

Russia by 1917**Long Term Discontents:**

- 80% of the population were peasants.
- Failure to modernise meant there was a fear of falling behind the West.
- Country geographically too vast to be ruled under one person.
- Tsarism meant lack of human rights.
- Romanov Dynasty had ruled for 300 years.

**The 1905 Revolution:**

- Liberals wanted to participate in govt, tsar was weak & indecisive, and peasants wanted more land & less taxes.
- Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905 saw catastrophic defeats for Russia despite having superior attitude.
- Bloody Sunday 9 January 1905 saw radical non-violent petition march about rights in St Petersburg.
- 100,000 people marched to Winter Palace but were met with troops, 130 killed, revolution failed.
- Nicholas' image was now "stained with the blood of the people."

**Failure to Reform:**

- In response to revolution, Nicholas issued October Manifesto 17 October 1905 promising elected parliament.
- The Duma's ideas were too radical and so Nicholas dissolved the first & second ones.
- April 1906 reissued Fundamental Laws, contradicting October Manifesto, to preserve autocracy – s.87 allowed Tsar to pass laws without consulting Duma.
- "I created the Duma not to have it instruct me but to have it advise me."

**WW1:**

- December 1914 Russian army had 6million men but only 4million rifles – untrained troops sent to battle.
- 1 surgeon for every 10,000 men saw deaths from otherwise treatable wounds.
- 1916 2 million Russian soldiers killed.

Provisional Government Leadership 1917**February Revolution:**

- 18 February 1917 strikes began at Putilov factories in Petrograd over low wages and food shortages.
- Prices had quadrupled, and wages had doubled.
- Alexandra tells Nicholas 4<sup>th</sup> Duma is responsible, so he dissolves them.
- 12 members disobey & remain as "Provisional Committee."
- 27 February 1917 Petrograd Soviet formed to represent working class & soldiers.
- 2 March 1917 Nicholas abdicates, and Provisional Government is declared.

**Dual Authority:**

- Russia now controlled by Petrograd Soviet and Provisional Government.
- Provisional govt came from 4<sup>th</sup> Duma so represented Tsarist beliefs & landowners not ordinary people.
- As such, people waiting for elections of a Constituent Assembly – wanted universal suffrage & secret ballot.
- Petrograd Soviet had control Order No.1 on 14 March 1917 stated soldiers only obey govt if Soviet agrees.

**Lenin's Arrival:**

- Lenin arrives in April 1917 in a sealed German train from Switzerland.
- Issued April Theses calling for a socialist revolution, end to war, no cooperation w PG, redistribution of land.
- "Peace, bread, and land" "All power to the Soviets."
- Wanted to speed up the Marxist cycle by removing the capitalist stage in order to catch up to the West.
- Justified this as workers already had power, so working w middle class parliament would be a step backwards.

**Problems Facing the Provisional Government:**

- War – many thought PG should withdraw from war but unwilling, Kerensky toured Eastern Front making speeches encouraging soldiers to fight.
- Land – peasants wanted govt legitimacy to the land but govt waiting for land redistribution, peasants seized land without permission (237 cases reported in July 1917).
- National Minorities – Finns & Poles asking for outright independence, Ukrainians demanding self-govt.
- Deteriorating Economy – grain prices doubled by June 1917, 568 factories closed down by July 1917.

### **The July Days:**

- **16-20 July 1917** several days of uncontrollable rioting in streets sparked by military defeat & economic plight.
- Gave Lenin opportunity to start a revolution but he didn't seize leadership, so it failed.
- Leading Bolsheviks including Trotsky were arrested and Lenin fled to Finland.

### **The Kornilov Affair:**

- End of **August 1917** Kerensky declares he needs to restore law & order in cities so appointed Kornilov as Supreme Commander who sent troops into Petrograd to take over.
- Kerensky panicked & enlisted Bolsheviks to guard Petrograd (let 25,000 out of prison & armed them).
- Bolsheviks regained popularity and **9 September 1917** gained control of Petrograd Soviet.

### **The October Revolution:**

- **7 October 1917** Lenin returns calling for a revolution but Zinoviev and Kamenev issue statement in newspapers saying the time isn't right for a revolution.
- **23 October 1917** Kerensky interprets this as a date in the future being set & makes pre-emptive move in shutting down Bolshevik newspapers such as Pravda.
- **25-27 October 1917** forces Bolsheviks to act before arrested so storm Provisional govt in Winter Palace & seize control w little resistance.

### **Leninist Russia:**

#### **Problems Facing Russia:**

- Peace due to WW1, bread due to food shortages and land due to ongoing issues w land rights.
- Lenin addressed these via decrees to meet the people's needs.
- **Land Decree** – peasants able to take over gentry estates as doing it anyway & land belonged to entire people.
- **Workers Control Decree** – gave factory committees the right to control production and finance.
- Lenin & Bolsheviks didn't want decrees but needed to win support of people and abolish pressure for reform.

#### **Sovnarkom:**

- Cabinet of ministers introduced by Lenin in October 1917.
- Ruled by decree without the approval of the Petrograd Soviet.

#### **Lenin Abolishes the Constituent Assembly:**

- **November 1917** elections produced non-Bolshevik assembly w 175 seats vs 410 seats of socialist revolutionaries.
- Bolsheviks only had 23% of support.
- Bolshevik & Red Guard prevented the Assembly from meeting and the Third All Russian Congress that had a Bolshevik majority approved the closure of the Assembly in **January 1918**.
- Allowed Bolsheviks to turn Russia into a one-party state and eliminate the threat of democracy.

#### **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk:**

- Lenin knew control of army critical & knew many soldiers wanted end to war.
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed **3 March 1917** – Russia lost 1/3 of territory including Ukraine (2/3 gain source of Russia) and lost 3 billion roubles of gold.
- Lenin realised mistake of PG was not resigning from war & felt Bolsheviks needed to focus on power base.

#### **Cheka:**

- **December 1917** secret police set up to operate outside the law.
- e.g. glove trick – place victims' hand in boiling water until skin could be pulled off like a glove.

#### **Russian Civil War 1917-1922:**

- Caused by Bolsheviks crushing Constituent Assembly and outlawing other parties like Mensheviks.
- The Bolsheviks were facing increased opposition from those who didn't want absolutist rule.
- 3 sides – Reds (Bolsheviks), Whites (anyone who opposed Bolsheviks) and Greens (National minorities who wanted independence from Russia).
- Reds won due to unity, determination, centralised leadership of Lenin & Trotsky and failure of opposition.
- Whites lacked unity & a single aim – some wanted Tsar back, others wanted constitutional monarchy and others wanted a democratic republic.

### **The Red Army:**

- Lenin appoints Trotsky Commissar of War leading to creation of one of most powerful groups, Red Army, 1918.
- By 1920 consisted of 3 million men.
- Trotsky was a war expert & hero and can be credited for Red victory in the Russian Civil War due to his reforms like a centralised hierarchy of command & instalment of professional officers to report on army conduct.

### **Red Terror 1918 -1921:**

- Bolsheviks had increased opposition from workers, anarchists, socialist revs. who rejected authoritarian rule.
- Prompted by assassination attempt on Lenin in August 1918.
- Estimated death count 300,000 – e.g. 17 July 1918 Cheka assassinates Romanovs.
- 5 September 1918 Decree passed on Red Terror calling for creation of conc. camps & imprisonment of enemies.
- Pipes filled w rats, placed on victims' stomach, end heated so rats gnawed through person to escape.
- "Terror was the integral element of the Bolshevik regime from the beginning" – Orlando Figes.

### **War Communism 1918-1921:**

- Mid 1918 Bolsheviks introduce socialist based economic measures as situation bad after loss of Ukraine.
- Solution to economic issues was grain requisitioning.
- 21 November 1918 Ban on Private Trade – sent Cheka & Red Guard to take peasants grain.
- Peasants only made enough grain for themselves, no excess.
- Bolsheviks blamed Kulaks (rich peasants) for hoarding grain as needed a scapegoat.
- But killing of good farmers led to decline and grain production fell creating half (5/10million) deaths in Civil War.
- Workers fled to countryside in search of work – 1920 Petrograd population dropped by 70%.
- Tambov riots 1920-1921 were harshly dealt with, whole villages destroyed.

### **New Economic Policy (NEP) 1921-1928:**

- March 1921 economic collapse and widespread rebellion, Lenin compelled to make reforms.
- Grain requisitioning abolished, replaced w "tax in kind" – peasants to give quota of grain to the state.
- Small businesses reopened and ban on private trade removed.
- Grain production rose from 50million to 73million in 1925.
- Lenin thought it was only temporary but by 1922 the results were better than anybody expected.

### **The Power Struggle:**

- Lenin suffered from strokes between 1921-1924. Death was sudden, it was unclear who should be his successor.
- Contenders emerged – Stalin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev & power struggle initiated between 1924-1929.

### **Stalin's Manipulative Personality:**

#### **Lenin's Funeral 27 January 1924:**

- Manipulated Trotsky into not turning up for funeral by not informing him of the date.
- Serious tactical mistake by Trotsky, raised doubts about respect for Lenin, damaged reputation & prestige.
- Stalin delivered oration, set himself up as Lenin's disciple and highlighted intention of continuing Lenin's work.
- Lenin was a God-like figure & to hear his work would be continued gave Stalin a big head start against Trotsky.

#### **Underestimation of Stalin:**

- After December 1922 Lenin wrote a testament to be read aloud at 13<sup>th</sup> Party Congress May 1924.
- In it he warned Stalin had become too powerful and if read aloud would've ended Stalin's career.
- Zinoviev & Kamenev urged it not go public as it undermined them, they thought Stalin posed no threat and they wanted his help in defeating Trotsky whom they saw as more powerful.
- As a result, the testament was buried w Lenin and never became public.

### **Stalin's Control of Bolshevik Party Administration:**

- Worked as Commissar of Nationalities, Liason Officer of Orgburo & Head of Workers/Peasants Inspectorate.
- Promotion to General Secretary in 1922 gave him significant power, position turned down by many but not him.
- He had access to information on party members and power of patronage (appoint & dismiss ministers).
- He promoted supports to high party positions & established a firm power base.
- Members who opposed him were removed, e.g. Zinoviev replaced w Kirov, a loyal supporter.
- Members got privileges and felt they owed something to Stalin.
- Even though he didn't create party and structure he used it to his advantage.
- Structuralist Historians – "Stalin's position as General Secretary was key in his rise to power."

## **Failure of Stalin's Opposition:**

### **Trotsky:**

- Criticised party for becoming too bureaucratic and less democratic which was a mistake as it had become bureaucratic under Lenin and his comments were seen as a criticism to Lenin's work.
- Members who supported him refused to speak up as didn't want to lose party privileges.
- Despite persuasive speeches, Trotsky defeated in votes as party packed w "well instructed Stalinist delegates."
- Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev join triumvirate in 1924.
- Trotsky could've appealed to supporters but ban on factions in 1921 made him unwilling to cause splits in party.

### **Zinoviev and Kamenev:**

- At the 14<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in 1925 Zinoviev and Kamenev called for a vote of no confidence & end to NEP.
- Stalin's party control was so complete that he had little trouble defeating them – lost every vote.
- As a result, Zinoviev and Kamenev joined Trotsky as a "united opposition" but accused of factionalism in 1927.
- They lost all positions of power & expelled from party and 1929 Trotsky expelled from USSR to Asia.
- Liberal Historians – "one major weakness the Bolshevik leaders showed was in underestimating Stalin."

### **Stalin's Economic Policies:**

- At the end of the 1920's Stalin launched radical economic policies, creating new industrial and agricultural landscape in Russia known as the "Great Turn" as he wanted to catch up to the West as quick as possible.
- "To Stalin the aim was supreme; the people meant nothing" – Volkogonov.

### **Collectivisation:**

- Introduced to feed Russia's population by increasing yields & release people from country to work in industry.
- 50-100 farms joined together to form one collective farm where resources & expertise were shared.
- Theory that one large farm would be more efficient than many smaller ones.
- Stalin returned to famous class enemy and ideological weapon – Kulaks.
- 27 December 1929 announced "liquidation of Kulaks as a class" but peasants stood united and were unwilling to identify Kulaks, so Stalin enlisted 25,000 Urban Party Activists to revolutionise the countryside.
- 1 February 1930 Decree gave power to use "necessary measures" against Kulaks – suspects killed/deported to gulags (forced labour camps) and by end of collectivisation 10million deported to gulags or Siberia.
- Dekulakisation reduced yields, causing famine between 1932-1934.

### **Industrialisation:**

- Russia was industrially backward so plans to increase production introduced.
- Plans didn't state how to achieve, only set quotas.
- Stalin believed industrial rev. in UK/USA made them so strong & wanted the same for Russia.

### **First Five-Year Plan October 1928 – December 1932:**

- Gosplan set quotas for production levels.
- Not intended to achieve improved working conditions, Stalin believed sacrifice was necessary.
- Stressed quantity over quality, wanted to show USSR achieving greatness & knew unskilled workers couldn't make quality products.
- Poor quality products blamed on saboteurs and suspects were trialled as an enemy of the state.
- Some stats not completely accurate as numbers falsified to achieve quotas in order to avoid punishment.
- Coal increased by 100%, Iron by 200% and Steel by 400%.

### **Second and Third:**

- January 1923 – December 1937 and January 1938 – June 1941.
- Targets set to be more realistic but still lacked coordination.
- People reluctant to criticise plans so errors went unchecked, led to serious breakdowns.
- This led to a search for scapegoats and political purges increased, production suffered.
- Living standards never improved.
- However, succeeded in areas of heavy industry where skill not required e.g. bridges.
- Steel increased from 3million tons in 1927 to 18million tons in 1940.

### **Purges:**

- Initially non-violent removal of members from Communist party who had suspect loyalty – 20% removed.
- Kirov's murder 1 December 1934 seen as evidence of widespread conspiracy causing show trials, elaborately staged events where guilty admitted counter revolution to prove purge was just.
- Heavy coercion to plead guilty – law passed in 1934 allowing children over 12 to be executed for fathers crimes.

## Russia and WW2:

### **Soviet Foreign Policy:**

- Idea that USSR was surrounded by hostile powers – communism vs capitalism.
- Fear of Western encroachment was a long-standing feature of Russian foreign policy.
- However, Great Depression showed capitalist system was broken & failing while the USSR was making advancements under collectivisation and industrialisation.
- Stalin was slow to see the German threat as he thought Western Capitalist nations were more of a threat.
- When Hitler talks about German expansion eastwards did Stalin begin to see a threat.
- 1934 onwards Stalin focused on finding allies to nullify German threat.
- 1934 USSR joins League of Nations.
- 1935 agreement between USSR, Czechoslovakia & France promising mutual assistance if one was attacked.
- But November 1936 Anti-Comintern Pact signed between Germany & Japan, aimed directly at USSR.

### **Munich Agreement:**

- September 1938, Stalin saw that Britain & France happy to push Germany east to stop threat to themselves.

### **Nazi-Soviet Pact:**

- August 1939 – 10 year non-aggression agreement between Russia and Germany.

### **Operation Barbarossa:**

- Early June 1941 Stalin told Germany would attack, w hard evidence, but Stalin called it “German disinformation.”
- 22 June 1941 Germany launched Operation Barbarossa, a surprise attack on Russia.
- Russia initially unprepared, struggling due to Red Army’s low experience after the purges and Stalin’s refusal to believe Hitler would break their pact.
- 6 million dead in 6 months.
- Barbarossa failed as Stalin managed to pull himself together, and it occurred during one of the most severe Russian winters in history slowing Germans to a dead halt.

### **Stalin/Soviet Role:**

- Sent millions to death w no remorse e.g. Order 270 16 August 1941 said anyone who surrendered will be seen as deserters and families would be liable for arrest.
- Soviet factories strong & could produce aircrafts, tanks, guns faster than Germany due to industrialisation.
- Historian Figes said “Russia’s readiness for sacrifice was Soviet’s greatest weapon.”

### **Battle of Stalingrad:**

- 23 August 1942 – 2 February 1943 Germans besieged Stalingrad.
- Despite city not statistically important, became matter of national pride as named after Stalin.
- Hitler responded in the same way, wanted to take it to show he was better than Stalin.
- Hitler’s generals wanted to surrender but he refused, saying “fight to the last soldier & last bullet.”
- Germany starved into submission and surrendered on 31 January 1943.
- 200,000 German’s died in battle & 91,000 became prisoners of war, w only 6000 surviving captivity.
- Over 1 million Soviet soldiers killed, life expectancy at the front was 24 hours.

### **Battle of Kursk:**

- To counter losses Hitler launched massive panzer attack on Russia.
- 5 July 1943 Operation Citadel began, became largest tank battler in history.
- Soviet 3400 tanks vs Germans 2400 tanks.
- Superior numbers of USSR won the day and Hitler called off operation to stop another devastating defeat.

### **Impacts on USSR:**

- By end of 1941 half of Soviet population under German occupation.
- Iron and steel production dropped by 60%.
- Grain stocks reduced by 40%.
- More than a quarter of 25million Soviet casualties in WW2 were the result of Starvation.
- Recovery achieved at the expense of the Russian people, causing hardships greater than they had known under collectivisation and industrialisation.

### Life under Lenin:

#### **Women:**

- Communism wanted to give women economic independence.
- Lenin launched "socialism of domestic services" the large-scale creation of jobs for women.
- 1917 Divorce Law allowing man or woman to terminate marriage if incompatible.
- 1917 Law giving paid maternity leave to women.
- 1920 law authorising abortion.
- But equality short lived and by 1927 2/3 of marriage ended in divorce in Moscow.
- By the end of the 1930s divorce rate was the highest in Europe.

#### **Education:**

- Lenin saw education as a fundamental tool in forming a socialist society.
- Each child in Russia to have free, universal education for 9 years.
- Youth groups like Komsomol for 15-20 year old's used to indoctrinate communist values.
- Komsomol membership rose from 2million in 1927 to 10million in 1940.
- Education and propaganda combined so students could be future workers or party members.

#### **Religion:**

- Saw religion as a form of backwardness so Lenin destroyed "religious propaganda."
- Lenin followed teachings of Karl Marx who argued religion was a used to deaden the pain of life.
- This started a conflict between peasants and govt w 8000 people killed during show trials in 1922.

#### **Arts:**

- Moved away from bourgeois "high art" towards "popular culture."
- Workers and peasants encouraged to produce own culture known as Proletkult, 400,000 members by 1920.
- Lenin created statues of revolutionary figures as a means of propaganda.
- Wanted to side with popular artists so they could create propaganda for him.

### Life under Stalin:

#### **Women:**

- Embarked on the "great retreat" in the 1930s.
- Issued a decree in May 1936 reversing earlier Bolshevik activity and moved back to tradition.
- Attitude shift based on pro-family, pro-discipline & anti-abortion.
- Falling birth rates and high abortion rates scared Stalin as he had a fear of falling behind the West.
- Women had to go back to tradition of domestic life and child bearing – had increased taxes if women had less than 2 kids.

#### **Education:**

- Started the "withering away of school" introduced by Shulgina, a radical, to combine school & industry.
- Had a negative impact as students formed narrow skills and hindered production.
- Discipline was re-introduced, and Stalin moved back to traditional styles of education.
- 1920-1940 number of students rose from 12-35 million & literacy rate rose from 51% - 88%.

#### **Religion:**

- Brought about another attack on the church and priests despite Stalin's own training as a priest and his mother's devotion to God as he had the view that religion had no place in a socialist society.
- By 1931 80% of all village churches shut down.

#### **Arts:**

- Old art vandalised as it was symbolic of bourgeoisie.
- Stalin believed art had to have the same driving force as his economic policies.
- Stalin was the arbiter of all art & those who failed to follow Stalin's measures were purged.



### Creation of Israel 1948:

- Since biblical times there has been ongoing conflict in the Middle East & peace is still to be achieved.
- The conflict began as the Jews, Arabs and British all had a claim to the land.
- Britain was reliant on oil from the Persian Gulf and wanted control of the Suez Canal for transport.
- The Jews & Arabs both had religious claims to the land but the Jews faced Diaspora when their Roman rulers banished them and the Arabs struggled for independence from their Turkish masters.

### **Britain's Role 1915-1917:**

- During WW1 Britain made several conflicting promises.
- **1915** McMahon Hussein Letters exchanged between Britain & Guardian of Mecca promising if Arabs defeated the Turks they would get independence and self-government.
- **19 May 1916** Sykes-Picot Agreement where France & Britain agree to divide up Middle East after WW1 & **1919** Treaty of Versailles given mandates for control of the Middle East.
- **2 November 1917** Balfour Declaration, British Zionists led by Chaim Weizmann wanted support of British govt for a Jewish homeland in the Middle East, signed by Arthur Balfour to Lord Rothschild, a prominent Jew.
- Neither Jews nor Arabs satisfied & Britain refused to choose a side as wanted benefits from both groups.
- Jewish immigration continued anyways and by **1939**, 450,000 Jews in Palestine.

### **Arab Rebellion 1936-1939:**

- With Jewish immigration increasing, Palestinians became landless & impoverished.
- April 1936 Arab Higher Committee called for strikes but unsuccessful as Jews took jobs of striking Arabs.
- Widespread fighting broke out & British responded harshly by hanging Arab leaders.

### **British Partition Plan 1937:**

- British govt set up inquiry led by Lord Peel concluding cooperation between Arabs & Jews impossible.
- Report recommended partition of Palestine into two states.
- Arabs rejected as wanted whole Palestine as promised by Britain.
- Jewish Agency agreed as knew Jews not strong enough to demand more.

### **British Government White Paper 1939:**

- With WW2 approaching Britain feared growth of friendship between Arab leaders & Germany.
- Britain needed to keep Arabs on its side so oil supplies from Middle East would continue.
- Britain issued White Paper, declaring independent Palestine in 10 years, neither Jewish/Arab state but instead one where they'd share responsibility of governing w Britain ruling over.
- Restricted Jewish immigration to 10,000 per year for the next 5 years.
- Jews furious, saw British actions as a betrayal.

### **Zionism:**

- Most important factor in causing the creation of Israel.
- Zionism, "claim for re-establishment of a Jewish state" emerged in **1896** when Theodor Herzl published "The Jewish State" suggesting Jews should seek their own homeland in the Middle East.
- Jews became an extremely united force, especially after horrors of WW2 & Holocaust.
- Nationalism gave the Jews power when they had to resort to violence seen after **1939** White Paper Plan.
- Zionists took their anger out at British on **22 July 1946** when Irgun attacked King David Hotel – military HQ's.
- Irgun dressed as Arabs rolled milk churns filled w explosives into building, killing 88 people.
- Extremism again in **1947**, Jews retaliated to executing 2 British soldiers after British executed 3 Irgun members.
- This forced British to leave Palestine & hand it over to UN in **February 1947**.

### **UN Partition Plan:**

- **November 1947** General Assembly voted to adopt Resolution 181 which recommended plan to partition Palestine – 45% of land allocated to Arabs and 55% to the Jews (Arabs rejected as Jews given more land).
- Sparked a Civil War **1947-1948** w Jews winning as were unified & had strong centralised institutions contrary to the Arabs who had no centrally organised forces & divided leadership (Mufti of Jerusalem exiled to Lebanon).

### **Creation of Israel:**

- **14 May 1948** David Ben-Gurion proclaimed birth of the new state of Israel.

### The First Arab-Israeli War 1948-1949:

- **15 May 1948** Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan & Egypt invaded w intention of destroying Israel.
- Israel emerged from the war controlling 79% of British mandate of Palestine rather than 55% allocated by UN.
- 700,000 Palestinians had become refugees w majority ending up in Gaza and the West Bank.
- For Israel, it had been a war of national liberation – now believed they were always going to be attacked and wanted to prevent it so decided to be the aggressor for when it happens again.
- Israel passed the Law of Return **1950** granting any Jew in the world Israeli citizenship.
- For the Arabs, it had been “Al-Nakba” or “catastrophe.”

### The Suez Crisis 1956:

- Suez Canal vital link as carried 2/3 of fuel supplies for Western Europe.
- Britain had 70,000 troops stationed at the Canal, seen by Egypt as a sign of British Imperialism.

### Egyptian Revolution:

- **1954** Nasser became president after Egyptian Revolution by The Free Officers who overthrew King Farouk **1952**.
- Nasser persuaded Britain to withdraw troops from the Suez Canal.
- Britain wanted to be on good terms w Nasser as wanted Arab support against USSR in the Cold War.
- Nasser wanted Egypt to be neutral rather than join an anti-Soviet alliance but Israeli attacks on Egypt to topple Nasser forced him to ask USA for weapons (denied) so asked USSR & Czech Arms Deal in **September 1955**.
- Shocked the Western world and Israel.

### Aswan Dam & Nationalisation of Suez Canal:

- Britain & USA thought they could still control Nasser as he was dependent on them for money to build the Aswan Dam to provide hydroelectric power for Egypt's industry & land irrigation.
- **May 1956** Nasser officially recognises Communist China.
- **July 1956** USA and Britain cancel loans to Egypt for Aswan Dam.
- As a result, **26 July 1956** in front of huge crowd in Alexandria Nasser stated Suez Canal was “our canal.”
- Nationalised Suez Canal so he could use income to build Aswan Dam.
- Act of standing up to western nations thrilled the Arab world and shocked the west as Egypt now independent.

### The Suez War:

- **24 October 1956** British & French foreign ministers secretly met Israeli PM and arranged a plan.
- Wanted to end raids from Gaza, force Egypt to recognise Israel & break Egypt blockade of Straits of Tiran.
- Decided Israel would attack Egypt, giving Britain and France pretext to intervene and use force when Egypt disagrees to withdraw from the canal zone.
- **29 October 1956** Israeli forces invaded Egypt.
- **30 October 1956** Britain demands troops be withdrawn from canal, Israel agrees, Egypt refuses as planned.
- **31 October 1956** Britain bombs Egyptian airfields.
- **5 November 1956** British troops enter canal zone.
- British & French actions condemned by world, w USA threatening to cut off financial aid to Britain which would potentially destroy their economy, also threatened to cut off oil and use military force.
- **6 November 1956** Britain & France withdraw after UN ceasefire.
- Nasser seen as hero of Arab world for standing up to British imperialism & France and Britain condemned.

### The Six Day War of 1967:

- Eruption of Cold War in **1947** saw USSR joined Arab side, w Middle East becoming battleground for proxy war.
- Nasser knew Israel stronger than all Arab states combined, pertinent in Arab losses of Al-Nakba & Suez Crisis.
- He was reluctant to go to war despite still wanting to free Palestinians and regain lost territory.
- This changed on **13 May 1967** when USSR warned Egypt that Israel was moving its forces to border of Syria, an attempt to expand its influence in the Middle East while USA bogged down in Vietnam War (**1955-1975**).
- Information wasn't true & even though Nasser knew this, he had to act as leadership of Arab world challenged.
- **15 May 1967** Nasser starts policy of brinkmanship & moves 100,000 troops to Sinai, orders UN peacekeepers to leave area and on **22 May 1967** closes the Straits of Tiran, stopping Israeli shipping,
- Seen as act of aggression to Israelis & **31 May 1967** USA gave Israel ambiguous suggestion to open Tiran Straits.
- **5 June 1967** Israel attacked & within 4hrs had destroyed air forces of Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and had conquered West Bank, Gaza, Sinai Peninsula and Golan Heights.
- Despite UN Resolution 242 in **November 1942**, warring parties made little progress & started fighting again.



### The Yom Kippur War of 1973:

- Nasser dies **28 September 1970** and is succeeded by Anwar Sadat.
- **1967-1970** Egyptians & Israelis stuck in “war of attrition” exhausting each other economically & psychologically.
- USSR provided Egypt w extensive military supplies & USA supplying Israel w advanced fighter jets since **1968**.
- USA and USSR essentially fighting a war through Egypt and Israel.
- **1972** Sadat decided stalemate could only be broken by war, so he didn’t lose credibility from stepping down.
- **6 October 1973** on Yom Kippur, holiest day for Jews, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel.
- Surprised Israel as Yom Kippur at same time as Ramadan – nobody expected war at holiest time of year.
- In first 24hrs, 300 Israeli tanks destroyed, Israeli lines broken & 500 Syrian tanks overwhelmed Golan Heights.
- Israel faced major losses that they had never experienced before.
- But on **15 October 1973** Israelis pushed Arab armies out of their territories, a recovery made possible by the airlift of thousands of advanced weapons from USA.
- Soon after, USA and USSR sponsored a joint UN resolution calling for immediate ceasefire by sending UN troops to Egypt to hold peace.
- Military victory for Israel but incurred far more losses than prev. wars 2500 deaths vs 800 deaths in Six Day War.

### Politics of Oil and OPEC:

- Arabs discovered oil in the **1920s** and **1930s**.
- Arab govts lacked expertise & technology to extract oil so granted licenses to British & US companies for a fee.
- By **1950s** oil producing states dissatisfied as felt they weren’t benefitting e.g. Arab-American Oil Company made 3 times the profit of Saudi govt from Saudi Arabia’s oil.
- **1959** Seven Sisters (7 biggest international oil producers) reduced oil prices, knocking \$132billion off income of the 4 major Arab oil producers without consulting them.
- **September 1960** Arabs retaliated & Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq & Kuwait formed Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) designed to force oil companies to consult w OPEC/
- After **1973** placed an embargo on sale to USA w oil prices in USA rising to 400%.

### Peacemaking 1970s:

#### **Treaties of Disengagement:**

- **1973** secretary of state Kissinger went between Israel, Egypt and Syria to arrange separation of opposing armies.
- **1974-1975** had secured agreements where Israelis would withdraw from Suez & UN buffer zones installed.
- Allowed Egypt to re-open Suez in **1975**, leading to Saudi Arabia selling oil to USA again after OPEC embargo.

#### **Camp David Accords 1978:**

- **1976** Jimmy Carter elected US president, claimed his govt would strive to solve the Palestinian problem.
- **November 1977** Sadat made speech to Egypt parliament saying he’s willing to go to Israel to negotiate peace.
- Bold move as for 30 yrs no Arab leader had agreed to recognise Israel’s existence.
- **December 1977** Sadat went to Egypt and peace talks began but early **1978** reached a stalemate.
- Sadat wanted Israeli recognition of Palestinian’s right to self-determination while Begin wanted guarantee of continued Israeli control of the West Bank.
- **September 1978** Carter intervened to stop peace talks from stopping completely and invited leaders to Camp David where they discussed a peace settlement for 13 days, coming to agreement on **17 September 1978**.
- **26 March 1979** signed Treaty of Washington, legitimising “Framework for Peace between Israel and Egypt” but failed to acknowledge the Palestinian problem.
- First step towards a permanent peace between Egypt & Israel and was basis for further peace talks in **1990s**.
- However, rest of Arab world saw Sadat breaking Arab ranks, leading to his assassination in **1981**.

### War in Lebanon 1975-1982:

- PLO formed **1964** by Arab league.
- **September 1970** PLO exiled from Jordan (King Hussein had enough of Israeli reprisals).
- PLO moved to southern Lebanon (border closest to Israel).
- PLO frequently bombed Jewish settlements and Israeli hit back killing Lebanese & Palestinians.

#### **Civil War Period:**

- **1975** Lebanese govt ordered army to regain control of South but Palestinians resisted.
- Most of Lebanese army was Christian so Civil War ensued between Christians and Muslims.
- **1978** PLO attacked bus near Tel Aviv killing 37 people, Israel invaded Lebanon but withdrew under USA pressure.

### **Israeli Invasion 1982:**

- Early 1982 Israel planned invasion called “Operation Peace for Galilee” but needed a pretext to attack.
- 3 June 1982 Palestinians attempted to murder Israeli ambassador in London giving pretext to invade.
- Israeli forces crossed border w 170,000 troops & UN forces powerless to stop them.
- Israeli defence minister Sharon claimed aim was to drive out Palestinian forces & establish a 40km security zone in South Lebanon to protect Israelis living in Galilee.
- However, Israelis surrounded Beirut & shelled positions in city that were held by PLO – residential areas.
- Over 20,000 killed in “Battle of Beirut” 14 June 1982 – 21 August 1982.

### **Evacuation of the PLO:**

- August 1982 USA intervened and persuaded Israelis to stop shelling city in agreement PLO would be evacuated.
- USA, French & Italian troops supervised evacuation of over 14,000 Palestinian troops.
- Israelis believed still 2000 fighters left in Refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.
- 14 September 1982 newly elected Christian president is killed, so supporters invade refugee camps killing 1000-2000 people, horrifying the world.
- Israeli troops ordered to let them in and not intervene.
- Israel had made many enemies in Lebanon, especially Muslims who would eventuate into anti-Israel groups.
- Israeli troops withdraw from Lebanon in 1987.

### **The Palestinian Intifada 1987-1993:**

- Mass protests against Israeli occupation of West Bank and Gaza which they’d occupied since 1967.

### **Conflict:**

- Sparked on 8 December 1987 when Israeli army tank transporter crashed into Palestinian cars killing 4 people.
- Large demonstrations followed in Gaza w Israeli military responding w live ammunition on 9 December 1987.
- Israeli troops used “iron fist policy” and by September 1988 346 Palestinians killed under age of 16.
- Worldwide publicity given to beatings of men, women & children – perception that modern army let loose against citizens fighting for their human rights & right to govern themselves.

### **PLO Response:**

- Arafat & PLO quick to exploit outbreak of violence and Arafat publicly renounced terrorism in December 1988.
- Arafat sought formal recognition from UN that PLO be sole representatives of Palestinian people.
- Arafat transformed from terrorist leader to international spokesperson.
- USA recognised PLO for first time.

### **Impacts:**

- Palestinians demonstrated identity as a separate nation worthy of self-determination.
- Exiled PLO returned.
- HAMAS (1987) had roots in intifada and would become biggest threat to Israeli security.

### **The Iranian Revolution 1979:**

#### **Background:**

- Iran independent but oilfields controlled by British company that paid shah’s govt for right to extract oil.
- But majority of profits going to the British company.
- 1930 Iran becomes world’s 4<sup>th</sup> largest oil producer.
- After WW2 increasing number of Iranians insisting govt should take control of oil.

#### **Iran Nationalises its Oil Industry:**

- 1951 Mohammed Mossadeq Iranian nationalist gained support and became PM of Iran.
- 15 March 1951 Iranian parliament passes law to nationalise oil industry.
- Britain withdrew workforce & refused to allow technicians to work for new Iranian National Oil Company.
- Britain persuaded other European powers to boycott Iranian oil sales.
- Iran’s income from oil sales dwindled but Mossadeq remained hugely popular for standing up to the West.
- Britain persuaded USA to join them in overthrowing Mossadeq playing on USA’s fear of USSR’s influence.
- 1953 USA used threats & money (\$150,000) to pressure shah into dismissing Mossadeq & replacing w a pro-western PM. Mossadeq put on trial & imprisoned and Iranian parliament closed down.

### **Shah and the West:**

- Carried out “White Revolution” in **1960s** w policies of young western-educated men.
- Led to right to vote for women, expansion of schools & doubling of literacy rate.
- Iran grew rich off income from oil industry but only a minority enjoyed the new wealth.
- Dependence on west caused anger and many saw shah as a pawn for the western powers.

### **Islamic Revolution 1979:**

- Opposition led by Ayatollah Khomeini, **1978** huge strikes calling for the Shah to abdicate.
- **8 September 1978** troops killed over 500 in demonstration & in October 1978 most of industry halted.
- **January 1979** Shah left Iran to receive treatment for cancer & never returned.
- Khomeini returned & declared Islamic revolution **1 April 1979**.
- New laws based on Quran passed – education of un-Islamic influence purged & women forced to cover heads.
- Khomeini keen to spread revolution to rest of Muslim world – neighbouring Iraq prime target.

### **Storming of the USA Embassy November 1979:**

- USA seen as main enemy in Iran “Great Satan.”
- **November 1979** US govt allowed shah into USA to receive medical treatment.
- Iranian students stormed US embassy taking 50 American staff hostage.

### **The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988:**

#### **Background:**

- Khomeini calling on Iraqis to overthrow Saddam Hussein, as majority Shiite Muslims vs Saddam Sunni.
- Saddam saw opportunity to gain valuable territory, Iran, which had ports for oil exports unlike Iraq.
- Iran weak so this was an ideal time to attack as economy in chaos after revolution and western boycott.

#### **Conflict:**

- **22 September 1980** Iraqi army invaded Iran.
- Iraqis advanced but halted in Iranian desert, resorted to firing missiles at Iran’s cities to terrorise population.
- Iraq had superior firepower, but Iran had a larger population who sent martyrs to push Iraq back.
- **1984** both sides became locked in a trench warfare along 1500km border.

#### **Foreign Involvement:**

- Most Arab states supported Iraq as opposed to Iran’s revolutionary, Shiite version of an Islamic state.
- USA, France, Germany & USSR opposed the new regime as revolutionary Iranians could control oil prices.
- USA used satellite technology to keep Iraq informed on Iranian troop movement & provided Iraq with equipment used to make chemical weapons.
- Iranians finally accepted ceasefire on (no formal peace treaty) **20 August 1988** as economy was in ruins & faced prospect of direct war against USA.
- Estimated nearly a million Iranians and half a million Iraqis had died.

### **The Gulf War 1990-1991:**

#### **Background:**

- After war with Iran, Iraq’s economy was shattered – value of oil declined due to war damage.
- Angry that Kuwait was pressing Iraq to repay \$14billion loan from the war as Iraqi people had made huge sacrifices in fighting Iran to protect countries like Kuwait.

#### **Invasion of Kuwait:**

- **2 August 1990** force of 300,000 Iraqi soldiers crossed border and overran Kuwait in 3 days.
- Many feared Iraq would seize Saudi Arabia’s oilfields (biggest in the world).
- UN delivered deadline to Iraq – withdraw by **15 January 1991** or face military force.
- UN also stated no country to trade w Iraq until withdrawal (most effective sanction ever imposed by UN).
- 600,000 troops assembled in Saudi Arabia, mainly American but also British, French and Arab.

#### **The Gulf-War:**

- **January 1991** fighting began w USA air assaults lasting 5 weeks.
- **February 1991** ground attack & Iraqis driven out of Kuwait but first torched oil wells causing economic disaster.
- **March 1991** UN ceasefire called, Iraq to recognise Kuwait’s sovereignty and pay reparations.

## Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking 1990s:

### **USA Support:**

- USA more willing to push Israel toward peace as didn't need support to stop USSR threat as Cold War end 1991.
- September 1991 US president threatened to withhold \$10billion of loans to Israel.

### **Madrid Conference:**

- October 1991 USA & Russia invited all parties in Arab-Israeli conflict to talks in Madrid.
- First time all major Middle Eastern powers agreed to face-to-face talks but didn't achieve much.

### **Oslo Accord I 1993:**

- Signed in White House 13 September 1993 by Israeli foreign minister & PLO representative.
- Set out timeline for Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories – all troops to be removed by 13 April 1994.
- Historic breakthrough as sides accepted principle of partition proposed by UN in 1947.

### **Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty 1994:**

- 26 October 1994 Rabin and King Hussein sign formal peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.
- Bill Clinton was a witness.
- Jordan became second Arab state to recognise Israel.
- Rabin awarded Nobel Peace Prize December 1994.

### **Oslo Accord II 1995:**

- 28 September 1995.
- Made decision to partition West Bank into 3 areas (exclusive Palestinian control, Palestinian police but overall security to Israel defence forces, and exclusive Israeli control 71% of territory).

### **Setbacks to Peace:**

- Withdrawal of Israeli troops very gradual & Israel continued to build Jewish settlements in occupied territories and have done so until the current day.
- Many Palestinians switched support from PLO to more militant Palestinian groups like HAMAS who opposed the peace process as believed Palestinians were gaining too little (no independent Palestinian state).
- HAMAS embarked on campaign of suicide bombings in Israel & occupied territories.
- Israeli extremists also opposed e.g. assassinated Israel PM Rabin in November 1995.

### **Agreement on Hebron 1997:**

- 15 January 1997 signed, Israel to withdraw from Hebron immediately.

### **Wye River Memorandum 1998:**

- 15 October 1998 proposal to redefine partitioning – Israel 60%, Palestinians 18% & shared control of 22%.

### **Camp David II 2000:**

- Little progress made due to leaders on both sides facing domestic backlash from extremists.
- July 2000 Clinton summoned Arafat & Barak to Camp David as last attempt to get a final settlement.
- In 2000 Israel occupied 78% with Palestinians occupying 22%.

### **Al-Aqsa Intifada 2000-2005:**

- Peace process had been successful.
- 28 September 2000 Likud leader Ariel Sharon makes controversial visit to Temple Mount in Jerusalem making statement he controls Palestinian land.
- Next day Palestinians responded w riots which saw them fired upon by Israeli soldiers.

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Still conflict prevalent today.