants kidnaped foreign tourists and another launched a suicide bombing on a U.S. naval vessel.*

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**T**he location and geography of Yemen play important roles in its position in regional politics and controversies. Frequent warfare, certain Islamic policies, and traditional resistance to modernization have combined to keep Yemen's economy undeveloped. Yemen is often engaged in violent conflicts with neighboring countries.

Yemen occupies the southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, bordering Saudi Arabia to the north and Oman to the east. The Gulf of Aden lies along the southern coast and the Red Sea lies to the west. Because of its location Yemen has always been important to world trade, first as an overland route during ancient

times and later as a provider of necessary refueling ports for shipping.

In the sixteenth century Yemen exported coffee from the port of al-Mukh, leading to the popularity of coffee as well as the term Mocha. After the opening of the Suez Canal, the port of Aden became one of the busiest in the world. However, the interior of Yemen remained isolated, tribal, and mainly Zaidi Islamic.

### **Zones of Yemen**

In western Yemen geographical zones run from north to south. Hot and arid, yet humid, the Tihama plain, a strip of land thirty to forty miles wide, separates the coast from the steeply rising mountains. The mountain zone contains Sanaa, the capital city, which, at 6,500 feet, is one of the highest-elevation capitals in the world. In the mountains, rain rushes down *wadis* rather than rivers. These *wadis* dry up in the summer, allowing the Yemeni to use them for crops. The mountains are terraced for farming.

The advanced farming methods and rainfall earned the area recognition as Arabia Felix, or fertile Arabia. Near Marib, capital of the ancient kingdom of Sheba (Saba), a great stone dam provided for irrigation, capturing the run-off from summer rains. Mountain peaks ranging from 10,000 to 12,000 feet in Western Ye-

## **Profile of Yemen**

*Official name:* Republic of Yemen

*Independent since:* 1918 (merged with People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in 1990)

*Former colonial rulers:* Ottoman Empire; Great Britain

*Location:* southern tip of Arabian Peninsula

*Area:* 203,849 square miles

*Capital:* Sanaa

*Population:* 18.7 million (2002 est.)

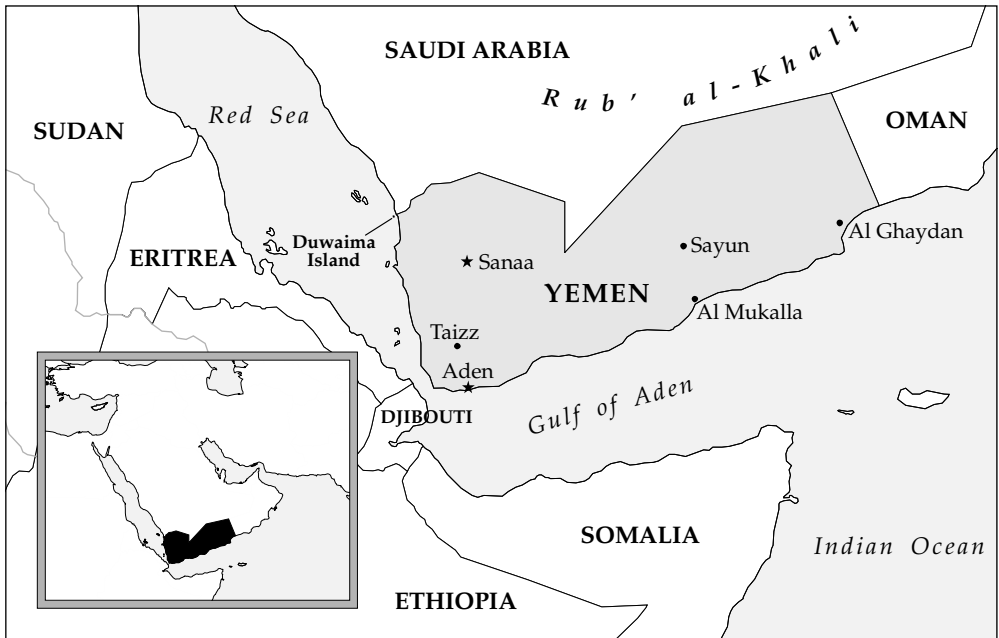
*Official language:* Arabic

*Major religions:* Sunni and Shiite Islam

*Gross domestic product:* US\$14.8 billion (2001 est.)

*Major exports:* mineral fuels; food and livestock; crude minerals

*Military expenditures:* US\$482.5 million (2001)



men are the wettest in all Arabia, receiving fifteen to thirty inches of rainfall yearly. In desert regions oases, such as the Hawdramawt, support production. During Roman times Arabia Felix was famous for its trade in frankincense and myrrh.

Modern Yemen has environmental problems centered on the general scarcity of water, soil erosion, and desertification. Continued irrigation has created salinization, and most forests have been destroyed through agricultural clearing and livestock overgrazing. There is no national environmental policy.

### **Border Disputes and Tribal Leaders**

Yemen's relations with neighboring states have often erupted in territorial conflicts. For example, in 1934 North Yemen's Imam Yahya was forced to cede the province of Asir to King Abd al-Aziz of Saudi Arabia. Tribal leaders in the area had allied with the king, and Yemeni government forces were not strong enough to enforce claims to the territory. Even though both the Yemeni Imam and the king of Saudi Arabia signed the Taif agreement settling the conflict, the eastern border of the region remained in

question until 2000, when the two countries finally agreed on a definition of part of their border and set plans for marking the remainder of their border based on tribal considerations.

From the capital city, Sanaa, plateau lands stretch to the east and become increasingly arid until they finally merge with the great Rub' al-Khali, or Empty Quarter, of the Saudi Arabian desert. Borderlands originally demarcating South Yemen also stretch along the Arabian desert. After the discovery of oil and gas deposits, military clashes between Saudi Arabia and Yemen reignited. In general, Yemeni-Saudi relations improved in the late 1990's. These suffered a setback in 1998 when Saudi forces attacked Yemeni soldiers on Duwaima Island in the Red Sea. However, in June, 2000, the foreign ministers of the two countries signed a treaty based on the 1934 agreement. Although this new treaty established only part of the common border, it stated that the rest of the border would be drawn in a peaceful and friendly manner.

Yemen's strategic position at the tip of the Arabian Peninsula has also created conflicts. Yemen lies at the southern entrance to the Red Sea. Its ownership of two islands, Greater and Lesser Hanish, caused fighting during the 1990's. For centuries the two islands were considered a hazard to ships. Britain maintained lighthouses there even after it left Aden in 1967. Eventually Yemen took possession of the islands.

Eritrea, Yemen's neighbor across the Bab al-Mandab strait, claimed the islands as their own in 1993, when they became independent from Ethiopia. Yemen had supported Eritrea in its fight for independence, and nothing was done about the claim to the islands. In 1995 Eritrea moved to take over the islands and fighting broke out. The fighting included the use of warships and the capture of Yemeni fishermen. The motivation of Eritrea remained unclear. However, oil and gas discoveries were thought to be a factor. Yemen submitted the Hanish island problem to an international tribunal at the Hague in 1997. The following year, the international tribunal decided in Yemen's favor.

Tribal leaders in the Saudi Arabian-Yemeni border area often contribute to violence and danger, disputing among themselves and with the Yemeni government. A U.S. consul noted in 1996



that air transport would reduce the risk to persons traveling outside the cities. It was also proposed that an armed escort be provided by a local tour company. A history of similar unrest clouds Yemeni relations with neighboring Oman along the eastern border.

Tribal leaders present a political and military challenge to peace in Yemen and may side with other Arab national interests, as they did in 1934. In addition, collecting booty is a tradition. During the civil war in 1994 the tribes seized heavy weapons, including artillery and armored vehicles. These weapons were turned against the Yemeni government in 1996 when troops tried to collect them.

Tribal leaders also presented a danger to foreigners, having kidnapped more than one hundred people in the years between the union in 1990 and 1997. Kidnapped “guests” have been

## Yemen Time Line

- 1598 Qasim Ibn Muhammad unites Yemen region under Zaidi Islamic rule.
- 1618 Yemen coffee draws English and Dutch merchants to Red Sea port of al-Mukh; British trade begins in Aden.
- 1839 Britain seizes fishing village of Aden, beginning its role in world shipping trade.
- 1849 Ottoman Turks occupy large area of northern Yemen, forcing Zaidi imam to become a vassal.
- 1869 Opening of Suez Canal increases need for stable refueling services in Aden.
- 1880-1900 British secure treaties of friendship and protection with tribes near Aden, beginning Aden Protectorate.
- 1914 Britain and Ottoman Empire sign agreement creating frontier between what will become North Yemen after World War I and British Aden Protectorate.
- 1918 Ottoman forces withdraw from North Yemen following their defeat in World War I.
- 1934 Yemen loses territory of Asir Province to Saudi Arabia in brief war.
- 1937 Administration of Aden Protectorate passes from British-controlled government of India to British Colonial Office.
- 1948 Imam Yahya is assassinated in revolt; Ahmad becomes imam of North Yemen.
- 1954 Despite growing opposition to British rule, oil refinery is built in Aden.
- 1962-1970 Civil war in North Yemen.

treated well during their captivity. Abdullah Ahmar, speaker of the Yemeni parliament and leader of the Hashid tribe, claimed that "Kidnapping is part of tourism; it's an adventure for the tourist . . . good hospitality." However, in the late 1990's the government showed signs of impatience, indicating that it was less willing to make concessions to tribal leaders holding hostages. Travel warnings cited increasing danger.

### **Relations with the Arab World**

In addition to territorial disputes, Yemen's economic dependence on other countries adds to its instability. During the 1980's, in addition to grants from the Soviet bloc, the World Bank, and the OPEC development fund, Yemen received aid from Kuwait, Algeria, Libya, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia. After the discovery of oil, Saudi Arabia also provided employment,

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|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1962      | Revolution in North Yemen; military coup in capital city Sanaa; Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) is established.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1963      | National Liberation Front (NLF) is formed as fighting begins to end British presence in Aden.                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 1967      | Independence is achieved as last British forces leave Aden; People's Republic of Yemen (later PDRY) is formed.                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1967      | (June) Closure of Suez Canal after Six-Day War reduces Aden's commercial importance until canal is reopened.                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1972      | Brief border war between the two Yemens; cease-fire is followed by announcement of plans for unification.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1977-1978 | YAR president al-Hamdi and his successor, al-Ghashmi, are assassinated; Lieutenant Colonel Ali Abdullah Salih assumes presidency; in south, Salim Rubay ali, co-ruler of PDRY is executed, leaving Abd al Fattah Ismail free to consolidate power under his leadership. |
| 1979      | Salih visits Soviet Union and receives weapons; PDRY signs treaty of friendship with Soviet Union.                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1979      | Border war between the two Yemens.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1981      | Salih visits PDRY, and talk of unification is renewed.                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1982      | Massive earthquake in YAR is followed by unsuccessful revolt led by National Democratic Front (NDF); severe flooding in PDRY weakens economy.                                                                                                                           |
| 1986      | Leaders of PDRY are assassinated; Ali Salim al-Baydh takes charge.                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1987      | Oil export through pipeline from Marib to Red Sea begins.                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

*(continued)*

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as several hundred thousand Yemeni males went to work in the oil fields in Saudi Arabia and in other oil-rich Arab nations.

The workers sent home remittances, or portions of their pay, which provided the first substantial cash income that many Yemeni families had ever enjoyed. A few private projects were funded, such as the installation of small engines to pump water, but most of the cash was spent on imported consumer goods, especially food. Most people continued to live with inadequate supplies of clean water and sanitation services. No large investments in economic development were made.

In 1990, the same year that the two Yemens united to form the Republic of Yemen, Iraq invaded Kuwait, causing the Gulf crisis. The Yemeni Republic under Ali Abdullah Salih's leadership refused to support its most important neighbor, Saudi Arabia, in a stand against Iraq. Yemeni men were expelled from Saudi Arabia

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### Yemen Time Line *(continued)*

- 1989 Soviet Union can no longer support PDRY.
  - 1990-1994 More than 150 members of Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) are assassinated.
  - 1990 (May) Unification of two Yemens is ratified, and Republic of Yemen (ROY) is formed.
  - 1990 (Aug. 2) Persian Gulf Crisis begins; Yemen alienates United States and Saudi Arabia by calling for negotiated settlement and end to all foreign presences in Arabian Peninsula; Islah party (Reform Group) is founded.
  - 1993 ROY vice-president Ali Salim al-Baydh returns to Aden leaving Sanaa as protest.
  - 1994 Civil war as forces from the north under Salih overcome secession move by the south.
  - 1997 (Apr. 27) Salih wins reelection; Islah becomes first Islamic party ever to serve in coalition government formed through democratic elections.
  - 1998 (Apr. 17) Members of Bin Zabyan community take three English travelers hostage in effort to force government to improve infrastructure around their town.
  - 1998 (July 19) Saudi warships bombard Yemen-held Duwaima Island, which Saudi Arabia claims.
  - 1998 (Dec.) Kidnappings of foreign tourists by militant antigovernment Muslims continue.
  - 1999 (Jan.) Yemen's arrest of British nationalists on terrorism charges raises tensions between Yemen and Great Britain.
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and the remittances ended. Salih's position also angered other Arab nations and the West, so that not only the remittances but also other economic aid stopped.

### National Economy

Workers returning home as a result of the Persian Gulf War found little employment. From the original dominance of the Zaidi sect of Shiite Islam in the mountainous regions during the tenth century to the formation of the YAR and PDRY during the 1960's, most of northern Yemen and the interior of southern Yemen had been ruled by tradition. The tribal leaders and the Hamid Dynasty kept the people isolated from unbelievers, or non-Muslim "infidels."

Agriculture supported the people but produced only enough surplus to provide for natural disasters such as droughts, earth-

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|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1999 | (Sept.) Yemen holds its first direct presidential elections; Ali Abdallah Salih receives a large majority of votes.                                                                                             |
| 2000 | (Oct. 12) A small boat loaded with bombs strikes the USS <i>Cole</i> in Aden's harbor, killing seventeen U.S. sailors and injuring twenty-nine others.                                                          |
| 2001 | (Feb.) Yemen holds its first elections for local councils; voters also approve a referendum that will allow Ali Abdallah Salih to remain as president until 2013.                                               |
| 2001 | (Mar.) Abd al-Qadir al-Ba Jamal, a southerner who formerly served in the Marxist government of South Yemen, is appointed prime minister.                                                                        |
| 2001 | (Oct.) Pakistan authorities arrest Yemeni student Jamil Qasim Saeed Mohammed, who is wanted in connection with the attacks on the <i>Cole</i> , and who is said to be an active member of the al-Qaeda network. |
| 2002 | (Sept. 20) In a suburb north of Sanaa, Yemeni police engage in a shootout with suspected Yemeni members of the international al-Qaeda network. The police kill one suspect and arrest four others.              |
| 2002 | (Oct. 6) Small ship carrying explosives rams a French oil tanker off the coast of Yemen.                                                                                                                        |
| 2002 | (Nov. 6) U.S. Central Intelligence Agency fires a missile from an unmanned aircraft over Yemen, hitting a car carrying al-Qaeda leader Qaed Salem Sinan al-Harethi and five associates.                         |
| 2002 | (Dec. 30) An Islamic extremist kills three doctors and wounds a pharmacist at a Baptist missionary hospital in Jibla.                                                                                           |
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quakes, and floods. Thus, the sudden end to foreign cash flows caused an economic crisis. Shantytowns grew up around the major cities. In 1996 the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index ranked Yemen 142 of 174 nations.

Many factors contribute to Yemeni poverty. More than half of the population, which totals nearly 19 million people, is illiterate, families have an average of seven members, and the birth rate equals forty-six per one thousand as compared to fifteen per one thousand in the United States. Per capita incomes vary but remain less than the equivalent of US\$1 per day. Only one-third of homes have piped water, electricity, or cooking gas.

Transportation remains difficult, with many unpaved roads requiring four-wheel-drive vehicles, a favorite target of hijackers. Although there had been efforts at creating a nationwide telecommunications network since unification in 1990, by the early twenty-first century there was still no national telephone system. Groundwater levels declined rapidly with the introduction of pumping technology, making further investments risky.

Islam prohibits the use of drugs and alcohol. However, the Yemeni have grown and used khat for centuries. Khat, a shrub cultivated in the Middle East and Africa and used as a habituating stimulant, has been consumed for relaxation and social enjoyment. Its role in Yemen has come under criticism because of its potential economic effects. People meet for khat sessions in the early afternoon that continue into the evening. Studies by the World Health Organization suggest that khat use increases employee absenteeism by causing insomnia. Others charge that khat produces hallucinations and cancer. Critics contend that its cultivation diverts water and other important natural resources from the production of needed food.

### **Prospects for Stability**

Elections held in 1997 resulted in a continuation of Salih's power, backed by a coalition between the General People's Congress and the Islah parties. Socialists in the south continued to charge that repression and unfair practices remained. Yemeni women were active in voter registration drives, although few ran for or held office. About one-fourth of the citizenry was regis-



*Sanaa, the capital of Yemen. (PhotoDisc)*

tered to vote. The government continued to hold power, at least partially, by military means. Nevertheless, the elections were considered to be significant in developing greater democracy.

Ali Abdallah Salih's hold on leadership received additional confirmation in September, 1999, when Yemen held its first direct popular election of president. Prior to a change in the constitution, the president had been elected by parliament. Salih received an overwhelming majority of votes in the election.

Yemen held its first elections for local councils in February, 2001, extending electoral politics to localities throughout the nation. Once again, Salih enjoyed confirmation and extension of his time in office, since voters in the 2001 elections approved a referendum that would allow Salih to continue as president until 2013. A month after the election, Salih appointed Abd al-Qadir al-Ba Jamal as prime minister. Ba Jamal was a southerner who had served in the Marxist government of South Yemen before reunification. By the early twenty-first century, Yemen appeared to be

moving toward political stability. There were also some elements of democratization, although power remained in the hands of the president.

### **Radical Islam in Yemen**

As in other Muslim countries, militant Islamic movements became evident in Yemen at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century. In December, 1998, sixteen European tourists were kidnapped in southern Yemen by a group that called itself the Aden-Abyan Islamic Army. Although kidnappings of tourists had been fairly common in Yemen, this incident was different. In earlier cases, tourists had been treated well; in this incident, the kidnappers murdered four of their captives. In addition, the explicitly Islamic identification of the group was notable.

On October 12, 2000, a U.S. naval destroyer, the USS *Cole*, was in the harbor at Aden when it was struck by a small boat loaded with bombs and manned by suicide bombers. The attack killed seventeen U.S. sailors and injured thirty-nine others. The government of Yemen cooperated with the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in investigating the attack and several Yemenis were arrested.

The suicide bombers in the *Cole* attack were apparently linked to the al-Qaeda international terrorist network that destroyed the World Trade Center towers in New York in September, 2001. In late October, 2001, authorities in Pakistan arrested a Yemeni student named Jamil Qasim Saeed Mohammed, who was wanted in connection with the attacks on the *Cole*, and who was an active member of al-Qaeda. Although the government of Yemen assisted the United States in attempting to find al-Qaeda terrorists in Yemen, experts on the society of the country reported that the radical Islamic group had fairly deep roots and wide influence in many areas of Yemeni society. Osama bin Laden, the leader and public face of al-Qaeda, was the son of an immigrant from Yemen to Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden retained some familial ties to his father's country of birth.

In August, 2002, Yemeni authorities arrested two militants thought to be connected to the al-Qaeda network. The two had

been preparing a bomb in the capital city of Sanaa, but it exploded prematurely, killing two of the bomb makers. In the apartment where the bomb exploded, police found rocket launchers and plastic explosives. Although Yemen had made strides toward internal stability, it had also become drawn into the web of radical Islam that had spread throughout the Middle East.

As elsewhere in the Middle East and Asia, advocates of radical Islam in Yemen were not merely anti-America but opposed to all Western involvement in Muslim regions. In October, 2002, a boat loaded with explosives rammed a French oil tanker off the coast of Yemen, causing the spillage of ninety thousand barrels of crude oil. The following month, the British embassy in Yemen closed, and the British foreign secretary recommended that all British subjects in Yemen should consider leaving because of the threats of al-Qaeda terrorists operating within the country. The Yemeni government cooperated closely with the United States to fight these forces, and in November a U.S. missile attack on a car in northwestern Yemen killed six reported al-Qaeda members, including a high-level deputy of Osama bin Laden.

Margaret A. Dodson  
Updated by the Editors

### **For Further Study**

The key words "Yemen," "Arab," and "Middle East" may be used in searching for resources describing the region and its peoples. The *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East*, by Reeva S. Simon, Philip Mattar, and Richard W. Bulliet (1996), is clearly written and provides accurate and unbiased information. *Lands and People Special Edition: Crisis in the Middle East* (1992) contains a time line showing events in Yemen and the rest of the Middle East from 1943 to 1991.

From the series of Westview Profiles of Nations of the Contemporary Middle East come two excellent studies: *The Yemen Arab Republic*, by Manfred W. Wenner (1991), and *South Yemen: A Marxist Republic in Arabia*, by Robert W. Stookey (1982). These two resources provide comprehensive background and facts, although the Marxist republic collapsed with the end of the Soviet Union. The most complete resource, *Historical Dictionary of Yemen* (1995),



by Robert D. Burrowes, is a volume in Scarecrow Press's Asian Historical Dictionaries series.

*Yemen: The Unknown Arabia* (2000), by Tim Mackintosh-Smith, is a charming description of Yemen by an Englishman who lived there for two decades and became fascinated with the country and its people. Those looking for an understanding of the nation's historical background should read *A History of Modern Yemen* (2001), by Paul Dresch. The maps and detailed chronology make Dresch's book particularly useful. Sally Searight's *Yemen: Land and People* (2002) is a short introduction with color photographs that convey the beauty of the country. Readers seeking information about the USS *Cole* incident should turn to *The Attack on the USS Cole in Yemen on October 12, 2000* (2002), by Betty Burnett.

Resources on special events are available in periodicals and databases. "The Third Inter-Yemeni War and Its Consequences," by Fred Halliday, in *Asian Affairs* (June, 1995), explains the civil war in 1994. *Foreign Affairs*, *Middle East Quarterly*, and the *Economist* also provide reliable coverage. Press databases provide news on a wide variety of topics, such as political issues, border wars, khat use, archeological digs, natural disasters, and environmental issues.

A search of the Internet should begin with Yemen Net, the official site. This is an excellent resource for information on religion, culture, government, political parties, and more. An e-mail link to the Yemen embassy in the United States is provided: Yemen@erols.com. There are also links to Arab Net, Arab World Factbook, Yemen in the CIA World Factbook, and the *Yemen Times*. The *Yemen Times* weekly newspaper, begun in 1991, is in English, with archived issues available through Java software. The *Yemen Times* focuses on nongovernmental organizations and may be accessed at [y.net.ye/yementimes](http://y.net.ye/yementimes).

## United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

Peacekeeping is a technique developed by the United Nations (U.N.) during the Cold War to limit conflict among and within sovereign states. Peacekeeping uses multinational forces to intervene when fighting occurs or threatens to break out between two or more states. United Nations peacekeepers have not, for the most part, engaged in military action. They are neither equipped nor authorized to fight. They operate only with the consent of the host country and are politically neutral. Peacekeeping forces have been deployed when the parties to a conflict have agreed to accept the intervention of a third party as a buffer between hostile forces.

Peacekeeping operations can be classified into three broad categories: those giving assistance in maintenance of cease-fires or truces, those implementing comprehensive settlements, and those that engage in humanitarian operations. In the first category, peacekeepers monitor cease-fires and enable clashing armies to pull back to a safe distance, where an atmosphere conducive to negotiations may be created. The primary goal of this type of mission is to allow time for political leaders and diplomats to negotiate and try to resolve underlying conflicts.

The second broad type was developed in the late 1980's and 1990's. With the end of the Cold War, members of the United Nations Security Council were able to agree on more ambitious and diversified operations. In providing a wider range of civilian experts to serve in such areas as human rights, local security, elections, and the reintegration of combatants to civilian life, the United Nations was able to assist in the strengthening of national institutions torn apart by war. These operations typically have been deployed for a limited time period, usually eighteen months to two years, at which point the peace process is sufficiently consolidated for the peacekeepers to be withdrawn.

The third category of peacekeeping is an attempt by the United Nations to alleviate situations of massive human suffering. This type of operation is typically employed to protect the

delivery of humanitarian relief in situations where armed violence has prevented efforts to assist a distressed population. This type of operation has frequently been difficult, especially in cases where the consent of the parties was tenuous or the operation took place in the midst of ongoing hostilities rather than in the context of a negotiated agreement.

Peacekeeping operations may be initiated by either the General Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations. The secretary general has executive responsibility for U.N. peacekeeping forces and usually delegates operational control over field forces to military officers. Contributions of military units by sovereign governments to serve as peacekeepers is voluntary. Nations contributing forces are reimbursed by the United Nations. The cost of peacekeeping operations is borne by the membership according to an agreed formula. The United States has paid the largest part of U.N. peacekeeping operations—31 percent during the 1990's.

Most U.N. operations have been successful in promoting peace and stability in their regions, and most U.N. members view peacekeeping as a vital function of the world organization. The demand for U.N. peacekeeping has increased since the end of the Cold War, in part because of the proliferation of civil wars throughout the world. At the same time, the presence of Russia on the U.N. Security Council as a successor to the Soviet Union has resulted in greater harmony among the permanent members, whose concurrence is necessary for peacekeeping operations to be authorized. Each of the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States—has the power to veto any Security Council decision. Between 1948 and 1996, forty-two peacekeeping operations were established.

This growing demand for peacekeeping has imposed a severe financial burden on the United Nations. In 1995 alone peacekeeping costs totaled US\$2.8 billion. For a variety of reasons several member states have failed to pay their share of the costs of peacekeeping, creating a serious financial constraint on the organization's capacity to act. In addition, the United Nations has encountered political opposition because of dissatisfaction with the outcome of a few operations. Peacekeeping operations in Soma-

lia, Bosnia, and Rwanda were particularly controversial. These cases illustrate some of the central paradoxes of modern peacekeeping. There is usually a strong international demand for peacekeeping intervention when civil wars produce widespread killing and crimes against humanity. Often the traditional goals of peacekeeping cannot be achieved without some use of force by the peacekeepers. However, the countries capable of mobilizing that force are sometimes unwilling to make it available or pay for it. Governments are reluctant to shed the nation's blood where no vital national interests are involved. The challenge for the United Nations is to know when to say "no" and when to say "yes" to peacekeeping. From the U.N. perspective an equal challenge is how to acquire the capability to "yes" when situations require it.

By early 2003, the United Nations had launched more than fifty peacekeeping operations, most of which were by then completed. They have ranged in strength from two to over 20,000 peacekeepers and have been deployed in every region of the world. The following is a brief description of individual U.N. peacekeeping operations in Asia and the Middle East, arranged in chronological order:

**U.N. Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO):** Assists the U.N. mediator in supervising a truce between Israel and the Arab states of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Its functions have changed with changing circumstances following wars in 1956, 1967, and 1973 and peace agreements between Israel and Egypt and Jordan. Number of peacekeepers in late 2002: 255. Duration: June, 1948-present.

**U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP):** Created to supervise the cease-fire between India and Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir. Number of peacekeepers in late 2002: 44. Duration: January, 1949-present.

**U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF I):** First large-scale force created by the General Assembly. UNEF became the model for U.N. peacekeeping. It supervised the withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli forces from the Sinai. Egyptian demand for its removal in 1967 led to the outbreak of the Six-Day War. Maximum number of peacekeepers: 6,073. Duration: November, 1956-June, 1967.

- U.N. Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL):** Prevented the infiltration of people or arms across the Lebanese borders. Maximum number of peacekeepers: 591. Duration: June, 1958-December, 1958.
- U.N. Temporary Executive Authority and the U.N. Security Force (UNTEA/UNSF):** Administered the territory of West Irian pending its transition from Dutch to Indonesian rule. Maximum number of peacekeepers: 1,576. Duration: October, 1962-April, 1963.
- U.N. Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM):** Implemented a truce between Saudi Arabia and Egypt in Yemen. Maximum number of peacekeepers: 189. Duration: July, 1963-September, 1964.
- U.N. India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM):** Supervised a cease-fire along India-Pakistan border. Maximum number of peacekeepers: 78. Duration: September, 1965-March, 1966.
- Second U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF II):** Supervised the cease-fire agreement between Egypt and Israel in the Suez Canal and Sinai Peninsula following the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Maximum number of peacekeepers: 6,773. Duration: October, 1973-July, 1979.
- U.N. Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF):** Created to supervise a cease-fire between Israel and Syria, and establish a buffer zone in the Golan Heights. Number of peacekeepers in late 2002: 1,123. Duration: June, 1974-present.
- U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL):** Created to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon. Number of peacekeepers in late 2002: 2,127. Duration: March, 1978-present.
- U.N. Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP):** Monitored the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Maximum number of peacekeepers: 50. Duration: April, 1988-March, 1990.
- U.N. Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG):** Supervised a truce between Iran and Iraq. Number of peacekeepers in 1990: 399. Duration: August, 1988-February, 1991.
- U.N. Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM):** Created to supervise a truce between Iraq and Kuwait following the ouster of Iraq from Kuwait by a coalition of forces. Number of

- peacekeepers in late 2002: 1,105. Duration: April, 1991-present.
- U.N. Mission for the Referendum in the Western Sahara (MINURSO):** Created to supervise a peace plan agreed by parties in a civil war and conduct a referendum on the status of the Western Sahara. Number of peacekeepers in late 2002: 217. Duration: April, 1991-present.
- U.N. Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC):** Supervised a cease-fire between the parties in a Cambodian civil war. Duration: October, 1991-March, 1992.
- U.N. Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC):** Supervised peace accords in Cambodia. Duration: March, 1992-September, 1993.
- U.N. Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG):** Monitored the withdrawal of Libyan forces from territory in Chad in accordance with a decision of the International Court of Justice. Duration: May, 1994-June, 1994.
- U.N. Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA):** Aid mission directed by the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations created to ensure that all forms of U.N. assistance go toward the peace process after the overthrow of the Taliban regime. Duration: March, 2002-present.
- U.N. Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET):** Commissioned to provide assistance to the newly independent nation of East Timor, which changed its name to Timor-Leste. Number of peacekeepers authorized in late 2002: up to 5,000. Duration: May, 2002-present.

#### **FOR FURTHER STUDY**

The most authoritative and up-to-date information on individual operations can be found at the official U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPO) Web site (<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/home.shtml>). Information on operations can also be found in the *United Nations Yearbook* and the *United Nations Chronicle*, both official publications of the world organization. A good reference work on peacekeeping is *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping* (1990), also published by the United Nations.

*Joseph L. Noguee*

## News Sources

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*Since the early 1990's, the variety of news sources has increased. With the introduction of the Internet, many long-established news outlets have constructed Web sites to meet the needs of the millions who regularly use computers to keep up with events. Along with television and radio stations, news outlets on the Web keep the public abreast of events as they are happening. This appendix lists major news sources from newspapers, magazines, television, radio, news services and syndicates, and online sources. Note that some outlets are active in more than one category.*

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### Newspapers

#### *Baltimore Sun*

501 N. Calvert St.  
 Baltimore, Maryland 21278  
<http://www.readingby9.com/index.shtml>

Strong on international news.

#### *Boston Globe*

135 Morrissey Blvd. P.O. Box 2378  
 Boston, Maryland 02107-2378  
<http://www.boston.com/globe/>  
 Solid international coverage.

#### *Chicago Sun-Times*

American Publishing Co.  
 401 N. Wabash Ave.  
 Chicago, Illinois 60611  
<http://www.suntimes.com/>  
 Extensive international coverage.

#### *Chicago Tribune*

435 N. Michigan Ave.  
 Chicago, Illinois 60611-4041  
<http://chicagotribune.com/>  
 First-rate Washington bureau.

#### *Christian Science Monitor*

One Norway St.  
 Boston, Massachusetts 02115  
<http://www.csmonitor.com/>  
 Noted for its international coverage.

#### *Jerusalem Post*

Jerusalem Post Building  
 P.O. Box 81  
 Jerusalem 91000  
 Israel  
<http://www.jpost.com>  
 A leading Middle East newspaper.

#### *Los Angeles Times*

Times Mirror Square  
 Los Angeles, California 90053  
<http://www.latimes.com/>  
 A leading U.S. newspaper.

#### *New York Times*

229 W. 43rd St.  
 New York, New York 10036  
<http://www.nytimes.com/>  
 One of the world's best newspapers.

*Times* (of London)  
<http://www.the-times.co.uk/>  
One of the world's best  
newspapers.

*USA Today*  
1000 Wilson Blvd.  
Arlington, Virginia 22229  
<http://www.usatoday.com/>  
Popular for concise coverage.

*Washington Post*  
1150 15th St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20071-0070  
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/>  
A leading U.S. newspaper.

*Washington Times*  
3600 New York Ave. N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
<http://www.WashTimes.com/>  
Solid coverage of world news.

## Magazines

*Congressional Quarterly Weekly  
Report and CQ Researcher*  
Congressional Quarterly, Inc.  
1414 22nd St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037  
Excellent coverage of Congress  
and related political matters.

*Facts on File World News Digest*  
Facts on File News Services  
512 Seventh Ave.  
New York, New York 10018  
<http://www.facts.com/>  
Reliable coverage of world events.

*Nation*  
72 Fifth Ave.  
New York, New York 10011  
<http://www.thenation.com/>  
Leading liberal weekly.

*National Review*  
150 E. 35th St.  
New York, New York 10016  
<http://www.nationalreview.com/>  
Leading conservative weekly.

*The New Republic*  
1220 19th St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
<http://www.thenewrepublic.com/>  
Strong coverage of political  
issues.

*Newsweek*  
251 W. 57 St.  
New York, New York 10019-  
1894  
<http://www.newsweek.com/>  
Popular U.S. weekly news  
magazine.

*Slate*  
<http://www.slate.com/>  
Online magazine.

*Time*  
Rockefeller Center  
New York, New York 10620-  
1393  
[http://cgi.pathfinder.com/  
time/](http://cgi.pathfinder.com/time/)  
Popular news weekly.



*U.S. News & World Report*  
2400 N St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037-1196  
[http://www.usnews.com/  
usnews/home.htm](http://www.usnews.com/usnews/home.htm)  
Weekly coverage of current events.

## **Television and Cable Television Networks**

American Broadcasting  
Companies (ABC)  
Television Network  
77 W. 66th St.  
New York, New York 10023-  
6201  
<http://www.abctelevision.com>  
Producer of such programs as  
*Nightline, This Week, 20/20,*  
and *World News Tonight*.

Cable News Network (CNN)  
One CNN Center  
100 International Blvd.  
P.O. Box 105366  
Atlanta, Georgia 30348-5366  
<http://www.cnn.com/>  
Producer of such programs as  
*CNN World View, Crossfire,*  
and *Global View*.

Cable Satellite Public Affairs  
Network (C-SPAN)  
400 N. Capitol St. N.W.,  
Suite 650  
Washington, D.C. 20001  
<http://www.c-span.org/>  
Live coverage of House and  
Senate proceedings.

CNBC  
2200 Fletcher Ave.  
Fort Lee, New Jersey 07024  
<http://www.cnb.com/>  
Producer of current events  
programs.

Columbia Broadcasting System  
(CBS) Television Network  
524 W. 57th St.  
New York, New York 10019-2902  
<http://www.cbs.com>  
Producer of such programs as  
*CBS Evening News, Face the  
Nation,* and *60 Minutes*.

Fox Broadcasting Company  
P.O. Box 900  
Beverly Hills, California 90064-  
2606  
<http://www.foxworld.com>

National Broadcasting Company  
(NBC) Television Network  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, New York 10112-0002  
<http://www.msnbc.com/>  
Producer of such popular  
programs as *Dateline, Meet the  
Press, NBC Nightly News,* and  
*Today*.

Public Broadcasting Service  
(PBS)  
1320 Braddock Pl.  
Alexandria, Virginia 22314-1649  
<http://www.pbs.org/>  
Producer of such programs as *The  
NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* and  
*Washington Week in Review*.

## Radio Networks

ABC Radio Networks  
125 W. End Ave., 6th Fl.  
New York, New York 10023  
News shows include *Hal Bruno's Washington* and *Perspective*.

CBS Radio Networks  
524 W. 57th St.  
New York, New York 10019  
Broadcasts such news shows as *CBS News-on-the-Hour*, *What's in the News*, *World News Roundup*, and the *World Tonight*.

CBS Radio Stations News Service  
2020 M St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
National Public Radio (NPR)  
635 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20001-3753  
Broadcasts in-depth news stories on such programs as *All Things Considered*, *Morning Edition*, and *Talk of the Nation*.

Pacifica National News Service  
702 H St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20001  
Public Radio International (PRI)  
100 N. Sixth St., Suite 900A  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403  
<http://www.pri.org/>  
Broadcasts such shows as *The World*.

Radio America  
American Studies Center  
1030 15th St. N.W., Suite 700  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
Broadcasts such programs as *Dateline: Washington*, *This Week from Washington*, and *What's the Story*.

United Press International (UPI) Radio Networks  
1400 I St. N.W., 9th Fl.  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
Broadcasts *UPI Roundtable*, which discusses news of the week.

Voice of America  
United States Information Agency  
330 Independence Ave. S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20547-0001  
U.S. government international radio broadcasting service.

## News Services and Syndicates

Associated Press (AP)  
50 Rockefeller Plaza, 5th Fl.  
New York, New York 10020-1666  
Leading wire service; broadcasts such programs as *Newsweek on Air*, *Special Assignment*, and *Week in Review*.

Knight-Ridder/Tribune Information Services  
790 National Press Building  
Washington, D.C. 20045

Los Angeles Times-Washington  
Post News Service  
1150 15th St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20071-0001  
Los Angeles Times Syndicate  
218 S. Spring St.  
Los Angeles, California 90012-  
3710

Pacific News Service  
450 Mission St. #204  
San Francisco, California 94105-  
2505  
[http://www.pacificnews.org/  
jinn](http://www.pacificnews.org/jinn)

Reuters America, Inc.  
199 Water St.  
New York, New York 10038-  
3526  
<http://www.reuters.com/>

United Press International  
(UPI)  
1400 I St. N.W., 8th Fl.  
Washington, D.C. 20005-2289

## **Online News Sources**

Africa News Online  
<http://www.africanews.org/>

ArabicNews.com  
<http://www.arabicnews.com/>

British Broadcasting Corporation  
(BBC) Online  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/>

CNET News.com  
<http://www.news.com/>

Fox News  
<http://www.foxnews.com/>

Morrock News Service  
<http://www.morrock.com/>

newsAsia  
<http://www.newsasia.com/>

Yahoo News  
<http://dailynews.yahoo.com/>

*Jeffry Jensen*

## Glossary

- abdication:** Voluntary giving up of an office or position of power. The term is usually used for monarchs who renounce their thrones, such as Egypt's King Farouk, who abdicated and went into exile during a military coup in 1952.
- alliance:** Agreement among two or more countries to cooperate with each other for a common objective. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is an alliance of a number of European countries, the United States, and Canada. Its purpose is mutual defense; an attack on any one member is to be considered an attack on all members.
- amnesty:** Promise by a government not to punish individuals such as rebels or criminals.
- aristocracy:** Members of an elite group who inherit titles such as lord, lady, duke, or duchess who, traditionally, have some degree of ruling power or influence.
- armed forces:** Military establishment of a country, usually consisting of an army, navy, and air force, and in some cases coast guard and marine corps. In politically unstable countries, armed forces often intervene and take over the government.
- assassination:** Murder of a public official. Assassination has, for millennia, been a common means of removing political figures from power. The prime ministers of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, and India, Indira Gandhi, were assassinated while in power.
- authoritarian government:** Civilian or military rule in which popular consent has little or no effective voice in the choice of rulers and public policy. Authoritarian governments, such as that of Myanmar, respect human rights only when it suits their interest or convenience.
- autocratic rule:** From the Greek meaning "one rule," a government run by a single person with unlimited authority who typically ignores the rights of the people ruled.
- autonomy:** In the context of world politics, the status achieved by a region within a larger political system when it can manage its own affairs without interference by an outside government. Autonomy is contrasted with sovereignty, which includes complete formal independence of any other government.

**border/border dispute:** Dividing line between countries. Border disputes occur when countries cannot agree on which country owns a particular piece of territory. The border dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir is one of the most intractable and bloody conflicts in the post-World War II world.

**buffer zone:** Geographical region separating two hostile, potentially hostile, or warring domains.

**caste system:** Social order in which groups are structured from high to low based on birth. Individuals cannot improve their positions within a caste system but are permanently situated in the caste in which they are born.

**cease-fire:** Truce among combatants in a military engagement without a formal peace agreement.

**civil war:** War within a single country, in contrast to a war between separate countries. Opposing sides in civil wars are often territorially based; however, they may also be ideologically based.

**civilian government:** Nonmilitary government. Many countries have had their civilian governments forcibly removed from power by their own armed forces.

**cold war:** Period of intense but nonviolent political hostility between two countries or alliances of countries; opposed to “hot” war, or military hostilities. The proper term “Cold War” refers specifically to the ideological conflict between the Soviet Union and its communist allies on one hand, and the United States, Western Europe, and their allies on the other. It lasted from 1947 to 1991, when the Soviet Union collapsed.

**colonialism:** Rule of one country by another, usually, though not necessarily, overseas. The period of European colonialism stretched from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. It reached a climax of acquisition during the nineteenth century, when European powers scrambled to rule Africa and Asia.

**colony:** Offshoot of a country founded in a foreign region, usually overseas. The new territory is inhabited and ruled by people who retain their ties and allegiance to the parent nation.

**communism:** System of totalitarian government in which the state owns nearly all property, attempts to control all aspects

of social life, and centralizes all major economic and political decisions. The theory of communism was set forth in the political and economic ideas of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, who foresaw utopian societies emerging in the wake of communist-led workers' revolutions. The Soviet Union, China, and North Korea are examples of nations that adopted communist governments during the twentieth century.

**conflict:** Fight, battle, or clash involving two or more parties.

Conflicts can take many forms, not all of which are violent. Some "battles" among or within nations are fought only with political means, such as efforts to influence decisions in international bodies such as the United Nations or the World Trade Organization. Violent conflicts include declared wars among nations, undeclared wars, internal rebellions, and civil wars.

**conflict resolution:** Process of bringing hostile or warring parties to a peaceful conclusion regarding their differences. As wars become increasingly menacing and destructive, governments and sometimes private parties go to great lengths to engage in conflict resolution. Mediation between Arabs and Israelis or among the various parties in the former Yugoslavia are efforts in conflict resolution.

**confrontation:** Open, hostile opposition of one person, group, organization, or state with another. In the context of world conflicts, confrontations among states may consist of two armies facing each other at a disputed border, or some similar circumstance. Confrontations may or may not lead to violence.

**conquest:** Forcible takeover of one nation by another. North Vietnam completed its conquest of South Vietnam in 1975, North Korea attempted to conquer South Korea from 1950 to 1953, and Iraq briefly conquered Kuwait in 1990.

**constitution:** Set of laws, customs, and institutions that set forth how a politically organized populace is to be governed. Constitutions empower government and, in liberal democratic systems, limit it. In some cases constitutions hold little power and serve only as propaganda.

**constitutional government:** Limited government. Constitutional government is limited in practice, not just in theory, by the provisions of a constitution. Some countries have constitu-

tions but not constitutional government, since their governments are not, in practice, limited by a constitution.

***coup d'état***: Removal of a head of state or an entire government, usually by force. Such a removal accomplished without injuries is known as a “bloodless coup.”

**demilitarized zone (DMZ)**: Geographical area separating two hostile, warring opponents that is marked off as a neutral area where heavy armaments are prohibited. For example, a demilitarized zone divided North Korea and South Korea after the Korean War.

**democracy**: Government by the people, particularly rule by the majority. Democracies generally feature free, fair, and regular elections in which all adult citizens are allowed to vote.

**democratization**: Process of transforming nondemocratic political systems to democracies. This process has several stages, including an initial move to democracy, followed by a consolidation phase. Democratization is generally thought incomplete until several peaceful transfers of power have taken place.

**dependent state**: Weak country that must rely on a stronger country for protection and, in some cases, financial help. Such states generally submit to the security needs of the state on which they depend.

**dependent territory**: Small area, often an island, that is ruled by a stronger country.

**depose**: To remove a ruling political leader or head of state from power.

**dictator**: Ruler who governs by his or her own will alone, rather than through legitimately enacted laws, and without the willing consent of the governed. Examples include Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Kim Jong-il of North Korea.

**diplomacy**: Practice of negotiating between nations to maintain good relations with friends and reduce enmity with enemies or potential enemies.

**dissident**: Individual who opposes the established government, religion, or belief system.

**dynasty**: Long-reigning family of emperors or similar rulers. For example, traditional Chinese rulers are identified by dynasty.

**election, free:** Election in which no candidate is excluded from running for office, no citizen is arbitrarily excluded from voting, and the ballots cast are accurately counted.

**election, unfair:** Election whose outcome is prejudiced or predetermined through unjust or inequitable practices by those with the power to enforce such practices. Voters may be excluded from voting through arbitrary rules or intimidation, ballots may be inaccurately counted, and potential candidates may be prevented from running for office.

**electoral politics:** Process of choosing office holders through elections.

**empire:** Political system composed of multiple nations or territories under a single authority. Great Britain ruled an empire that stretched around the globe from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.

**ethnicity/ethnic group:** Members of a distinct people who share race, language, culture, and religion.

**exile:** Condition of those living outside of their own country, usually because they have been forcibly expelled by the government. Some individuals practice voluntary exclusion or self-exile.

**extremist:** One believed to exceed the bounds of moderation in some regard. Political extremists include those who propose depriving some group of its fundamental rights or who propose immoderate, often unjust, measures to accomplish their aims.

**federation:** Group of organized political systems, usually called "states" or "provinces," that agree to live under a system of federalism.

**foreign policy:** Policies of a country directed toward other countries or other entities outside its borders.

**free trade:** Policy that advocates unrestricted international trade with no tariffs on imported goods.

**genocide:** Deliberate attempt to kill an entire ethnic or political group, as when the Turkish government attempted to eliminate its Armenian population.



**global economy:** All the economies of the world considered as a single whole. When economists predict that the global economy will grow at a certain percent, they refer to the total production of wealth in the world.

**government:** Authoritative enactment and application of rules binding on those living in a defined territory.

**gross domestic/national product:** Total economic value, of a country's production of goods and services. Gross national product (GNP) differs from gross domestic product (GDP) in that GNP includes profits repatriated from foreign investments, while GDP excludes them.

**guerrilla war:** Armed conflicts fought outside the conventional rules of war by independent combatants who do not wear uniforms, who hide from opposition soldiers, and who sometimes make war on civilians.

**head of government:** Chief executive who holds the real power in a political system, as opposed to the head of state, who may be a different person with no real power.

**head of state:** Top-ranking symbol of power in a political system, such as a monarch in a parliamentary system.

**hegemony:** Domination. Powerful states who use their power to coerce weaker ones are said to exercise hegemony over them.

**human rights:** Claims to certain kinds of treatment—such as respect for life, liberty, and well-being—based upon humanity or membership in the human species, as opposed to membership in a formal political system.

**immigration:** Entering one country from another with the intention of staying there permanently.

**imperialism:** Policy in which one country expands its power by taking over other countries.

**incursion:** Temporary crossing of the borders of one country by military forces of another country.

**independence:** Status of a country that is self-ruled, as opposed to being ruled wholly or in part by another country.

**indigenous people:** Those people who originated in a particular place and lived there before the arrival of another set of people.

**insurrection:** Rebellion, usually with the purpose of overthrowing the government in power or bringing independent rule to those who engage in such a rebellion.

**junta, military:** Ruling committee of a military government. Military juntas have been involved in numerous *coups d'état*.

**League of Nations:** International organization created by the Treaty of Paris of 1919 that was intended to create a system of collective security. An attack on one member was to be considered an attack on all members, triggering a collective response. All disputes among members were to be submitted to the league for arbitration. However, the league never functioned adequately in important conflicts.

**League of Nations Mandate:** Right to rule German colonies given by the League of Nations in the 1920's to World War I victors. Such rule was to promote "the well-being and development" of each colony's population and lead to its ultimate independence. Acceptance of a mandate was considered acceptance of a trust and was subject to oversight by the league.

**Left, the/leftists/left wing:** Political orientation that seeks changes in public policies intended to benefit the poorest members of society. Leftist policies have often favored public ownership of the means of production and generous welfare state benefits for much of society.

**liberation movement:** Political organization advocating forms of radical change, such as the end of colonial rule, the overthrow of a government, or the return of land to those who consider themselves to be wrongly dispossessed. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is such a movement.

**market economy:** Economy characterized by the unrestricted exchange of goods and services among buyers and sellers. In practice, however, market economies usually have many government regulations.

**Marxism:** Nineteenth century political ideology promoted by German philosopher Karl Marx that was influential during much of the twentieth century. Marx maintained that the capi-

talist private enterprise system was doomed to be overthrown by a new system featuring the public ownership of the means of production and distribution.

**mercenary:** Soldier who fights for money or adventure rather than from patriotic duty.

**military government:** Rule by elements of the armed forces to the exclusion of civilians. Military government is often characterized by brutal or arbitrary behavior by those in power.

**militia:** Military group composed of citizen soldiers rather than professional soldiers.

**minority:** Less than a majority. When minorities are religious, ethnic, or other identifiable groups, they often suffer persecution at the hands of majority or other minorities, giving rise to conflicts.

**monarchy:** Form of government in which a king or queen is head of state. In the twentieth century most monarchs lost effective power and became figure heads, or powerless symbols of national unity.

**nation:** Defined territory that encompasses a group of people who live under a specific form of government. Nation can also refer to people consciously united by factors such as common ancestry, culture, language, and history. Nations usually rule themselves, but some nations are ruled by other nations within empires.

**national assembly:** Legislative body governing a political system.

**nationalism:** Loyalty to a nation, or a sentiment of collective identification and unity within an ethnic group or people.

**neocolonialism:** Attempts to dominant previously colonized countries that have gained their independence. Leftist forces have often claimed that the foreign policies of the West, especially the United States, amount to neocolonialism.

**official language:** Language formally designated by a country as its principal language. It is usually the language in which public business is conducted and in which government papers are published. Some countries have more than one official language.

**official religion:** Religion designated by a country as its state religion. Islam, for example, is the official religion of Algeria.

**one-party government:** Rule of authoritarian states in which only one political party is allowed to exist or given the opportunity to hold power.

**opposition party:** In multiparty political systems, any party not holding power that advocates policies different from the government's policies.

**Ottoman Empire:** Vast multinational state established in the thirteenth century by the Ottoman or Osmani Turks, primarily in Asia but extending to parts of North Africa and Europe. Headquartered in Constantinople, now Istanbul, the empire finally collapsed after World War I. Its disintegration during the nineteenth century occasioned many conflicts and was a principal cause of World War I.

**paramilitary:** Functioning in some ways like regular armies but not established by the state and therefore lacking the authority of regular armies.

**partition:** To divide the territory of a country for rule by two or more other countries. The partitioned country may continue to exist as a smaller entity.

**peace conference:** Gathering of warring parties, often with intermediaries, to discuss means of ending conflicts.

**peacekeeping force:** Military units from countries other than those of hostile parties, sometimes under the auspices of the United Nations or another international body, which occupy regions of warring states to prevent renewed outbreaks of violence.

**peasant:** Poor person of low social standing. Peasants often farm land they do not own and are therefore obligated to turn over most of their earnings to those who do own the land.

**police state:** Authoritarian state in which armed agents of the state, such as police, act arbitrarily, outside the restraining influence of law.

**propaganda:** Form of communication that is deliberately, consciously biased and that seeks to help one's cause or damage an opposing cause. Its twentieth century meaning was often

associated with attempts by communist or fascist states to influence their own people and those abroad.

**purge:** In an authoritarian or totalitarian state, the removal of treacherous or disloyal members from a political party or government, usually through arrest and imprisonment or execution.

**referendum:** Proposed law submitted by a government to voters for approval or rejection.

**refugees:** Those fleeing their place of residence, usually their native land, because they are unable to earn a living, are fleeing natural disasters, or are persecuted by governments or social forces.

**regionalism:** Feeling of solidarity and mutual identification among inhabitants of an area of a country to the exclusion of the rest of the country, sometimes with elements of hostility to outsiders. In some cases, regions attempt to establish a separate country.

**repressive government:** Political system that denies fundamental political and human rights, such as freedom of religion, speech, press, and association, and the right to fair judicial proceedings.

**republic:** Nonmonarchical political system ruled by representative government.

**revolt:** Attempt by a group to rid itself of a governing power. A revolt may have the purpose of destroying a government or of eliminating its rule over those in revolt.

**revolution:** Attempt to destroy a form of government and institute a radically different kind. The classic definition of revolution also implies a dramatic change in a country's social system.

**revolutionary council:** Governing group in a country undergoing a dramatic change in government. In some cases military juntas have called themselves revolutionary councils.

**Right, the/rightists/right wing:** Political orientation that seeks to protect or restore traditional forms of government and social order.

**sabotage:** Destruction of installations of military or economic value by forces hostile to those controlling such installations.

**self-rule:** Rule of a country by its citizens, as opposed to outsiders who rule while either occupying it or dictating to it from outside its borders.

**separatist movement:** Political organization that represents a group of people who seek independence from the nation in which they live.

**socialism:** Government ownership of the means of production and, in some cases, the distribution of goods. Communist countries such as the Soviet Union were socialist in character; North Korea and Cuba are still socialist in this sense.

**sovereignty:** Right claimed by an organized political body to rule over a defined territory.

**succession crisis:** Emergency situation that occurs when a ruler dies or is deposed without a clear indication of who should next take power. Succession crises occasionally lead to major conflicts.

**superpower:** Country with military might so much greater than most or all other countries that no country or likely alliance of countries can hope to prevail against it in war. During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union were considered superpowers; by the end of the twentieth century, only the United States was so considered.

**terrorism:** Systematic use of violence, usually intended to be deadly, as means of intimidation to influence public opinion or gain political power.

**theocracy:** Rule of a country by religious clergy. In theocracy, there is no separation of state and religion. An example is Iran, which is an avowed Islamic republic.

**Third World:** Cold War-era term for nations that were neither First World capitalist Western nations nor Second World communist nations. Most Third World nations are poor, underdeveloped, and in the Southern Hemisphere.

**totalitarianism:** Extreme form of authoritarianism in which terror, including mass arrests and executions, is used as a means to maintain political power. Totalitarian states usually have

powerful, lawless secret police forces and employ modern technology to empower their rule. Totalitarian states do not tolerate independent or autonomous organizations of any kind. They do not distinguish public from private spheres, so that any seemingly private act, such as remarks made to children in the home, may lead to severe punishment.

**treaty:** Formal agreement between two or more states. It is a foremost tenet of international law that treaties are not to be entered into lightly and broken at will. In democracies treaties are negotiated and signed by executives and must usually be approved or ratified by legislatures.

**truce:** Agreement for a temporary cessation of hostilities during a war, as opposed to a formal peace agreement.

**two-party system:** Political system in which two political parties dominate politics.

**unitary state:** Country ruled by a single dominant government. If local governments are allowed to exist, they function within bounds set by the dominant government and can be eliminated at will.

**war:** Armed conflict between hostile nations, or the period during which such conflict takes place. War is usually formally declared by involved nations, which each give notice that they may attack the other nation. However, the term may be applied to violent conflicts that are not formally declared. Neither the Korean War nor the Vietnam War were declared wars. The Korean War was formally known as a "police action."

**warlord:** Local ruler or bandit leader with some degree of military power in a district in which legitimate government is weak.

*Charles F. Bahmueller*

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