

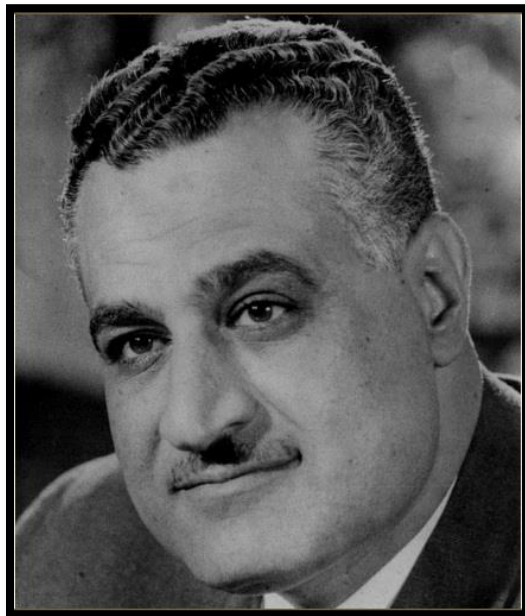
# Cold War World Lesson #2: Decolonization

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## Major Topics:

- Decolonization and Nationalism
- Third Way and Non-Alignment
- Suez Canal Crisis

## What was the Third Way?



*Gamal Abd al-Nasser, photo taken between 1956 and 1965, Bibliotheca Alexandrina and Gamal Abdel Nasser Foundation (Nasser Archive Website), in public domain under Egyptian law, Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Nasser\\_portrait2.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Nasser_portrait2.jpg).*

This lesson focuses on a second great historical movement in the post-World War II era: decolonization. The Cold War did not cause the end of the colonial empires, but new nations became entangled in the dispute between East and West. The Cold War and decolonization created a Three World order. The First World was the US and its liberal democratic, capitalist allies, the Second World was the USSR and its communist allies, and the new, decolonized nations formed the Third World, a problematic term that students will scrutinize. In this lesson, students learn about American and Soviet efforts to influence the Third World and the attempt of leaders in the Third World to create a “Third Way” that was independent of both superpowers. Two conflicts – the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956 and the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1961 – teach students

how leaders tried to shape a Third Way amid the pressures of the Cold War.

## Procedures

Step 1: Introduction to Decolonization through Maps. (Class time: 30 minutes).

Lesson 1 focused on why the Cold War was fought on fronts in North America, Europe & Northern Asia, and this lesson examines decolonization, the second great world historical movement in post-World War II era. Although the decolonized nations in the Third World wanted to build their own nations in their own “Third Way,” the superpowers often used them as fronts in the Cold War. Introduce the focus question: What was the Third Way?



Have students read **CWW2.1 Decolonization, 1945-1965**, and answer the questions. This could be done as a homework assignment, with a brief review of the answers in class.



Distribute **CWW2.2 Decolonization through Maps** or project the maps one-by-one as pairs of students discuss and answer the questions. When the student pairs finish answering the questions relating to each of the maps, have them share with the class and clarify any mistakes or questions.

Step 2: Interpreting Country Statistics & National Agendas (Class time: 30 minutes)

Tell students that they will now investigate the needs of Third World nations which shaped the ideas of the Third Way. Distribute a copy of **CWW2.3 Analyzing Country Statistics** to each student. This handout explains the statistical measures listed on the Country Statistics charts, and includes questions that guide students through analyzing those statistics. Project the **CWW2.2.1 Three Worlds Map** and have students fill out the first chart. Review the text on GDP per capita, and guide students through questions 2 through 5. Help them with the calculations on questions 6 through 8. To complete the assignment, divide students into groups of 4. Give each group 2 copies of the **CWW2.3.5 Analyzing Country Statistics (Egypt)**. Circulate through the class to help groups when they have trouble. When most of the groups are done, have each group



explain their agenda for Egypt in 1960. Then lead a discussion of the needs of the Third World nations. Why would their priorities be different from those of the First and Second World nations? Remind students also that the new nations would be touchy about being told what to do by nations from the First and Second worlds, because many of those nations had been imperialists. To them, nationalism included being completely independent of pressure and influence from the superpowers. As the handout suggests, discuss with students the implications of the term “third world.” Ask students what it might mean to be third and why this term is problematic?

### Step 3: Introducing a Third Way (Class Time: 30 Minutes)



Tell the students that they will now answer the following question: What is a Third Way? Distribute **CWW2.4 What is a Third Way?** which includes Frantz Fanon's "Wretched of the Earth," and Jawaharlal Nehru, Address, 1956. In both readings, the students will be looking for the author's conception of the Third Way. Have the students read the excerpts and fill in the attached chart to compare the two authors. The final question will ask them to list the ideas from the reading that relate to the author's conception of the Third Way. At the end, have the students share each author's ideas about the Third Way and chart them on the board (see **CWW2.4K** for a key). Then have students synthesize these ideas to define the key components of the Third Way. Remind students of the US and Soviet models for the world order to discuss the different perspectives of the three visions using **CWW2.5 World Order Agendas Wall Chart** as a model.

### Step 4: Understanding the Background of the Suez Canal Crisis (Class Time: 90 minutes)



Distribute **CWW2.6 Background to the Suez Canal Crisis**. Have students read and answer the questions in small groups. Since the reading is long and dense, teachers might have students complete half for homework, review those questions in groups the next day and then complete the reading and questions. Another option is to divide students into 10 groups and give each group a piece of butcher paper. Assign one paragraph of the reading to each group and tell them to make a short outline and visual representation of the main ideas of their paragraph. Then have the groups present and explain their representations to the class.

Divide students into groups of four and distribute **CWW2.7** and **CWW2.8 Gamal Abd al-Nasser, "Speech at Alexandria," July 26, 1956**. The activity has students analyze propaganda in the speech and determine how the speech would appeal to different groups in Egypt and abroad. Have the students read the speech and complete the analysis as a group. After they finish, have students share examples of propaganda and loaded words.

### Step 5: Simulating a Conference on the Suez Canal Crisis (Class Time: 80 minutes)



Divide the class into seven groups. Give each group one of the **CWW2.9** national position papers (CWW2.9.1 US; CWW2.9.2 Soviet Union; CWW2.9.3 Great Britain; CWW2.9.4 France; CWW2.9.5 Indonesia; CWW2.9.6 Pakistan; the seventh group will represent Egypt and use Nasser's speech as its position paper), a piece of

butcher paper, markers and their instructions in the **CWW2.9 Suez Canal Crisis Conference Group Assignment**. Give students 40 minutes to prepare the group speech, poster and questions. Then have each group speaker deliver the speech and present the poster. Continue with group questions as long as time allows.



Have students read **CWW2.10 Resolution of the Suez Crisis** and answer the questions about UN Resolution 118. If re-teaching is necessary, this paper also has a brief diagram of the crisis and an explanation of key vocabulary. Students should be able to define Nasser's version of the Third Way, the views of the US, Soviet Union, Britain and Egypt, and the terms nationalism, sovereignty, and nationalization.

## Step 6: Understanding the Background to the Cuban Missile Crisis (50 minutes)

Have students read **CWW2.12 Background of the Cuban Missile Crisis**. This handout includes a timeline of the Cuban Missile Crisis for the students' later reference. Then divide students into groups and have them complete **CWW2.13 Analyzing Cuba in 1960**. Have them present their priority lists and discuss what Castro's priorities were. The key point that they should realize is that Castro did not begin his revolution desiring to make his nation a client state or a puppet of the Soviet Union. He wanted a Third Way, but was only able to choose from two options, the American Way or the Soviet Way. Although he was a socialist from the beginning, US opposition and Cuba's need for economic aid drove Castro deeper and deeper into the Soviet sphere.

Distribute **CWW2.14 John F. Kennedy, The Lessons of Cuba**, and **CWW2.15 Fidel Castro, Second Declaration of Havana**. Have students read the documents carefully and complete the sentence chunking charts and questions. These activities will force them to read the documents closely. Then in small groups, students compare the two speeches and analyze the leaders' perspectives with **CWW2.16 Opposing Viewpoints: John F. Kennedy and Fidel Castro**.

## Step 7: Cuban Missile Crisis Unfolds

Show students a video of the Cuban Missile Crisis and have them take notes. Two possible videos are:

History Channel, 3 minute cartoon video, <http://www.history.com/videos/cuban-missile-crisis#kennedy-and-the-cuban-missile-crisis>

PBS Cuban Missile Crisis: Three Men Go to War, 56 min.,  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MhFByQpYvp4>

## Step 8: Assessment



Assign a short essay to students based on the lesson question: How did the decolonized nations try to find a Third Way between the Soviet Union and the U.S.? The essay might pose a simpler question: What was the Third Way and what were the experiences of Nasser in Egypt and Castro in Cuba as they tried to follow it? This would set up three paragraphs: one, defining the Third Way; two, Nasser's successful Third Way, and three, Castro's unsuccessful Third Way.

To conclude the lesson, tell students that Castro was not able to follow his Third Way and Cuba became a client state of the Soviet Union instead. As part of the agreement ending the Cuban Missile Crisis, the US promised never to invade Cuba. But the US did not trade with Cuba either, which meant that Cuba was dependent on the Soviet Union. Cuba did not have enough wealth to develop a strong economy. Instead of becoming a Third World nation free of European influence, Castro's Cuba became a Communist country. After Nasser's success at pursuing a Third Way in Egypt, very few Third World countries were able to resist the pressures from the US and Soviet Union, because most Third World countries needed money to develop. As a result, many Third World nations became battlegrounds for the Cold War, as we will see in lesson 3.

## CWW2.1 Decolonization, 1945-1965

*Directions:* In the same years that the Cold War was developing, there was a great political change – decolonization. Read each of the following paragraphs, answering the questions at the end of each section on a separate sheet of paper in order to understand what decolonization was and how it related to the Cold War.

### Background:



*Sudan. Khartoum. The British military barracks, Matson Photo Service, 1936.*

*Source: Library of Congress,*

*<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2010002792/PP/>*

Since the age of imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, imperialist nations owned almost all the lands in Africa, southern Asia, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands as colonies. The Western imperialists had dominated the governments of their colonies, introduced western laws, schools, and religions and tried to change the cultures of the

people in the colonies in order to “civilize” them. In other areas, such as Latin America and China, the imperialists had spheres of influence. Countries in the spheres of influence had their own governments, but their economies were dominated by the imperialists. Five imperialist powers, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Russia, held spheres of influence in China. The economic and military power of the US had a domineering effect on nations in the Caribbean and Latin America. The imperialist nations used their colonies and the countries in their spheres of influence as sources of raw materials to fuel Western factories, and as markets for Western manufactured goods. This system made the imperialist nations extremely wealthy.

1. What was the difference between a colony and a sphere of influence?
2. What benefits did the Western imperialist nations get from their colonies and spheres of influence?

## CWW2.1 Decolonization, 1945-1965 (page 2 of 5)

### Colonial Independence

In almost all the colonies, there were anti-colonial, nationalist movements which worked for independence. Between World Wars I and II, the Indian National Congress, led by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, built up a mass movement in India to resist British rule by boycotts, strikes and other methods of non-violent protest. The British colony of India became two independent nations, India and Pakistan, in 1947. The success of the Indian anti-



*Jawaharlal Nehru, 1889-1964, full-length portrait, standing, with daughter, Frances Bolton, and Mme. Pandit. Photo by Harris and Ewing. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2005685246/>*

colonial movement inspired anti-colonial leaders across Africa and Asia. During World War II, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Italy, and Japan all lost control of their colonies. They also emerged from the war greatly weakened in power.

The Western colonizers faced increasing national resistance in the colonies in the decades after 1945, and their leaders realized that maintaining control with larger and larger armies was too expensive. In some imperialist nations, many people had come to believe that the colonies should become independent.

## CWW2.1 Decolonization, 1945-1965 (page 3 of 5)

### Impact of WWII

The US, for example, planned to free the Philippines before that colony was taken over by the Japanese in 1942. When American, Filipino, and other allied soldiers freed the Philippines from Japanese control in 1945, the US granted it formal independence in 1946. In the Atlantic Charter of 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill pledged that the US and Great Britain would not take over any territory after the war and that all people had a right to self-determination, that is, to decide for themselves what their government should be.

3. How did World War II affect the power of Western imperialist nations?
4. What does self-determination mean?
5. How did the principles of the Atlantic Charter conflict with imperialism?



*A burning building along Taft Avenue which was hit during the Japanese air raid in Barrio, Paraque, December 13, 1941, the Philippine Islands, March 1943. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/oem2002008082/PP/>*

Although Western nations agreed that the colonies should be free, they assumed that the new nations made from those colonies should continue to follow the leadership of the West. Western leaders assumed that the colonized should form nation-states, copying the European and American model, and allow Western businesses and people to continue to own their property in the former colonies. The nation-state model presented big problems for the new nations, which were often created out of many different ethnic and religious groups who had no shared past. With so much of the former colony's best land and most important resources owned by foreign imperialists, the new nations found themselves poor and dependent producers of raw materials in the Western-dominated world market.

6. What did the Western nations assume about the new nations?
7. Why were the new nations poor and dependent?



## CWW2.1 Decolonization, 1945-1965 (page 4 of 5)

### Decolonization and Nationalism



*Victoria Waterfalls, Rhodesia, ca. 1890 – 1925.  
Source: Library of Congress,  
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/89714072/>*

Decolonization, or the end of foreign domination and the formation of new independent nations, happened in three general ways. First, some colonies won their freedom without serious violence. Great Britain granted independence to Nigeria and Uganda because the nationalist movements in those countries were willing to let British and other Western businesses hold on to the plantations and mines they owned. However, in a second group of colonies, such as Kenya, Algeria and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), there were many white settlers, who fought hard to prevent decolonization and hold on to the land and businesses they held under colonial rule. Nationalist movements in those colonies had to fight long and bloody wars to win their freedom.

The third type of decolonization occurred when there was a nationalist movement that followed Marxism. These nationalists wanted to change their entire economy and society based on the principles of socialism and to get rid of ownership of property or resources by Western foreigners. The Marxist Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong, fought against the Chinese Nationalist Party for control of China both before and after World War II. The US supported the Nationalist Party, and the Soviet Union supported the communists. In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party won the civil war and drove the Nationalist Party out of mainland China. The Nationalists retreated to the island of Taiwan, where they set up the "Republic of China" with Jiang



*Mao Tse Tung, Leader of the Chinese Communists, Addresses his followers, December 12, 1944. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, National Archives. ARC Identifier 196235*

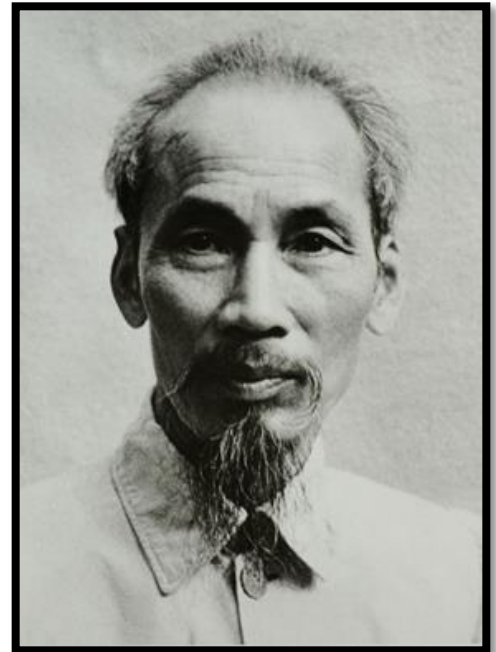
## CWW2.1 Decolonization, 1945-1965 (page 5 of 5)

Jieshi as their first president. Mao Zedong became the “premier” of the “People’s Republic of China.” While the Communists on the mainland confiscated all property, the Nationalists on Taiwan welcomed free enterprise and US business and aid.

8. What does decolonization mean?
9. What were the three ways nations decolonized?
10. Who was Mao Zedong? Why did the US oppose him?

### The US and the Soviet Union

Both the US and the Soviet Union wanted to influence the new independent nations. Because each superpower believed that its principles should guide the new nations’ policies, each tried to block the influence of the other superpower. In addition to their opposing principles of liberal democracy and capitalism (the US) and communism (the Soviet Union), both superpowers had practical interests; each wanted access to the resources and raw materials in the new nations. The Soviet Union strongly opposed colonialism, offered support to nationalist movements and sometimes provided weapons to nationalist groups. The Soviets also gave economic aid to some nations in Asia and Africa which had strategic locations or valuable resources. The US used its influence to encourage the Dutch to leave Indonesia and the British to free some of their African colonies. However, the US did not want to see any Marxist nationalist movements come to power in a new nation. For that reason, the US refused to support the Vietnamese nationalist movement, whose leader, Ho Chi Minh, was a communist. Instead the US gave aid and military support to the French, who were the imperialists. The US was motivated by opposition to communism and by a desire to protect American businesses in the colonies. As both superpowers offered aid money to new nations and supported opposite sides in civil wars, they opened up new battlefields for the Cold War.



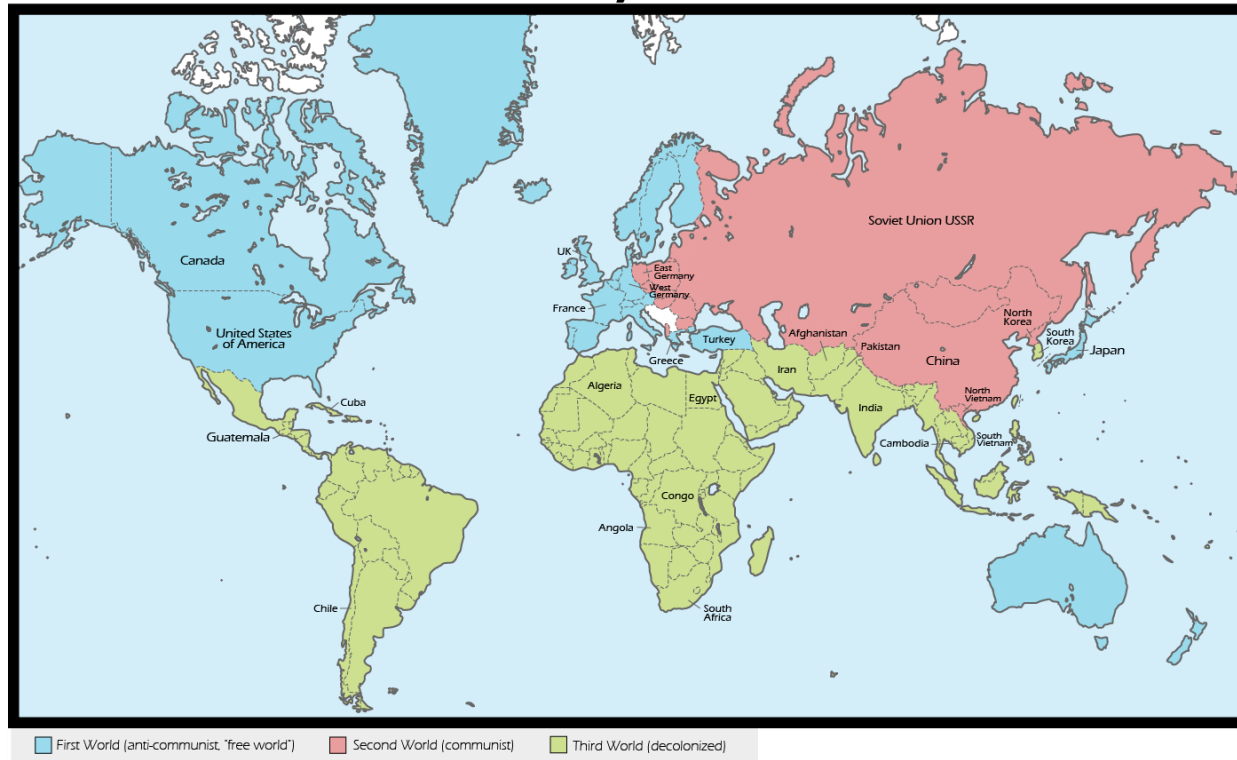
*Ho Chi Minh portrait in c. 1946. (Public Domain). Source: Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ho\\_Chi\\_Minh\\_1946\\_and\\_signature.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ho_Chi_Minh_1946_and_signature.jpg)*

11. What did both the US and the USSR want from the new nations? What did they want differently?

## CWW2.2.1. Decolonization through Maps (Three World Order)

*Directions:* In the next few pages, you'll find a number of maps detailing the fate of former colonies in the Cold War era. In groups of two or three, review each map and answer the accompanying questions.

### The Three World Order, 1947-1991

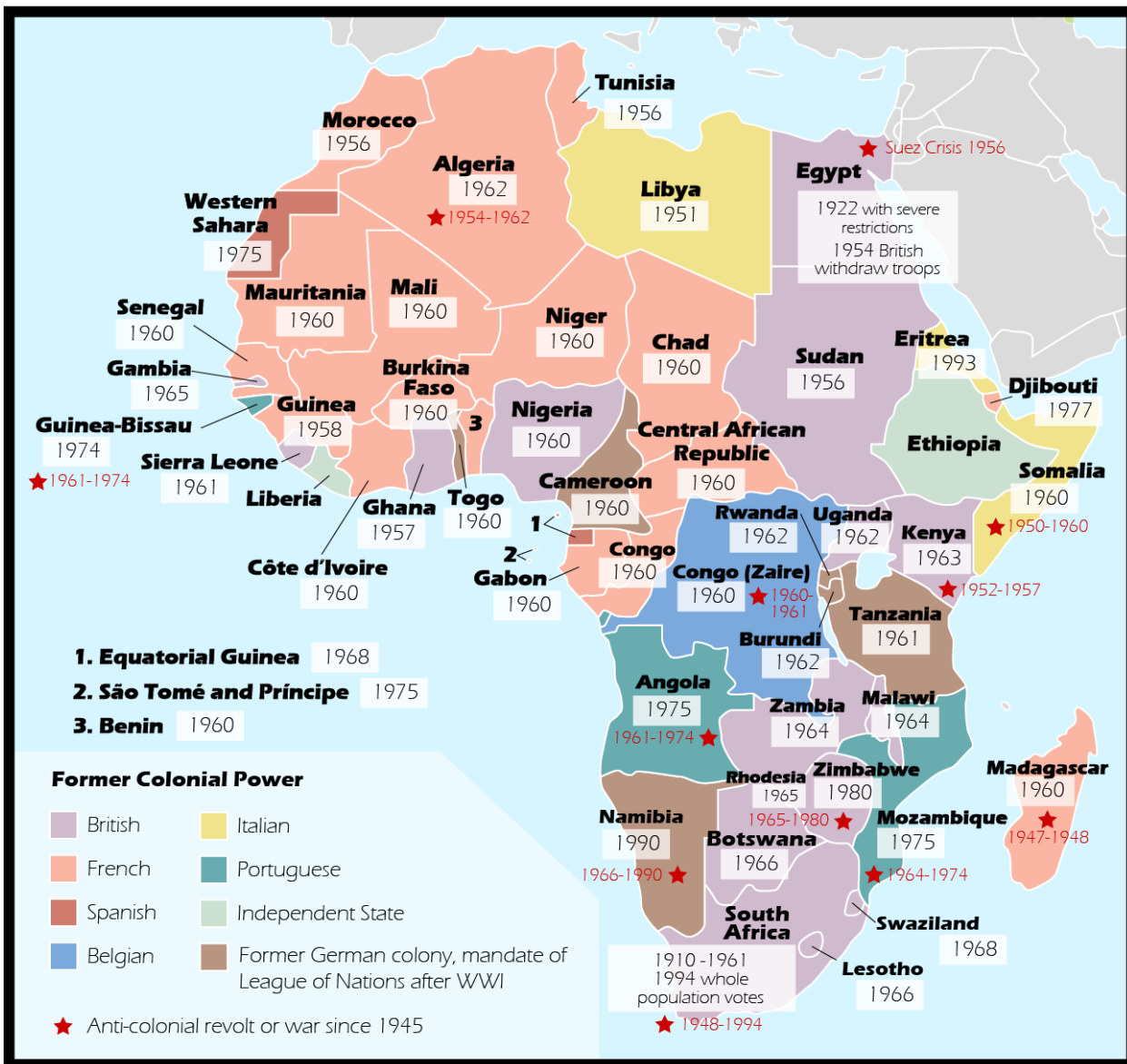


1. What nations were in the First World? Which side of the Cold War did the First World take?
2. What nations were in the Second World? Which side of the Cold War did the Second World take?
3. Where were the Third World countries located? Which side of the Cold War did the Third World take?
4. In which of the three worlds were most of the imperialist nations (the colonizers)? In which of the three worlds were most of the colonies?

*Map Source: Sonali Judari for the California History-Social Science Project.  
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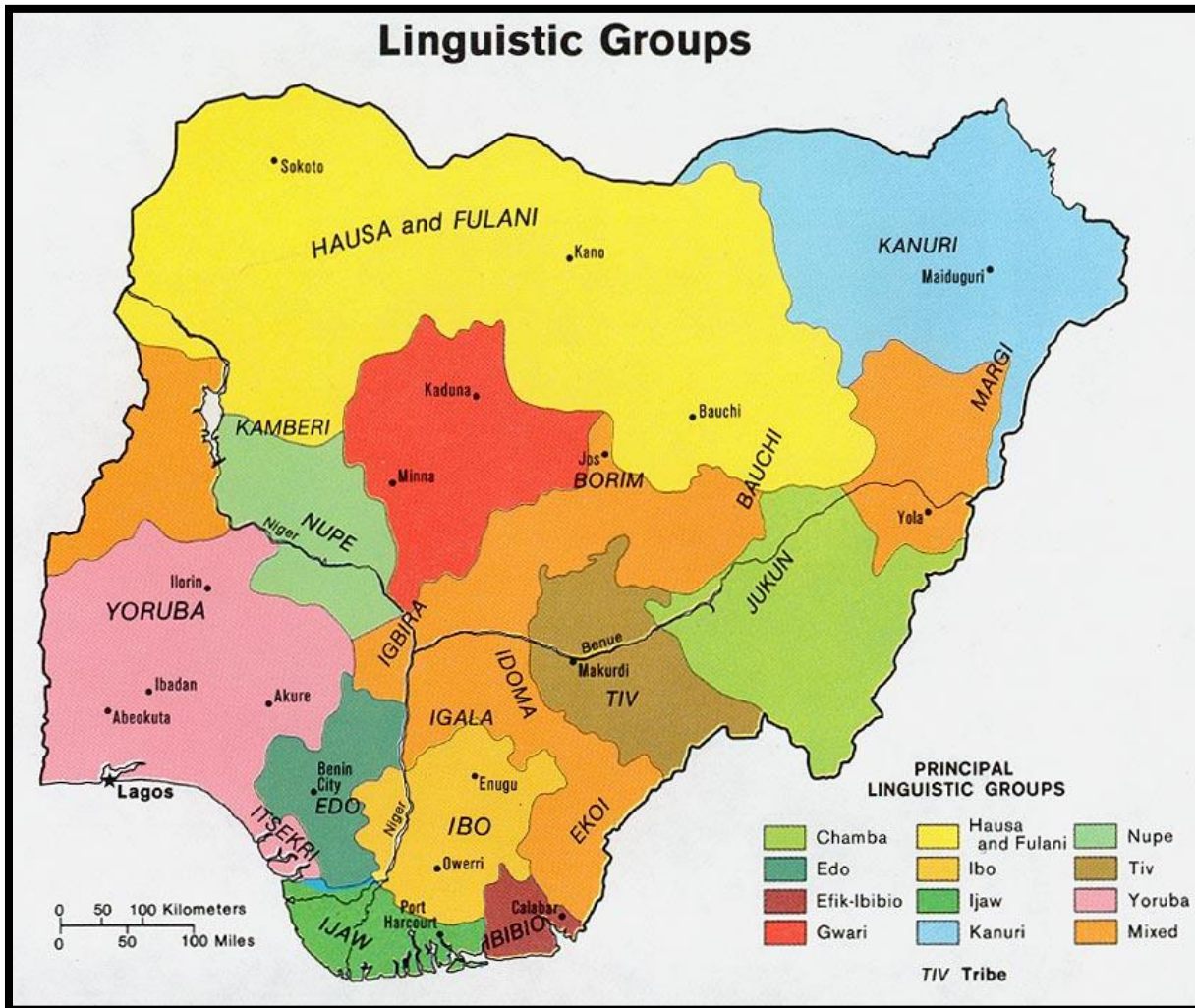
CWW2.2.2 Decolonization through Maps (Africa Decolonization)

# Decolonization in Africa



1. In what decade did most of the African nations become independent?
2. Which colonizer had the largest empire?
3. List 5 nations that had anti-colonial revolts or wars after World War II.

## CWW2.2.3 Decolonization through Maps (Nigeria & Colonial Africa)

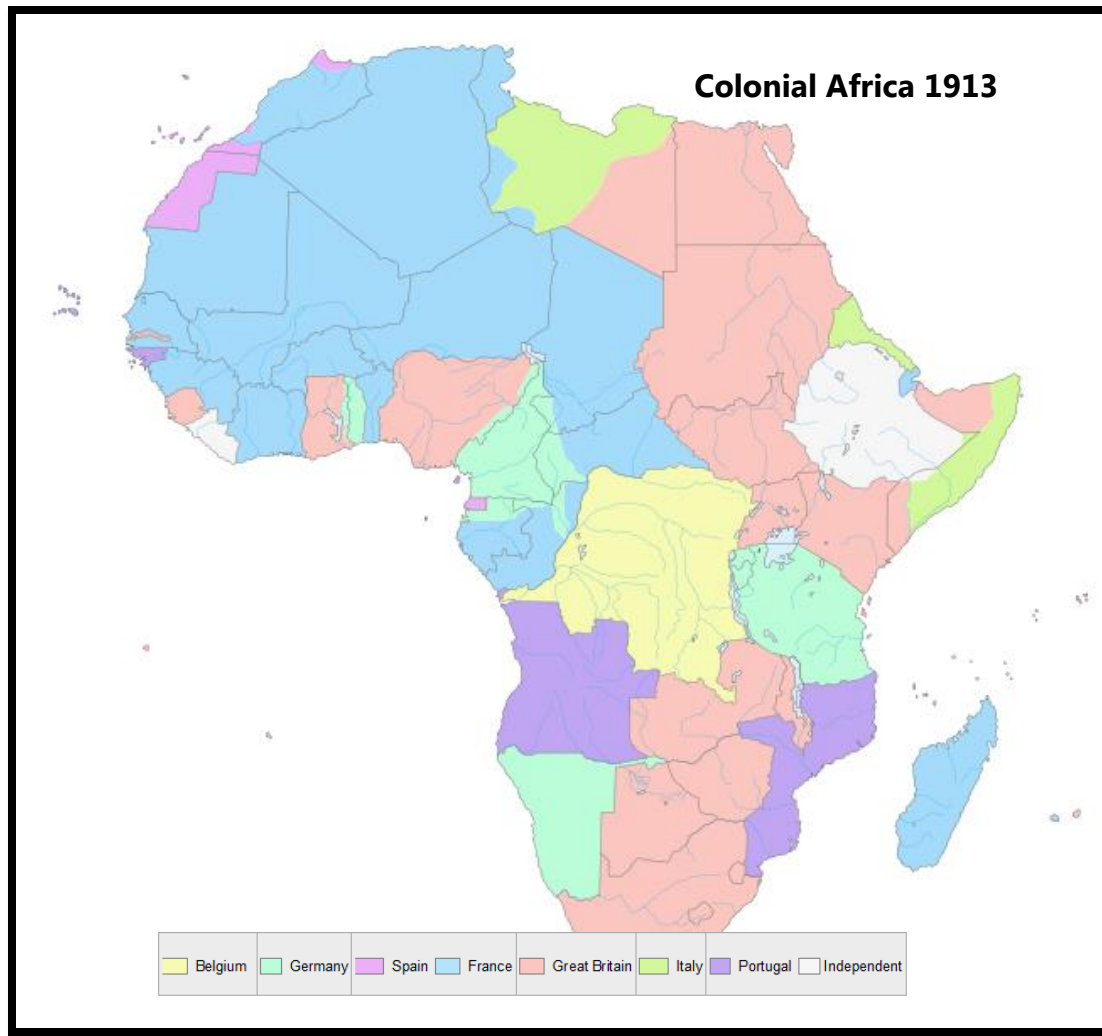


*Editor's Note:* Linguistic Groups are groups of people that speak the same language or languages that are similar to each other. A linguistic group map gives us some idea of the cultural and ethnic groups of people. In general, people identify with those who speak their language and often don't want to be ruled by those who speak another language. Nationalists often want to unify all the people who speak a certain language together in a nation. Nations with many linguistic groups are very difficult to unify.

*Source:* *Linguistic Groups in Nigeria in 1979*, produced by the CIA. Courtesy of Perry-Castañeda Library, University of Texas at Austin, [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/nigeria\\_linguistic\\_1979](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/nigeria_linguistic_1979).

1. How many linguistic (ethnic) groups were combined in the nation-state of Nigeria?

## CWW2.2.3 Decolonization through Maps (Nigeria & Colonial Africa)



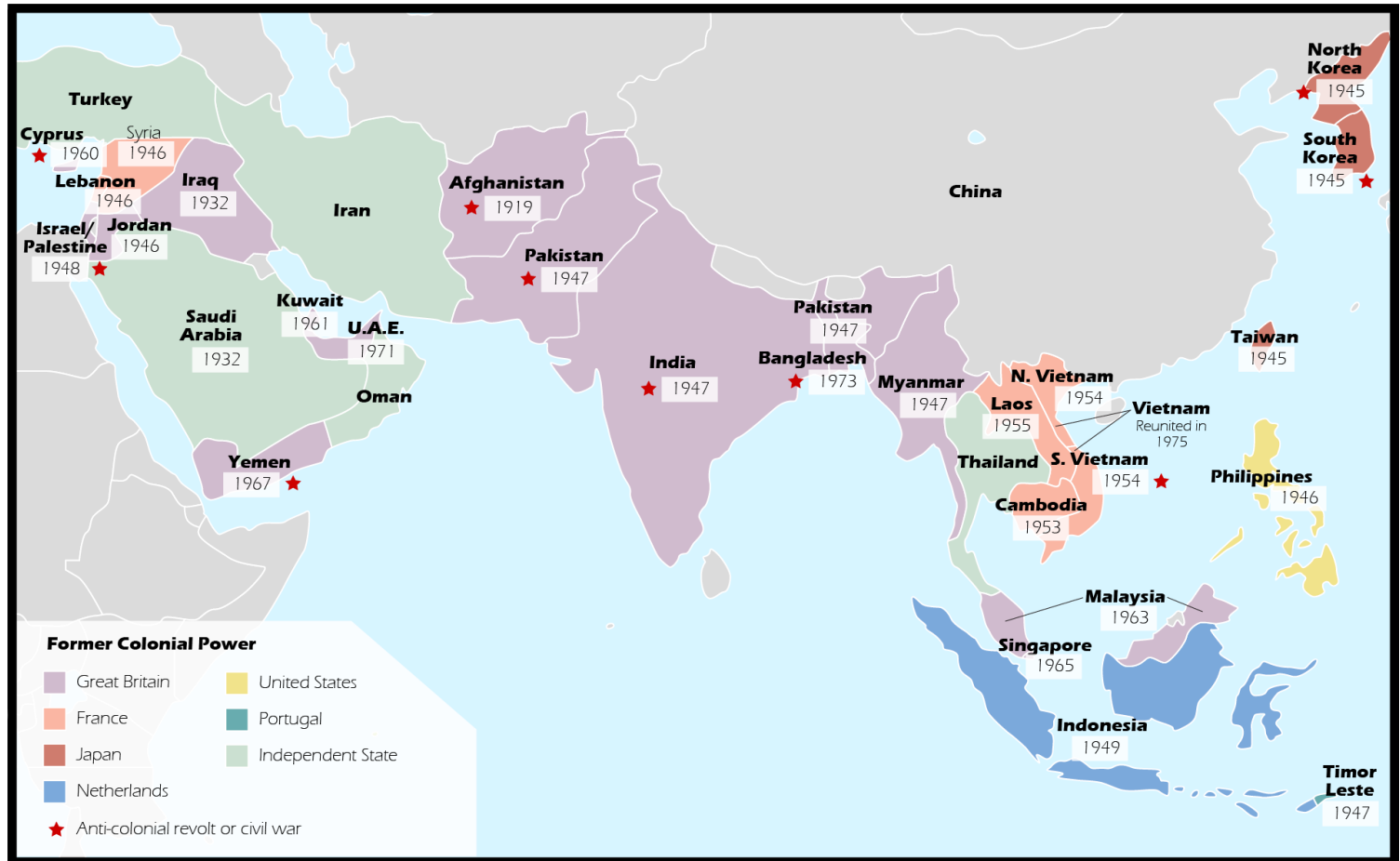
Source: Colonial Africa 1913 Map, with modern borders, created by Eric Gaba (Wikimedia Commons user: Sting), [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Colonial\\_Africa\\_1913\\_map.svg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Colonial_Africa_1913_map.svg).

2. Find Nigeria on the Colonial Africa map. What imperialist held Nigeria as a colony? How do the colony borders compare to the modern national borders of Nigeria? What problems might that cause?

CWW2.2.4 Decolonization through Maps (Decolonization in Asia and Middle East)

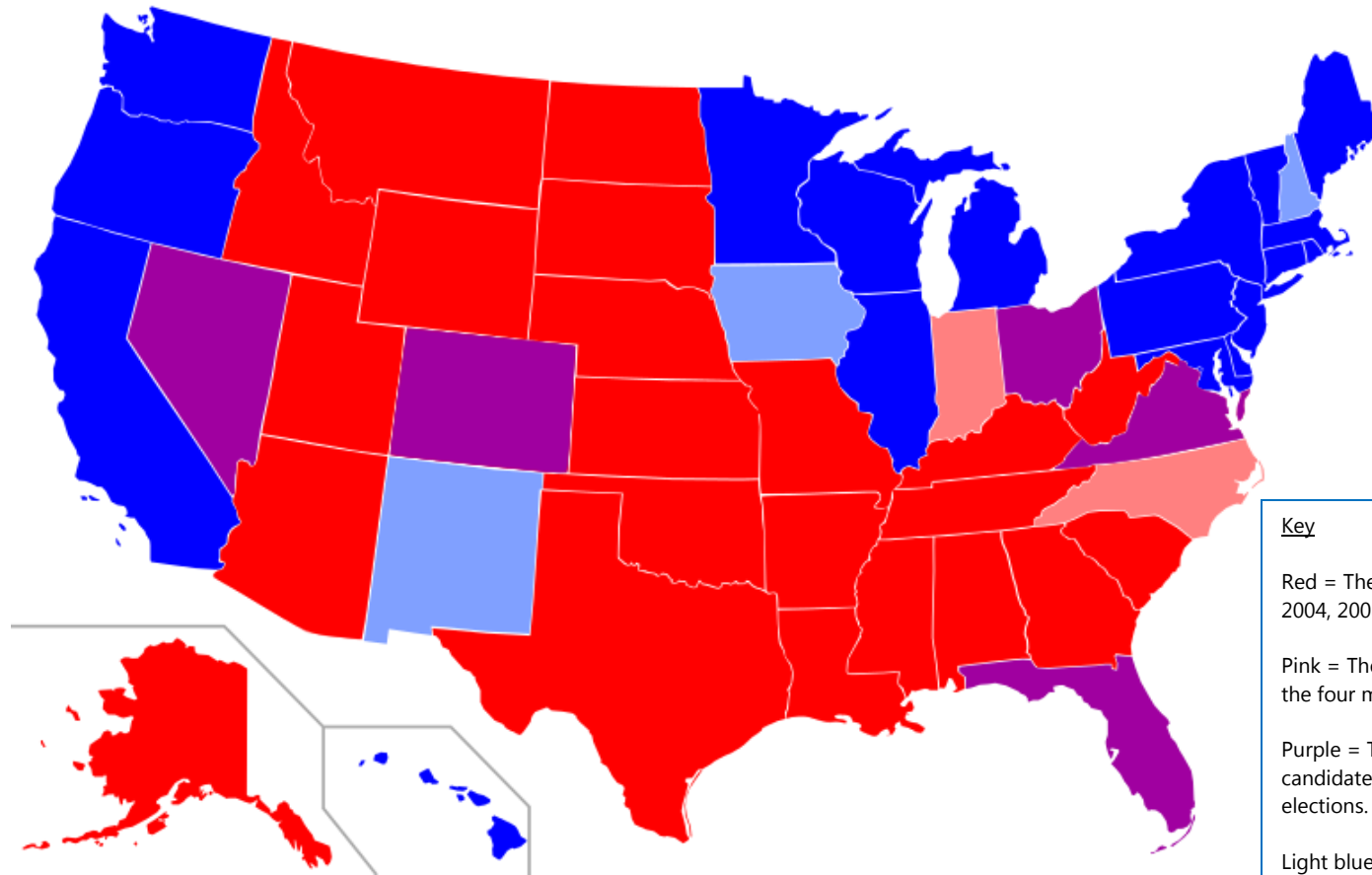
## Decolonization in Asia and the Middle East

1. Which colonies became independent before the end of World War II in 1945?
2. Which colonies became independent between 1945 and 1950?
3. Which nations had anti-colonial revolts or civil wars?



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## CWW2.2.5 Decolonization through Maps (US Red State / Blue State)



1. Imagine you were trying to “decolonize” the US. Here is a map of the political divisions in the nation. What problems might arise if you divided the US according to the Red State/Blue State Map?

Key

Red = The Republican candidate carried the state in the 2000, 2004, 2008, & 2012 presidential elections

Pink = The Republican candidate carried the state in three of the four most recent elections.

Purple = The Republican candidate and the Democratic candidate each carried the state in two of the four most recent elections.

Light blue = The Democratic candidate carried the state in three of the four most recent elections.

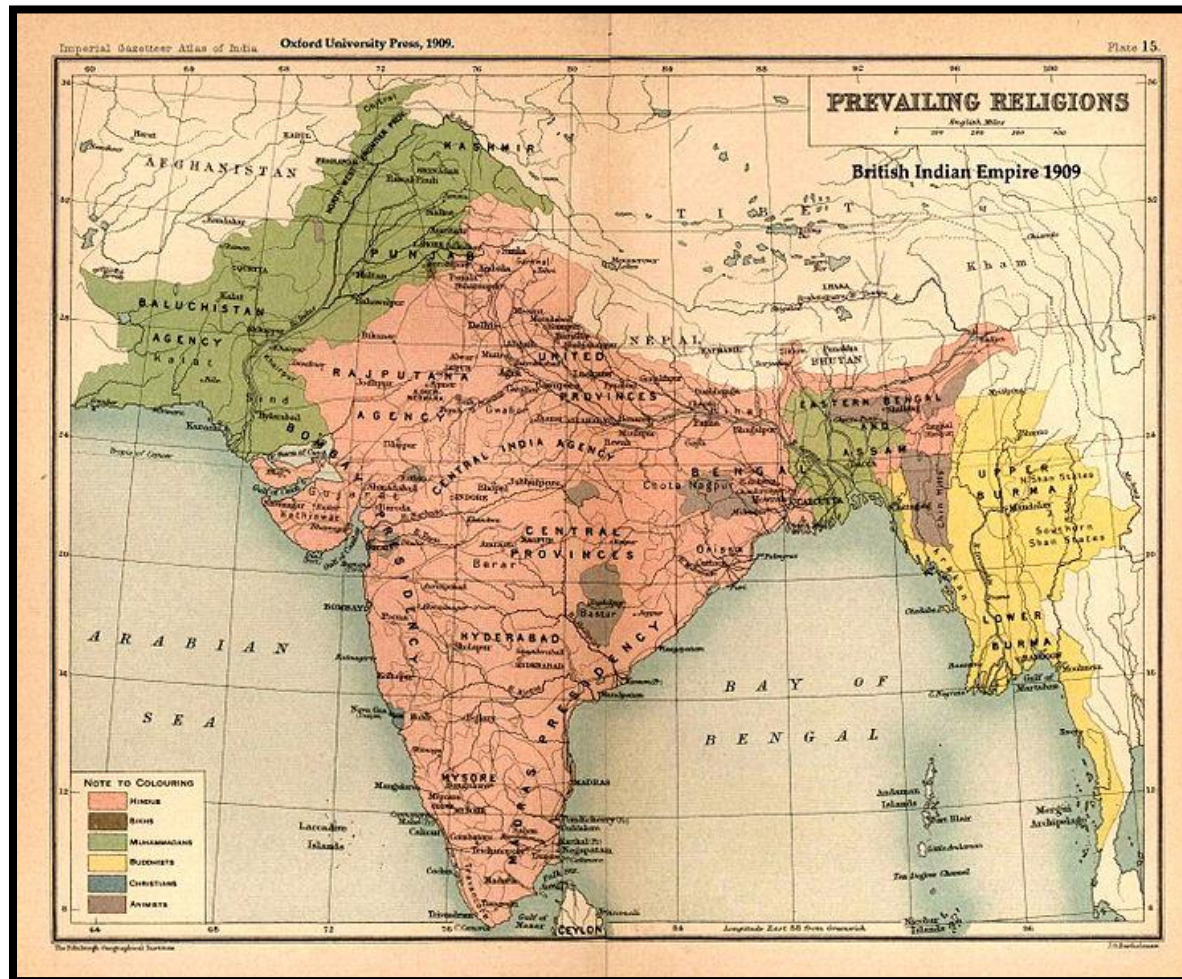
Dark blue = The Democratic candidate carried the state in all four most recent elections.

Map Source: *Map of Red States and Blue States in the US*, created by Angr. Wikipedia Commons GNU Free Documentation license, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Red\\_state,\\_blue\\_state.svg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Red_state,_blue_state.svg).



## CWW2.2.6 Decolonization through Maps (Religions in India, 1909)

Editor's Note: Use the four maps found on CWW2.2.6 – 2.2.8 to answer the questions on CWW2.2.8



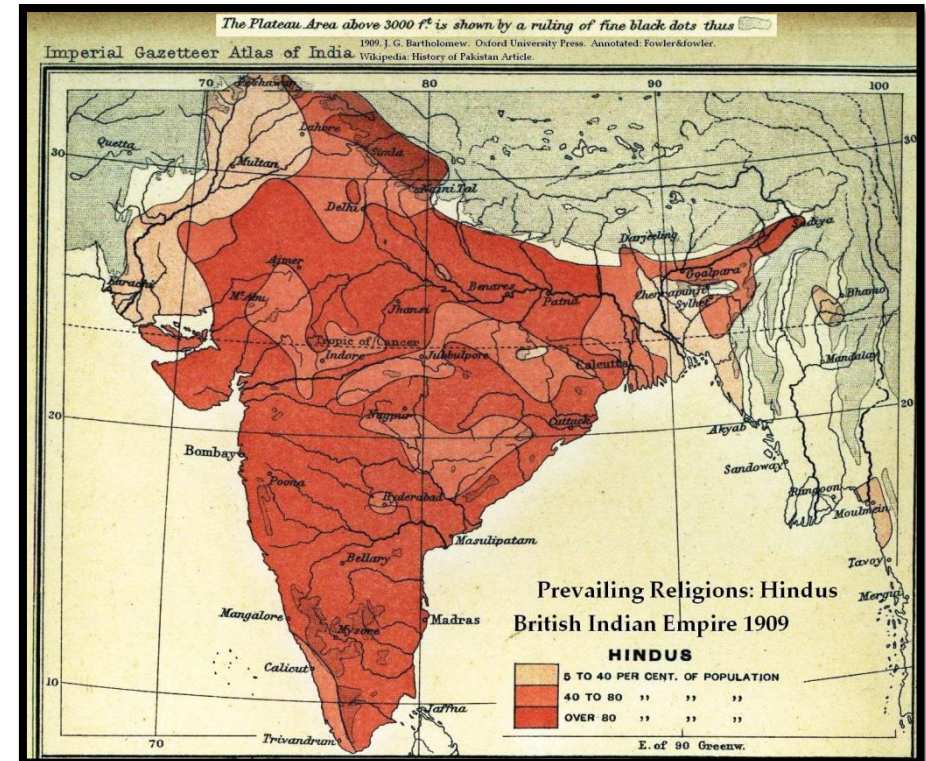
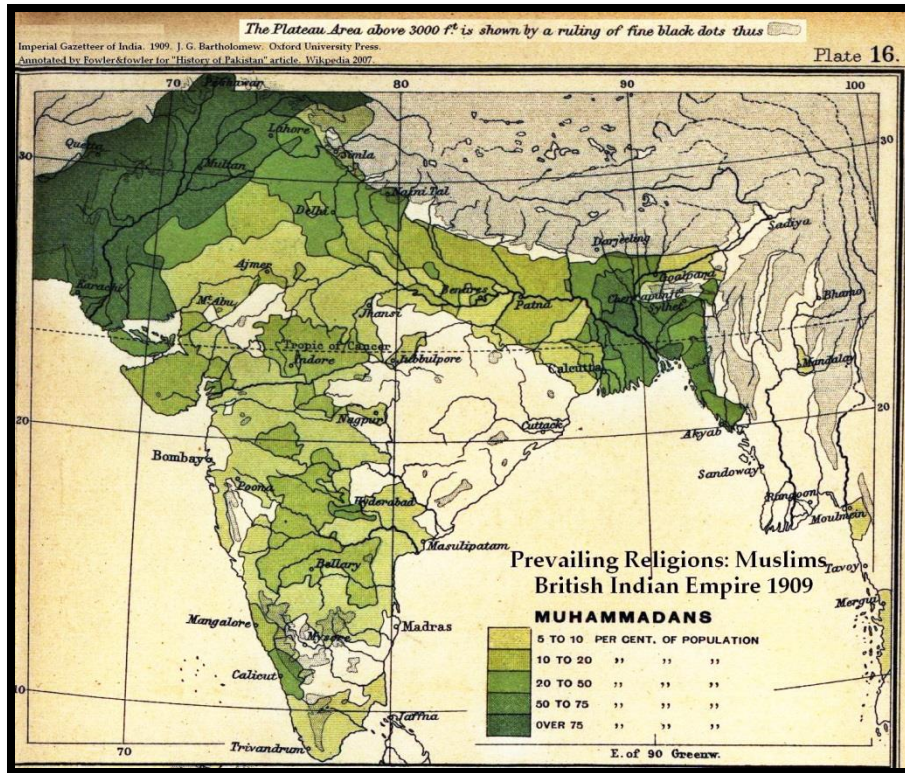
### Key

Pink: Hindus  
Dark Brown: Sikhs  
Green: Muslims  
Yellow: Buddhists  
Blue: Christians  
Light Brown:  
Animists

Source: Map of "Prevailing Religions of the British Indian Empire, 1909," from the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford University Press, 1909, scanned by Fowler&fowler, 2007, Wikipedia Commons,

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Political Divisions of the Indian Empire, 1909.jpg>

## CWW2.2.7 Decolonization through Maps (Hindus & Muslims in India, 1909)



Source: Map of "Prevaling Religions of the British Indian Empire, 1909," from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford University Press, 1909, scanned by Fowler & Fowler, 2007, Wikipedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AHindu\\_percent\\_1909.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AHindu_percent_1909.jpg) and [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muslim\\_percent\\_1909.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Muslim_percent_1909.jpg),

CWW2.2.8 Decolonization through Maps (Partition of India, 1947)

## Partition of India, 1947

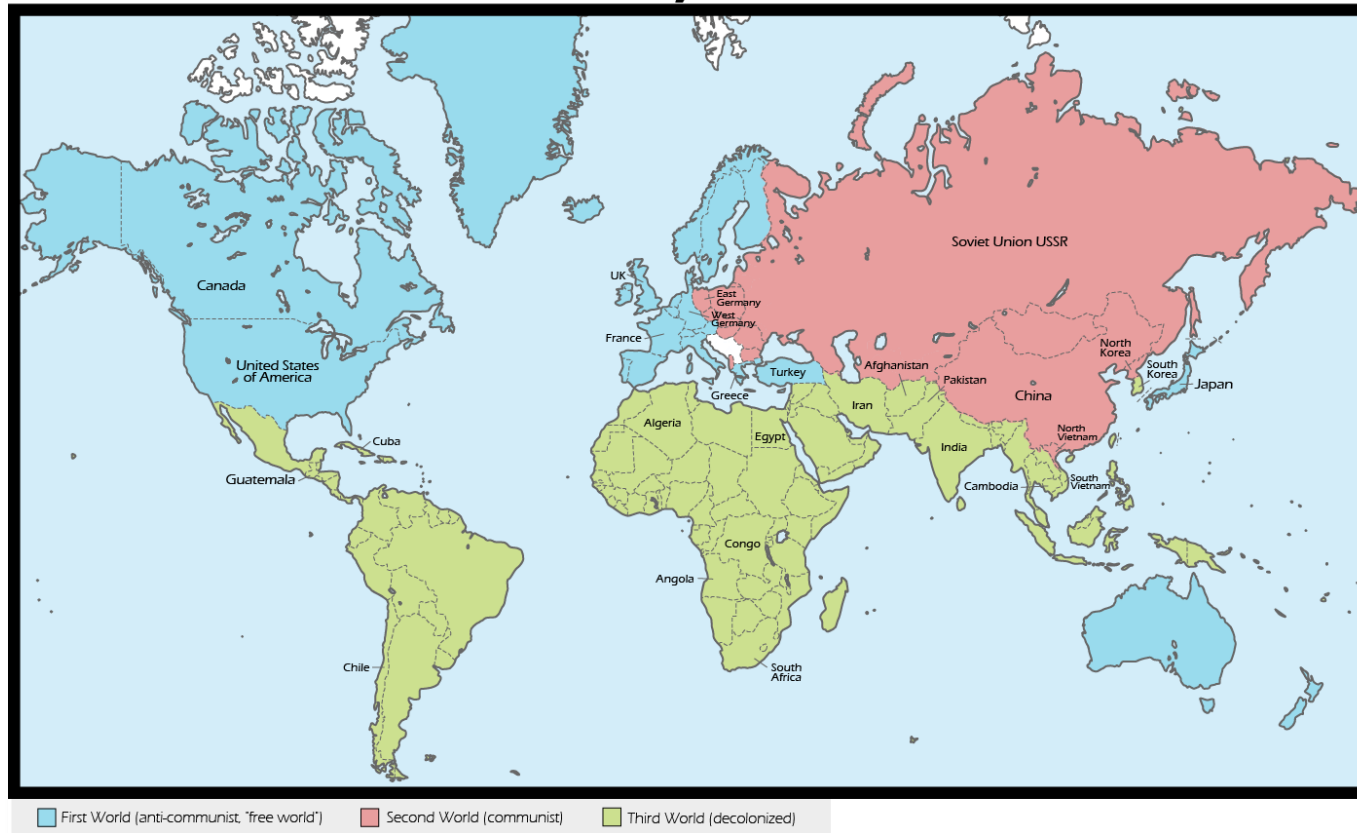


Map Source: Sonali Judari for the California History-Social Science Project.  
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1. When the British freed their colony of India in 1947, it was divided into two nations, India and Pakistan, based on the religious identification of the majority of the population in each area. What areas of India became Pakistan?
2. What problems might this division of South Asia into two nation-states cause?

CWW2.2.9 Decolonization through Maps (Three World Order, again)

## The Three World Order, 1947-1991



1. There is another way to look at world differences in the period between 1947 and 1991. It is to divide the world into the North and the South. Which of the three worlds would be in the North? Which would be in the South?
2. What were some of the differences between the North and South?

Map Source: Sonali Judari for the California History-Social Science Project.  
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### CWW2.3.1 Analyzing Country Statistics (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, & 3<sup>rd</sup> Worlds)

*Directions:* Using the **CWW2.3.1 Three Worlds map**, categorize each of the nations identified by name into First World, Second World, and Third World.

First World (Anti-communist/Free World)	Second World (Communist)	Third World (Decolonized/New Nations/Non-Aligned/South)

## CWW2.3.2 Analyzing Country Statistics (Measuring Wealth)

**Overview:** **GDP per capita** is a measure of the Gross Domestic Product, the sum of all the goods and services, of a nation divided by the nation's total population. Since the GDP includes all the money earned by all the businesses, farms, banks, etc., it measures how strong the economy of a nation is.



*Egypt. Nile boat on river. Luxor. Nile from Winter Palace Hotel, Matson Photo Service, 1936. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004000089/PP/>*

In 1960, nations that were industrialized and produced lots of manufactured goods had stronger economies, while nations that produced mainly crops or raw materials had weaker economies (because raw materials are worth much less than manufactured goods.) Nations with a larger population usually have a higher GDP than nations with smaller populations, so comparing the total GDPs for nations only shows how rich the nation is, not how rich the people in the nation are.

To get an idea of how rich the people in a nation are, statisticians divide the GDP by the population of the nation. A high number means that the nation produces a lot and its people have more wealth. A low number means that the nation does not produce much (in comparison to its population), or that the goods it produces are agricultural or raw materials. A low number can indicate that many people in the nation are poor.

**Directions:** Review the following chart, 1960 GDP and Population Statistics, in order to answer questions that follow.

**Editor's note:** N/A means that the country did not report this statistic to the World Bank and the international community. Notice as well that none of the countries in the Second World reported GDP per capita, because they considered GDP to be a capitalist measure.

## CWW2.3.2 Analyzing Country Statistics (1960 GDP & Population)

	GDP Per Capita (current US\$)	Passenger Cars in Use (in thousands)	Population	Population Growth (annual %)	Mortality Rate of Children Under 5 (per 1,000 live births)	Children in Primary & Secondary School
<b>Afghanistan</b>	56	4,600	13,800,000	N/A	358.6	187,000
<b>Algeria</b>	252	170,000	10,800,000	N/A	248.1	841,000
<b>Angola</b>	N/A	30,000	4,800,000	N/A	N/A	112,000
<b>Burma/Myanmar</b>	N/A	18,000	22,300,000	N/A	N/A	1,735,000
<b>Cambodia</b>	117	11,000	5,300,000	N/A	N/A	595,000
<b>Chile</b>	550	58,000	7,500,000	N/A	162.7	1,405,000
<b>China</b>	92	N/A	662,000,000	N/A	N/A	109,000,000
<b>Congo, Dem. Rep.</b>	223	45,000	14,000,000	2.5	N/A	1,864,000
<b>Cuba</b>	N/A	18,000	7,000,000	N/A	50.7	1,120,000
<b>Czechoslovakia</b>	N/A	247,000	13,600,000	1.3	N/A	2,465,000
<b>East Germany</b>	N/A	299,000	17,200,000	N/A	N/A	2,005,000
<b>Egypt</b>	149	71,000	25,900,000	2.6	N/A	2,663,000
<b>Ethiopia</b>	N/A	15,000	20,700,000	2.2	N/A	250,000
<b>France</b>	1,343	5,546,000	45,600,000	1.2	28.9	7,201,000
<b>Guatemala</b>	251	26,000	3,900,000	2.7	211.2	324,000
<b>Hungary</b>	N/A	31,300	9,900,000	0.26	60.2	1,633,000
<b>India</b>	N/A	282,000	432,700,000	1.99	238.9	44,500,000
<b>Indonesia</b>	N/A	103,000	92,700,000	2.42	217.8	9,697,000
<b>Iran</b>	N/A	92,000	21,500,000	2.5	265.1	1,712,000
<b>Japan</b>	479	440,000	94,000,000	0.88	39.4	21,766,000
<b>Kenya</b>	98	39,000	8,000,000	3.06	201.4	801,000
<b>North Korea</b>	N/A	N/A	10,500,000	2.67	N/A	2,419,000
<b>South Korea</b>	155	13,000	25,000,000	3.15	145.8	4,455,000
<b>Nicaragua</b>	128	8,600	1,400,000	3.17	196.1	175,000
<b>North Vietnam</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Pakistan</b>	81	62,000	42,300,000	2.33	208.5	2,667,000
<b>Philippines</b>	257	88,000	27,300,000	3.34	N/A	4,870,000
<b>South Africa</b>	422	895,000	17,100,000	2.45	N/A	2,627,000
<b>South Vietnam</b>	N/A	N/A	34,000,000	1.63	N/A	1,547,000
<b>Soviet Union</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.46	N/A	N/A

## CWW2.3.2 Analyzing Country Statistics (1960 GDP & Population, cont.)

	GDP Per Capita (current US\$)	Passenger Cars in Use (in thousands)	Population	Population Growth (annual %)	Mortality Rate of Children Under 5 (per 1,000 live births)	Children in Primary & Secondary School
<b>United States</b>	2,881	61,682,000	180,600,000	1.7	30.1	39,485,000
<b>West Germany</b>	N/A	4,489,000	55,400,000	0.78	N/A	6,513,000
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	281	80,000	3,800,000	3.21	154.2	541,000
Sources:						
B.R. Mitchell, International Historical Statistics: The Americas, 1750-1988, Second Edition (Stockton Press, 1993).						
B.R. Mitchell, International Historical Statistics: Europe, 1750-1993, Fourth Edition (Macmillan Reference Ltd, 1998).						
B.R. Mitchell, International Historical Statistics: Africa, Asia & Oceania, 1750-1988, Second Revised Edition (Stockton Press, 1995).						
Peter D. Johnson and Paul R. Campbell, Detailed Statistics on the Population of South Africa, by Race and Urban/Rural Residence: 1950-2010 (International Demographic Data Center, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1982).						
<a href="http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/ed-stats">World Bank Education Statistics, last updated August 2012, found at http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/ed-stats.</a>						
World Bank, China: Issues and Prospects in Education (Washington, D.C., 1985).						

### Measuring Wealth

1. What nation had the highest GDP per capita in 1960? (Give the name of nation and the statistic.)
2. What nation had the lowest GDP per capita? (Give the name of nation and the statistic.)
3. Make a rough average of the GDP per capita for the First and Third worlds. Then rank the three worlds from highest GDP per capita to the lowest GDP per capita. (Put the Second world in the middle.)
4. What does the ranking indicate about the strength of economies and the amount of wealth in each of the Three Worlds in 1960?



## CWW2.3.3 Analyzing Country Statistics (Passenger Cars)

### Passenger Cars

The number of **passenger cars** in a nation is one measure of how many people in that nation had enough money to buy a car, which indicates that they were either rich or middle class. The number of cars has to be divided by the total population of the nation. For example, Japan had 440,000 cars and 94,000,000 people. We can represent these figures in the following ratio:

$$440,000 / 94,000,000 = .005$$



*U.S.S.R., Moscow, temporary exhibit of Russian material, Thomas O'Halloran, Photographer. August 5, 1959. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2012646617/>*

In other words, Japan had 5 cars for every 1,000 people or 1 car for every 200 people.

1. Make a ratio of cars to population for the US in 1960.
2. Make a ratio of cars to population for East Germany in 1960.
3. Make a ratio of cars to population for Egypt in 1960.
4. Assuming the US is representative of the first world, East Germany is representative of the second world, and Egypt is representative of the third world, what do these ratios tell you about wealth distribution between the three world orders in 1960?

## CWW2.3.4 Analyzing Country Statistics (Population)

### Population

1. What nation had the largest population in 1960? (Give the name of nation and the statistic.)
  
2. What nation (on the list) had the smallest population in 1960? What was that statistic?
  
3. Add together the population for each member of the first, then second, and finally third world orders. Rank the orders from most populated (#1) to least populated (#3).
  - a. First World \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Second World \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Third World \_\_\_\_\_



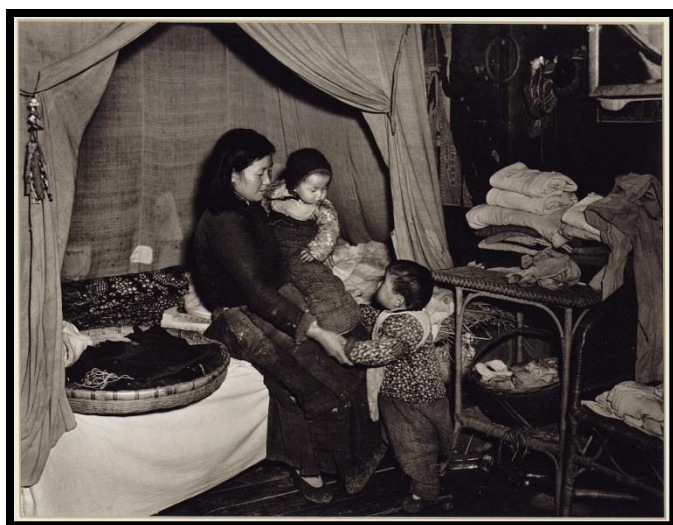
Chicago, Illinois. Provident Hospital. Miss Irene Hill, nurse technician, taking baby to be x-rayed, Jack Delano, Photographer. March, 1942. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/owi2001002833/PP/>

The **population growth rate** measures how fast the number of people in the nation is increasing. Statisticians count up the number of births, deaths, entering immigrants, and departing emigrants, and divide that by the population to create a percentage. A percentage around 0% means that population is not growing. A percentage between .5 and 1.5% means that the population is growing moderately. 2% means that the population is growing very quickly, and there will be twice as many people in that nation in 20 or 30 years. The higher the percentage is, the faster the population is growing. The lower the percentage is, the slower the population is growing. Some nations have negative population growth rates. This means that the number of deaths and people leaving is greater than the number of births.

## CWW2.3.4 Analyzing Country Statistics (1960 GDP & Population, cont.)

### Population (continued)

4. What nation had the highest population growth rate in 1960? (Give the name of nation and the statistic.)
5. What nation had the lowest population growth rate in 1960? (Give the name of nation and the statistic.)
6. What nations had a growth rate of more than 2%? (Give the names of nations and the statistics.)
7. Which world had the worst problems with population growth?



*Mother with two young children in sleeping area of dwelling in the Kiangsu Province or Yunnan Province in China, Arthur Rothstein, Photographer, 1946. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2005677203/>*

The **mortality rate of children under 5** statistic measures the quality of health care in a nation. For every 1000 babies born alive (not including stillborn babies), the mortality rate (or infant mortality rate) records how many children died before they were 5 years old. A low number indicates good health care, and a high number indicates poor health care (meaning that many people do not have access to doctors and hospitals). N/A means that the statistic for that country was not available, because the nation either did not gather the statistic, or did not report it to the World Bank and other international institutions.

8. What nation had the lowest mortality rate of children under 5 in 1960? (Give the name of nation and the statistic.)

## CWW2.3.4 Analyzing Country Statistics (1960 GDP & Population, cont.)

### Population (continued)

9. What nation had the highest mortality rate of children under 5 in 1960? (Give the name of nation and the statistic.)
  
10. Make a rough average of the mortality rate for each of the three worlds. Then rank the three worlds from lowest mortality rate to highest mortality rate.  
First World \_\_\_\_\_  
Second World \_\_\_\_\_  
Third World \_\_\_\_\_

The **children in primary and secondary school** statistic is one way to measure the quality of and access to education in a nation. A high number of children in school (compared to the nation's population) means that the nation has a good educational system and most children attend school. A low number of children in school (compared to the nation's population) means that many children do not have access to education. It is a difficult statistic to compare among nations, however, because it depends on the total population and the percentage of children in that population. To get a rough comparison, scan back and forth between the population statistic and the children in school statistic.



*School children at the Paljor Namgyal Girls School, Sikkim, Alice S. Kandall, Photographer. January 1969. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011646410/>*

11. List 3 nations that seem to have a high number of children in school. (Give the names of nations and the statistic.)
  
12. List 3 nations that seem to have a low number of children in school. (Give the names of nations and the statistic.)

## CWW2.3.5 Analyzing Country Statistics (Egypt Priorities)

### Priorities for Egypt in 1960

1. Collect the statistics below for Egypt in 1960.
  - a. GDP per capita:
  - b. Passenger cars:
  - c. Population:
  - d. Population Growth Rate:
  - e. Mortality Rate of Children Under 5:
  
2. If you were the president of Egypt in 1960, what would your agenda be for the nation? Rank the following priorities from 1 to 5. #1 on your agenda should address what you and your group decide is the most pressing problem your nation and your people face. #5 should address the least important problem. Be prepared to explain your choices to the class.

\_\_\_ Raise exports and investments to increase the GDP

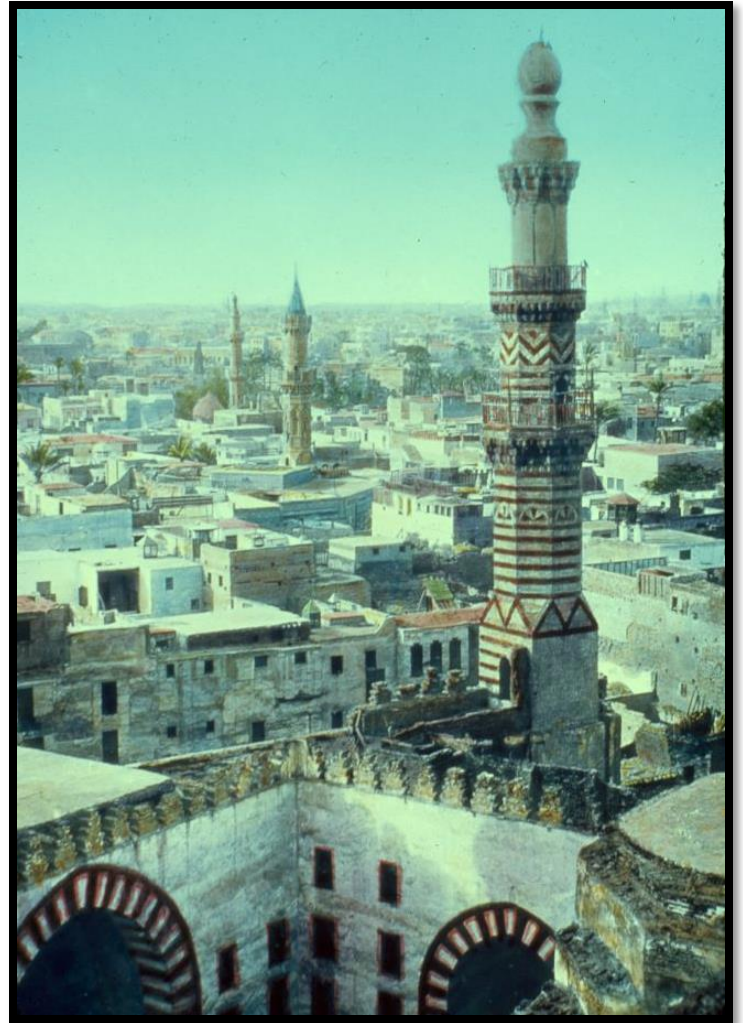
\_\_\_ Build infrastructure (roads, bridges, dams, etc.) to increase the GDP

\_\_\_ Raise the income of poor people

\_\_\_ Improve health care and education

\_\_\_ Control population growth

\_\_\_ Fight the Cold War



*Egypt. Cairo. Cairo from the Mosque of Ibn Touloun, Matson Photo Services, 1950 – 1977. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2010000423/PP/>*

## CWW2.4 What Is a Third Way?

*Editor's note: Now that we have a sense about the contextual differences between first, second, and third world order countries, it's time to consider what historians call a "third way." The term describes a path sought by countries not aligned with either the US or the Soviet Union – countries that wanted to go their own way, distinct from the polarization that defined the Cold War.*

*Directions: As you read the following two sources, consider how these two authors would answer this question: What is a third way and what would it look like? To develop your answer, take notes on the following chart as you read each source. Use that information in order to answer the final question for each author – What is the third way?*

Author	Frantz Fanon	Jawaharlal Nehru
Where is the author from?		
What are the author's position, career, and personal background?		
How might the author's background, nationality, and position influence his perspective?		
List three major ideas or goals from the source.		
In the author's opinion, what is the third way?		

## CWW2.4 What Is a Third Way?

### Source #1: *The Wretched of the Earth* by Frantz Fanon.

*Editor's note: Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) was born in Martinique and educated as a psychiatrist in France, and he spent much of his later life in Algeria. Fanon became a radical revolutionary and writer whose ideas about the psychological damage of colonialism were very influential on the leaders of anti-colonial national liberation movements. This excerpt is from his 1961 book, The Wretched of the Earth.*

"Comrades, have we not other work to do than to create a third Europe? The West saw itself as a spiritual adventure. It is in the name of the spirit, in the name of the spirit of Europe, that Europe has made her encroachments [movement into someone else's space], that she has justified her crimes and legitimized the slavery in which she holds four-fifths of humanity. . ."

"It is a question of the Third World starting a new history of Man, a history which will have regard to the sometimes prodigious theses [very good ideas] which Europe has put forward, but which will also not forget Europe's crimes, of which the most horrible was committed in the heart of man, and consisted of the pathological tearing apart of his functions and the crumbling away of his unity. "

"So, comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions and societies which draw their inspiration from her.

Humanity is waiting for something other from us than such an imitation, which would be almost an obscene caricature.

If we want to turn Africa into a new Europe, and America into a new Europe, then let us leave the destiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us.

But if we want humanity to advance a step farther, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries. . . .

For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man."

## CWW2.4 What Is a Third Way?

### Source #2: *Address, 1956* by Jawaharlal Nehru

*Editor's note: Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) was one of the leaders of Indian Independence Movement under Mahatma Gandhi. When India gained independence in 1947, he was elected as the first Prime Minister. He remained as prime minister until he died in 1964. Nehru was a strong believer in industrialization and modernization of India, and he guided the new nation-state of India to develop along those lines. He adapted socialist ideas of a planned economy because he thought this would develop India faster. He was one of the primary world leaders who were trying to establish a Third Way.*

"We are now engaged in a gigantic and exciting task of achieving rapid and large-scale economic development of our country. Such development, in an ancient and underdeveloped country such as India, is only possible with purposive planning. True to our democratic principles and traditions, we seek, in free discussion and consultation as well as in implementation, the enthusiasm and the willing and active cooperation of our people... We completed our first Five Year Plan 8 months ago, and now we have begun on a more ambitious scale our second Five Year Plan, which seeks a planned development in agriculture and industry, town and country, and between factory and small scale and cottage production"



*Ploughing rice terraces, old methods of farming, Alice S. Kendall, Photographer, January 1969. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011646443/>*

"... many other countries in Asia tell the same story, for Asia today is resurgent, and these countries which long lay under foreign yoke have won back their independence and are fired by



## CWW2.4 What Is a Third Way?

**Source #2: *Address, 1956* by Jawaharlal Nehru** (continued)

a new spirit and strive toward new ideals. To them, as to us, independence is as vital as the breath they take to sustain life, and colonialism, in any form, or anywhere, is abhorrent. . . . ”

“The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy. It is in the pursuit of this policy that we have chosen the path of nonalignment in any military or like pact or alliance. Nonalignment does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. It does not mean submission to what we consider evil. It is a positive and dynamic approach to such




*Jawaharlal Nehru, 1889-1964, full-length portrait, standing, with daughter, Frances Bolton, and Mme. Pandit. Photo by Harris and Ewing. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2005685246/>*

problems that confront us. We believe that each country has not only the right to freedom but also to decide its own policy and way of life. Only thus can true freedom flourish and a people grow according to their own genius.

We believe, therefore, in nonaggression and non-interference by one country in the affairs of another and the growth of tolerance between them and the capacity for peaceful coexistence. We think that by the free exchange of ideas and trade and other contacts between nations each will learn from the other and truth will prevail. We therefore endeavor to maintain friendly relations with all countries, even though we may disagree with them in their policies or structure of government. We think that by this approach we can serve not only our country but also the larger causes of peace and good fellowship in the world. ”

## CWW2.5 World Order Agendas Chart

	<h3>The American Way</h3>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contain communism</li> <li>• Spread liberal democracy</li> <li>• Support American business</li> <li>• Spread capitalism and free trade</li> <li>• Oppose imperialism and support self-determination (as long as the movement is not communist)</li> </ul>
	<h3>The Soviet Way</h3>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oppose imperialism and support self-determination</li> <li>• Spread communism and economic equality</li> <li>• Support communist parties abroad</li> <li>• Protect the Soviet Union</li> </ul>
	<h3>The Third Way</h3>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oppose colonialism and dependence on former imperialists</li> <li>• Avoid copying European/Western ideas</li> <li>• Develop industrial economies</li> <li>• End racism</li> <li>• Pursue non-alignment</li> </ul>

## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 1 of 9)

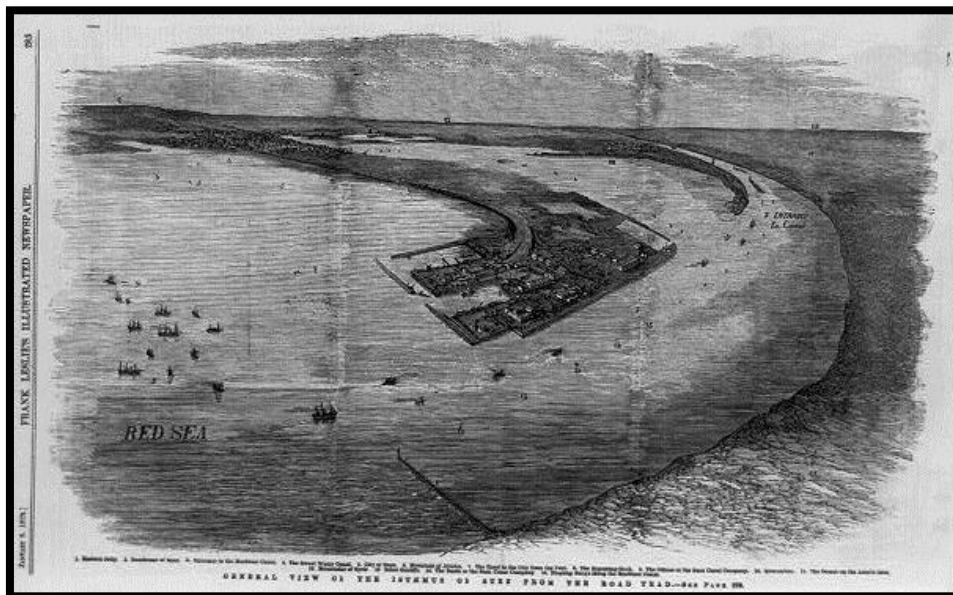
*Directions:* The Third Way was not just a theory – it was strategy employed by a number of countries during the Cold War to guide their foreign and domestic policy decisions. One of the best examples of this alternative path could be found in Egypt, where an independent and often controversial leader, Gamal Abd al-Nasser, pursued a policy of non-alignment, refusing to explicitly side with either the US or the Soviet Union. Read the following secondary source in order to answer the following question: “What was Egypt’s Third Way?”



Map Source: Egypt, Central Intelligence Agency, CIA  
Factbook: [https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/maps/eg\\_largelocator\\_template.html](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/maps/eg_largelocator_template.html)

### Building the Suez Canal

In 1854, what we now call Egypt was a semi-autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire. Egypt had its own ruler, a Khedive named Said Pasha. Because Said wanted to make Egypt more like a European country, he established relationships with European businessmen and gave them many concessions, or grants of rights and land. For example, these businessmen and the European nations that they lived in often pressured leaders of weaker nations, such as Egypt, to accept European control over a source of raw materials, such as cotton plantations, or a strategically located piece of land like the Isthmus



General view of the isthmus of Suez from the road Tead, in Frank Leslie's illustrated newspaper, January 8, 1870. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/90708359>.

of Suez. These concessions granted huge areas of land to the European nation or business and established long-term colonial relationships. Long after the leader had spent the money provided by the European country,

## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 2 of 9)

the imperialists still exploited the concession.

In Egypt, Britain and France had tremendous political and economic influence over Said. Said granted a French engineer named Ferdinand de Lesseps a concession to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Suez. Lesseps promised Said that the canal would make Egypt wealthy. The concession set up a private international company that would construct and operate the canal. The concession would last for 99 years after the canal opened. Egypt would receive 44% of the company stock, and the rest would be sold to European investors. Each year Egypt would receive 15% of the profits made by the Canal. Finally the concession said that 80% of the workers on the canals were to be Egyptians, who would be provided by the *corvéé*. The *corvéé* was a system of forced labor that had been used in Egypt for centuries.



*Statue of De Lesseps on the Suez Canal, his great creation, Port Said, Egypt, ca. 1903.*

Source: Library of Congress,  
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/91727913/>

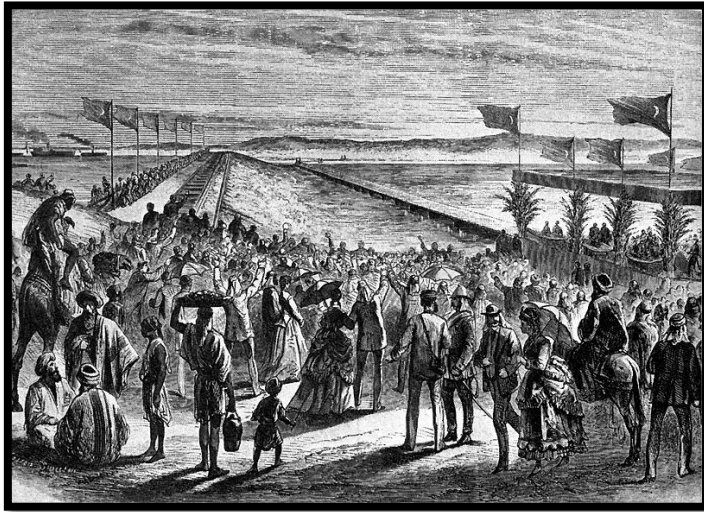
Peasants from villages were required to work for several months in between their farming responsibilities. The Canal Company had to pay the workers 2 or 3 piastres per day, and children under 12 were to receive one piastre. In addition, the company was to provide food, water, tents, and transportation. In groups as large as 25,000 men at a single time, hundreds of thousands of Egyptian "*fellahin*," or peasants, worked at manual labor, digging, hauling dirt, and building dikes.<sup>1</sup> While historians do not agree about how many laborers died while working on the canal, many Egyptians believe that 120,000 *fellahin* died during canal construction.<sup>2</sup>

Lesseps raised the money to build the canal from wealthy European investors. He hired Frenchmen and other Europeans as engineers, supervisors, and technicians, and sometimes as manual laborers. As work on the canal progressed, the khedive contributed more money, until in the end Egypt paid more than half of the costs of construction. In 1869, the canal was complete. The Suez Canal rapidly became a major international waterway, because it made ship

<sup>1</sup> Joseph E. Nourse, *The Maritime Canal of Suez, from its Inauguration, November 17, 1869, to the Year 1884* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1884), 53.

<sup>2</sup> Afaf Lutfi-al-Sayyid Marsot, *A Short History of Modern Egypt*, p. 66, wrote that 100,000 Egyptians died and that they had to dig with their hands because they were not given tools. Nourse did not mention anyone dying during the construction, pp. 51-60.

## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 3 of 9)

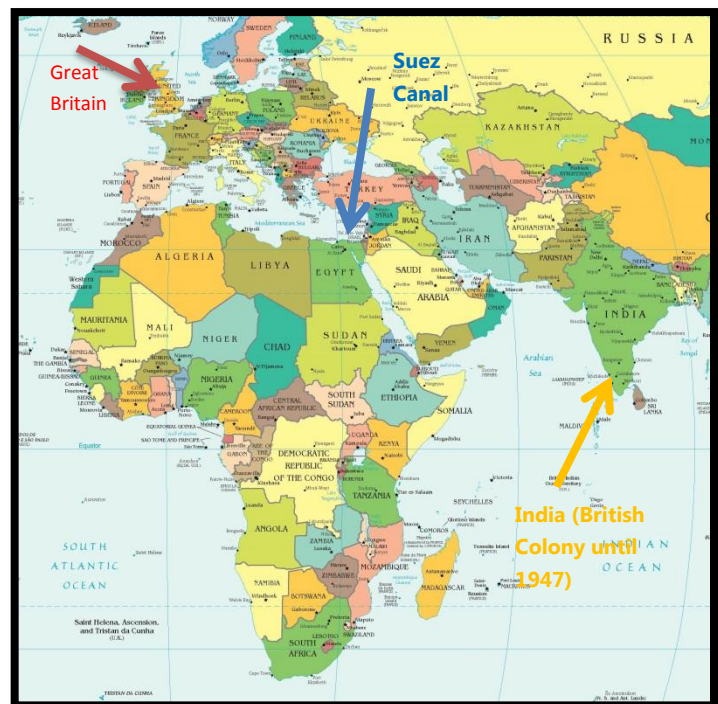


Engraving of the Opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. "Zeitgenössische Darstellung," *Das Wissen des 20 Jahrhunderts*, Verlag für Wissen und Bildung 1961, Rheda Bd. 5, S.958, Wikipedia, PD-old, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Suezkanal1869.jpg>.

journeys from Europe to south and east Asia so much faster. Sailing through the canal instead of around Africa saved the British half the time of sailing from the port of London to Bombay (today: Mumbai) in their colony of India. By 1883, 80% of the ships that passed through the canal were British. The Suez Canal had become the "British lifeline." In 1888, Britain, France, the Ottoman Empire and other countries signed a treaty, called a convention, for the international company to govern the Suez Canal.

### Questions:

1. What were the terms of the Suez Canal concession that Khedive Said Pasha granted to Ferdinand de Lesseps?
2. Who built the canal? Who used the canal?
3. Consider the map of the region to the right. Why would Great Britain have a strategic interest in the Canal?
4. If the average Egyptian had been given a vote, do you think he or she would support the concessions the Khedive granted to de Lesseps and the foreign investors? Why or why not?

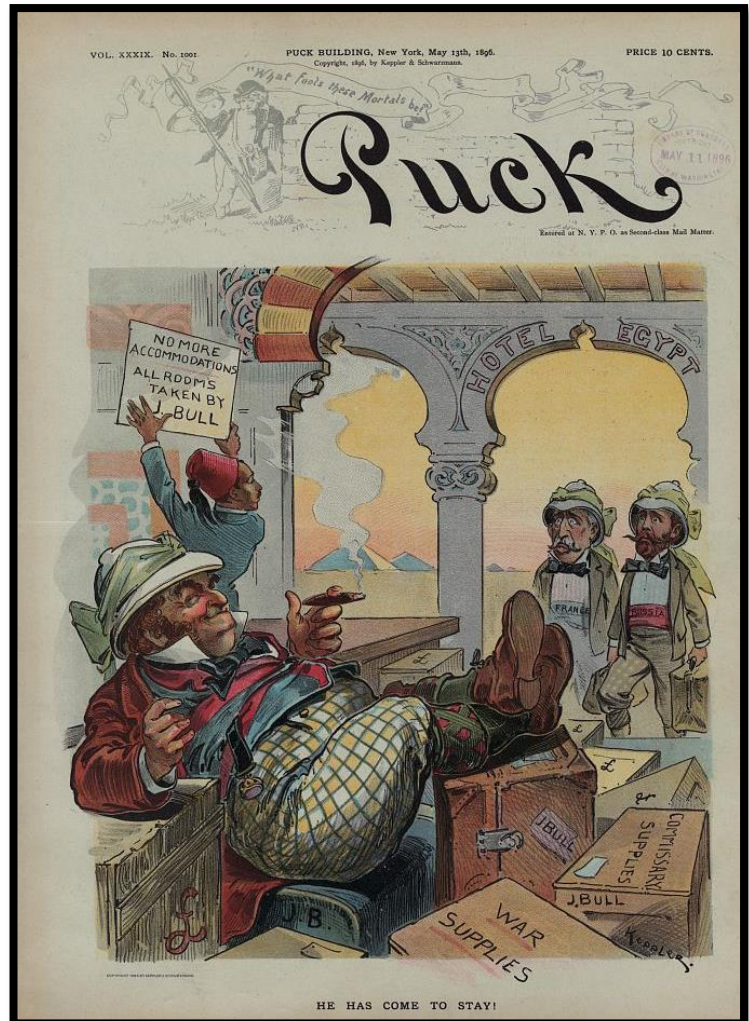


Map Source: Political Map (adapted), Central Intelligence Agency, CIA Factbook, [https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/graphics/ref\\_maps/political/pdf/world.pdf](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/graphics/ref_maps/political/pdf/world.pdf)

## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 4 of 9)

### Egypt under Imperialism

The next ruler of Egypt was Ismail, who like Said, wanted to develop Egypt into a copy of a European country. Much of the agricultural land in Egypt belonged to small elite of wealthy landowners, and they began to grow more and more cotton to export to Great Britain. Khedive Ismail received lots of money, but he spent even more. To pay the difference, he borrowed huge amounts from British and French bankers. As Egypt's debts grew, Ismail's government sold its 44% interest in the Suez Canal Company for 4 million pounds. The buyer was the British government. When Egypt's debts grew too large, the British seized control of Egypt's finances and took over the Canal in 1879.<sup>3</sup> In 1884, the British army occupied Egypt, and for the next 54 years, the British controlled Egypt as its protectorate, or a weaker nation that kept its native ruler but was controlled by the imperialist power.



*He has come to stay!* Udo J. Keppler, artist, N.Y. : Published by Keppler & Schwarzmann, 1896 May 13. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2012648525/>

Egyptians continually rebelled against the British protectorate. Notably in 1881, Egyptian rebels developed the slogan "Egypt for the Egyptians," as they tried to end foreign control of Egypt. Again in 1919, Egyptians rebelled against the British because they wanted independence. In 1924 the British granted Egypt independence, but the British kept control of the Suez Canal and

<sup>3</sup> William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004), 96-97.

## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 5 of 9)

stationed troops in the country to defend the canal zone. As the struggle to free Egypt continued, the Muslim Brotherhood gained popularity among the Egyptian common people, because this political organization called for independence for Egypt, protection of Islamic values and social reforms. By the 1950s, there was a



*On the Suez Canal, William Henry Jackson, Photographer, 1894. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004707278/>*

huge inequality in land ownership in Egypt. While most lived in deep poverty, there was a small elite group of wealthy landowners who supported the king (when Egypt became independent, the khedive became the king).

### Questions:

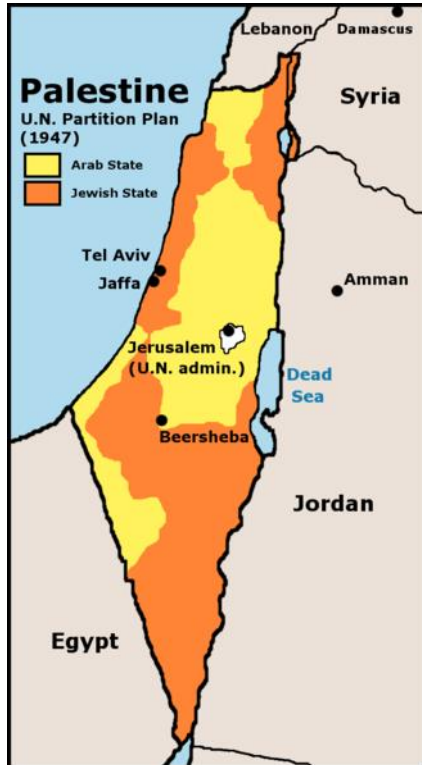
1. How did the British take control of Egypt?
2. Why did many Egyptians rebel against the British?
3. What economic problems did the common people in Egypt have?

### **Israel**

At the same time that the Egyptian nationalists were trying to get rid of British colonialism in Egypt, another colonial and nationalist conflict was growing in the country next door, the British mandate of Palestine. Jews believe that the area that is today Israel/Palestine was given to their ancestors, Abraham and Moses, by God. Most Jews did not live in that land, however, but instead lived in Europe and the United States. As demonstrations and riots against Jews increased in Eastern Europe in late 1800s, some Jewish leaders started a movement, called Zionism, to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Zionists campaigned for this homeland

## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 6 of 9)

throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and many moved to Palestine. The Palestinians, people belonging to the Arab ethnic group who lived in Palestine, believed



UN 1947 Partition Plan for Palestine, from Issues in Middle East Atlas, prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency, [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historic\\_al/israel\\_hist\\_1973.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historic_al/israel_hist_1973.jpg);

that the area was their homeland as well. These two competing claims for the same land caused huge conflicts and growing intolerance. After the Holocaust in World War II, the US and other Western nations thought that the Jews deserved a homeland of their own, but the Egyptians and other Arabs thought that the Palestinians deserved to keep the land. To the Egyptians and other Arabs, the Jews were not natives of the Middle East, but instead white colonists from Europe. Many Arabs thought that the US and other Western nations were setting up a new colony on Arab land. In 1947, the newly-formed United Nations divided British mandate of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state, and in 1948 Jewish leaders proclaimed the state of Israel. War immediately broke out between Israel and its Arab neighbors, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. Israel won the war and imposed an embarrassing defeat on its Arab neighbors, including Egypt.

### Questions:

1. Who were the two groups fighting over Israel/Palestine?
2. Which superpower supported Israel? Why?
3. Why did the Egyptians care about the Jewish state in Israel?

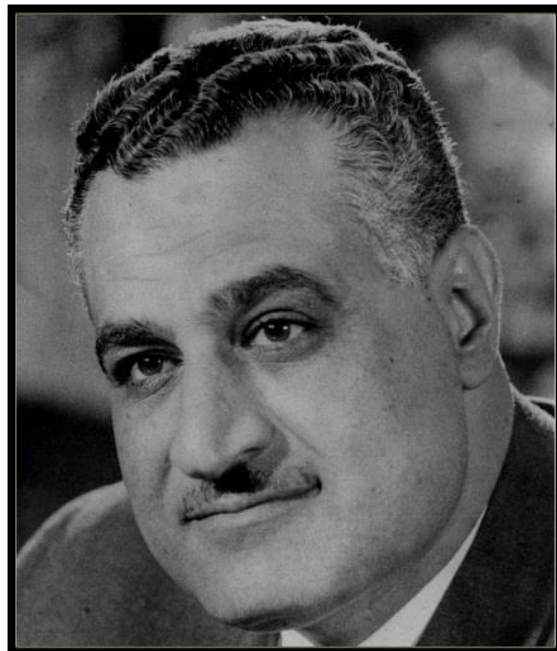
### Nasser's Revolution

In 1952, a group of military officers led by Colonel Gamal Abd al-Nasser overthrew the king and took control of the Egyptian government in a coup d'état, a swift overthrow of a country's leaders. Nasser and his fellow "Free Officers" wanted to end British occupation and economic control, strengthen the Egyptian army, and make social reforms. They also wanted to avenge Egypt's defeat by Israel. They were very much against colonialism and any kind of foreign control, but they were not strong believers in any ideology, such as socialism, communism, or Muslim restoration. In 1953, Nasser abolished the monarchy and made Egypt a democracy (on



## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 7 of 9)

paper.) Nasser ruled as a dictator, and the Nasser-led organization, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) was the only legal political party. Nasser's government outlawed both the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian Communist Party and imprisoned their leaders. Nasser gained much popularity by introducing land reform, or the redistribution of farmland from the wealthy to the poor. In 1954, he negotiated a treaty with Great Britain to remove British troops from Egypt, including the Suez Canal zone. In 1955, the British pulled out their troops.



### Question:

1. What was Nasser's agenda for Egypt?

In the Cold War, Nasser wanted to follow a policy of non-alignment, meaning that he did not want to side with either the US or the Soviet Union. In the mid-1950s, the US was trying to form an alliance called the Baghdad Pact, to contain the Soviets from spreading into the Middle East. When the US invited Egypt to join the Pact, Nasser refused, charging that the Pact was just another form of imperialism and an attempt to keep Arabs dependent on the West. Nasser also publicly condemned the alliance and urged other Arab nations not to join. However, Nasser also wanted money, to buy weapons and build development projects, such as the Aswan dam on the Nile River. The US gave lots of weapons to its Baghdad Pact allies, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Iraq, but refused to give or sell any to Nasser.

*Gamal Abd al-Nasser, photo taken between 1956 and 1965, Bibliotheca Alexandrina and Gamal Abdel Nasser Foundation (Nasser Archive Website), in public domain under Egyptian law, Wikipedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Nasser\\_portrait2.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Nasser_portrait2.jpg).*

In 1955, Nasser approached the Soviet Union for weapons, and arranged to buy \$200 million worth of Soviet equipment from Czechoslovakia. The US was furious, and the British and French were very worried. It seemed to them that Nasser was a loose cannon who was only interested in inflaming Arab public opinion. Nasser had become a hero to many Arabs because he stood up to the imperialists of the West.

## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 8 of 9)

### Questions:

2. Why did Nasser oppose the Baghdad Pact?
3. Why did Nasser buy weapons from Czechoslovakia?
4. Why do you think the Soviet Union (through Czechoslovakia) wanted to sell weapons to Egypt?

Early in Nasser's regime, Egypt had applied for World Bank funding to build a second dam at Aswan on the Nile River. The World Bank had approved a loan package which included funding from the US. In 1956, the US withdrew its loan offer, and used its influence with the World Bank to kill the entire loan. Now Nasser was furious. On July 26, 1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. This meant that the Suez Canal Company would become the property of the Egyptian



*Egyptian Prime Minister Nasser cheered in Cairo after announcing the Suez Canal Company, August 1, 1956. Source: Ricky-Dale Calhoun, "The Musketeer's Cloak: Strategic Deception During the Suez Crisis of 1956," Studies in Intelligence, vol. 51, no. 2 (Central Intelligence Agency, June 2007), pp. 47-58 [Available online from CIA – Studies in Intelligence]. <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol51no2/the-art-of-strategic-counterintelligence.html>*

government, which would control and operate the canal. Nasser promised that all ships would be able to use the canal freely, and that Egypt would compensate the foreign owners of company stock. He said he would use the money received to pay for the Aswan Dam and other development projects. Because they did not want Nasser to control the canal, the British and French protested that an international authority to control the Suez Canal. There were several

## CWW2.6 The Suez Canal (page 9 of 9)

International conferences held to try to find a resolution to the crisis. During those negotiations, Britain, France and Israel were secretly planning to invade Egypt, seize the canal and overthrow Nasser. In October 1956, the British, French and Israelis began bombing and invading Egypt. The United Nations organized a ceasefire agreement, and in early November, Britain and France agreed to stop fighting.<sup>4</sup>

### Questions:

5. What is nationalization?
6. Why did Nasser want to nationalize the Suez Canal Company?
7. Why did Britain and France oppose nationalization?



*Egypt. Suez Canal. Ship passing through the canal, Matson Photo Service, Photographer, ca., 1950 – 1977. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2010000421/PP/>*

Both the US and Soviet Union opposed the attack on Egypt, which both saw as an act of imperialism. The US pressured its allies to withdraw from Egypt, leaving Nasser in possession of the canal. The Soviet Union provided weapons and aid money to Egypt. However, neither superpower was happy with Nasser, who spent the rest of his life (until his death in 1970) playing the US and the Soviet Union off against each other. Nasser's non-alignment policy was to use the strategic importance of his nation to get as much as he could from both sides in the Cold War, without committing Egypt to either side.

### Questions:

8. What was the position of the US during the Suez Canal Crisis?
9. What was the position of the Soviet Union during the Suez Canal Crisis?

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<sup>4</sup> Cleveland, 308-313.

## CWW2.7 Gamal Abd al-Nasser, "Speech at Alexandria, July 26, 1956"

*Part A Instructions: Read the speech excerpts and discuss the questions with your group. Record your group's answers below.*

*Editor's note:* Speaking of a meeting with Eugene R. Black, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with which Egypt had been negotiating for a loan to help finance the construction of a high dam on the Nile at Aswan, Nasser said:

"I began to look at Mr. Black sitting in his chair imagining that I was sitting before Ferdinand de Lesseps.

I recalled the words which we used to read. In 1854, Ferdinand de Lesseps arrived in Egypt. He went to Mohamed Said Pasha, the Khedive. He sat beside him

and told him, "We want to dig the Suez Canal. This project will greatly benefit you. It is a great project and will bring excellent returns to Egypt. . . I am your friend, I have come to benefit you, and to dig a canal between the two seas for your advantage."

The Suez Canal Company was formed, and Egypt got 44% of the shares. Egypt undertook to supply labour to dig the Canal by corv e of which 120,000 died without getting paid. We gave up the 15% of the profits which we were supposed to get over and above the profits of our 44% of the shares. Thus, contrary to the statements made by De Lesseps to the Khedive in which he said that the Canal was dug for Egypt, Egypt has become the property of the Canal...

The result of the words of De Lesseps in 1856, the result of friendship and loans, was the occupation of Egypt in 1882.



*Egyptian Prime Minister Nasser cheered in Cairo after announcing the Suez Canal Company, August 1, 1956. Source: Central Intelligence Agency, [The Art of Strategic Counterintelligence](https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol51no2/the-art-of-strategic-counterintelligence.html) by Ricky-Dale Calhoun, 2007.*

## CWW2.7 Nasser's 1956 Speech (continued)

Egypt then borrowed money. What happened? Egypt was obliged, during the reign of Ismail, to sell its 44% of the shares in the company. Immediately, England set out to purchase the shares. It bought them for 4 million pounds....

Is history to repeat itself again with treachery and deceit? ...

Brothers, it is impossible that history should repeat itself... We are eradicating the traces of the past. We are building our country on strong and sound bases....

This Canal is an Egyptian canal. It is an Egyptian Joint Stock Company. Britain has forcibly grabbed our rights, our 44% of its shares....The income of the Suez Canal Company in 1955 reached 35 million pounds, or 100 million dollars. Of this sum, we, who have lost 120,000 persons, who have died in digging the Canal, take only one million pounds or three million dollars. This is the Suez Canal Company, which... was dug for the sake of Egypt and its benefit!

Do you know how much assistance America and Britain were going to offer us over 5 years? 70 million dollars. Do you know who takes the 100 million dollars, the Company's income, every year? They take them of course. . . .

We shall not repeat the past. We shall eradicate it by restoring our rights in the Suez Canal. This money is ours. This Canal is the property of Egypt...

We shall not let imperialists or exploiters dominate us. We shall not let history repeat itself once more. We have gone forward to build a strong Egypt. We go forward towards political and economic independence...

Today, citizens, rights have been restored to their owners. Our rights in the Suez Canal have been restored to us after 100 years.

Today, we actually achieve true sovereignty, true dignity and true pride. The Suez Canal Company was a state within a state. It was an Egyptian Joint Stock Company, relying on imperialism and its stooges.

The Suez Canal was built for the sake of Egypt and for its benefit. But it was a source of exploitation and the draining of wealth....

[I]t is no shame to be poor and work for the building of my country. But it is shameful to suck blood. They used to suck our blood, our rights and take them.



## CWW2.8 Analyzing Nasser's 1956 Speech

*Editor's note:* Nasser gave this speech to convince both the people of Egypt and international leaders that he was right to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. It was broadcast on radio and therefore heard by millions of ordinary people. (You can find video of the Nasser giving the speech online, by searching "Nasser Speech Alexandria 1956"). In fact, Nasser ordered his army to take over the Suez Canal Company buildings during the speech when they heard his signal on the radio: the words "Ferdinand de Lesseps." Although Nasser truly believed in what he was saying, he also wanted to gain support from his own people and others in the Third World. We have to read the speech in two ways: as a statement of the perspective of a Third World leader and as a piece of propaganda.

Part B Instructions: Read each of the quotations below to decide whether or not it is accurate and fair and how others would respond.

- To determine accuracy, check **CWW2.8 Background on the Suez Canal** for contradictory evidence.
- To determine fairness, consider whether Nasser left out important evidence or exaggerated someone's responsibility or motives.
- Next, decide who from the list below would approve and disapprove of the quotation and explain your reasoning: Egyptian peasant, Egyptian landowner, British leader, US leader, French leader, Soviet leader, Frantz Fanon, Jawaharwal Nehru, another third world leader.

## CWW2.8 Analyzing Nasser's 1956 Speech (continued)

Quote	Is this statement accurate and fair?	Evidence to support your analysis?	Who would approve of this statement? Why?	Who would disapprove of this statement? Why?
<p>"This Canal is an Egyptian canal. . . . Britain has forcibly grabbed our rights, our 44% of its shares. . . ."</p>				
<p>"Egypt undertook to supply labour to dig the Canal by corvéé of which 120,000 died without getting paid."</p>				



## CWW2.8 Analyzing Nasser's 1956 Speech (continued)

Quote	Is this statement accurate and fair?	Evidence to support your analysis?	Who would approve of this statement? Why?	Who would disapprove of this statement? Why?
<p>"Do you know how much assistance America and Britain were going to offer us over 5 years? 70 million dollars. Do you know who takes the 100 million dollars, the Company's income, every year? They take them of course. . . ."</p>				
<p>"We shall not let imperialists or exploiters dominate us. We shall not let history repeat itself once more."</p>				

## CWW2.8 Analyzing Nasser's 1956 Speech (continued)

Quote	Is this statement accurate and fair?	Evidence to support your analysis?	Who would approve of this statement? Why?	Who would disapprove of this statement? Why?
<p>"The Suez Canal was built for the sake of Egypt and for its benefit. But it was a source of exploitation and the draining of wealth. . ."</p>				
<p>"They [the Americans] do not want us to become an industrial country so that they can promote the sale of their products and market them in Egypt. I never saw any American aid directed towards industrialization as this would cause us to compete with them. American aid is everywhere directed towards exploitation."</p>				

## CWW2.9 The Suez Canal Crisis Conference

Your group has been assigned one of these six nations who were involved in the negotiations during the Suez Canal Crisis: United States, Soviet Union, Egypt, Great Britain, France, and Indonesia.

Instructions:

1. Read the position paper and discuss it. Identify your position on these 3 agenda items:
  - a. Did Egypt have the right to nationalize the Suez Canal?
  - b. Should an international authority manage the Suez Canal?
  - c. Can Egypt be trusted to manage the Suez Canal and allow all nations free access?
2. Make a poster to present the position of your nation. Include the name of your nation, symbols or drawings (in color), and important statements made by your leaders. Be sure to select these statements from the primary sources. Do not use more than three sentences and make the letters large enough to read from the back of the classroom.
3. Write a speech summarizing your position. You may use some of the sentences from the primary sources, but most of your speech should be in your own words. Speeches should be very clear and dramatic and about one minute in length. Select one person to deliver the speech. Rehearse her or him to deliver the speech clearly and dramatically.
4. Write questions to ask other nations. Write at least 2 for each nation. Your questions can be accusations, but in question form.
5. Prepare to defend your nation (verbally) and answer questions from other nations. All members of the group must answer questions, not just the leader.

## CWW2.9.1 United States Position Paper

### Primary Sources

#### Source One: President Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Radio-Television Report, Aug. 3, 1956

Eisenhower: Good evening, citizens. All of us, of course, appreciate the tremendous importance of the Suez Canal. Its continuous and effective operation is vital to the economies of our country, indeed, to the economies of almost all of the countries of the world. So all of us were vastly disturbed when Colonel Nasser a few days ago declared that Egypt intended to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. . . .



Dulles: Now, why did President Nasser suddenly decide to take over this operation of the Suez Canal? Now, he has told us about that in a long speech that he made. And in that speech he didn't for a moment suggest that Egypt would be able to operate the canal better than it was being operated so as to assure better the rights that were granted in the 1888 treaty. The basic reason he gave was that if he took over this canal it would enhance the prestige of Egypt.

He said that Egypt was determined "to score one triumph after another" in order to enhance what he called the "grandeur" of Egypt. And he coupled his action with statements about his ambition to extend his influence from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf.



*President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, meeting at the White House, August 14, 1956, National Archives and Records Administration ARC 594350.*

And also he said that by seizing the Suez Canal he would strike a blow at what he called "Western imperialism." And he thought also that he could exploit the canal so as to produce bigger revenues for Egypt and so retaliate for the failure of the United States and Britain to give Egypt the money to enable it to get started on this \$1 billion-plus Aswan dam.

Now President Nasser's speech made it absolutely clear that his seizure of the canal company was an angry act of retaliation against fancied grievances . . . . [I]t is inadmissible that a

## CWW2.9.1 United States Position Paper (continued)

waterway internationalized by treaty which is required for the livelihood of a score or more of nations, should be exploited by one country for purely selfish purposes. . . .

We decided to call together in conference of the nations most directly involved with a view to seeing whether agreement could not be reached upon an adequate and dependable international administration of the canal on terms which would respect, and generously respect, all of the legitimate rights of Egypt.

### **Source Two: Dulles, "Statement at 22-Power London Conference, Aug. 16, 1956."**

About one-sixth of all the world's sea-borne commerce now passes through the Suez Canal. The canal plays a special role in the close relationship between the economy of Europe and the petroleum products of the Middle East. Europe received through the canal in 1955 67 million tons of oil, and from this oil the producing countries received a large part of their national incomes. The economies of each of these areas are thus largely dependent upon, and serve the economies of, the others, and the resulting advantages to all largely depend upon the permanent international system called for by the 1888 Treaty. . . .

One thing is certain, whatever may be the present intentions of the Egyptian Government, the trading nations of the world know that President Nasser's action means that their use of the canal is now at Egypt's sufferance. Egypt can in many subtle ways slow down, burden and make unprofitable the passage through the canal of the ships and cargoes of those against whom Egypt might desire for national, political reasons to discriminate. Thus Egypt seizes hold a sword with which it could cut into the economic vitals of many nations. . . .

Source Three: Eisenhower warned the British Prime Minister Anthony Eden that if the Western nations intervened in Egypt, "the peoples of the Near East and of North Africa and, to some extent, all of Asia and all of Africa, would be consolidated against the West to a degree which, I fear, could not be overcome in a generation and, perhaps, not even in a century, particularly having in mind the capacity of the Russians to make mischief."

### **Secondary Source: Background Information**

Although Eisenhower and Dulles were concerned about Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company and valued Great Britain, France and Israel as allies, Eisenhower was extremely angry when he heard that his three allies had invaded Egypt and taken over the Suez Canal by

## CWW2.9.1 United States Position Paper (continued)

force. Eisenhower condemned the British, French and Israeli invasion and called for their immediate withdrawal. He appealed to the United Nations to stop the invasion, and he used all the power he had to pressure his three allies into taking their troops out of Egypt. To Eisenhower, the use of armed force by Britain, France and Israel was an act of imperialism that the US would not tolerate.

Citations:

"Radio-Television Report by President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, August 3," in *The Suez Canal Problem: July 26-September 22, 1956: A Documentary Publication*, by the Department of State, No. 6392 (Washington, DC: US. Dept of State, 1956), 37-40.

"Statement by Mr. Dulles (United States), Second Plenary Session, August 16," in *Suez Canal Problem*, US Dept. of State, 72-75.

Eisenhower quote (source three) from Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 125.

## CWW2.9.2 Soviet Union Position Paper

### Primary Source

#### **Soviet Foreign Minister Dmitri Shepilov, "Statement at 22-Power London Conference, Aug. 17, 1956."**

True to its policy of peace, the Soviet Union is a consistent exponent of having all disputes settled by peaceful negotiation. The Soviet Union is convinced that it is possible to settle also the Suez problem by respecting the sovereign rights of nations, and by developing international co-operation on a basis of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, in keeping with the spirit of the times. . . . There are two aspects of the Suez Canal problem; that of the nationalization of the company and that of free navigation through the canal. The first aspect falls exclusively within the internal competence of the sovereign Egyptian state....



I would like to point out that position of some governments on the Suez Canal is intrinsically contradictory. On the one hand they recognize the sovereign rights of Egypt; on the other hand they contest the possibility of Egypt exercising these rights, and thus they are trying to justify interference in the internal affairs of the country. . . .

What is the meaning of this reservation to the effect that international interest allegedly limits the right to nationalization? It can mean only one thing; the desire to preserve an inferior status for Egypt by artificially combining the question of the nationalization of a private company with the question of navigation through the Canal.

It should be pointed out that the Suez Canal Co., founded on the basis of a one hundred year old concession, has a very pronounced colonial character. . . . The whole of Asia, the whole Near and Middle East are in the midst of a great patriotic upheaval of nations which are now at present members of the United Nations . . . . If we are all to accept the high principles of the United Nations, and if we speak about welcoming the changes which have taken place in relation to countries which had once been in a state of colonial dependence, then we cannot, and should not, hinder the exercising by these countries of their sovereign rights.

Egypt, like many other countries who have recently attained their independence, is naturally still desiring to overcome the grave consequences of her colonial status. The nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. is in itself a legitimate step on the way to freeing Egypt from the survivals of the

## CWW2.9.2 Soviet Union Position Paper

past and a help in the upsurge [improvement] of her national economy which is lagging behind owing to a long period of domination under colonial rule. For eighty odd years the Suez Canal, built by Egyptian hands and situated on Egyptian territory, was in fact alienated [kept away] from Egypt . . . [I]t is not for nothing that one of Egypt's political leaders of the last century told a French engineer: "Like you, I am fully in favour of the idea of the canal, but I want the canal to be for Egypt, and not have Egypt be for the canal." The handsome profits which the Suez Canal Co. extracted from the canal did not remain in Egypt but went elsewhere, although they rightly belonged to the Egyptian people. The Suez Canal Co., although registered as an Egyptian enterprise, to be run on the profits of Egyptian soil . . . constituted one of the most important instruments of foreign colonial domination in Egypt. . . .

Representatives of Arab countries are justified in pointing out that plans for the international operation of the Suez Canal constitute an attempt to create a stronghold of colonialism, to revive outdated practices in the Arab East.

It is no secret that certain quarters in Britain and France resort to the threat of the use of force in regard to Egypt. Apparently they would like to impose on Egypt by means of force a plan of international operation of the Canal in case Egypt should not voluntarily agree to such a plan. For that reason military preparations of which the whole world knows are taking place in Britain and France. . . .

### **Secondary Source:** Background Information

In October, 1956, when the British, French and Israelis invaded Egypt (as Shepilov had predicted in August) the Soviet Union strongly opposed the invasion. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev proposed that the United Nations should send a joint US-Soviet peacekeeping force to Egypt, and threatened to send Soviet troops to the Middle East if the US wasn't willing to join in.

The Soviets were the major suppliers of weapons to Egypt during and after the Suez Crisis.

### Citations:

"Statement and Proposal by Mr. Shepilov (Soviet Union), Third Plenary Session, August 17," in *The Suez Canal Problem: July 26-September 22, 1956: A Documentary Publication*, by the Department of State, No. 6392 (Washington, DC: US. Dept of State, 1956), 97-102.

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 125-6.



## CWW2.9.3 Great Britain (United Kingdom) Position Paper

### Primary Sources

#### Source One: MP [Member of Parliament] Anthony Eden, Speech to the House of Commons, December 23, 1929<sup>5</sup>

If the Suez Canal is our back door to the East, it is the front door to Europe of Australia, New Zealand and India. ... [I]t is, in fact, the swing-door of the British Empire, which has got to keep continually revolving if our communications are to be what they should.



#### Source Two: Emanuel Shinwell, Minister of Defense, address to Chiefs of Staff on May 23, 1951<sup>6</sup>

[Referring to the decision of Prime Minister Mossadeq of Iran (Persia) to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company] If Persia is allowed to get away with it, Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries will be encouraged to think that they can try things on; the next thing may be an attempt to nationalize the Suez Canal.

#### Source Three: British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd, "Statement at the 22-Power London Conference, August 18, 1956<sup>7</sup>

... [A]nyone... knows... that the Canal Company was an international company and, whatever the Egyptian government could do with the assets of that company in Egypt... the fact is that the matter was handled in such a way as to disregard the rule of law between nations... [T]he manner of Colonel Nasser's act was certainly immoderate. The result has been, which I think we all regret, to damage confidence in Egypt and to affect the flow of funds for investment in under-developed countries...

It has been inferred... that any international participation in the control or operation of the Suez Canal would be an infringement of Egyptian sovereignty. Well, I just do not accept that proposition... Sovereignty does not mean the right to do exactly what you please within your

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Keith Kyle, *Suez* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991), 7.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Kyle, *Suez*, 7.

<sup>7</sup> "Statement and Proposal by Mr. Lloyd (United Kingdom), Fourth Plenary Session, August 18," in *The Suez Canal Problem: July 26-September 22, 1956: A Documentary Publication*, by the Department of State, No. 6392 (Washington, DC: US. Dept of State, 1956), 152-158.

## CWW2.9.3 Great Britain (United Kingdom) Position Paper

own territory. . . . [T]he doctrine of sovereignty gives no right to use the national territory or to do things within the national territory which are of an internationally harmful character. . . . [O]ur basic position, the basic position of our Government, is that this international waterway cannot be subject to the political control of one government. . . . and it was that aspect of Colonel Nasser's statement, when announcing his Government's decision, that profoundly shocked the people of this country. . . .

If one Government is going to control transit through the canal according to political considerations, it is impossible to see where the line will be drawn. . . . And the only safe answer is that the operation of this canal should somehow or other be under international control.

**Source Four: British Prime Minister Anthony Eden, Speech to the House of Commons on the Suez Crisis, October 31, 1956**<sup>8</sup> [after Britain, France and Israel had invaded Egypt]

We have no desire whatever, nor have the French Government, that the military action that we shall have to take should be more than temporary in its duration, but it is our intention that our action to protect the Canal and separate the combatants should result in a settlement which will prevent such a situation arising in the future. If we can do that we shall have performed a service not only to this country, but to the users of the Canal.

It is really not tolerable that the greatest sea highway in the world, one on which our Western life so largely depends, should be subject to the dangers of an explosive situation in the Middle East which, it must be admitted, has been largely created by the Egyptian Government along familiar lines. I would remind the House [of Commons] that we have witnessed, all of us, the growth of a specific Egyptian threat to the peace of the Middle East. Everybody knows that to be true.

In the actions we have now taken we are not concerned to stop Egypt, but to stop war. None the less, it is a fact that there is no Middle Eastern problem at present which could not have been settled or bettered but for the hostile and irresponsible policies of Egypt in recent years, and there is no hope of a general settlement of the many outstanding problems in that area so long as Egyptian propaganda and policy continues its present line of violence.

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<sup>8</sup> Anthony Eden, Speech on the Suez Crisis. Given in the House of Commons on 31 October 1956.

[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The\\_Suez\\_Crisis](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Suez_Crisis).

## CWW2.9.4 France Position Paper

**Primary Source: French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau, “Statement at the 22-Power London Conference, Aug. 17, 1956”**

You will not be astonished that France should attach a particular interest to the problem of the Suez Canal. As a sea power, and a commercial power, its economy is linked to the life of the canal, and its oil supply -12 million tons in 1955 through the canal – constitutes a vital factor. However, I should also like to recall that it is France who conceived and carried through the canal against all expression of skepticism, and that the French people have brought a decisive contribution to the financing of that great work. Finally, my country for 87 years now has played the main role in the management of the canal. . . .



Our thesis is therefore that a country is perfectly entitled to nationalize the goods and equipment situated on its own territory, but that when international interests are involved, right and courtesy demand that previous consultations should enable one to settle in the best possible manner the interests of foreigners; that thesis, in our view, is very much more valid, when, as in the case of the Suez Canal, what is involved is an international public service. . . .

Many countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, have for a certain number of years now been the advocates of anti-colonialism and even anti-capitalism. Far be it from me to defend here the obvious abuses of which people have been guilty; but we must see that on the part of certain countries the protest of anti-colonialism might become too easy a means of repudiating undertakings which one does not feel inclined to observe. . . .

Please be good enough to remember that a large part of the staff of the canal is of French nationality. . . . We do not conceal the fears which were raised as regards the security of our nationals through the anti-foreign campaign so [in]cautiously started by Colonel Nasser. . . .

For some weeks Colonel Nasser’s tone has changed and almost every day we get the promise of the Egyptian dictator that he will ensure, without any discrimination, at normal rates the free circulation of all ships on the Canal. In the present circumstances and in the present framework of nationalization law, can we trust such a promise? . . .

## CWW2.9.4 France Position Paper

Egypt, being recognized as proprietor of the Canal and its installations, can entrust to a treaty, and to an international authority, the management of the Canal. . . .The powers of that international authority would be as follows:-the laying down of rates, operation of the canal, the fixing of national investments and indemnities to the universal [Suez Canal] company, and dues paid to Egypt. . . .

For the Asiatic or Arab powers the problem is not to take some revenge on the west. It is in their turn to reach the standard of life in the west, and we on our side are ready to do everything we can to that end, but no one will convince me that in accepting violations of international right and international ethics, international morality, and in submitting us to the possibilities of the use of force or of arbitrary ends, we would reach our goal in the most certain and most rapid manner possible. . . .

Citation:

"Statement and Proposal by Mr. Pineau (France), Third Plenary Session, August 17," in *The Suez Canal Problem: July 26-September 22, 1956: A Documentary Publication*, by the Department of State, No. 6392 (Washington, DC: US. Dept of State, 1956), 86-90.

## CWW2.9.5 Indonesia Position paper

### Primary Sources

**Source One: President Sukarno, Speech at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, April 18, 1955**<sup>9</sup> [The audience included leaders of Third World nations.]

All of us, I am certain, are united by more important things than those which superficially divide us. We are united, for instance, by a common detestation of colonialism in whatever form it appears. We are united by a common detestation of racialism. And we are united by a common determination to preserve and stabilize peace in the world. . . . Relatively speaking, all of us gathered here



today are neighbours. Almost all of us have ties of common experience, the experience of colonialism . . . . Many of us, the so-called “underdeveloped” nations, have more or less similar economic problems, so that each can profit from the others’ experience and help. And I think I may say that we all hold dear the ideals of national independence and freedom.

**Source Two: Foreign Minister Ruslan Abdulgani, “Statements at 22-Power London Conference, Aug. 16 and 18, 1956”**<sup>10</sup>

. . . I understand fully Sir Anthony Eden’s remarks this morning about respect for the sanctity of international law. However, Mr. Chairman, I should add one comment upon this, and that is that most of the international treaties which are a reflection of international law do not respect the sanctity of men as equal human beings irrespective of their race, or their creed or locality. Most of the existing laws between Asian and African countries and the old-established western world are more or less outmoded and should be regarded as a burden on modern life. They should be revised and be made more adaptable to modern national relations and the emancipation of parts of mankind.

. . . If you look at the statistics, Mr. Chairman, the standard of living in western countries has been improved by leaps and bounds, whereas the productivity of the ex-colonial countries

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 102.

<sup>10</sup> Statements by Mr. Abdulgani (Indonesia), Third Plenary Session, August 16,” and Fifth Plenary Session, August 18,” in *The Suez Canal Problem: July 26-September 22, 1956: A Documentary Publication*, by the Department of State, No. 6392 (Washington, DC: US. Dept of State, 1956), 83-86, 194-195.

## CWW2.9.5 Indonesia Position paper

though steadily increasing can hardly match the relentless growth of the population, with the result that the standard of its living there is rising only very slowly. Compared with your life full of material comfort, Mr. Chairman, our daily existence might resemble the way to death. It is in this context, Mr. Chairman, that we are surprised if we are accused of cutting the lifeline of western nations, as if we have no right to existence at all. You regard the Suez Canal as a very important waterway on which depends your life or death. We on the other side of the Suez Canal are not less concerned with the international importance of the Suez Canal, because that waterway is also the Achilles heel of our national economy, not only of ours, but of many Asian countries, and still why do we not react so violently against the nationalization statement of the Egyptian Government? It is not because we are less concerned with the Suez Canal issue than you but it is that we understand the right and the duty of the Egyptian people to find the ways and means to serve the interest of their people with due respect for international obligations based upon equality and mutual benefit. . . .

. . . [A]ccording to Indonesia, it is in the interest of Egypt itself that the Suez Canal should be operated efficiently and that free passage should be secured for every nation without discrimination. I know that some countries have some doubt that Egypt would keep the guarantee, but there would be no difficulty in finding other countries to affirm this guarantee.

. . . [N]o national government of Egypt would accept the imposition of any kind of internationalization. It might voluntarily share some of its rights with the international users because it is to the benefit of Egypt, and promotes an international co-operation. That, Mr. Chairman, is not a matter of speculation. What Egypt will or will not do will be merely calculated upon whether any solution will serve her basic national interest. Let us put full confidence in the need for realistic thinking in Egypt, because after all, Mr. Chairman, without full confidence in the Egyptian Government and people no international arrangement is workable in the long run, since all the physical forces are under Egyptian control.

. . . It is for this reason . . . that Indonesia supports the Indian proposal . . . [that] though clear in its indication that Egypt should give consideration to the association of international users' interests without prejudice to Egyptian ownership and operation, [the Indian proposal] does not make public references which in any way could be interpreted as a curtailment of Egyptian sovereign power.

## CWW2.9.5 Indonesia Position paper

### **Secondary Source: Background Information**

Ruslan Abdulgani was a diplomat for Indonesia which was ruled by Sukarno. Indonesia had been a Dutch colony, taken over by the Japanese in World War II. At the end of the war, Sukarno, one of the leaders of the Indonesian nationalist movement, proclaimed his country's independence, even though the Netherlands tried to re-impose its control.

Along with Nehru of India, Sukarno was one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement. He sponsored the April 1955 Asian-African conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, which was the largest and most important meeting of Third World leaders during the early Cold War.

## CWW2.9.6 Pakistan Position Paper

### Primary Source: Foreign Minister Hamidul Huq Choudhury, Statement at the 22-Power London Conference, Aug. 18, 1956

Before proceeding any further I should like to impress our Government's view that the act of nationalization of the Suez Canal Company on the part of Egypt was an exercise of her sovereignty. It is the considered view of my Government that, irrespective of other issues involved, the sovereign right of Egypt in her dealing with a commercial concern within her own territory cannot be challenged or contested. . . .



A careful examination of the issue at stake will reveal the absence of any real conflict of interest. To the users of the canal the freedom of navigation without discrimination is understandably of the utmost and paramount importance. The Suez Canal is the shortest, the easiest and generally the cheapest route of communications between the vast East and the West. If freedom of navigation to ships of all countries without discrimination is fully ensured and necessary improvements to meet the requirements of the ever-increasing traffic are effected, the Suez Canal will remain important and progressively profitable for Egypt herself. I am firmly convinced, therefore, that a real basis for fruitful and effective co-operation exists between the users of the canal and Egypt, the owners of the territory over which the canal passes. . . .

The fact remains though that the nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company at the time and under the circumstances has shaken to a great extent the confidence of a large number of interested countries in the future security of their vital line of communication through the Suez Canal. . . . It is up to all of us to ensure the sense of security is restored and maintained. . . . The interest of my country in seeking an early, equitable and effective solution of this problem facing us embraces every aspect of our national life and international thinking. Even a temporary interruption in the steady passage or a dislocation of the handling of shipping in the Suez cannot fail to have the most serious consequences on our national economy, for by far the bulk of our trade and commerce passes through this canal.

Moreover, a setback in effective co-operation and mutual assistance between the industrially advanced countries and the vast area of undeveloped countries of the Middle East and Asia would have the most serious repercussions on our long-term plans of industrialization and development. The vital question of the interest of the users and the dependence of their



## CWW2.9.6 Pakistan Position Paper

economy on the continuous, free and unfettered use of the canal has been ably emphasized by the heads of delegations who have spoken before me, whether it was the utterances of my friend from Indonesia or our friends from the U.S.S.R. As for Egypt, she has everything to gain from continuous and extensive use of the canal.

It is therefore not a problem of reconciling conflicting interests, because the interests involved are common to both the users and the owners of the canal. It is essentially a matter of confidence among nations, which has suffered a temporary eclipse. The restoration of that lost confidence is bound to be the primary objective of our deliberations here. . . .

My delegation therefore, on these premises, proposes for the consideration of this conference:

That the nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company by Egypt be accepted as a *fait accompli* [a done deal] whether we like it or not: financial settlement and questions of compensation can be considered separately between the parties and hereafter.

(2) An effective machinery be set up in active collaboration with Egypt to ensure the efficient, unfettered and continuous freedom of navigation, without discrimination and within the capacities of the trade of all nations, while at the same time the legitimate interests of Egypt should be fully protected. . . .

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would like to emphasise that Pakistan is bound by close ties of common faith, religion and culture to the countries of the Middle East, and Egypt particularly, and as such it cannot remain indifferent to a situation which may adversely affect the welfare and progress of these countries or jeopardise their legitimate interests and aspirations.

Citation:

"Statement and Proposal by Mr. Choudhury, Fourth Plenary Session, August 18, 1956," in *The Suez Canal Problem: July 26-September 22, 1956: A Documentary Publication*, by the Department of State, No. 6392 (Washington, DC: US. Dept of State, 1956), 150-153.

## CWW2.10 Resolution of the Suez Crisis

**Background** (secondary source): In the end, the Suez Crisis was resolved by the United Nations. In September, 1956, both Britain and Egypt (separately) asked the United Nations to investigate the growing Suez crisis. The UN Security Council passed resolution 118 on October 13, 1956.

### **Primary Source: UN Resolution 118**

*The Security Council,*

*Noting* the declarations made before it and the accounts of the development of the exploratory conversations on the Suez question given by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France and the United Kingdom.

*Agrees* that any settlement of the Suez question should meet the following requirements:

- (1) There should be free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, overt or covert – this covers both political and technical aspects;
- (2) The sovereignty of Egypt should be respected;
- (3) The operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country;
- (4) The manner of fixing tolls and charges should be decided by agreement between Egypt and the users;
- (5) A fair proportion of the dues should be allotted to development;
- (6) In case of disputes, unresolved affairs between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian Government should be settled by arbitration with suitable terms of reference and suitable provisions for the payment of sums found to be due.

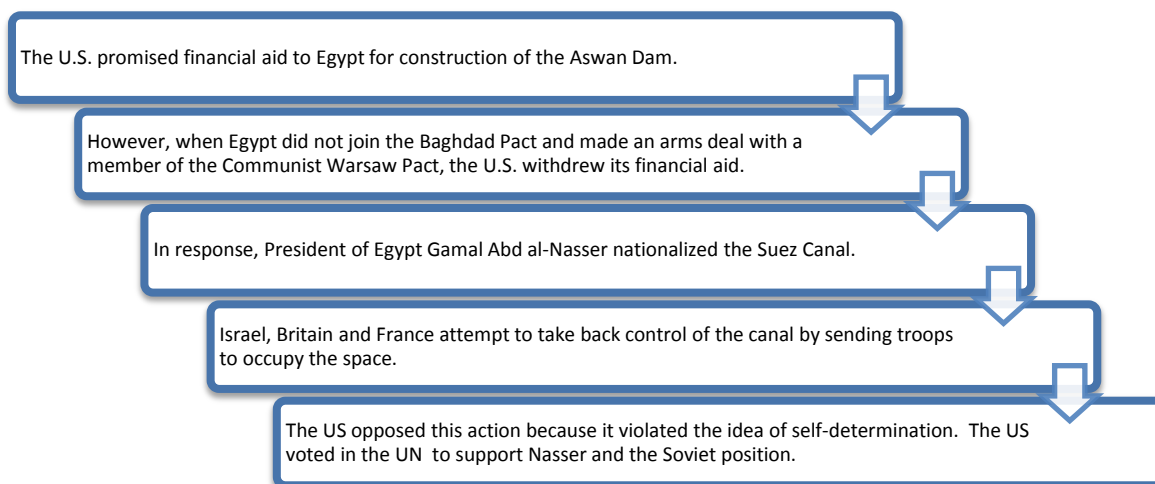
1. What parts of this resolution would your nation would have supported in 1956? Why? (list 3 provisions and reasons)

2. Are there questions or problems this resolution leaves open?

## CWW2.10 Resolution of the Suez Crisis

**Background** (secondary): When Israel attacked Egypt on 29 October, followed by attacks by Britain and France on October 31, the United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold recommended that a UN military force be set up and sent to separate the fighters and enforce peace. This was the beginning of the UN Expeditionary Force, which has since been sent to keep peace in many locations around the world. After Nasser agreed to have UN troops in Egypt, the UN Expeditionary Force separated the forces and monitored peace around the Suez Canal during the ceasefire and the withdrawal of Israeli, British and French troops. It left Egypt in 1967.

### The Suez Crisis in Brief



### Important Points:

**Decolonization:** Although Egypt was never a colony, its rulers gave many concessions to imperialists. Great Britain controlled Egypt as a protectorate from 1879 through 1924.

**Nationalism:** To Nasser, nationalism meant building an independent Egypt. He wanted to develop Egypt economically and build up a strong military. He wanted to avoid any dependence on the imperialists, such as Great Britain, France, and the United States.

**Third Way:** Nasser was a clear believer in the Third Way, and tried to put it into practice. He not only won the Suez Crisis (Egypt got the Suez Canal Company and the invaders had to leave), but

## CWW2.10 Resolution of the Suez Crisis

was also able to stay non-aligned and still receive military and economic aid from both the Soviet Union and the U.S. He is one of the few Third World leaders who successfully played the superpowers against each other to gain what he wanted for Egypt.

**Non-alignment:** Like most Third World leaders, Nasser did not want to choose sides in the Cold War.

**Sovereignty & Avoiding Foreign Control:** Imperialist nations (Great Britain and France, in this case, but also the US) wanted to continue to control important economic assets in the former colonies. Because they used the canal so much, Britain and France did not want to give over control of the Suez Canal to Nasser. Third World leaders (like Nasser) wanted to get rid of economic dependence, concessions, and all kinds of foreign economic control, because it took away their sovereignty. To Nasser and other Third World leaders, foreign control of a mine, a canal or land was another form of imperialism.

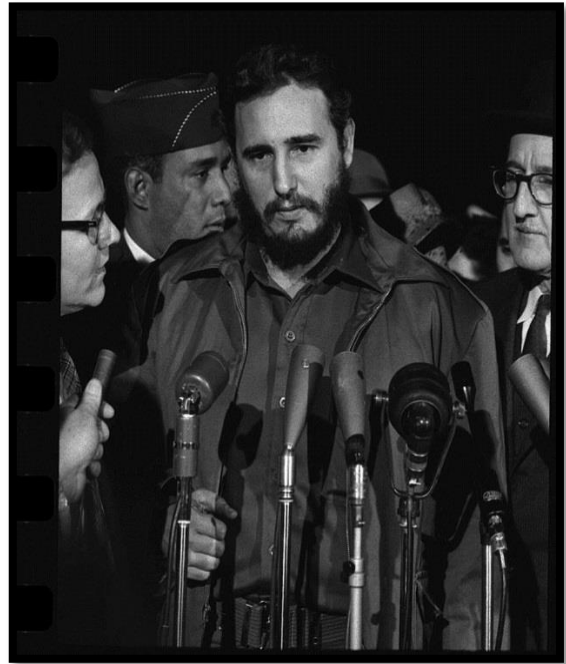
**Nationalization:** One of the major tools of the Third Way was for the new nation-state to take over ownership and control of an important economic asset, such as a foreign-owned company. This served two purposes: getting more money for the government and asserting national sovereignty.

**Soviet Reaction to Nasser:** The Soviets supported nationalization and supported Nasser's efforts to avoid foreign control by the imperialists (Britain, France & the US), but the Soviets were primarily interested in gaining influence and control in Egypt themselves.

**US Reaction to Nasser:** The US did not trust Nasser because he didn't join the Baghdad Pact and he bought weapons from Czechoslovakia. The US also didn't like nationalization and supported British and French desires to hang onto control of the canal. But the US did not support British, French and Israeli use of armed force in Egypt.

## CWW2.12 Background of the Cuban Missile Crisis (Page 1 of 3)

Cuba was a colony of Spain from 1494 to 1899. The US fought for Cuban independence from Spain in the Spanish-American War. But although Cuba was politically independent, the US kept the right to intervene militarily in Cuba, and much of Cuba's land and businesses were owned by Americans. Like much of Latin America, Cuba was within the US sphere of influence (a type of imperialism) and dependent on the US economically. Many Cubans (and many Latin Americans) resented this dependence deeply. From 1952-1959, the ruler of Cuba was a dictator named Fulgencio Batista. The US considered Batista to be its ally because he allowed American businesses and wealthy individuals to own many sugar plantations, cattle ranches, mines and utilities in Cuba. Batista supported the wealthy elites of Cuba, while ordinary people remained very poor. In 1959, a young revolutionary, Fidel Castro, overthrew Batista's government. Castro believed in socialism and wanted equality and a better life for the poor of Cuba. He did not support American economic interests in Cuba. One of his most popular propaganda phrases was "Cuba Si, Yanquis No."



*Fidel Castro arrives MATS Terminal, Washington, D.C., April 15, 1959. Photographer: Warren K. Leffler. Source: Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004672759/>*

The US opposed Castro from the beginning, even before he asked for aid from the Soviet Union. The CIA began training Cuban exiles to invade Cuba, in hopes that this would inspire the Cuban people to rise up and overthrow Castro and put in place a government that would be friendly to the US. When Castro established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in May 1960, the US put an embargo [a law forbidding Americans to import products from a nation] on Cuban sugar. The Soviet Union stepped in to buy Cuban sugar. In April 1961, the Cuban exile force, supported secretly by the US, invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. It was a disaster. The Cuban troops beat the exiles, Castro exposed the US role in the invasion, and ordinary Cubans were even more in support of Castro. After the Bay of Pigs invasion, the CIA launched several plots to assassinate Castro, but none were successful.

In the next year, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and Cuban leader Fidel Castro made a secret agreement to place Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. At that time, missiles could only fly about 1500 miles. Having missiles based in Cuba, 90 miles from the US, gave the Soviet Union the ability to bomb the US. On October 14, 1962, an American U-2 spy plane took pictures of missile sites in western Cuba. This was the beginning of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

## CWW2.12 Background of the Cuban Missile Crisis (Page 2 of 3)

### Timeline of the Cuban Missile Crisis

October 14-18, 1962

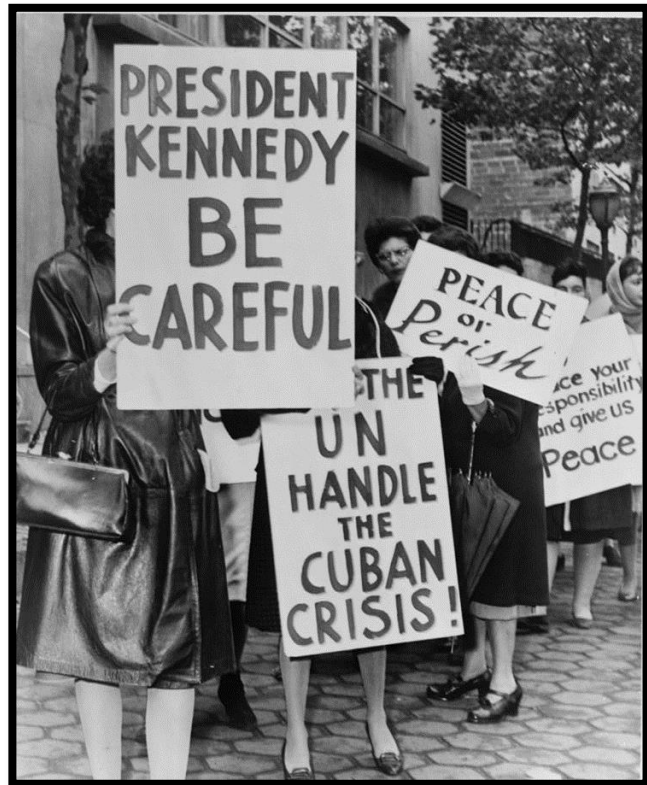
- The CIA analyzes the U-2 images, and then notifies the Department of State, which notifies National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy on October 15.
- Bundy tells President Kennedy on October 16, sharing the U-2 photos and the CIA's analysis.
- Kennedy convenes a group of advisors, including members of the National Security Council – later known as EXCOMM (Executive Committee of the National Security Council) to discuss options:
  - Diplomatic pressure
  - Do nothing
  - Send a warning
  - Naval blockade
  - Air strike
  - Invasion of Cuba

October 19, 1962

- U-2 spy planes document four sites now ready for missiles.
- US military put on high alert.
- Consensus by EXCOMM reached that a naval blockade was the best option.

October 22

- Kennedy meets with Congressional leaders; informs them of the impending blockade.
- US Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Foy Kohler, informs Khrushchev of impending blockade.
- At 7:00 pm, President Kennedy gives a televised address, announcing the discovery of the missile sites and the American plan for blockade, or quarantine of Cuba in response.



800 women strikers for peace on 47 St near the UN Bldg / World Telegram & Sun photo by Phil Stanziola, 1962. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001696167/>

## CWW2.12 Background of the Cuban Missile Crisis (Page 3 of 3)

October 24

- Khrushchev warns Kennedy that the blockade is “piracy” that will lead to war; US troop alert condition raised to DEFCON 2, the step immediately preceding nuclear war.

October 25

- Kennedy responds to Khrushchev’s telegram, arguing that the US was forced to respond given the Soviet’s provocation and lies.

October 26

- The State Department receives a hand-written note from Khrushchev opening the door for negotiation as long as the US promised not to invade Cuba.

October 27

- Khrushchev sends another message, seeking a deal where the US would remove its missiles from Greece and Turkey, in return for the removal of Soviet weapons from Cuba.
- An American U-2 plane was shot down over Cuba by a Soviet commander; its pilot died.
- An American U-2 plane accidentally crosses over into Soviet territory, which leads to both sides scrambling fighters near the Bering Sea.
- Negotiations continue through back channels between the US and the Soviet Union, as both seek an end to the crisis while preparing for war.

October 28, 1962

- Kennedy agrees to remove missiles from Italy and Turkey and Khrushchev agrees to remove all missiles from Cuba.
- The US continues the blockade until November 20, after confirming Soviet removal of missiles and launch sites.

## CWW2.13 Analyzing Cuba in 1960 (Page 1 of 2)

*Directions:* Use **CWW2.12 Background of the Cuban Missile Crisis** to answer these questions:

1. What was the relationship of Cuba and the US before the 1959 Revolution?
2. Why would a young revolutionary like Fidel Castro oppose the US?
3. What businesses did Castro nationalize?
4. Why did the US oppose Castro?
5. Using the Three Worlds map below, identify why Cuba would be important (for its location) to the US and the Soviet Union.



## CWW2.13 Analyzing Cuba in 1960 (Page 2 of 2)

*Directions:* Use **CWW2.2.1 Map** and **CWW2.5 Country Statistics – 1960** to analyze Cuba’s needs and set priorities.

1. Collect the statistics below for Cuba in 1960.

GDP per capita \_\_\_\_\_

Passenger cars \_\_\_\_\_

Population \_\_\_\_\_

Population Growth Rate \_\_\_\_\_

Mortality Rate of Children Under 5 \_\_\_\_\_

2. If you were the president of Cuba in 1960, what would your agenda be for the nation? Rank the following priorities from 1 to 5. #1 on your agenda should address what you and your group decide is the most pressing problem your nation and your people face. #5 should address the least important problem. Be prepared to explain your choices to the class.

\_\_\_\_ Raise exports and investments to increase the GDP

\_\_\_\_ Build infrastructure (roads, bridges, dams, etc.) to increase the GDP

\_\_\_\_ Raise the income of poor people

\_\_\_\_ Improve health care and education

\_\_\_\_ Control population growth

\_\_\_\_ Fight the Cold War

3. What do you think were Castro’s priorities for Cuba in 1960?

\_\_\_\_ Raise exports and investments to increase the GDP

\_\_\_\_ Build infrastructure (roads, bridges, dams, etc.) to increase the GDP

\_\_\_\_ Raise the income of poor people

\_\_\_\_ Improve health care and education

\_\_\_\_ Control population growth

\_\_\_\_ Fight the Cold War

## CWW2.14 John F. Kennedy, The Lesson of Cuba, 1961 (Page 1 of 3)

Speech Delivered by President Kennedy before the American Society of Newspaper Editors at Washington, D.C., April 20, 1961

*Directions: Sentence chunking – breaking sentences down into smaller, identifiable parts – will help us understand the information in this speech by President Kennedy. Work through each highlighted sentence in the passage by filling in the process column of the chart and answering the questions in the final column. Then answer the question(s) below the chart.*

On that unhappy island, as in so many other areas of the contest for freedom, the news has grown worse instead of better. I have emphasized before that this was a struggle of Cuban patriots against a Cuban dictator. . . . **[W]e could not be expected to lend our sympathies . . . It is not the first time that Communist tanks have rolled over gallant men and women fighting to redeem the independence of their homeland.**

Participants (nouns)	Process (verbs)	Who or what?	Questions
[W]e _____		our sympathies	Was Kennedy saying that the US supported or did not support Castro?
It is not the first time that Communist tanks		gallant men and women fighting to redeem the independence of their homeland	In the Cuban crisis, who were the "gallant men and women," according to Kennedy?

*In the last sentence, Kennedy is referring to the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956.*

*Question: What loaded words did Kennedy use to describe the Cuban revolution and communism in general?*

But there are...useful lessons for all to learn... *First*, it is clear that **the forces of communism are not to be underestimated**; in Cuba or anywhere else in the world, **the advantages of a police state - its use of mass terror and arrests to prevent the spread of free dissent - cannot be overlooked by those who expect the fall of every fanatic tyrant...**

## CWW2.14 John F. Kennedy, The Lesson of Cuba, 1961 (Page 2 of 3)

Participants	Process	Who or what?	Questions
First, it is clear that the forces of communism			Who did Kennedy think might underestimate the forces of communism?
The advantages of a police state – its use of mass terror and arrests to prevent the spread of free dissent -		by those who expect the fall of every fanatic tyrant	Whom does Kennedy mean by fanatic tyrant?  What impression do those words create?

*Question: What were the advantages of communism, according to Kennedy?*

*Secondly*, it is clear that this Nation... must take an even closer and more realistic look at the menace of external Communist intervention...in Cuba. **The American people are not complacent about Iron Curtain tanks and planes less than 90 miles from our shores.... We and our Latin friends will have to face the fact that we cannot postpone any longer the real issue of the survival of freedom in the hemisphere itself....**

Participants	Process	Who or what?	Questions
The American people		Iron Curtain tanks and planes less than 90 miles from our shores	By using the term “Iron Curtain,” Kennedy was implying that _____ was supporting Castro.
We and our Latin American friends		the real issue of the survival of freedom in the hemisphere itself.	Besides the American people, who else did Kennedy want to convince by this speech?

*Question: Why did Kennedy feel that it was important to fight the Cold War?*

## CWW2.14 John F. Kennedy, The Lesson of Cuba, 1961 (Page 3 of 3)

**Third, and finally, it is clearer than ever that we face a relentless struggle in every corner of the globe that goes far beyond the clash of armies or even nuclear armaments.** The armies are there, and in large number. The nuclear armaments are there. But they serve primarily as the shield behind which subversion, infiltration, and a host of other tactics steadily advance, picking off vulnerable areas one by one in situations which do not permit our own armed intervention. Power is the hallmark of this offensive—power and discipline and deceit. **The discontent of yearning peoples is exploited...** Once in power, all talk of discontent is repressed—all self-determination disappears—and the promise of a revolution of hope is betrayed, as in Cuba, into a reign of terror....

Participants	Process	Who or what?	Questions
Third, and finally, it is clearer than ever that we		a relentless struggle in every corner of the globe	How did Kennedy describe the fight against communism?
that (the struggle)		the clash of armies or even nuclear armaments.	
The discontent of yearning peoples			Who were the yearning peoples? What did they yearn for? Why were they discontented? Who exploited their discontent?

*Questions: What strategies did the Communists use, according to Kennedy?*

*What promises did the Communists break once they were in power, according to Kennedy?*

Source: John F. Kennedy. "The Lesson of Cuba." *The Department of State Bulletin*, XLIV, No. 1141 (May 8, 1961), pp. 659-661. ed. Paul Halsall, Internet Modern History Sourcebook. August 1997. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.asp>.

## CWW2.15 Castro, Second Declaration of Havana, 1962 (Page 1 of 3)

*Directions: Sentence chunking – breaking sentences down into smaller, identifiable parts – will help us understand the information in this speech by President Kennedy. Work through each highlighted sentence in the passage by filling in the process column of the chart and answering the questions in the final column. Then answer the question(s) below the chart.*

What is Cuba's history but that of Latin America? What is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa, and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the cruelest exploitation of the world by imperialism? **At the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, a handful of European nations had divided the world among themselves, subjecting two-thirds of humanity to their economic and political domination.** Humanity was forced to work for... the group of nations which had a developed capitalist economy. The historic circumstances which permitted certain European countries and the United States of North America to attain a high industrial development level put them in a position which enabled them to subject and exploit the rest of the world.

Participants (nouns)	Process (verbs)	Who or what?	Questions
At the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, a handful of European nations		the world among themselves, subjecting two-thirds of humanity to their economic and political domination.	What was the effect of imperialism in the 19 <sup>th</sup> and 20 <sup>th</sup> centuries, according to Castro?
The historic circumstances which		certain European countries and the United States of North America to attain	Why did Castro identify the US as the United States of North America?
a high development level		them (_____) in a position	What did the European countries and the US do with their opportunity to industrialize?
(position) which enabled them		The rest of the world	

*Question: According to President Castro, how was the Industrial Revolution connected to Imperialism?*

## CWW2.15 Castro, Second Declaration of Havana, 1962 (Page 2 of 3)

What motives lay behind this expansion? Were they moral, "civilizing" reasons, as they claimed? No. **Their motives were economic. The discovery of America sent the European conquerors across the seas to occupy and to exploit the lands and peoples of other continents; the lust for riches was the basic motivation for their conduct...** As industry and trade developed, the social influence of the new class grew...

Participants	Process	Who or what?	Questions
Their _____ motives		economic.	According to Castro, what were the motives of the European conquerors?
The discovery of America		The European conquerors across the seas to occupy and to exploit the lands and peoples of other continents;	
the lust for riches		the basic motivation for their conduct	

*Question: What are the loaded words Castro used to describe the conquest?*

Since the end of the Second World War, the Latin American nations are becoming pauperized constantly. The value of their...income falls. The dreadful percentages of child death rate do not decrease, the number of illiterates grows higher, the peoples lack employment, land, adequate housing, schools, hospitals, communication systems and the means of subsistence... **Like the first Spanish conquerors, who exchanged mirrors and trinkets with the Indians for silver and gold, so the United States trades with Latin America.** To hold on to this flood of wealth, to take greater possession of...resources and to exploit its longsuffering peoples...

Participants (nouns)	Process (verbs)	who or what?	Questions
Like the first Spanish conquerors, who		Mirrors and trinkets with the Indians for silver and gold,	Did Castro believe that the US was trading fairly with Latin America?
So the United States		Latin America.	

According to Castro, why was Latin America poor and becoming poorer?

## CWW2.15 Castro, Second Declaration of Havana, 1962 (Page 3 of 3)

**...Where repression of workers and peasants is fierce, where the domination of Yankee monopolies is strongest... (it is ignorant to think) that the dominant classes can be uprooted by legal means which do not and will not exist. The ruling classes are entrenched in all positions of state power.** They monopolize the teaching field. They dominate all means of mass communication. They have infinite financial resources. Theirs is a power which...the ruling few will defend by blood and fire with the strength of their police and their armies. **The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution.**

Participants	Process	Who or what?	Questions
Where repression of workers and peasants is fierce, where the domination of Yankee monopolies is strongest. . . (it is ignorant to think) that the dominant classes		by legal means which do not and will not exist.	Which of Castro's words reflect his belief in socialism?
The ruling classes		in all positions of state power.	What did Castro mean by "Yankee monopolies"?
The duty of every revolutionary		revolution.	

*Why did Castro believe that the "dominant classes" had to be removed by revolution rather than by using existing laws?*

We know that in [Latin] America and throughout the world the revolution will be victorious. But revolutionaries cannot sit in the doorways of their homes to watch...Each year by which America's liberation may be hastened will mean millions of children rescued from death, millions of minds, freed for learning, infinitudes of sorrow spared the peoples. Even though the Yankee imperialists are preparing a bloodbath for America they will not succeed in drowning the people's struggle. They will evoke universal hatred against themselves....

*What did Castro mean by the term "America"?*

*Who are the Yankee imperialists? What are they going to do, according to Castro?*

Source: Fidel Castro. "Second Declaration of Havana." *Fidel Castro's Personal Revolution in Cuba: 1959-1973*, by James Nelson Goodsell (New York: Knopf, 1975), pp. 264-268. ed. Paul Halsall, Internet Modern History Sourcebook. August 1997, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1962castro.html>.

## CWW2.16 Opposing Viewpoints: John F. Kennedy and Fidel Castro

(Page 1 of 2)

Using President John F. Kennedy's speech "The Lesson of Cuba, 1961:"

- A. Where did Kennedy use loaded language in order to make people more emotional and more supportive of his Cuban policy? Give at least three examples from his speech.
- 1.
  - 2.
  - 3.
- B. How did Kennedy connect the Cuban crisis to the larger Cold War? What roles did he think the US and the Soviet Union played in that struggle?
- C. What was Kennedy's argument?
- D. List 3 pieces of evidence Kennedy gave to support his argument.
- E. In your opinion, did Kennedy make a good argument supported by evidence? Why or why not?



## CWW2.16 Opposing Viewpoints: John F. Kennedy and Fidel Castro

(Page 2 of 2)

Using Fidel Castro's speech "Second Declaration of Havana, 1962:"

- F. Where did Castro use loaded language in order to make people more emotional and more supportive of his Cuban policy? Give at least three examples from his speech.
- 1.
  - 2.
  - 3.
- G. According to Castro, what impact did the United States have on Cuba? How was that impact related to the European conquest of Latin America?
- H. What was Castro's argument?
- I. List 3 pieces of evidence Kennedy gave to support his argument.
- J. In your opinion, did Kennedy make a good argument supported by evidence? Why or why not?