

CHAPTER 31

The Cold War and Decolonization, 1945–1975

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. The Cold War
 - A. The United Nations
 1. After World War II Western leaders perceived the Soviet Union as the center of a world revolutionary movement, while Soviet leaders felt themselves surrounded by the western countries and their North Atlantic Treaty Organization (founded 1949). The United Nations provided a venue for face-to-face debate between the two sides in the Cold War.
 2. The United Nations was established in 1945 with a General Assembly, Security Council, a full-time bureaucracy headed by the Secretary-General, and various specialized agencies. All signatories of the United Nations Charter renounced war and territorial conquest, but in practice, the United Nations was seldom able to forestall or quell international conflicts.
 3. The decolonization of Africa and Asia greatly swelled the size of the General Assembly, which became an arena for expressing opinions and whose resolutions carried great weight in the early years of the United Nations. The influx of new members made the General Assembly more concerned with poverty, racial discrimination, and the struggle against imperialism than with the Cold War, and so the Western powers increasingly ignored the General Assembly.
 - B. Capitalism and Communism
 1. Between 1944 and 1946 the western capitalist countries created a new international monetary system in which supply and demand determined prices and that included a system of exchange rates, an International Monetary Fund, and a World Bank. The Soviet Union, suspicious of Western intentions, established a closed monetary system in which the state allocated goods and set prices for itself and for the communist states of eastern Europe.
 2. The United States economy recovered and prospered during and after World War II. The economy of Western Europe, heavily damaged during World War II, recovered in the post-war period with the help of the American Marshall Plan.
 3. Western European governments generally increased their role in economic management during this period. In 1948 Europeans launched a process of economic cooperation and integration with the creation of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation, which expanded its membership as it developed into the European Economic Community or Common Market (1957) and then into the European Community (1970).
 4. The Soviet Union and eastern European states relied on the government to determine the production, distribution, and price of goods. In the communist states the recovery from World War II was rapid at first, but in the long run the Soviet and eastern European economies were unable to match those of the west in the production of consumer goods, housing, and food.
 - C. West Versus East in Europe and Korea
 1. The rapid establishment of communist regimes in eastern Europe led the United States to perceive the Soviet Union as a worldwide enemy. American perceptions led to the

Truman Doctrine (1947) and to the establishment of NATO (1949), to which the Soviet Union responded by organizing the Warsaw Pact (1955).

2. A third great war did not break out in Europe, but the Soviet Union and the West did test each other's resolve in incidents such as the Soviet blockade of West Berlin (1948–1949), the construction of the Berlin Wall (1961), and the West's encouragement of the rift between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Soviet power was used to ensure the obedience of eastern European nations such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia.
3. In Korea, Soviet and American occupation of zones north and south of the thirty-eighth parallel led to the establishment, in 1948, of a communist North Korea and a noncommunist South Korea. North Korea's invasion of South Korea in 1950 marked the beginning of the Korean War, in which the United States came to the aid of South Korea while China sent troops to assist the north. A truce in 1953 fixed the border again at the thirty-eighth parallel, but no peace treaty was concluded.

D. U.S. Defeat in Vietnam

1. After winning independence from France, communist North Vietnam supported a communist guerilla movement—the Viet Cong—against the noncommunist government of South Vietnam. John F. Kennedy decided to send American military advisers to assist South Vietnam, and President Lyndon Johnson gained Congressional support for unlimited expansion of U.S. military deployment.
2. Unable to stop the Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese allies, the United States ended its involvement in Vietnam in 1973, and Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops took over South Vietnam in 1975.
3. The Vietnam War brought significant casualties to both sides and gave rise to serious economic problems and to an anti-war movement in the United States. Members of the American military and their civilian supporters argued that government restrictions on American military operations had deprived the Americans of their chance for victory; such restrictions were designed to prevent China from entering the war and possibly starting a nuclear confrontation.

E. The Race for Nuclear Supremacy

1. The existence of weapons of mass destruction affected all aspects of the Cold War confrontation, causing paranoia in the United States and spreading fear of nuclear destruction throughout the world. Fear of nuclear war seemed about to be realized when the Soviet Union deployed nuclear missiles in Cuba in response to American deployment of such missiles in Turkey, but Khrushchev backed down and withdrew the missiles from Cuba.
2. The number, means of delivery, and destructive force of nuclear weapons increased enormously, but at the same time, the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries made some progress on arms limitations. After 1972 the superpowers began the slow, arduous process of negotiating weapons limits.
3. Rather than attempting to keep up with the expensive Soviet-American arms race, the European nations sought to relax tensions between east and west through such organizations as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which led to the signing of the Helsinki Accords.
4. Space exploration was another offshoot of the nuclear arms race, as the ability to launch satellites and to send manned rockets into space was understood to signify equivalent achievements in the military sphere.

II. Decolonization and Nation Building

A. New Nations in South and Southeast Asia

1. After partition in 1947, the independent states of India and Pakistan were strikingly dissimilar.

2. Pakistan defined itself in terms of religion, fell under the control of military leaders, and saw its Bengali-speaking eastern section secede to become the independent nation of Bangladesh in 1971. India, a secular republic with a 90 percent Hindu population, inherited a larger share of industrial and educational resources and was able to maintain unity despite its linguistic heterogeneity.
 3. In Southeast Asia, the defeats that the Japanese inflicted on the British, French, and Dutch forces in World War II set an example of an Asian people standing up to European colonizers. In the post-war period nationalist movements led to the independence of Indonesia (1949), Burma and the Malay Federation (1948), and the Philippines (1946.)
- B. The Struggle for Independence in Africa
1. The postwar French government was determined to hold on to Algeria, which had a substantial French settler population, vineyards, and oil and gas fields. An Algerian revolt that broke out in 1954 was pursued with great brutality by both sides, but ended French withdrawal and Algerian independence in 1962.
 2. None of the several wars for independence in sub-Saharan Africa matched the Algerian struggle in scale. But even without war, the new states suffered from a variety of problems including arbitrarily drawn borders, overdependence on export crops, lack of national road and railroad networks, and overpopulation.
 3. Some of the politicians who led the nationalist movements devoted their lives to ridding their homelands of foreign occupation. Two examples are Kwame Nkrumah, the independence leader and later president of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta, who negotiated the independence and became first president of the Republic of Kenya.
 4. The African leaders in the sub-Saharan French colonies were reluctant to call for independence because they realized that some of the colonies had bleak economic prospects and because they were aware of the importance of the billions of dollars of French public investment. Nevertheless, the French colonies achieved independence between 1958 and 1960.
 5. Decolonization in Africa often involved struggles as people of European descent fought against indigenous Africans in an attempt to retain their personal privileges, control of resources, and political power. Race conflict was particularly severe in the southern part of Africa, including the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, the British colony of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and in South and Southwest Africa.
- C. The Quest for Economic Freedom in Latin America
1. In Latin America, independence from European rule was achieved earlier, but American and European economic domination increased.
 2. In Mexico, the revolutionary rhetoric of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party was accompanied by a large and persistent disparity between the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural. In Guatemala, President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman's attempt to expropriate the property of large landowners including the United Fruit Company prompted the United States Central Intelligence Agency to assist in a military coup that removed Arbenz from power and condemned Guatemala to decades of political instability and violence.
 3. In the 1950s the Cuban leader Fulgencio Batista presided over a corrupt, repressive regime, while the United States and a small class of wealthy Cubans dominated the economy. In 1959 Fidel Castro led a popular revolution that forced Batista to leave the country, redistributed land, lowered urban rents, raised wages, and seized the property of U.S. and Cuban corporations.
 4. There is little evidence that Castro undertook his revolution to install a communist government, but faced with a U.S. blockade, he turned to the Soviet Union for economic aid, thereby committing his nation to economic stagnation and dependence on the Soviet Union. In April 1961 some fifteen hundred Cuban exiles whom the CIA had trained

landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba in an effort to overthrow Castro, but the attempt failed, partly because the United States did not supply all the air support that the plan had called for.

D. Challenges of Nation Building

1. Decolonization occurred on a vast scale and led to the establishment of dozens of new nations between 1945 and 1965. Each of these new nations had to establish some form of government, and most of them had to do so while facing severe economic challenges.
2. The new nations also had to address serious educational concerns including questions such as which language to teach, how to inculcate a sense of national unity in places where it had not previously existed, and how to provide satisfying jobs for graduates. The new nations were rarely able to surmount these hurdles, and many nations, even those as successful as South Korea, opted for authoritarian rule.

III. Beyond a Bipolar World

A. The Third World

1. In 1955 Indonesia's President Sukarno hosted a meeting of twenty-nine African and Asian countries at Bandung, Indonesia. This meeting marked the beginning of an effort by the many new, poor, mostly non-European nations emerging from colonialism to gain more weight in the world by banding together in what became known as the nonaligned movement or Third World.
2. Leaders of the so-called Third World countries preferred the label "nonaligned," but as the movement had the sympathy of the Soviet Union and included communist countries such as China and Yugoslavia, the West did not take the term nonaligned seriously.
3. For the movement's leaders, nonalignment was primarily a way of extracting money and support from one or both of the superpowers. One example is the ability of the Egyptian leaders Nasir and Sadat to play the two superpowers against each other in order to get assistance in hydroelectric projects, arms, and loans from both sides.

B. Japan and China

1. Both Japan and China were able to take advantage of the superpowers' preoccupation with the Cold War.
2. The American occupation (1945–1952) gave Japan a constitution that allowed the country only a limited self-defense force and banned the deployment of Japanese troops abroad. The Japanese stayed out of the Cold War and concentrated on building up their industries and engaging in world commerce, gradually developing new markets in Southeast Asia. The Japanese government aided Japanese business in developing three industries that were crucial to Japan's emergence as an economic superpower after 1975: electricity, steel, and shipbuilding.
3. China was deeply involved in Cold War politics, being allied to and receiving aid from the Soviet Union in the 1950s. The PRC and the Soviet Union began to diverge in 1956, and Mao introduced his own radical policies with the disastrous Great Leap Forward in 1958 and with the Cultural Revolution, which was begun in 1966. The rift between the PRC and the Soviet Union opened so wide that President Richard Nixon was able to establish a cooperative relationship between the United States and China in the early 1970s.

C. The Middle East

1. As the Arab states slowly gained independence in the postwar years, the struggle with Israel came to overshadow all Arab politics.
2. After World War II intense pressure to resettle European Jewish refugees forced Britain to turn the Palestine question over to the United Nations General Assembly, which voted in November 1947 to partition Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. Israel declared its independence in May 1948 and defeated the Palestinian and other Arab forces that attempted to crush the newborn state.

3. In a six-day war in 1967 Israel took Arab lands including East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula. The Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Yasir Arafat, waged guerilla war against Israel and engaged in acts of terrorism.
 4. The growing demand for oil in the postwar era prompted the oil-producing Arab states to form the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960. OPEC embargoed the United States and the Netherlands for their support of Israel during the Arab-Israeli war of 1972 and quadrupled oil prices in 1974.
- D. The Emergence of Environmental Concerns
1. The Cold War and the tremendous postwar economic recovery focused public and government attention on technological innovation and enormous industrial projects; only a few people, such as Rachel Carson, warned that technologies and industrial growth were rapidly degrading the environment.
 2. The student protests of the late 1960s in the United States, France, Japan, and Mexico indicated a rising current of youth activism that focused attention on environmental problems.

CHAPTER 32

Crisis, Realignment, and the Dawn of the Post–Cold War World, 1975–1991

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. Postcolonial Crises and Asian Economic Expansion, 1975–1990
 - A. Revolutions, Depressions, and Democratic Reform in Latin America
 1. The success of the Cuban Revolution both energized the revolutionary left throughout Latin America and led the United States to organize its political and military allies in Latin America in a struggle to defeat communism.
 2. In Brazil a coup in 1964 brought in a military government whose combination of dictatorship, use of death squads to eliminate opposition, and use of tax and tariff policies to encourage industrialization through import substitution came to be known as the “Brazilian Solution.” Elements of the “Brazilian Solution” were applied in Chile by the government of Augusto Pinochet, whose CIA-assisted coup overthrew the socialist Allende government in 1973 and in Argentina by a military regime that seized power in 1974.
 3. Despite reverses in Brazil, Chile, and Argentina, revolutionary movements persisted elsewhere. In Nicaragua the Cuban-backed Sandinista movement overthrew the government of Anastasio Somoza and ruled until it was defeated in free elections in 1990. In El Salvador the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) fought a guerilla war against the military regime until declining popular support in the 1990s led the rebels to negotiate an end to the armed conflict and transform themselves into a political party.
 4. The military dictatorships established in Brazil, Chile, and Argentina all came to an end between 1983 and 1990. All three regimes were undermined by reports of kidnapping,

torture, and corruption; the Argentine regime also suffered from its invasion of the Falkland Islands and consequent military defeat by Britain.

5. By the end of the 1980s oil-importing nations like Brazil were in economic trouble because they had borrowed heavily to pay the high oil prices engineered by OPEC. The oil-exporting nations such as Mexico faced crises because they had borrowed heavily when oil prices were high and rising in the 1970s, but found themselves unable to keep up with their debt payments when the price of oil fell in the 1980s.
6. In 1991 Latin America was more dominated by the United States than it had been in 1975. This may be seen in the United States' use of military force to intervene in Grenada in 1983 and in Panama in 1989.

B. Islamic Revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan

1. Crises in Iran and Afghanistan threatened to involve the superpowers; the United States reacted to these crises with restraint, but the Soviet Union took a bolder and ultimately disastrous course.
2. In Iran, American backing and the corruption and inefficiency of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi's regime stimulated popular resentment. In 1979 street demonstrations and strikes toppled the Shah and brought a Shi'ite cleric, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, to power. The overthrow of an ally and the establishment of an anti-western conservative Islamic republic in Iran were blows to American prestige, but the United States was unable to do anything about it.
3. In the fall of 1980 Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein invaded Iran to topple the Islamic Republic. The United States supported Iran at first, but then in 1986 tilted toward Iraq.
4. The Soviet Union faced a more serious problem when it sent its army into Afghanistan in 1978 in order to support a newly established communist regime against a hodgepodge of local, religiously inspired guerilla bands that controlled much of the countryside. The Soviet Union's struggle against the American-backed guerillas was so costly and caused so much domestic discontent that the Soviet leaders withdrew their troops in 1989 and left the rebel groups to fight with each other for control of Afghanistan.

C. Asian Transformation

1. The Japanese economy grew at a faster rate than that of any other major developed country in the 1970s and 1980s, and Japanese average income outstripped that of the United States in the 1990s. This economic growth was associated with an industrial economy in which *keiretsu* (alliances of firms) received government assistance in the form of tariffs and import regulations that inhibited foreign competition.
2. The Japanese model of close cooperation between government and industry was imitated by a small number of Asian states, most notably by South Korea, in which four giant corporations led the way in developing heavy industries and consumer industries. Hong Kong and Singapore also developed modern industrial and commercial economies. All of these newly industrialized economies shared certain characteristics: discipline and hard-working labor forces, investment in education, high rates of personal savings, export strategies, government sponsorship and protection, and the ability to begin their industrialization with the latest technology.
3. In China after 1978 the regime of Deng Xiaoping carried out successful economic reforms that allowed private enterprise and foreign investment to exist alongside the inefficient state-owned enterprises and which allowed individuals and families to contract agricultural land and farm it as they liked. At the same time, the command economy remained in place and China resisted political reform, notably when the Communist Party crushed the protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

II. The End of the Bipolar World, 1989–1991

A. Crisis in the Soviet Union

1. During the presidency of Ronald Reagan the Soviet Union's economy was strained by the attempt to match massive U.S. spending on armaments, such as a space-based missile protection system. The Soviet Union's obsolete industrial plants, its inefficient planned economy, its declining standard of living, and its unpopular war with Afghanistan fueled an underground current of protest.
 2. When Mikhail Gorbachev took over the leadership in 1985 he tried to address the problems of the Soviet Union by introducing a policy of political openness (*glasnost*) and economic reform (*perestroika*).
- B. The Collapse of the Socialist Bloc
1. Events in eastern Europe were very important in forcing change on the Soviet Union. The activities of the Solidarity labor union in Poland, the emerging alliances between nationalist and religious opponents of the communist regimes, and the economic weakness of the communist states themselves led to the fall of communist governments across eastern Europe in 1989 and to the reunification of Germany in 1990.
 2. The weakness of the central government and the rise of nationalism led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in September 1991. Ethnic and religious divisions also led to the dismemberment of Yugoslavia in 1991 and the division of the Czech Republic in 1992.
- C. The Persian Gulf War, 1990–1991
1. Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990 in an attempt to gain control of Kuwait's oil fields. Saudi Arabia felt threatened by Iraq's action and helped to draw the United States into a war in which American forces led a coalition that drove Iraq out of Kuwait but left Saddam Hussein in power.
 2. The Persian Gulf War restored the United States' confidence in its military capability while demonstrating that Russia—Iraq's former ally—was impotent.
- III. The Challenge of Population Growth
- A. Demographic Transition
1. The population of Europe almost doubled between 1850 and 1914, and while some Europeans saw this as a blessing, Thomas Malthus argued that unchecked population growth would outstrip food production. In the years immediately following World War II Malthus's views were dismissed as Europe and other industrial societies experienced a demographic transition to lower fertility rates.
 2. The demographic transition did not occur in the Third World, where some leaders actively promoted large families until the economic shocks of the 1970s and 1980s convinced the governments of developing countries to abandon the pronatalist policy.
 3. World population exploded in the twentieth century, with most of the growth taking place in the poorest nations due to high fertility rates and declining mortality rates.
- B. The Industrialized Nations
1. In the developed industrial nations of western Europe and Japan at the beginning of the twenty-first century, higher levels of female education and employment, the material values of consumer culture, and access to contraception and abortion have combined to produce low fertility levels. Low fertility levels combined with improved life expectancy will lead to an increasing number of retirees who will rely on a relatively smaller number of working adults to pay for their social services.
 2. In Russia and the other former socialist nations, current birthrates are lower than death rates and life expectancy has declined.
- C. The Developing Nations
1. In the twenty-first century the industrialized nations will continue to fall behind the developing nations as a percentage of world population; at current rates, 95 percent of all future population growth will be in developing regions, particularly in Africa and in the Muslim countries.

2. In Asia, the populations of China and India continued to grow despite government efforts to reduce family size. It is not clear whether or not the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America will experience the demographic transition seen in the industrialized countries, but fertility rates have fallen in the developing world where women have had access to education and employment outside the home.
- D. Old and Young Populations
1. Demographic pyramids generated by demographers illustrate the different age distributions in nations in different stages of economic development.
 2. The developed nations face aging populations and will have to rely on immigration or increased use of technology (including robots) in order to maintain industrial and agricultural production at levels sufficient to support their relatively high standards of living and their generous social welfare programs.
 3. The developing nations have relatively young and rapidly growing populations but face the problem of providing their people with education and jobs while struggling with shortages of investment capital and poor transportation and communications networks.
- IV. Unequal Development and the Movement of Peoples
- A. The Problem of Growing Inequality
1. Since 1945 global economic productivity has created unprecedented levels of material abundance. At the same time, the industrialized nations of the Northern Hemisphere have come to enjoy a larger share of the world's wealth than they did a century ago; the majority of the world lives in poverty.
 2. Regional inequalities within nations have also grown in both the industrial countries and in the developing nations.
- B. Internal Migration: the Growth of Cities
1. Migration from rural areas to urban centers in the developing world increased threefold from 1925 to 1950 and accelerated rapidly after 1950.
 2. Migrants to the cities generally enjoyed higher incomes and better standards of living than they would have had in the countryside, but as the scale of rural to urban migration grew, these benefits became more elusive. Migration placed impossible burdens on basic services and led to burgeoning slums, shantytowns, and crime in the cities of the developing world.
- C. Global Migration
1. Migration from the developing world to the developed nations increased substantially after 1960, leading to an increase in racial and ethnic tensions in the host nations. Immigrants from the developing nations brought the host nations the same benefits that the migration of Europeans brought to the Americas a century before.
 2. Immigrant communities in Europe and the United States are made up of young adults and tend to have fertility rates higher than the rates of the host populations. In the long run this will lead to increases in the Muslim population in Europe and in the Asian and Latin American populations in the United States, and to cultural conflicts over the definitions of citizenship and nationality.
- V. Technological and Environmental Change
- A. New Technologies and the World Economy
1. New technologies developed during World War II increased productivity, reduced labor requirements, and improved the flow of information when they were applied to industry in the postwar period. The application and development of technology was spurred by pent-up demand for consumer goods.
 2. Improvements in existing technologies accounted for much of the world's productivity increases during the 1950s and 1960s. The improvement and widespread application of the computer was particularly significant as it transformed office work and manufacturing.

3. Transnational corporations became the primary agents of these technological changes. In the post-World War II years transnational corporations with multinational ownership and management became increasingly powerful and were able to escape the controls imposed by national governments by shifting or threatening to shift production from one country to another.
- B. Conserving and Sharing Resources
1. In the 1960s, environmental activists and political leaders began warning about the environmental consequences of population growth, industrialization, and the expansion of agriculture onto marginal lands. Environmental degradation was a problem in both the developed and developing countries; it was especially severe in the former Soviet Union. In attempting to address environmental issues, the industrialized countries faced a contradiction between environmental protection and the desire to maintain rates of economic growth that depended on the profligate consumption of goods and resources.
 2. In the developing world population growth led to extreme environmental pressure as forests were felled and marginal land developed in order to expand food production. This led to erosion and water pollution.
- C. Responding to Environmental Threats
1. The governments of the United States, the European Community, and Japan took a number of initiatives to preserve and protect the environment in the 1970s. Environmental awareness spread by means of the media and grassroots political movements, and most nations in the developed world enforced strict antipollution laws and sponsored massive recycling efforts.
 2. These efforts, many of them made possible by new technology, produced significant results. But in the developing world, population pressures and weak governments were major obstacles to effective environmental policies.

CHAPTER 33

Globalization at the Turn of the Millennium

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. Global Political Economies
 - A. The Spread of Democracy
 1. The great appeal of democracy is that it allows for the peaceful resolution of differences between a country's social, cultural, and regional groups.
 2. Democratic institutions gained ground in eastern Europe and in Russia during the last decade.
 3. Since 1991, democracy has become the norm in Latin America.
 4. In Asia, Indonesia and China have moved towards more open political processes. The election of the BJP in India has increased tensions between India and Pakistan, as well as between India's Hindus and Muslims.
 5. With the notable exception of South Africa, elections in sub-Saharan Africa have often been used by would-be dictators as the first step in establishing their political and military dominance.
 6. Democracy is the exception, not the rule, in the Middle East.

7. In addition to internal factors, the changed politics of the post-Cold War era and the demands of global economic forces have played important roles in contributing to the growth (or decline) of democracy in individual countries.
- B. Global Politics
1. Since the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has sought to reestablish its role as the world's peacekeeper and defender of human rights. While United Nations peacekeeping missions have had some success, it is often difficult for the member nations to agree on a given course of action.
 2. It has been particularly difficult for the international community to agree on how and when to intervene in civil conflicts and when to stop human rights abuses. This fact was illustrated in the slow response of the United States and the European nations to civil war and ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda.
- C. Arms Control and Terrorism
1. Recent events have raised concerns about terrorism and the proliferation and dissemination of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).
 2. Many countries, including the United States, have begun new nuclear weapons programs.
 3. Fears about WMDs and terrorism came together in the concern that terrorist organizations, like that led by Osama bin Laden, would gain access to WMDs.
 4. President Bush's declaration of a "War on Terrorism" and preemptive strikes by the United States on Afghanistan and Iraq raised fears in much of the world that the United States no longer felt itself bound by international institutions and international law.
 5. Disorder in Iraq following the United States invasion has intensified the worldwide debate about the best way to respond to the twin threats of terrorism and WMDs.
- D. The Global Economy
1. After the collapse of state managed socialist economies in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, free-market capitalism was the only path left to economic growth.
 2. Following a decade of rapid growth, a worldwide recession began in 2000.
 3. World trade and manufacturing became increasingly integrated and interdependent.
 4. Rapid growth occurred in parts of the developing world, as countries made the transition from communism to capitalism.
 5. China's steps to open its economy to freer trade and investment helped make it a global economic power.
 6. Technology that made it possible to rapidly invest funds in international markets also made it possible to withdraw those funds just as rapidly.
 7. From 2000 to 2001, worldwide economic growth slowed from 13 to 1 percent.
 8. The boom of the 1990s did little to change historic disparities between rich and poor economic regions.
- E. Managing the Global Economy
1. To promote economic growth and reduce vulnerabilities, many countries formed free-trade zones and regional trade associations. The strengthening of the European Union (EU) and the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) were notable examples of this trend.
 2. The World Trade Organization (WTO) was founded in 1995 to encourage reduced trading barriers and enforce international trade agreements. The organization has numerous vocal critics.
 3. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank provide assistance to countries in economic trouble, but often require that those countries take politically unpopular steps as a condition of assistance.
 4. In light of increased criticism, world leaders have pledged to do more to help the world's poorest nations.

5. President Bush's Millennium Challenge Account is meant to encourage economic growth in poor nations.

II. Trends and Visions

A. A New Age?

1. According to analyst and reporter Thomas Friedman, the 1990s ushered in a new economic and political age.
2. Friedman believes that global integration will produce support both economic and communal values.
3. The events of 9/11 and the global economic slowdown have caused many to question Friedman's optimism.

B. Christian Millenarianism

1. Many Christians saw deeper meaning in the dawning of the twenty-first century, believing that the return of Jesus Christ and the end of the world were imminent.
2. Such Christian millenarians see in current events evidence of the coming apocalypse.

C. Militant Islam

1. People of a variety of faiths are inclined to see contemporary world events in religious terms.
2. Like people of all faiths, Muslims have responded in a variety of ways to globalization. A minority have chosen a militant response to what they see as a direct threat to Islam.
3. Economic and political failures have contributed to the rise of militant Islam. Conflict with Israel and unhappiness about American support of Israel have also fueled anger in the Middle East. Militant Muslims believe that violence against perceived enemies is justified because they see themselves as locked in global battle between good and evil.

D. Universal Rights and Values

1. The United Nations sought to protect the rights of individuals through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed by the General Assembly in December 1948. The declaration's emphasis on individual rights was derived mostly from European and American history; many of the countries that later signed this declaration had reservations about the universal nature of concepts that had been formulated exclusively on the basis of the western cultural tradition.
2. Rather than addressing fundamental philosophical issues regarding the concept of human rights, human rights activists worked through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and focused their efforts on agreed-upon violations of human rights: torture, imprisonment without trial, summary execution by death squads, famine relief, and refugee assistance.
3. Demands by the United States that its citizens be exempted from the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court and its withdrawal from the Kyoto agreement has prompted charges of hypocrisy from critics of the United States government.

E. Women's Rights

1. Positions on the question of women's rights clearly demonstrate the dichotomy of views between the western industrialized nations and the nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
2. The feminist movement in the West was concerned with voting rights, equal access to education and jobs, and an end to gender discrimination and sexual exploitation. Feminists in the West also decried the oppression of women in other parts of the world.
3. Some non-western women complained about the deterioration of morality and family life in the West and questioned the priorities of the western feminist movement. Efforts to coordinate the struggle for women's rights internationally gained momentum in the 1970s but these efforts were not able to overcome deep-seated cultural disagreement on the definition of women's rights.

III. Global Culture

- A. The Media and the Message
 - 1. After World War II, the United States became the world's main exporter of movies, challenged only by India, Egypt, and Hong Kong.
 - 2. In the 1960s television began to spread to most of the non-western world, where government monopolies ensured that the new medium would be used to disseminate a unified national viewpoint rather than function as a medium for the transmission of western culture and opinions. American organizations like MTV (Music Television) and CNN (Cable News Network) used satellite transmission technology to enter the international market; MTV created special editions adapted to the tastes of local markets, but CNN proffered a fundamentally American view of the news.
 - 3. The development of digital technology offered the possibility of combining the separate technologies of movies, television, and computers, while the development of the Internet transformed business and education. These technological innovations could be seen as portents of western—especially American—cultural domination, but as technology became more widespread, people around the world had more opportunities to adapt that technology to their own purposes.
- B. The Spread of Pop Culture
 - 1. The new technologies helped change perceptions of culture by allowing popular culture to become more and more visible. At the beginning of the early twentieth century European composers, choreographers, writers, and artists drew on popular cultures to inspire and enliven their work.
 - 2. The invention of the phonograph was the key that opened popular culture to global audiences. Phonographs spread American popular music—jazz, blues, and rock ‘n’ roll—around the world.
 - 3. Mass production and advertising opened another door to the worldwide spread of popular culture. The consumer products of American, European, and Japanese transnational companies found their way into international markets.
- C. Emerging Global Culture
 - 1. Cultural links across national and ethnic boundaries at the elite level generated much less controversy than did the globalization of popular culture. Russian-American collaboration on space missions and in the business world, the flow of graduate students and researchers from around the world to American scientific laboratories, and the use of English as a global language were all aspects of globalization at the elite level.
 - 2. The importance of English as a global language is evident in the emergence of an international literature in English.
 - 3. Western universities have become the model for higher education around the world.
- D. Enduring Cultural Diversity
 - 1. Diverse cultural traditions persisted at the end of the twentieth century despite the globalization of industrial society and the integration of economic markets. Japan, for example, has been a success in the modern industrial world in spite of—or perhaps because of—its group-oriented, hierarchical approach to social relations.
 - 2. The economic success of Japan and other Asian countries call into question the long-standing western assumption that all of world history culminated in the exceptional convergence of political freedom, secularism, and industrialization that emerged in the West. Also coming into question was whether industrialization offered the only viable route to prosperity.