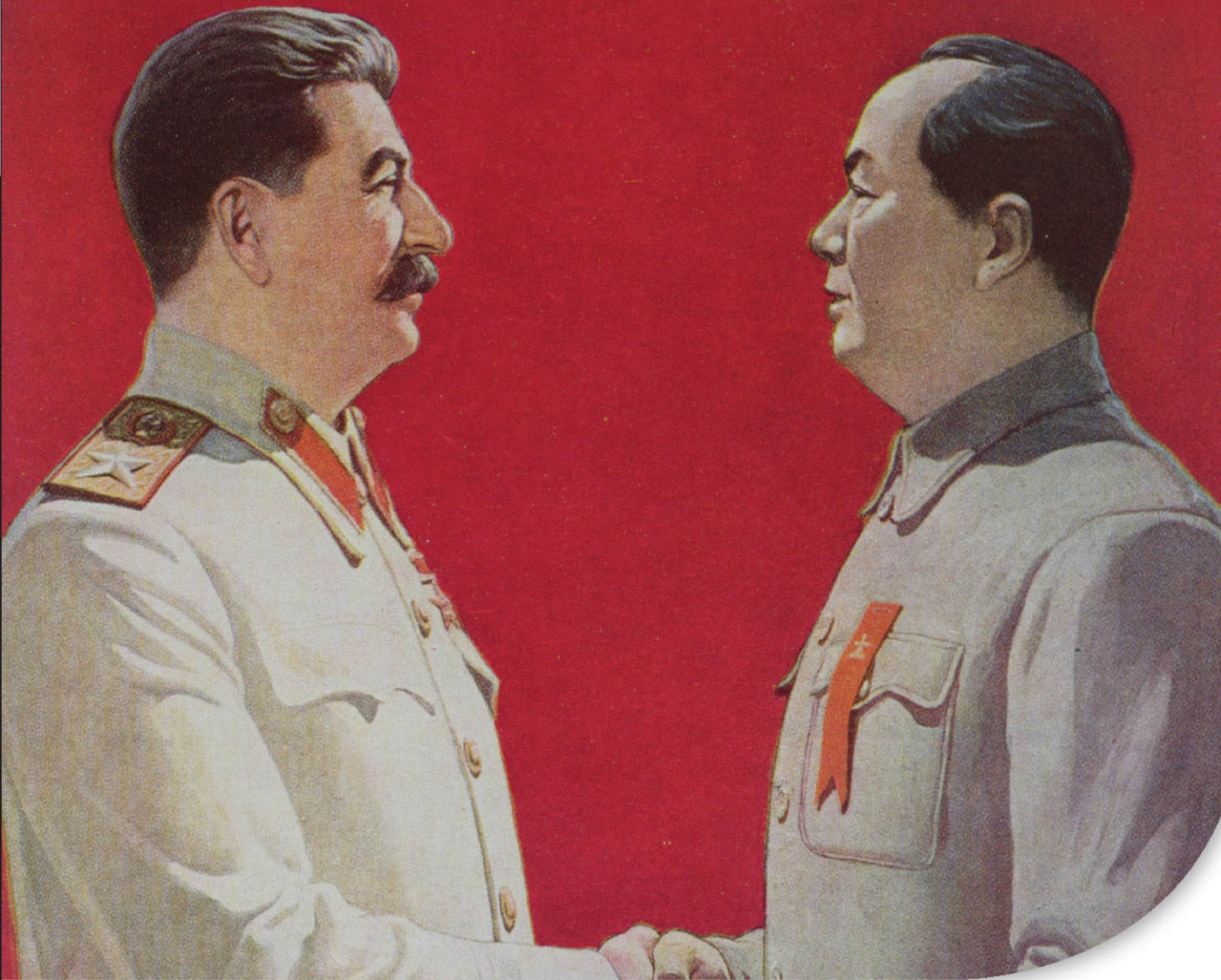


Access to History
for the **IB Diploma**



Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states

Michael Lynch

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Access to History
for the IB Diploma

Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states

Michael Lynch

For Elizabeth Suzanne Clare

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Dedication

Keith Randell (1943–2002)

The original *Access to History* series was conceived and developed by Keith, who created a series to ‘cater for students as they are, not as we might wish them to be’. He leaves a living legacy of a series that for over 20 years has provided a trusted, stimulating and well-loved accompaniment to post-16 study. Our aim with these new editions for the IB is to continue to offer students the best possible support for their studies.

Introduction

This book has been written to support your study of Topic 3: Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states of the IB History Diploma Route 2.

This introduction gives you an overview of:

- ★ the content you could study for Topic 3: Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states and how you will be assessed for Paper 2
- ★ the different features of this book and how these will aid your learning.

1 What you will study

The twentieth century has seen the rise and rule of various authoritarian, single-party states. This book covers the regimes of Stalin in the Soviet Union, Hitler in Germany, Mao in the People's Republic of China, Nasser in Egypt, Castro in Cuba, Perón in Argentina and Nyerere in Tanzania.

You will need to study regimes from at least two of these different regions:

- Africa
- Asia and Oceania
- Americas
- Europe and the Middle East.

2 How you will be assessed

Paper 2

The IB History Diploma can be studied either to Standard or Higher Level. It has three papers in total: Papers 1 and 2 for Standard Level and a further Paper 3 for Higher Level. It also has an internal assessment which all students must do.

- For Paper 1 you need to answer four source-based questions on a prescribed subject. This counts for 20 per cent of your overall marks at Higher Level, or 30 per cent of your overall marks at Standard Level.
- For Paper 2 you need to answer two essay questions on two different topics. This counts for 25 per cent of your overall marks at Higher Level, or 45 per cent of your overall marks at Standard Level.
- For Paper 3 you need to answer three essay questions on two or three sections. This counts for 35 per cent of your overall marks at Higher Level.

For the Internal Assessment you need to carry out a historical investigation. This counts for 20 per cent of your overall marks at Higher Level, or 25 per cent of your overall marks at Standard Level.

Topic 3: Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states is assessed through Paper 2. There are five topics on Paper 2 and you will answer two questions in total, one each from a different topic. Questions for Topic 3 may ask you to discuss the rise and rule of a specific leader of an authoritarian regime, the role of education in maintaining a leader or various leaders in power, to compare and contrast two leaders each from the same governing philosophy or perhaps from two different regions, to assess the importance of an authoritarian regime on women, and so forth.

Examination questions

You should answer only one question out of the six questions you will find on Topic 3: Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states. Your answer will take the form of an essay. These questions are not in any particular order. There will be questions that your teacher has prepared you to answer, but others that you will not be able to address. This is normal and expected. Topic 3 has many authoritarian regimes that may be studied and your teacher has selected various states, covering different regions. This book prepares you to answer questions on Stalin of the Soviet Union, Hitler of Germany, Mao of the People's Republic of China, Nasser of Egypt, Castro of Cuba, Perón of Argentina and Nyerere of Tanzania.

There are different types of questions, as described below.

Questions about a single-party state leader

Your examination will contain questions regarding a single leader. This leader may be named, or the question may allow you to choose one to address.

Example 1

Assess the significance of Stalin's purges in maintaining his authority in the Soviet Union.

Example 2

How did one Left-wing single-party state leader affect education in his country?

Example 3

For what reasons, and with what results, did Mao's policies change the lives of women in the People's Republic of China?

Example 4

Discuss the importance of the military during Perón's rule in Argentina.

Questions about more than one authoritarian leader

Your examination will contain questions regarding more than one leader. Some questions will name the two leaders to be covered, while others allow you to choose the leaders you wish to use to address the question.

Example 1

To what extent did both Stalin and Mao successfully employ nationalism in maintaining their authority in their respective countries?

Example 2

Compare and contrast the economic policies of two leaders of different single-party states, each from a different region.

Example 3

Discuss the importance of the military for both Mao and Nasser.

Example 4

Assess the importance of opposition for two leaders of single-party states.

The appearance of the examination paper

Cover

The cover of the examination paper states the date of the examination and the length of time you have to complete it: 1 hour and 30 minutes. Please note that there are two routes in history. Make sure your paper says Route 2 on it. Instructions are limited and simply state that you:

- should not open it until told to do so
- should answer only two questions, each from a different topic
- should make sure that you understand what the paper means by regions. A map indicates the regions for you.

Topics

Once you are allowed to open your examination paper, you will note that there are five topics, each numbered and titled. Topic 3 obviously comes third and six questions are below this title. Again, the questions are in no particular order, so a question on a more recent authoritarian leader may precede that of a much earlier one.

Questions

You are required to answer only one of the six questions. Make sure you have read through all the questions before starting, selecting the question you know the most about and feel the most comfortable with. It is important to understand that you need to answer the question fully in an essay format. We will discuss more about answering questions at the end of each chapter.

3 About this book

Coverage of course content

This book addresses the key areas listed in the IB History Guide for Route 2: Twentieth-century world history Topic 3: Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states. It has chapters on:

- Stalin's USSR
- Hitler's Nazi Germany

- Mao's China
- Nasser's Egypt
- Castro's Cuba
- Perón's Argentina
- Nyerere's Tanzania.

These chapters start with an introduction outlining the key questions they address. They are then divided into a series of sections and topics covering the course content. Throughout the chapters you will find the following features to aid your study of the course content.

Key and leading questions

Each section heading in the chapter has a related key question which gives a focus to your reading and understanding of the section. These are also listed in the chapter introduction. You should be able to answer the questions after completing the relevant section.

Topics within the sections have leading questions which are designed to help you focus on the key points within a topic and give you more practice in answering questions.

Key terms

Key terms are the important terms you need to know to gain an understanding of the period. These are emboldened in the text and are defined in the margin the first time they appear in a chapter. They also appear in the glossary at the end of the book.

Sources

Throughout the book are several written and visual sources. Historical sources are important in understanding more fully why specific decisions were taken or on what contemporary writers and politicians based their actions. The sources are accompanied by questions to help you understand them better and which are similar to questions found on Paper 1 examinations.

Key debates

Historians often disagree on historical events and this historical debate is referred to as historiography. Knowledge of historiography is helpful in reaching the upper mark bands when you take your IB History examinations. There are a number of debates throughout the book to develop your understanding of historiography, some of which quote important historians that you may wish to refer to in your examination.

Theory of Knowledge (TOK) questions

It is important to understand that there are strong links between IB History and Theory of Knowledge (TOK) issues. Chapters 2–9 have Theory of Knowledge questions that make this link.

Summary diagrams

At the end of most sections is a summary diagram which gives a visual summary of the content of the section. It is intended as an aid for revision.

Chapter summary

At the end of each of the topic chapters is a short summary of the content of that chapter. This is intended to help you revise and consolidate your knowledge and understanding of the content.

Skills development

At the end of each chapter, there are examination-style questions to practice and suggestions for activities to extend your learning. These activities will include ideas for debate, essays, displays and research.

Chapter 10 gives guidance on how to answer different question types, accompanied by a sample answer and commentary designed to help you focus on specific details.

End of the book

The book concludes with the following sections.

Glossary

All key terms in the book are defined in the glossary.

Further reading

This contains a list of books and websites which may help you with further independent research and presentations. It may also be helpful when further information is required for internal assessments and extended essays in history. You may wish to share the contents of this section with your school or local librarian.

Internal assessment

All IB History diploma students are required to write a historical investigation which is internally assessed. The investigation is an opportunity for you to dig more deeply into a subject that interests you. This gives you a list of possible areas for research.

Authoritarian and single-party states

Throughout the text a number of political terms are frequently used in analysing the character of the regimes and states under consideration. This opening chapter defines those terms and places them in their historical context in relation to the development of the authoritarian and totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century.

You need to consider the following questions throughout this chapter:

- ★ What shades of meaning do political terms have?
- ★ What factors explain the development of authoritarian regimes in the twentieth century?

1 Political terms

► **Key question:** *What shades of meaning do political terms have?*

It is notoriously difficult to attach a precise meaning to political terms. The context in which they are used and the movements to which they are ascribed often differ considerably. The definitions that follow, therefore, are not accurate in any absolute sense. However, they do offer a guide to general meaning and common usage.

Left and Right

The terms Right and Left are not exact political descriptions, but are useful, broad distinctions between movements characterized by conservative or **reactionary** attitudes (Right) and those whose predominant features include a desire for **radical** or revolutionary change (Left). Both 'wings' believe in the power of the central government as the main agency of state action. As political reference points, the terms Left and Right had their origin in the French Revolution of the late eighteenth century when, in the **Estates-General**, revolutionaries sat on the left side of the chamber and conservatives on the right. This helped establish the idea of politics as a Left–Right spectrum.

Despite the lack of exact definition, a number of key differences between Left and Right can be identified (see table on page 8).

What distinctions can be drawn between Left and Right?

KEY TERM

Reactionary Fiercely resistant to change.

Radical Change at the very roots.

Estates-General A French Assembly made up of 'the three orders' – aristocracy, clergy and commons – which gathered in 1789. The assertion by the commons that they alone were the sovereign authority was a critical stage in the development of the French Revolution.

KEY TERM

Socialism Capable of taking many forms, it is essentially concerned with the structuring of society and the economy through government action to meet the needs of the people.

Nazism The National Socialist movement that dominated Germany between 1933 and 1945.

Nationalism A devotion to the interests and culture of one's nation, often leading to the belief that certain nationalities are superior to others.

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the name given to communist Russia and states under its control from 1922, also known as the Soviet Union.

Communism The revolutionary theories advanced by Karl Marx, who interpreted history as class struggle and called upon the working classes to overthrow their oppressors and create a workers' state.

Left typical attitudes	Right typical attitudes
Progressive outlook	Reactionary outlook
Essentially optimistic view of human nature	Essentially pessimistic view of human nature
Belief in equality as a social imperative	Belief that equality is an impossible goal and its pursuit socially disruptive
Rejection of the past	Respect for the past
Belief in the future	Lack of confidence about the future
Belief that history is predetermined	Belief that history is contingent upon the play of events
Sense of alienation from existing society	Sense that existing society represents accumulated, lasting values
Belief that change is essential	Belief that change is destructive
Belief in the perfectibility of society through revolution	Belief that human beings are incapable of social perfectibility
Inspired by ideology	Suspicious of ideology
Lack of realism	Strong sense of realism
Socialist in outlook	Conservative in outlook
Holding a conviction that compromise betrays weakness	Ready to compromise to preserve social stability

Limitations to categorization

One could, of course, challenge such a listing, pointing out, for example, that the regimes of Left and Right have often shared attitudes, and that, in their extreme forms, their methods have been indistinguishable. Interestingly, the extreme Right and Left movements of the twentieth century are now commonly seen by modern scholars as having many overlapping features. Indeed, the more extreme the Right and Left were, the more they resembled each other. This theme is taken up in later chapters.

How imprecise the division between Left and Right is evident in the use of such a key term as **socialism**. Usually thought of as descriptive of Left-wing movements, it has to be remembered that **Nazism**, commonly regarded as the most extreme of Right-wing regimes, was itself a socialist movement. Indeed, the term Nazism is an abbreviation derived from National *Socialism*. Similarly, **nationalism**, often regarded as a characteristic of Right-wing movements, is a feature of all the regimes that you will study. In supposedly Left-wing movements, such as those in the People's Republic of China and the **USSR**, intense nationalism was as much a driving force as it was in Germany in the era of Nazism. Indeed, Stalin and Mao used socialism and **communism** as mechanisms for achieving nationalistic ends.

It is also very unlikely that committed members of the political Left and Right would accept that all, if any, of the tabled categories (see above) applied to

them. Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that many scholars regard the traditional way of referring to the Left and the Right as a dated practice that causes more problems than it solves, their argument being that the labels tend to obscure rather than clarify the movements to which they are ascribed. The terms create an assumption that what is being described falls into one of a set of opposing categories, whereas the emphasis in modern research is on the similarities between movements such as **fascism** and communism.

Yet, notwithstanding these reservations and accepting that the categories do not pretend to be precise, the list offers a workable set of broad definitions and can be used in the following chapters as a check list when examining the features of the regimes under study.

Democracy

In ideal terms, democracy is a representative system in which ultimate authority lies not with the government but with the governed, who express their judgement in regular free elections. Democracy was given its modern definition in Abraham Lincoln's timeless words: 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people'. The paradox is that nearly all regimes across the extremes of Left and Right have described themselves as democratic, asserting that their form of government truly represented the will of the people.

Abraham Lincoln

US President at the time of the American Civil War (1861–65). His words were part of his celebrated address at Gettysburg in which he paid tribute to the honoured dead of both sides, Union and Confederacy, who had fallen in a great battle there.

Nationalism

Nationalism is an intense belief that the nation-state is the highest form of political organization and that it is as members of the nation that individuals derive their true identity and worth. It was the dynamic force of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but it seldom expressed itself in democratic forms. The achievement of statehood by Germany and Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century had been a triumph not of democracy, but of authoritarian, centralized power. Otto von Bismarck, one of the founders of the modern German state in 1871, declared in 1862: 'It is not through speeches and majority decisions that the great questions of the day are decided. It is by iron and blood.'

Otto von Bismarck

As President of Prussia, the strongest of the separate German states, Bismarck conducted a series of aggressive wars which, backed by adroit diplomacy, led to the creation of the state of Germany in 1871.

KEY TERM

Fascism The ultra-nationalist movement that operated in Italy under Mussolini between 1922 and 1943. The term came generally to be used to describe extreme Right-wing regimes and ideas.

← What are the main characteristics of democracy?

← What are the main characteristics of nationalism?

What are the main characteristics of liberalism?

→ Liberalism

Liberalism, a product of the **Enlightenment**, was an influential movement that developed in many countries in Europe in the nineteenth century. It argued for greater freedom of the individual from government control. As a term, it is frequently linked to **liberal-democracy**. Nationalist movements often adopted liberal arguments in support of their claims. However, many of the authoritarian states analysed in this book were a rejection of liberalism. The extreme wings of both the Left and Right condemned liberal-democracy as effete and inefficient. The Left tended to stress economic class as the principal dynamic that shaped history, while the Right regarded the nation as the agency through which society achieved its ultimate destiny. In both cases, the individual was regarded as secondary to the group.

What are the main characteristics of authoritarianism?

→ Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism refers to a governmental system in a given country or region in which the levers of power are exclusively in the hands of a group or an individual whose decisions are not subject to control from below. Although an authoritarian government is not directly answerable to its people, this does not necessarily mean it is unpopular; its authoritarian measures may be approved of by the population, albeit the government does not depend on such approval.

What are the main characteristics of totalitarianism?

→ Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism is an extension and intensifying of authoritarianism. A totalitarian system is necessarily authoritarian, but it goes much further. What distinguishes a system as totalitarian is how it uses its monopoly of power.

KEY TERM

Enlightenment A flowering in the eighteenth century of new political, philosophical and social ideas about the nature of society and the individual. Key elements were the promotion of the rights of the individual and emphasis on the power of applied reason to solve society's problems.

Liberal-democracy Descriptive of states which function according to the principles of individual freedom and equality and operate systems under which governments can be removed at elections.

- In a totalitarian state, individuals are subordinate to the state and personal autonomy is not tolerated.
- Such a regime seeks to control not simply political life, but society in all its features: institutional, economic, moral and personal.
- Its power is exercised pervasively, affecting every person.
- The lives of the population, collectively and as individuals, are subject to the direction of the state which demands complete obedience from its citizens on pain of the direst punishments for those who do not conform.
- Totalitarian systems base their right to absolute control by reference to a basic ideology, which both explains why they hold power and justifies its exercise.
- In their extreme forms, totalitarian systems of both Left and Right regard history as predetermined. Their belief is that societies develop in accordance with iron laws of progress that follow a set pattern to an unavoidable conclusion.

Characteristics of the totalitarian state

The following list is neither a definitive nor an exclusive one, but it does indicate some of the main features evident in most totalitarian regimes:

- 1 Only one political party is allowed to exist.
- 2 Power is exercised by the party leader who controls the party.
- 3 The leader's authority is underpinned by a dominant ideology.
- 4 The leader claims that his authority derives from the immutable laws of historical development.
- 5 The state maintains social and political control through terror.
- 6 The state crushes opposition through control of the media.
- 7 The state exercises central control of the economy.
- 8 The regime uses the armed forces and law enforcement bodies to operate a police state.
- 9 The state uses censorship and propaganda to promote the idea of a faultless leader.
- 10 Religion is either outlawed and persecuted as an affront to state ideology or exploited as another means of controlling the people.
- 11 Independent institutions, such as religious organizations and trade unions, are suppressed.
- 12 The legal system is politicized so that it becomes an instrument of state control.
- 13 The state seeks to reshape culture so that it conforms to state ideology.
- 14 Internal opponents are identified and persecuted.
- 15 An aggressive stance is adopted towards external ideological enemies.

In the two outstanding examples of European totalitarianism, Soviet communism and Nazism, each was inspired by a passionate commitment to an ideology. In the Soviet case, it was Stalin's class concepts that motivated his policies. He saw his prime purpose to be the destruction of all those he deemed to be the class enemies of the Soviet state. In the German case, it was Hitler's notion of race that shaped his policies; he saw it as his destiny to rid Germany of all those he deemed to be racial inferiors.

Problems in analysis

Cultural and linguistic

In analysing authoritarian and single-party systems, what has to be allowed for is the wide difference between cultures. This is particularly important where concepts are concerned. Some words do not easily translate and political concepts sometimes shift their meaning or emphasis. An obvious example is 'democracy'. In a Western liberal sense the word relates to the rights of the individual. In a Russian or Chinese context it refers to the rights of the group. That was why Mao and Stalin could use the word democracy unblushingly to describe the unchallengeable control of their single-party systems. In Western terms a single-party democracy is a contradiction in terms whereas for Julius Nyerere, the Tanzanian leader, the single-party system was the best means of achieving democracy (see pages 295–296).

← **What difficulties may arise when analysing differing authoritarian regimes?**

Preconceptions

A major problem for liberal historians, particularly those in the West, is that they tend to see democracy as the basic form of responsible representative government. Any system that does not accord with that notion is regarded as falling short of an ideal. However, thinkers and leaders from other cultures dismiss this as an example of Western presumption. Western values are not definitive and should not, therefore, be regarded as prescriptive. As Nyerere was concerned to point out, democracy was not an end but a means and there was no absolute value attaching to it. Context and practical considerations, not an abstract notion, should determine what the ideal system was for a particular region. Nyerere, indeed, claimed that the two-party system as it operated in Britain and other Western countries was a barrier to, not a guarantee of, genuinely representative government.

Although all the systems in this book claimed to be revolutionary, not all were so in practice, or in effect. Later chapters will show that a number of them looked back as much as forward:

- Nazism was essentially an appeal to the past, an attempt to restore the traditional *volkisch* values and virtues of German history (see Chapter 3).
- Nyerere declared that the socialism he was adopting as the way forward for the new Tanzanian nation was drawn directly from the collective values of Africa's tribal past (see Chapter 9).
- Castro's personalized form of communism was an expression of his desire to rid Cuba of its colonial inheritance and return his people to a pre-colonial form of national purity (see Chapter 7).
- Nasser worked under the banner of socialism, but his primary aim was to assert the independence of Egypt and lead his nation in a resurgent Arab and African world (see Chapter 6).
- Péron took a similar line in Argentina. His wish was to see his country modernize by basing its growth on the traditional virtues and skills of the Argentinian people (see Chapter 8).

2 The development of authoritarianism and totalitarianism

► **Key question:** *What factors explain the development of authoritarian regimes in the twentieth century?*

This section explains the historical context in which the authoritarian and totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century developed.

The impact of the First World War, 1914–18

Historians suggest that it was no accident that the twentieth century saw a spate of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. The phenomenon was in large part a reaction to the destructive impact of the **First World War** that ended in 1918. Prior to that war, liberalism, a political movement which contained a central belief in human progress, had made considerable strides in Europe. There was a common conviction that the improvement in social conditions and the spread of education, which had followed the recognition by European governments of the need to tackle physical and intellectual deprivation, heralded a time of improvement for the world's peoples. The 1914–18 conflict shattered such dreams. In the face of the appalling devastation of the war, liberals found it difficult to sustain their concept of ordered human progress. For some persuasive radical thinkers, it was a short step from this to a conviction that discipline and control from above were more likely to create order and national well-being than was cumbersome democracy.

Adding weight to this view was the plentiful evidence of the benefits of state authority. Every nation in the First World War had undergone a large and rapid extension of centralized control over politics, society and the economy. It was arguable that without this centralization, no European nation would have survived. The lessons for national regeneration post-war were obvious. In times of crisis, democratic procedures were too inefficient to meet the needs of the state.

Significant groups, who were to become influential, concluded that social and political ideals were impossible to achieve by moderate, evolutionary means. Progress did not occur spontaneously, ran the argument; it had to be imposed. Strong governments had to be prepared to make the sweeping, even violent, changes that were needed.

Such views were particularly strongly held among certain sections in the relatively new states of Germany and Italy where democratic traditions were weak or non-existent. Scorning what they regarded as the ineffectual methods of democracy, certain groups of nationalists in those countries

← **What was the effect of the First World War in the development of authoritarian regimes?**

KEY TERM

First World War (1914–18) Fought mainly between the Central Powers (Germany and Austria–Hungary) and the Entente Powers (France, Britain and Russia).

KEY TERM

Allies In the First World War, principally France, Britain, Russia (1914–17), Italy (1915–18) and the USA (1917–18).

Central Powers In the First World War, principally Germany, Austria–Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.

Tsarist Russia A centuries-old autocratic state, lacking genuinely democratic institutions.

Self-determination The right of peoples to be free of domination by an outside power and to form a nation and government of their own choice.

Imperial powers Those countries that had developed as colony-owning empires; principally, Russia, Britain, France, Germany, Austria–Hungary and Turkey.

Great Depression The international economic recession that started in the USA in 1929 and led to a rapid fall in demand for manufactured goods in all industrial countries, a situation which created high levels of unemployment in the 1930s.

→ **How did the economic situation in the inter-war years contribute to the development of authoritarian regimes?**

developed an extreme form of anti-democratic politics, believing that only by such means could their nation achieve its destiny. Nowhere was this more evident than in Germany where a significant number of the population had a searing sense of bitterness at their defeat in the First World War in 1918. It was such bitterness that the National Socialists, or Nazis, relied upon, directing their attack at the German government, which, they asserted, had cravenly accepted a humiliating, dictated peace.

The triumph of democracy?

What sometimes confuses the analysis is that the First World War was still regarded by some as a triumph of democracy since this is what the victorious **Allies** claimed they represented. But that was a late development. At the start of the war in 1914, democracy had not been one of the Allies' declared aims; their only certain objective had been to defeat the enemy, the **Central Powers**. Moreover, the idea of one of the Allies, **Tsarist Russia**, as a champion of democracy defied common sense. It is true that as the war dragged on Britain and France claimed to be fighting for civilized values against German decadence, but what eventually gave the Allies their democratic image was the entry of the USA into the war in 1917 with the express purpose, as stated by its President Woodrow Wilson, 'to make the world safe for democracy'. It was this that enabled the Allies to claim retrospectively that that had been their purpose all along.

Self-determination

The peace settlement that followed the military collapse of the Central Powers was supposedly based on the principle of **self-determination**. Yet, powerful though self-determination was as an idea, it did not always imply democracy since it was applied in a very selective way. Although it was meant to recognize legitimate national aspirations, the principle was not extended to the defeated nations. Indeed, it was used as a justification for dismembering the German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires and creating new states out of the remnants, a process that left Germany, and other parts of Europe, with a deep sense of grievance. Self-determination was also regarded with grave suspicion by the **imperial powers** that survived the war, Britain and France: they saw the principle as a threat to their continued hold over their colonies.

The impact of economic crises

Anti-democratic arguments might have had less influence had there been a general recovery from the economic effects of the First World War, but, apart from occasional, short-lived economic booms in the 1920s, the post-war trend was unremittingly grim, reaching its nadir in the **Great Depression** of the 1930s. In the atmosphere of despair and recrimination that the economic hardships created, fragile democratic structures collapsed. Nor should it be thought that the dictatorships of the period were always imposed on an unwilling people. The success of Italian fascism starting in the 1920s and

German Nazism in the 1930s in taking over the state was related to the genuine popularity of their regimes. The conversion of the middle classes, the traditional supporters of **constitutionalism**, to the support of the extreme Right was a clear sign that those seeking order and security no longer believed that these could be guaranteed by the processes of democracy.

Inter-war dictatorships

Between 1919 and 1939, when the **Second World War** began in Europe, many states came under the control of regimes which abandoned any pretensions to liberal-democracy. Russia (the Soviet Union after 1922), Italy, Turkey, Germany, Spain and Portugal, as well as many central and eastern European states, adopted dictatorships or became increasingly authoritarian and placed crippling limits on democratic institutions.

- In Russia, the **Bolshevik** (Communist) Party, led by Vladimir Lenin, had seized power in 1917 and imposed what it called the dictatorship of the **proletariat** (see page 18).
- In Italy, Benito Mussolini led his **Fascist** Party to power in 1922 and ruled as dictator until being overthrown in 1943.
- In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), although intent on avoiding the extremes of fascism and communism, attempted to turn his country into a modern **secular state** and resorted to increasingly dictatorial methods of control to do so.
- In Germany, Adolf Hitler's National Socialist German Workers' Party came to power in 1933.
- In Spain, Francisco Franco, having led his ultra-nationalist Falangist Party to victory in a civil war that ended in 1939, ruled as a Right-wing dictator until his death in 1975.
- In Portugal, António Salazar, as prime minister and then president, led his New State Party in a Right-wing dictatorship from 1932 to 1974.

Even where democracy appeared to operate, for example in some western European nations, it was arguable that appearance belied reality. That, indeed, was the charge that Lenin made. He defined liberal-democracy as a charade used by the propertied classes, who held power in such countries as Britain and France, to justify and perpetuate their rule over the people. He dismissed the supposedly free elections in those countries as shams which left the **bourgeois** power structure untouched.

Outside Europe during the same period, it was a very similar story of growing authoritarianism.

- The tendency towards dictatorship was clearly evident in Central and South America whose constitutional traditions were even weaker than in Europe.
- The areas of Africa sufficiently free of colonial control to shape their own systems exhibited a similar trend. Tribal traditions and cultures were essentially authoritarian.

Which countries became dictatorships in the inter-war years?

KEY TERM

Constitutionalism The belief that ordered progress is best achieved by keeping to established laws and precedents.

Second World War, 1939–45 Fought between the Allies (principally Britain, China, USSR and the USA) and the Axis powers (principally Germany, Italy and Japan).

Bolshevik The dominant branch of Russian communism, led by V.I. Lenin, which claimed to be the true interpreter of Marxism and which took power in Russia in the October Revolution of 1917.

Proletariat The revolutionary working class destined, in Marxist revolutionary theory, to achieve ultimate triumph in the class war.

Fascist In strict terms, the word applies specifically to Italy's ultra-nationalist Fascist Party whose symbol was a bundle of rods (*fasces* in Latin), representing power and authority, but the term became used generally to describe Right-wing regimes of the twentieth century.

KEY TERM

Secular state A nation that does not allow religion a defining or central place in its structure.

Bourgeois The Marxist term for the controlling middle class who suppress the workers.

- Imperialist Japan developed along authoritarian lines matching those of fascist Europe. **Emperor Hirohito** came under the controlling influence of an aggressive war party intent on shaping Japan into a military power capable of colonizing Asia by force.
- In China, the Guomindang (**GMD**) government was democratic in theory, but authoritarian in practice. **Sun Yatsen** declared 'On no account must we give more liberty to the individual. Let us secure liberty instead for the nation.' Under his successor Chiang Kai-shek, the Guomindang government became markedly authoritarian.
- There were even critics in the USA who argued that Roosevelt's **New Deal** was undemocratic since the state-directed methods it used smacked of either socialism or fascism.

What effect did the Second World War have on the acceptance of authoritarianism?

→ The impact of the Second World War, 1939–45

At the end of the Second World War, there was an understandable sympathy for the idea of the **collective state**. It had been through collective, even regimented, effort that the Allies had emerged victorious. In response to the national crisis that war brought, many countries resorted to authoritarian methods. Indeed, even in the supposedly liberal democracies, some form of authoritarianism had been the norm for all the states involved in the Second World War. Britain had introduced restrictions such as internment and **DORA**. The USA had also interned those of its citizens, such as Japanese-Americans, whom it regarded as a potential threat to the war effort. The great majority of the population accepted these restrictions as the price to be paid for national security and perhaps survival. These were not totalitarian states, since the measures were meant to be temporary, not permanent. Popular support is not required for a state to be authoritarian since central government can impose itself on the popular will, but it is possible for a state to be popular and authoritarian.

The acceptance of authoritarianism extended in some instances into the acceptance of totalitarianism. It was evident that one of the Allies, Stalin's USSR, did not conform to liberal-democratic standards, but such was the desire of the other Allies to win the war that this was ignored. The prodigious effort made by the Soviet people in defeating Germany was so impressive that many admirers in the Western countries concluded that without the totalitarian methods used by Stalin to direct the war effort, the USSR would have been defeated.

The Second World War also had a pronounced influence outside Europe in promoting centralized control:

- North Korea, freed from Japan's control in 1945, adopted a particularly extreme form of communism under its leader Kim Il-Sung.
- In China, in 1949, Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party defeated their Nationalist (Guomindang) opponents and began to create a communist People's Republic of China under his leadership.

KEY TERM

Emperor Hirohito Reigned in Japan 1926–89, considered by some historians to be the main force behind Japanese imperialism.

GMD The Guomindang (People's Party), also known as the Nationalists, a revolutionary party formed in 1905 under Sun Yatsen.

Sun Yatsen (1866–1925) The Chinese revolutionary who founded the Chinese Republic in the early twentieth century.

New Deal A set of programmes introduced by US President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration to tackle the effects of the Great Depression in the 1930s.

Collective state The nation conceived of as a single social unit rather than a set of individuals.

- Although the colonial powers in south-east Asia, principally France, Britain and the Netherlands, had eventually won the war against Japan, the struggle had exposed their military weakness and encouraged the growth of strong nationalist movements which demanded independence. The movements were invariably authoritarian in outlook and methods. A notable example was Indonesia where Sukarno led his independence movement to power in 1949 and for the next seventeen years governed the country according to the principle of 'Guided Democracy', a euphemism for dictatorial control which involved the destruction of all forms of opposition.

 **KEY TERM**

DORA The British Defence of the Realm Act, which restricted civil freedoms by suspending traditional legal procedures and granted the government a range of powers over its citizens, including direction of labour.

Conclusion

The history of the twentieth century suggests that the military, social and economic uncertainties of the period were judged at critical times to require an all-powerful state to combat them. Internal and external enemies could be overcome only through effective government. Dictatorship, aided by modern technology, flourished in such an atmosphere. The absence or weakness of the traditions of democracy, the damaging of the liberal ethic by the two world wars, the mutual fears of Right and Left, the collapse of economic security, the ideal of the nation state: these factors combined to prepare or consolidate the ground for authoritarian regimes.

Of the seven authoritarian or totalitarian states examined in this book, the first chronologically were European states: the Soviet Union and Germany. Although the regimes that developed elsewhere did not directly copy them, they did, in a sense, create models for the development of modern dictatorships. They certainly provide the observer with a valuable set of reference points. Of particular note is that the two regimes theoretically represented the opposite ends of the Left–Right political spectrum. When the regimes studied or referred to in this text are placed on that spectrum, the following pattern emerges.

← **Why did dictatorships flourish in the twentieth century?**

Extreme	Left	vs.	Right	Extreme
	Stalin's USSR			Hitler's Germany
	Castro's Cuba			
	Nasser's Egypt			Hirohito's Japan
				Mussolini's Italy
				Franco's Spain
	Mao's China			Salazar's Portugal
	Kim Il Sung's North Korea			Perón's Argentina
	Nyerere's Tanzania			Atatürk's Turkey

As a visual illustration, it suffers from the weakness of suggesting fixed placement, but it does provide a set of references which can then be debated as to their accuracy once you have studied your chosen regimes from the following chapters.

Cuba under Fidel Castro, 1959–2006

In 1959, Cuban revolutionary Fidel Castro led a small band of rebels to victory over the dictator Fulgencio Batista. From that date on, Castro was the ruler of the sugar island of Cuba until his retirement in 2006, establishing one of the twentieth-century's longest periods of unbroken political control. During that near half-century, he created a regime which his supporters hailed as a great liberating movement and his opponents condemned as a ruthless tyranny. Against the backdrop of the Cold War, Castro followed policies that both alienated the USA and won the support of the Soviet Union. The ending of the Cold War in the early 1990s raised the question as to whether, now that Cuba was internationally isolated, the system that Castro had created could survive.

You need to consider the following questions throughout this chapter:

- ★ What circumstances favoured the rise of Castro?
- ★ How did Castro impose his authority on Cuba?
- ★ What impact did Castro's rule have on the lives of the Cuban people?
- ★ Did Castro have an ideology?

1 Castro's rise to power

▶ **Key question:** *What circumstances favoured the rise of Castro?*

Why were conditions so unstable in Cuba in Castro's formative years?

→ Cuba under Batista

In the middle of the twentieth century, Cuba, a large Caribbean island 90 miles (145 km) from the US mainland, was one of the richest countries in **Latin America**. Its weakness was that its wealth was largely dependent on one home-grown crop – sugar – which accounted for three-fifths of the workforce and one-quarter of all the island's exports. Without sugar there was no Cuban economy. The USA, Cuba's largest and most powerful neighbour, was the main purchaser of the crop, which meant that the USA had a hold on the Cuban economy. When relations between Cuba and the USA were amicable, the islanders had a guaranteed buyer and a source of income to pay for needed imports. However, if relations became strained, it was not easy for Cuba to find a comparable market elsewhere should the USA cease or significantly cut its purchases.

KEY TERM

Latin America South American countries which historically had been settled or controlled by Spain or Portugal.

Cuba's relations with the USA

The USA's influence was not limited to economic matters. Developments around the beginning of the century had also given the USA a strong political influence. In the Spanish–American War of 1898, the United States had wrested control of Cuba from Spain and subsequently granted Cuba its independence. However, independence came at a price. Under **the Platt Amendments** of 1901 and 1903, the Cuban government had to accept the following terms:

- Cuba could not enter into an agreement with a third power.
- The United States had the right to intervene militarily in Cuba.
- Guantanamo Bay on the eastern tip of Cuba was leased to the United States.

Given Cuban subordination to the USA, it followed that all national movements seeking Cuba's complete independence regarded the breaking of US dominance as a necessary first step. However, this political aim had to take second place to Cuba's economic needs. Cuban governments could not afford to antagonize the island's main trading partner. This was the lesson learned by Fulgencio Batista, Cuba's president from 1952 to 1959.

Batista's regime, 1952–59

Batista had begun his political career as a dedicated defender of Cuban rights against the USA. Head of the Cuban army, he had held power legitimately as president in the early 1940s, during which time he had adopted enlightened social and economic policies to limit the privileges of the landowners and reduce poverty. But, after losing office, he had gone to live for some time in the USA. He returned to Cuba in 1952 and, rather than wait to be legally re-elected, seized power in a military coup. He then proceeded to reverse his earlier policies by embarking on repressive measures aimed at gaining the support of the island's privileged elites, such as the owners of the large sugar plantations, most of whom had strong links with business interests in the USA. Corruption, which had long been a feature of Cuba's government and in which Batista was personally involved, worsened.

It was in this context that the contacts Batista had made both officially with US government representatives and covertly with the American **mafia** during his years in the USA proved important. In return for dollars for the regime, Batista allowed corruption to flourish. One aspect of this was that during Batista's seven-year presidency Cuba, especially the capital Havana, became a playground for rich Americans who crossed from Florida. The Americans brought plentiful dollars to Cuba but they also brought vice. Drugs, prostitution and racketeering flourished. It was two-way traffic. The common practice was for wealthy Cubans to visit the USA for long periods and to send their children to be educated there. They copied American ways and fashions and in doing so tended to detach themselves even further from their poorer Cuban compatriots.

Hugh Thomas, a celebrated British authority on Cuba, described the corrupting effect of Batista's regime: 'Havana was a paradise if one was rich,

KEY TERM

The Platt Amendments

Named after Senator Orville Platt, who introduced them into the US Congress in 1901, the amendments became the basis of what was, in effect, a binding treaty between Cuba and the USA.

Mafia An underworld crime syndicate, particularly strong in Florida.

liked easy women, rum drinks and flashy nightclubs and casinos. The ruling class was predominantly white and of Spanish extraction, the poor underclass was mostly black with African roots. The disparity in wealth was shocking. During his campaign for the US presidency in 1960, John F. Kennedy declared that Batista had 'turned Democratic Cuba into a complete police state – destroying every individual liberty'.

Opposition to Batista

Batista's policies after 1952 offended his former Cuban political allies who saw him as a turncoat who had sold out to the USA for financial benefit. He then gained a reputation as a fierce dictator as his rule became increasingly coercive. The reaction to all this was that a number of opposition groups formed which, whatever their differences, were united in opposition to Batista. These included:

- student organizations
- rural agricultural workers
- the Communist Party.

Yet, despite the severity of his rule and the growth of opposition to it, Batista had initially been able to draw on three main sources of support:

- the army
- the **labour unions**
- the USA.

However, over time the support from these groups lessened. Rivalry and corruption within the armed services weakened morale and Batista could no longer rely on their loyalty. Although he claimed an affinity with ordinary Cubans, his popularity waned as the harshness of his regime went unchecked. The labour unions continued to back him, but since large numbers of workers did not belong to unions, this was of diminishing help to him as industrial troubles spread. Particularly damaging to Batista was his loss of favour with important sections of opinion in the USA. After 1952, anti-government dissidents had fled to the United States where their denunciations of government corruption in Cuba influenced some members of **Congress** to turn against Batista's regime.

KEY TERM

Labour unions Organized bodies representing such groups as the sugar and tobacco workers in Cuba.

Congress The US parliament, made up of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Dominican Republic The Dominican Republic in the Caribbean had been led for two decades up to 1952 by Trujillo, who gained a fearsome name for the ferocity with which he suppressed political opposition.

How did Castro seek to undermine Batista's regime?

→ Fidel Castro's challenge

The deep unrest caused by the increasing repression and corruption of Batista's regime created growing opposition. Prominent among those prepared to challenge Batista was Fidel Castro.

Castro's early politics

Castro had been born in 1927, the illegitimate son of a farmer of Spanish stock, who had become a relatively wealthy sugar plantation owner. Fidel had the conventional education for boys of his class, attending a Catholic school. From the first, he seemed naturally rebellious, going as far on one occasion as to champion the plantation workers when they went on strike against his father. At Havana University, where he studied law, his

organizing of demonstrations and protests on behalf of underpaid workers cemented his reputation as an anti-establishment troublemaker.

In 1947, Castro left Cuba for the first time to join in what proved to be a badly mismanaged attempt to bring down Rafael Trujillo, the ruler of the **Dominican Republic**. A year later, Castro involved himself in equally unsuccessful risings in **Columbia**. Back in Cuba, Castro practised as a lawyer for a time, pointedly choosing to represent the poorest clients from whom he took no fee. He said that it was his experience working with such people that opened his eyes fully to the social and economic inequalities blighting Cuba. He was also angered by the evident grip that US business interests exerted on the Cuban economy. Acknowledging that he was a socialist, though not yet a communist, Castro joined the **Partido Ortodoxo** in the late 1940s.

By the early 1950s, Castro had begun to consider standing for election to the Cuban Congress. However, that avenue was rapidly closed to him by a dramatic turn of events. In 1952, Batista destroyed the constitution by seizing power in a military-backed coup and appointing himself a presidential dictator. The only way Castro could now operate was as an anti-Batista rebel. His initial hope was that the rebellion he contemplated would ‘unite all the different forces against Batista’.

KEY TERM

Columbia One of the most northerly of the South American countries, the Colombian Republic underwent a period of bloody political conflict in the 1940s and 1950s, known as ‘the Violence’.

Partido Ortodoxo Literally ‘Orthodox Party’, better translated as ‘People’s Party’.

Study Source A and, after reading pages 208–12, identify the key areas associated with Castro’s rise to power.

SOURCE A

Map of Cuba in 1962.



Why was the Moncada attack a pivotal event in Castro's rise?

→ The Moncada Barracks attack, 1953

Castro's first major move against Batista was an attempted seizure of the Moncada military barracks outside Santiago, which housed units of Batista's army. His intention was to strike a blow against the new regime before it had consolidated itself and thus rally all the hesitant opponents of Batista to act together against him. It was a bold but unrealistic aim. The number of attackers led by Castro has been variously estimated between 160 and 180. It was a pitifully small contingent, composed largely of poor agricultural and factory workers and containing only two known communists. Lacking weapons and military experience, it was no match for the thousand professional soldiers who defended the barracks. A number of the attackers were shot in the fighting, 48 escaped, and the rest were captured, including Castro and his younger brother Raúl.

Castro's trial and imprisonment

Fidel Castro used his subsequent trial as a platform for defending himself as a committed Cuban patriot fighting for the liberty of the Cuban people. In a memorable phrase, he claimed 'History will absolve me', words he later used as the title of a pamphlet in which he developed the ideas he had expressed in his trial speech. Cuba, he claimed, needed to:

- restore the constitution destroyed by Batista
- redistribute land to the people
- extend education to all the people
- end corruption in politics and in business
- grant 30 per cent of the profits of industrial enterprises to the workers
- cut wasteful government arms expenditure.

Given that he had been the leader of the attack, Castro was treated surprisingly leniently. He had expected to be executed. His survival was due less to his captors' clemency than to Batista's wish not to turn the rebels into martyrs. There had been an angry reaction from Cubans and foreign observers at the ferocity with which those captured in the rising had been treated. Perhaps ten had been killed in the actual engagement but over 60 were summarily shot after the fighting had ceased. To lessen the tension this had caused, Castro, rather than receiving the expected death penalty, was sentenced to a fifteen-year prison term. This was later commuted under an amnesty and he was released in 1955 after serving less than two years.

The 26 July Movement

Although the Moncada attack had proved a hopeless enterprise, Castro regarded it as so expressive of his anti-Batista, pro-Cuba crusade that he adopted the title '26 July' to describe his rebel movement. His early release did not lessen his revolutionary ardour; he simply resolved to be better prepared when he next openly challenged Batista's rule. To that end, he went to Mexico soon after his release and began training a small band of fellow exiles. It was in Mexico that he met for the first time an individual who was

KEY TERM

Marxist Relating to the ideas of Karl Marx, a German revolutionary, who had advanced the notion that human society developed historically as a continuous series of class struggles between those who possessed economic and political power and those who did not. He taught that the culmination of this dialectical process would be the crushing victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

to have a big impact upon his subsequent career, an Argentine doctor and **Marxist** revolutionary, Ernesto (Che) Guevara.

Guevara's influence

Spurning his middle-class upbringing in Argentina, Guevara embraced revolutionary politics. He travelled across a number of Latin American countries, supporting a variety of anti-government organizations and using his medical knowledge to assist rebel militia groups. He became intensely anti-capitalist, asserting that interference by the imperialist USA was the root cause of the poverty and political repression of the peoples of Latin America. This notion was intensified by his experience in **Guatemala** in 1954, where he witnessed what he regarded as the bringing down of the legitimate revolutionary government by a conspiratorial group of reactionary army officers backed and funded by the **CIA**. When Guevara and Castro met in Mexico in late 1955, they quickly became comrades. Guevara's ideas and experience helped to give focus to Castro's broad objective of overthrowing Batista. The points that Guevara impressed upon Castro were that:

- to remove a powerful military government, the basic strategy must be to avoid direct conflict where possible and fight only on advantageous terms
- **guerrilla** warfare would undermine the government's superior strength
- effective guerrilla warfare depended on the rebels making common cause with the ordinary people who would then provide them with supplies, shelter and information
- the USA was basically a malign force that would always back reactionary and repressive governments in any country with which it had dealings.

The *Granma* attack, 1956

Eager to be part of the Cuban revolution against Batista, Guevara joined the **26 July Movement** and returned to Cuba with Castro. The return itself became a piece of folklore. Hoping for simultaneous risings by his followers in other parts of the island, Castro sailed from Mexico intent on taking Santiago, Cuba's second largest city and a key southern port, which would provide a base for challenging Batista in the rest of the island. But things went wrong from the start. The boat the party sailed in, the *Granma*, was overloaded with 82 men and their weapons. The party barely survived their hazardous crossing and when they did finally stagger ashore, they found that government troops were waiting for them. News of the intended landing place had been leaked by informers. Standing no chance against the prepared defenders, Castro's party scattered. All but twelve of them were captured. The group of twelve, which included the two Castro brothers and Guevara, eventually found sanctuary in the hills of the **Sierra Maestra**. This region was to provide their shelter for the next three years as Fidel Castro set about rebuilding the 26 July Movement.

Initially the Cuban Communist Party did not support Castro. As their absence from the Moncada attack had shown, the Communists did not

← How did Guevara's ideas influence Castro as a revolutionary?

KEY TERM

Guatemala A central American state bordered by Mexico and Belize.

CIA Central Intelligence Agency – the USA's espionage and counter-espionage organization.

Guerrilla A style of warfare in which mobile troops, who live off the land, harass the enemy with surprise attacks while avoiding pitched battles.

← What was the importance of the *Granma* attack to Fidel Castro's revolutionary movement?

KEY TERM

26 July Movement

Castro's name for his revolutionary movement, chosen in commemoration of the Moncada Barracks attack, which had taken place on that date in 1953.

Sierra Maestra A mountain range running across the province of Oriente in eastern Cuba.



What image of Castro and Guevara does Source B project?

SOURCE B

Che Guevara (left) and Fidel Castro (right) in 1961 during a popular meeting in Havana.



KEY TERM

Putschista Someone willing to engage in violent struggle but lacking a true understanding of the revolutionary process.

How did Castro use propaganda to promote his revolutionary aims?

→ Castro's early propaganda

An important aspect of Castro's rebuilding of the 26 July Movement was the effective use of propaganda, which he targeted at both Cubans and a wider audience. In a series of interviews with sympathetic US reporters who found their way to his rebel base, Castro projected an image of himself as the patriotic freedom fighter desperately struggling to defend a poor and oppressed people against Batista's corrupt regime. Liberal opinion in the USA and western Europe was impressed not just with the message they heard from him, but also with the passion with which he presented it. Physical appearance also mattered. The photographs that the journalists brought back and which found their way into popular magazines showed

Castro and his 26 July followers as rugged young men, dressed in battle fatigues and living off the land in their forest encampments as they trained themselves to overthrow tyranny and corruption. There was a heroic quality about them that appealed, particularly to the young in the West. Indeed, it was the rebels' youth that was so striking. Until John F. Kennedy became US President in 1960, the world seemed to be run by tired old men who had little to offer the modern world. As young revolutionaries, the photogenic Castro and Guevara made an attractive, romantic contrast with them.

Batista's overthrow

In his interviews, Castro exaggerated the scale of his popular support, but there was no doubt that it was increasing. Between 1957 and 1959, what amounted to a civil war raged in Cuba. Anti-Batista riots and protests, invariably suppressed with great brutality by government forces, were common. While these disturbances were not all in support of the 26 July Movement, Castro obviously benefited from them. As his rebel units grew larger and better armed, Castro launched a series of disruptive guerrilla attacks on Batista's forces, which were becoming weakened by outbreaks of mutiny in the ranks and by disputes among rival officers. Batista attempted to tighten his hold by resorting to fiercer repression, but as the situation deteriorated it became apparent that he lacked the ability to enforce his leadership. In historian Hugh Thomas's description, 'Batista was less himself a torturer than a weak man surrounded by cruel ones he could not control.'

Withdrawal of US support

Aware that Castro was gaining support and Batista losing it, the CIA suggested to the **State Department** that the USA switch its support from Batista to the Cuban opposition groups. Though such views were controversial in the USA, they were influential enough to persuade President Eisenhower's administration to withdraw military supplies at a critical time in 1957 when Batista was trying to deal with a mutiny at a naval station in Cienfuegos. This had the double effect of dispiriting Batista, who desperately needed US backing, and giving hope to the Cuban opposition. Castro was able to intensify his challenge to the regime. In the summer of 1958, he easily resisted a concerted attempt by government forces to entrap him and his followers in Oriente, one of the provinces in the Sierra Maestra. Having been the region where he had been forced to hide to survive, the Sierra Maestra had now become Castro's stronghold from which he was to advance to overthrow Batista.

Castro's autumn offensive

The government's summer campaign proved to be Batista's last effort to keep control. Its failure opened the way for Castro to take the offensive in the autumn. A number of factors combined to doom Batista:

- An election called by Batista in a desperate attempt to give popular backing to his government failed when 75 per cent of the electorate boycotted it.

← What factors led to Batista's overthrow?

KEY TERM

State Department

The USA's foreign ministry.

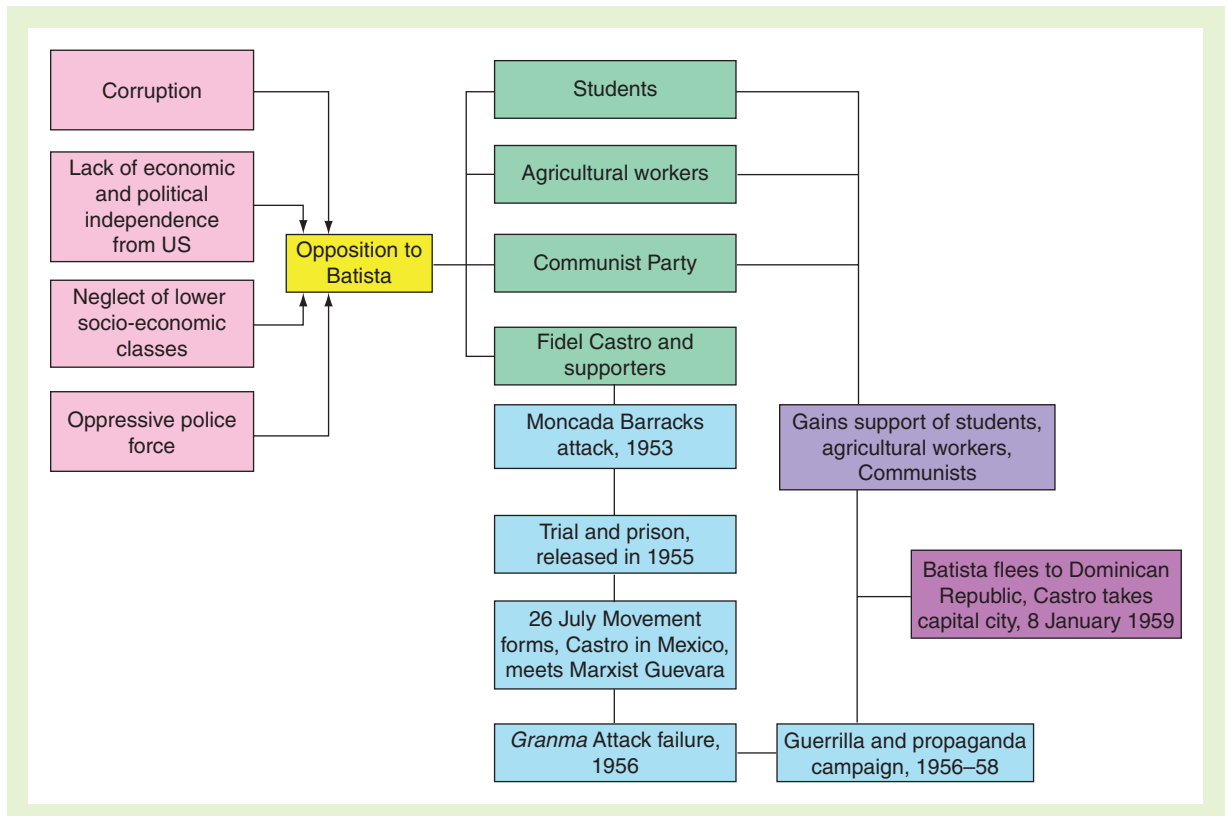
KEY TERM

Sierra Cristal A mountain range in northern Cuba.

Escambray A mountain range in central Cuba.

- Raúl Castro was in effective control of the **Sierra Cristal** region in the south east of the island.
- Che Guevara was dominant in the **Escambray** region of central Cuba.
- Fidel Castro was master of Oriente in the east.
- Now that the 26 July Movement seemed unstoppable, the other opposition groups, which had declined to support it earlier, came over to its side.
- The Catholic Church, to which the great majority of the Cuban people belonged, had begun openly to condemn the savagery of Batista's rule.

The rebels were now free to advance on Havana. By the end of 1958, Batista's position was beyond recovery. Abandoned by the USA, deserted by his senior officers, and faced with a seemingly united opposition, Batista fled to the Dominican Republic on New Year's Day 1959. Guevara's units moved into Havana on that same day. A group of generals made a bid to cling onto power by forming another military government, but their plan was thwarted when the workers supported Castro's call for a general strike in protest. The generals accepted defeat and withdrew. On 8 January, Fidel Castro entered Havana to a rapturous reception from its people. He had achieved a revolution.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Castro's rise to power

2 Castro's establishment of an authoritarian state

▶ **Key question:** How did Castro impose his authority on Cuba?

All the Cuban revolutions prior to Castro's had begun with great optimism, only for them subsequently to founder. Determined to avoid similar failure, Castro judged that no matter how high his ambitions for Cuba he could achieve them only if he had complete, controlling power.

Castro's consolidation of power

Castro made a number of key moves to consolidate his position at home:

- A Fundamental Law of the Republic decreed that authority now rested in a **Council of Ministers**, led by Castro as Prime Minister.
- Press freedom was severely restricted.
- The University of Havana lost its autonomy and came under government control.
- Public **show trials** were held of ministers, officials and previous supporters of Batista. Many were subsequently executed.
- The Communist Party was invited to join the 26 July Movement in government by providing officials from its ranks.
- Huber Matos, a key military figure in the 26 July Movement but a strong anti-communist, was removed and imprisoned for treason.
- The moderate leaders of the labour unions were removed and replaced by pro-Castro communists.

Relations with the USA

In seeking to consolidate his power after the revolution, Castro knew that relations with the USA were the biggest problem. Anticipating that there might be a breakdown, he had already begun moving to the Left (see page 7) at the time he took power. That was why he drew closer to the Cuban Communist Party, offering them minor posts in government. There was also a practical reason. The 26 July Movement which he had led to victory lacked the trained officials necessary for running the government in the new Cuba. The flight of the majority of the managers and officials who had worked for the Batista regime left large administrative gaps. To help fill these, Castro turned to the communist **cadres** from whose ranks officials could be drawn.

Cuban–US problems

Had it been only a matter of politics, some form of accommodation might have been possible between Castro and the USA. Initially, his revolutionary government had American backing. At the time of his toppling of the Batista regime in 1959, Castro described himself as a 'humanist' rather than a

How did Castro first seek to consolidate his power?

KEY TERM

Council of Ministers A governing Cabinet.

Show trials Special public court hearings, meant as propaganda exercises, in which the accused were paraded as enemies of the people.

Why was the issue of Cuba's relations with the USA so important to Castro's consolidation of power?

KEY TERM

Cadres Dedicated Communist Party workers trained to take over as officials in the event of a revolution in Cuba.

KEY TERM

Washington A term commonly used to refer to the US government, which is located in that city.

Cold War The period of political and diplomatic tension, 1945–91, between the capitalist USA and its allies and the communist USSR and its allies.

Commercial agreement Signed between the USSR and Cuba in February 1960, according to which the Soviet Union was to buy the bulk of the island's sugar crop in return for selling oil and industrial machinery to Cuba.

Cuban émigrés Anti-Castro elements who had fled the island after the 1959 revolution.

communist, a category **Washington** found acceptable. For a time, indeed, he was something of a hero figure to the US public. The admiration did not last long, however. As a means of uniting the Cuban people, Castro, influenced by Che Guevara, chose to adopt a strong anti-Americanism, asserting that the poverty of Cuba was a direct result of the USA's imperialism. This became the justification for the expulsion or takeover of a large number of US business concerns. By the end of 1960, the refineries and assets of the following oil companies in Cuba had been seized:

- Royal Dutch Shell
- Standard Oil
- Texaco.

Along with this went the takeover of these major foreign companies:

- Coca-Cola
- Moa Bay Nickel Company
- Roebuck
- Sears.

The first response of the USA was to apply diplomatic and financial pressure. When this did not budge Castro, Washington withdrew its diplomatic recognition of the new Cuba. Fearing that they were now dealing with a communist island only 90 miles (145 km) off the Florida state coast, many high-ranking Washington officials turned their thoughts towards armed intervention in Cuba. They were disturbed by the realization that Castro's revolution had become a considerable **Cold War** coup for the USSR. Following the expulsion of US companies from Cuba, the Soviet Union had been quick to sign a **commercial agreement** and to offer diplomatic and economic assistance. The USSR hoped, and the United States feared, that the establishment of a Soviet-backed Marxist state in Cuba would be the prelude to the rapid spread of Soviet-style communism throughout central and Latin America. A US Congressman declared that 'for the first time since 1917 free America has the toad of Communism squatting on her very doorstep'.

The Bay of Pigs, 1961

Early in 1960, Eisenhower authorized a covert CIA programme for using Guatemala as a training base for **Cuban émigrés** in preparation for a future attack on Castro's Cuba. The hope was that this would provoke a popular rising that would topple the regime. A secret mission statement defined the CIA's aims (see Source C).

SOURCE C

Excerpt from a paper prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, 16 March, 1960, quoted in *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution* by Jules R. Benjamin, published by Princeton University Press, USA, 1992, p. 207.

The purpose of the program outlined herein is to bring about the replacement of the Castro regime with one more devoted to the true interests of the Cuban



According to Source C, what is the essential aim of the programme as outlined?

people and more acceptable to the US in such a manner as to avoid any appearance of US intervention. Essentially the method of accomplishing this end will be to induce, support, and so far as possible direct action, both inside and outside of Cuba, by selected groups of Cubans.

The attack was launched in April 1961 soon after Kennedy, the incoming president, who had earlier been a Castro admirer, had given it his approval. It proved a fiasco. The invaders failed to receive the support they had expected from either the local Cubans or, more critically, the USA, and were killed or captured as soon as they landed. Forewarned of the attack, Castro's forces were waiting for them. It was obviously a military disaster for the USA, but an even greater diplomatic and political one. The Soviet Union could barely contain its joy and the young President Kennedy his embarrassment.

A victory parade was held in Havana. *Life*, a popular US magazine, described how 'Havana gleefully noted the wealth of the captured invaders: 100 plantation owners, 67 landlords of apartment houses, 35 factory owners, 112 businessmen, 179 lived off unearned income, and 194 ex-soldiers of Batista.' In a grand gesture of defiance to the USA, Castro announced to the cheering crowds at the parade that Cuba would now become a fully communist state. What he meant by this soon became apparent when elections were declared to be no longer necessary now that Cuba was effectively a one-party state.

Relations with the USSR

Castro's stand against one of the world's superpowers was hugely popular in Cuba but it was fraught with risk. The hard reality was that his adoption of communism had further compromised Cuba's independence and ability to compete commercially. It had already mortgaged its sugar crop to the USSR. Clearly, the USA would no longer be the main purchaser of Cuba's other goods. The only alternative was to sell to the Soviet Union, the only buyer comparable to the USA. The result was that, far from being free to do as it wished, Cuba now became wholly reliant on the other superpower, the USSR.

The Soviet Union was swift to build on the moves it had already made. Within a month of Castro's declaration of Cuba as a communist state, Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet leader, formally promised to defend Cuba against any future aggression by the USA, accompanying his promise with the pronouncement that 'the **Monroe Doctrine** is dead'. Supplies of Soviet arms to Cuba were on their way, in addition to the Soviet Union's advancing of millions of dollars worth of credit and equipment to the island.

The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

Emboldened by Kennedy's embarrassment over Cuba, Khrushchev's USSR took its most provocative step so far in the Cold War. During the 19 months following the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the Soviet Union's increasing arms provision to Cuba culminated in the installation on the island of Soviet nuclear

KEY TERM

Monroe Doctrine A warning given by President Monroe in 1823 that the USA would not allow other powers to colonize or interfere in any part of the Americas, and would regard itself as the protector of the region.

← **What was at stake for Castro and Cuba in the missile crisis?**

missiles with a capability of striking every major state in the USA. Che Guevara led the Cuban negotiations over their positioning. In October 1962, US reconnaissance aircraft brought back photographic evidence of the missiles and their silos in an advanced stage of construction.

The Soviet explanation was that the devices were there to defend Cuba against further foreign intervention but, since this claim followed a previous denial that the USSR had installed any missiles at all in Cuba, it served only to increase US fears. Kennedy announced that a naval blockade of Cuba would operate until the missiles were dismantled and removed. He added that, if any attempt was made to use them against the United States, he would order retaliation in kind. Kennedy backed his ultimatum by putting the United States Air Force (USAF) and the **Polaris** submarine fleet on war alert.

KEY TERM

Polaris A nuclear-armed missile.

Kremlin A commonly used term referring to the Soviet government, which was located in the Kremlin fortress in Moscow, the USSR's capital.

When Khrushchev likened the proximity of Soviet missiles in Cuba to that of US ones in Turkey, Kennedy replied that the US commitment to European defence, which the Turkish bases represented, was in no sense comparable to the Cuban missiles whose only conceivable purpose was to threaten the United States.

The critical decision was Khrushchev's. Would he be prepared to continue at the risk of full-scale nuclear confrontation? The answer came on 28 October, the day when the course of the Soviet vessels would bring them within the exclusion zone imposed by the US navy. From the **Kremlin** came the order to the Soviet ships not to enter the zone. In the following days, a number of contacts were made by letter and telephone between Kennedy and Khrushchev. Subsequently, the Soviet leader let it be known that the Soviet missiles would be removed from Cuba. For its part, the USA undertook to reduce its bases and missiles in Turkey.

The outcome of the crisis

Soon after the crisis had passed, Guevara asserted that had the Cuban leaders been in control of the missiles, they would have used them against the USA. This may have been bravado after the event but it was clear that Castro and Guevara felt betrayed by the Soviet withdrawal. There was no hiding the reality that Castro had been merely an onlooker in the crisis. The drama had been played out between Kennedy and Khrushchev. In an attempt to preserve his status, Castro sought to claim a moral victory. He expressed great pride in the enthusiastic mass response of the Cuban people to his call for them to prepare to defend their island against the expected US invasion. He made adroit use of the missile metaphor to claim a form of parity for Cuba with the superpowers (see Source D, page 217).

SOURCE D

Excerpt from a speech by Castro, November 1962, quoted in *The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro* by Maurice Halperin, published by University of California Press, USA, 1973, p. 199.

The Cuban people is invincible and has a right to maintain its dignity and prestige unsullied! Because we possess long-range moral projectiles that cannot be dismantled and will never be dismantled! And these are our strategic weapons, our defensive strategic weapons, and our most powerful offensive strategic weapons!

According to Source D, what weapons do the Cuban people possess?



Economic policy

The economic policies that Castro adopted were an integral part of his attempt to consolidate his authority. He had inherited a series of economic problems that were not of his making.

← **What did Castro aim to achieve through his economic policies?**

Economic problems

- Cuba's vital sugar industry had suffered significant shrinkage on the world market.
- The sugar refiners had failed to modernize their industry by mechanization and adequate investment. The result was that in 1959 the island was producing only 10 per cent of the world's sugar, compared with 25 per cent twenty years earlier.
- In that same period, US investment in Cuba's sugar production fell from 60 per cent to 35 per cent.
- The decision of most of the industrial managers to leave the island when Batista was overthrown deprived Cuba of crucial expertise and so undermined Castro's plan for reinvigorating the economy.

Castro's economic reforms

To tackle these problems, Castro adopted the following measures:

- Large landowners were deprived of their land and an Institute of Agrarian Reform was created with the main purpose of breaking up the *latifundias* and 'returning the land to the people'.
- The sugar industry, Cuba's major source of revenue, was nationalized.
- Government subsidies were introduced in order to lower the rents and rates paid by the poor.
- State investment was directed into Cuba's infrastructure to improve communications and public services, including communal housing in urban areas.
- Plans to redistribute income and raise workers' wages were introduced.
- To save on expenditure, cuts were made in the imports of food and consumer goods.
- Rationing was introduced to lessen food shortages.

KEY TERM

Latifundias The Cuban landowners' great estates.

Diversification

Castro's original plan had been to diversify the Cuban economy so that it would no longer be wholly dependent on sugar. But by the mid-1960s, he realized that this was unworkable. The attempt to develop different crops that could be marketed as profitably as sugar had proved a failure.

Furthermore, the plan to develop industrial programmes as alternatives to sugar production had not been successful. This was partly a result of the flight of so many managers from Cuba immediately after the revolution; the skilled personnel required for successful diversification were simply not available.

A further reason was the decision Castro had made soon after coming to power to break economic ties with the USA. The move had left Cuba heavily reliant on the Soviet Union for economic survival, as exemplified in the Soviet purchase of the island's annual sugar crop. Cuba did not possess the economic freedom to diversify. The consequence was that, for much of Castro's era, Cuba became a sugar-based, industrially inefficient economy with the only financial backing coming from the Soviet Union.

KEY TERM

Staple Basic crop or commodity on which an economy relies.

Collectivization Depriving the peasants of their land and requiring them to live and work in communes.

Having accepted that the attempt to diversify had been ineffective, Castro tried to go back to sugar as the traditional **staple**. But his earlier actions had created their own problems. Much of the sugar cane had been destroyed or ploughed up in preparing the soil for the new crops, such as cotton or soya bean. In some cases it took up to four years to replant effectively and even then the yields did not match the good years of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Adding to the difficulties was the dilapidated state of the mills and refineries which had been allowed to run down. Nature also played a part, with unusually bad weather contributing to disappointing sugar harvests. The 1960s saw an 8 per cent drop in sugar production across the decade.

The '10 million ton harvest', 1970

The poor agricultural performance did not prevent Castro from launching a scheme intended to sustain the revolutionary momentum that had propelled the 26 July Movement to power. The drive towards his brand of Cuban communism was intensified. Further agrarian reforms resulted in two-thirds of the land coming under government control in the form of state farms. This move towards greater centralization was similar to the **collectivization** programme in Stalin's Russia and Mao's China (see pages 32 and 127). Castro proposed making the 1970 sugar harvest, expected to be abundant, the centre of a great popular rallying. He asked the Cuban people to look beyond selfish material considerations and see the new socialism as a moral movement, where individual advance was meaningful only if it occurred as part of the communal whole. Labelled the '10 million ton harvest' before it had actually been gathered, the 1970 harvest was presented as a symbol of what was achievable through collective endeavour.

In the event, ‘10 million ton harvest’ was a major disappointment, not simply because it fell short of the projected figure by some 2 million tons, but also because the desperate means used to try to make the yield meet its target damaged the soil and the cane, severely reducing the prospects for future harvests:

- The underlying problem was that the migration of land workers to the factories that had occurred under the government’s prompting in the 1960s had removed skilled cane cutters from the sugar plantations.
- Those brought in to gather the harvest lacked the knowledge and technique to perform the task adequately.
- In some areas, corrupt officials distorted the figures in order to suggest that they had achieved better results.

The 1970 harvest came to symbolize the new Cuba, but not in the way Castro had intended. It revealed the economic dislocation and continuing corruption in administration that the revolution was supposed to have eradicated.

The harvest failure was part of a larger problem. If planning was to work, there had to be expert planners, but these were in short supply. There was abundant enthusiasm among the revolutionaries who now ran things, but enthusiasm was not enough. It was not a substitute for managerial skill. The consequence was poor decision-making which stifled rather than encouraged expansion.

Opposition to Castro

The combination of failed economic policies, increasing authoritarianism and a growing sense of disappointment with the way the revolution was working in practice led to the growth of opposition. Those who had regarded Castro’s 26 July Movement as a movement for liberation now began to have doubts.

The worldwide adulation among liberals for the Cuban leaders (see box below) served to make it additionally troubling to the idealists in Cuba when they realized that the admiration felt by outsiders for Castro’s revolution was based on a misunderstanding of the actual situation. Unfulfilled hopes were, therefore, an important element in the formation of opposition. The same idealism that had motivated support for Castro now aroused opposition to him.

KEY TERM

Maoism The identification of Chinese Communism with Mao personally.

Eastern bloc The countries of central and eastern Europe which were dominated by the Soviet Union between the late 1940s and late 1980s.

← **Why did opposition to Castro’s regime develop?**

International icons

Internationally the 1960s had been a period when many people, particularly the young, had begun to challenge the old established governments and the ideas on which they were based. The challenge was not always clearly articulated; it tended to be a protest movement rather than a defined set of objectives, but it had taken its inspiration from such

developments as **Maoism** in China (see page 156) and Castroism in Cuba, which were interpreted as representing a new form of politics liberated from the corrupt capitalism of the West and the rigid communism of the **Eastern bloc**. It was in this atmosphere of youthful rebellion that Castro and Guevara became iconic figures. Posters bearing their words and images became commonplace on Western university campuses.

Disaffected groups

The disaffection was strongest among:

- landowners who had been forced off their land
- industrialists who had had their factories taken over by the state
- peasants who felt aggrieved at having been forced into collectivization
- pro-Americans who had been forced to break their commercial and financial links with the USA
- those badly affected by the failure of Castro's economic diversity programme
- those who were offended by the ineffectiveness with which Castro's government operated
- those who considered that the political constraints and repression imposed by the regime were unjustified by any of the internal or external threats supposedly facing Cuba
- writers and artists whose works were subjected to government censorship
- editors and journalists who objected to the curtailment of their press freedoms
- academics who resented the government's encroachment on university freedoms
- the trade unions, which had lost their independence
- professional bodies and associations, such as those representing businessmen, solicitors and teachers, who were angered at their being brought under state control
- lawyers who chafed at the government's asserting the right to appoint judges, a move that amounted to state control of the judiciary; their objections were voiced by Manuel Urrutia, a judge who had previously opposed the Batista regime and who, despite his re-appointment to the bench by Castro, chose to resign in protest at the new regime's suspension of elections
- those who were dismayed by the way Cuba's revolutionary government became centred in the person of Fidel Castro himself; such personalizing of authority undermined the notion of the 1959 revolution as a movement of the people
- those among Castro's former supporters who were disturbed by his insistence on fighting wars abroad on behalf of liberation movements in such far-off countries as Angola, Zaire (later renamed the Congo) and Ethiopia, as well as closer to home in Latin America; they found his pre-occupation with anti-imperialist campaigns merely drew attention to his failure at home to extend to his own people the rights that Cuban soldiers were fighting and dying for elsewhere
- those who had fled the island because they knew their days of privileged living were over or because they simply felt they could not live in the repressive society Castro was creating
- those in the cultural scene who resented the regime's restrictions on artistic freedom. Often expressed in protest songs, a main target of their complaint was the bureaucracy that had grown up under Castro,

interposing itself between him and the people. A popular representative of this view was the folk singer Silvio Rodríguez who bitterly berated the bureaucrats, describing them as ‘bosses who said one thing and did another ... establishment cowards who were ruining the revolution’.

Émigrés

By 1968, 350,000 Cubans, nearly 5 per cent of the population, had left the island. Most went to the United States where many of them formed cells planning to return to reclaim Cuba by force should the opportunity arise. It was the existence of such *émigrés* abroad and their contacts with disaffected groups remaining in Cuba that gave Castro his justification for imposing surveillance and controls on the people.

Although the opposition groups looked to be a large and formidable array, they were never as serious a threat as appearance suggested. It was only the US-backed *émigrés* who represented real resistance, and when they did openly challenge Castro, as at the Bay of Pigs, they were decisively beaten.

Opposition weaknesses

- Opposition was never a united, organized body and the disaffected groups were unable to concert their efforts, even had they ever seriously planned to challenge Castro.
- Castro’s status as the embodiment of Cuban aspirations meant that opposition to him seemed unpatriotic and so rarely gathered popular support.
- The firmness with which Castro dealt with challenges rendered it a hazardous venture to try to oppose him.
- Cuba’s close-knit society made it easy to monitor opposition movements through eavesdropping and surveillance. The **DGI**, an organization which operated under Fidel Castro’s direct control, was a highly effective means of detecting his enemies in Cuba and outside.

Assassination attempts

Castro was a leader who excited either intense affection for the way he attempted to elevate the poor and the dispossessed, or profound dislike for the way he was prepared to destroy rights and liberties. One of Castro’s long-term bodyguards, Fabian Escalante, claimed to have counted 638 assassination attempts on the man he was guarding. Allowing for the likely exaggeration, since so many failures would reflect well on Escalante, the number suggests the danger Castro was constantly in and the degree of hatred towards him. He once joked that, if surviving assassination attempts were an Olympic event, he would be a multi-gold-medal winner. Unsurprisingly, the CIA was thought to have been behind most of the attempts.

Castro’s treatment of opposition

Initially Castro had made little effort to stop people leaving; if they did not want Cuba, he said, Cuba did not want them. He had deliberately encouraged criminals, the insane and anti-social types to go. (US refugee

KEY TERM

DGI Dirección General de Inteligencia (General Directorate of Intelligence) – an internal security agency, concerned with enforcing conformity within Cuba. It was especially active as an anti-US spy network.

agencies in Florida complained of Castro's dumping his unwanted population on the USA.) Subsequently, however, Castro grew concerned that Cuba was losing too many of the skilled personnel it needed. Regulations were introduced forbidding Cubans to leave without acceptable reason. The restriction added to the feeling that Cuba was a closed, authoritarian society.

Occasionally, however, in order to reduce political tension, Castro would allow large numbers of Cubans to leave. One such moment occurred in 1980 when 10,000 people, reacting against food rationing, besieged Cuba's Peruvian embassy appealing for asylum. But Castro always accompanied such occasions with vast propaganda displays of support for himself and the regime. His intention was to show that the overwhelming mass of the population backed the revolution, contrasting with the relatively tiny number of selfish individuals who refused to stay and continue the struggle to achieve Cuba's destiny. 'Let them depart in shame' was his dismissive reference.

How did Castro modify his style of governing?

→ Changes in Castro's style of government, 1970–90

No longer able to turn for advice to Che Guevara, who had left Cuba in 1965 and was killed in Bolivia two years later, Castro had hard decisions to make. Conscious of the limited economic gains the revolution had made in its first decade and of the opposition that had developed in reaction to the economic measures, Castro responded by increasing political repression. But he also took major steps to adjust the organization of the government. Admitting that the failed 1970 harvest programme had revealed the limitations of the previous approach, he decided on a policy of depersonalizing the revolution. This did not mean he gave up power; he still retained ultimate authority, but he chose to delegate more while at the same time spreading the base of government. His response to criticism of the growth of bureaucracy was not to cut bureaucracy but to make it function more efficiently.

The Cuban Constitution, 1975

To give greater formal authority to the system which had been created since the 1959 revolution, a new constitution was adopted. Its most prominent clauses stated that:

- Fidel Castro, as First Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party and President of the Council of Ministers, was head of government
- Cuba was a socialist state, with the Communist Party as the only recognized political group
- local assemblies, drawn from members of the Communist Party, were to provide delegates for the National Assembly, an elected body of 600 members
- the Council of Ministers was to be drawn from the National Assembly.

Political and administrative changes

Under the terms of the new constitution, a number of important administrative and political changes were introduced:

- Ministers had greater freedom to act on their own initiative.
- Clearer lines of responsibility were drawn between departments and services.
- The police force was made part of the armed services.
- The 26 July Movement and the Communist Party were merged as one party.
- The legal system was streamlined to make court procedures simpler.
- While not given full independence, the trade unions were entitled to sit on tribunals concerned with workers' rights and to make recommendations regarding economic planning.

Rectification

Castro was sincere in his wish to broaden the base of his authority and to make his personal role in government less obviously dominant. However, it was clear that, whatever the adjustments he allowed, the reins of power remained firmly in his hands. He also knew that the political and administrative alterations would be mere tinkering unless they were accompanied by genuinely productive economic changes. It was to that end that the government under him initiated what became known as *rectification*, an approach intended to combine revolutionary idealism with hard practical realism. It was meant to apply especially to the economy.

- To enable Cuba to keep pace with modern technology, computers were introduced into factories and offices.
- Incentives were reintroduced into the workplace. Productive workers and managers were to be rewarded with pay increases and bonuses.
- Studies were conducted to make work practices more productive.
- A quota system was introduced, laying down targets to be achieved in designated areas of production.
- Priority in the supplies of materials and labour was to be given to areas and plants where the evidence suggested they would be most productively used.

Effects of rectification

Rectification as an economic programme had mixed results:

- Between 1971 and 1976, Cuba's **GNP** grew each year by 10 per cent, which compared favourably with less than 4 per cent annually in the preceding five years.
- However, in the following half decade, 1976–81, the growth figure fell back to 4 per cent annually.
- Under the drive for efficiency, workers with higher skill levels received bonuses, but the less skilled remained on basic or decreased wages and were obliged to move to other jobs or locations.

KEY TERM

Rectification A revitalizing of the Cuban revolution by the correction of past errors.

GNP Gross National Product, the annual total value of goods and services produced by a country at home, added to the profits from its export trade.

Austerity

The economic decline in the late 1970s led Castro's government to reappraise its policies for the 1980s. A major difficulty was that there was little room for manoeuvre commercially, a result both of Cuba's dependence on the Soviet Union and of the US embargo applied to Cuban trade since 1962. By the early 1980s, Cuba was in a predicament:

- The US trade embargo restricted the outlets for Cuban products to a limited number of countries, which resulted in Cuba's trade balance always being in deficit.
- Since sugar was its main export, Cuba was particularly susceptible to adverse changes in world sugar prices. This increased Cuba's need for the Soviet Union to continue to buy the bulk of its sugar crop at a fixed price.

SOURCE E

Castro speaks to thousands of Cubans on the Plaza de la Revolución in Havana, 1968.



What information about Castro does Source E provide?

- Practically all Cuba's oil purchases were from the USSR.
- Cuba was in debt to the USSR by some 7 billion dollars.
- It owed a further 3.5 billion dollars to international banks.

Castro's response was to call for more austerity. Cubans had to make sacrifices for the national good. He repeated his familiar 'moral' appeal to the people, urging them to consume less, which would reduce the need for expensive imports, and to work for lower pay or for no financial return at all. He claimed that the need for this arose from the plain fact that Cuba had a surplus of labour. Some of this could be soaked up by increasing the size of the army and by encouraging young revolutionaries to go abroad, but the basic answer lay in the Cuban people settling for less in material terms.

Although a declared communist, Castro was not an orthodox Marxist. In 1974, he modified Marx's maxim 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' to read, 'each Cuban should receive according to the work effort he applies'. His desire to improve the conditions of Cuba's poor was genuine but he believed the improvement had to be achieved not by government handouts but by individual and communal effort. Hence the severity with which slackers and saboteurs were treated by the regime.

The Special Period – Cuba after 1991

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a series of resistance movements brought down the communist regimes in all the Eastern bloc countries. The climax came in 1991 with the collapse of the communist government in the USSR itself. Having been heavily dependent on Soviet assistance since 1959, Castro now had a major problem. The fall of the Eastern bloc and the disintegration of the USSR left communism a broken system. Castro's adherence to the Soviet Union was now his handicap, not his safeguard. The new Russia that emerged from the old USSR maintained contacts, but felt no obligation to honour the Cuban–Soviet agreements. Castro could no longer rely on the purchase of his sugar or the financial subventions he had hitherto enjoyed.

The impact on Cuba of the USSR's collapse

The consequence was increasing strain in the Cuban economy as it sought to adjust itself to the new situation. This era of hardship was dubbed 'the Special Period', its particular features being:

- Cuban income dropped by nearly 50 per cent between 1989 and 1992.
- In that same period, Cuba's annual supply of oil from Russia dropped from 13 million tons to under 2 million.
- In a desperate bid to save energy, power supplies to homes and factories were cut and there was a return to horse-drawn vehicles and bicycles as the main means of transport.

← Why did the collapse of communism in the USSR prove so significant for Castro's Cuba?

KEY TERM

Subsidiary companies

Businesses that operate separately in particular areas, often under a different name, but ultimately under the control of a parent company.

Marxism Relating to the ideas of Karl Marx, a German revolutionary, who had advanced the notion that human society developed historically as a continuous series of class struggles between those who possessed economic and political power and those who did not. He taught that the culmination of this dialectical process would be the crushing victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

Varela Project A Catholic organization calling for political and religious freedom in Cuba.

- The fuel shortage seriously handicapped the production of nickel, one of Cuba's main exports after sugar and tobacco; output fell from 47,000 tons to 29,000 between 1990 and 1994.
- Cuban commerce was further damaged by the USA's extension of its trade embargo to include US **subsidiary companies** operating in other countries.
- Strict rationing was introduced to cope with food shortages and people were discouraged from eating meat; locally grown rice, beans and fruit became the standard fare.

Castro's response

Faced with the collapse of communism in Europe, Castro was quick to assert that Cuba's revolutionary aims remained unaltered. This was where his consistent refusal to embrace orthodox **Marxism** stood him in good stead. His earlier insistence that his communism was a Cuban creation born of Cuban conditions was a reassertion of his right not to have to conform to any external interpretation of what a communist revolution should be. It was another area where his outlook mirrored that of Mao Zedong in China (see page 114).

Despite Castro's restatement of his commitment to Cuba's revolution, there were hopes among some in the government and many outside that the Special Period would lead to a liberalizing of his regime. There were signs that these hopes might be realized. In 1992, the National Assembly made a number of changes in the constitution, a significant one being an adjustment of the electoral rules so as to allow voting by secret ballot in the election of Assembly deputies. But to avoid any suggestion that the Assembly was challenging Castro, Carlos Lage, the Vice-President, emphasized that whatever reforms might be adopted they would not change Cuba's 'socialist essence'.

Castro himself made a number of adjustments to indicate that in the post-Soviet era he was prepared to make concessions in Cuba's interests:

- He allowed the US dollar to operate again as legal currency in Cuba.
- He encouraged tourists to come to Cuba, particularly from the wealthy USA.
- In 1994, he made an agreement with US President Clinton permitting an annual quota of 20,000 Cubans to leave for the United States.
- In 1998, a similar agreement allowed Cubans to receive unlimited amounts of American dollars from their *émigré* relatives in the USA.
- In 1998, Pope John Paul II visited Cuba at Castro's personal invitation. One consequence was Castro's agreeing to lift the restrictions on the **Varela Project**.
- Better relations were established with the European Union which had earlier criticized Castro for his repressive policies.

- Judging that Mao's China was now the only remaining force in international communism, Castro was keen to increase economic and political ties with it.
- In the wake of the widespread destruction caused by a hurricane that struck Cuba in 2001, Castro authorized the buying of massive food supplies from the United States. It was the first time in 40 years that the American embargo had been officially suspended. Castro maintained his principles, however, by refusing to accept the supplies as part of a US government humanitarian aid package. He insisted upon a commercial agreement.

Increased authoritarianism

Despite the concessions, Castro let it be known that he was far from ready to allow Cuba to become a fully open society, certainly not politically. In 2002, he began reversing his earlier tolerance at the time of the Pope's visit, by clamping down again on the Varela Project when it openly pressed for greater civil rights in Cuba. In March 2003, in what Castro's opponents called the 'Black Spring', 40 Varela members were imprisoned for receiving money from hostile foreign countries and using it to campaign against the Cuban government.

In suppressing the Varela Project, Castro was reacting as much to US censures as to developments in Cuba. In 2002, President George W. Bush had added Cuba to a list of countries he regarded as forming '**the axis of evil**'. Based on dubious intelligence reports, Bush's belief was that Castro was allowing biological weapons to be developed in Cuba.

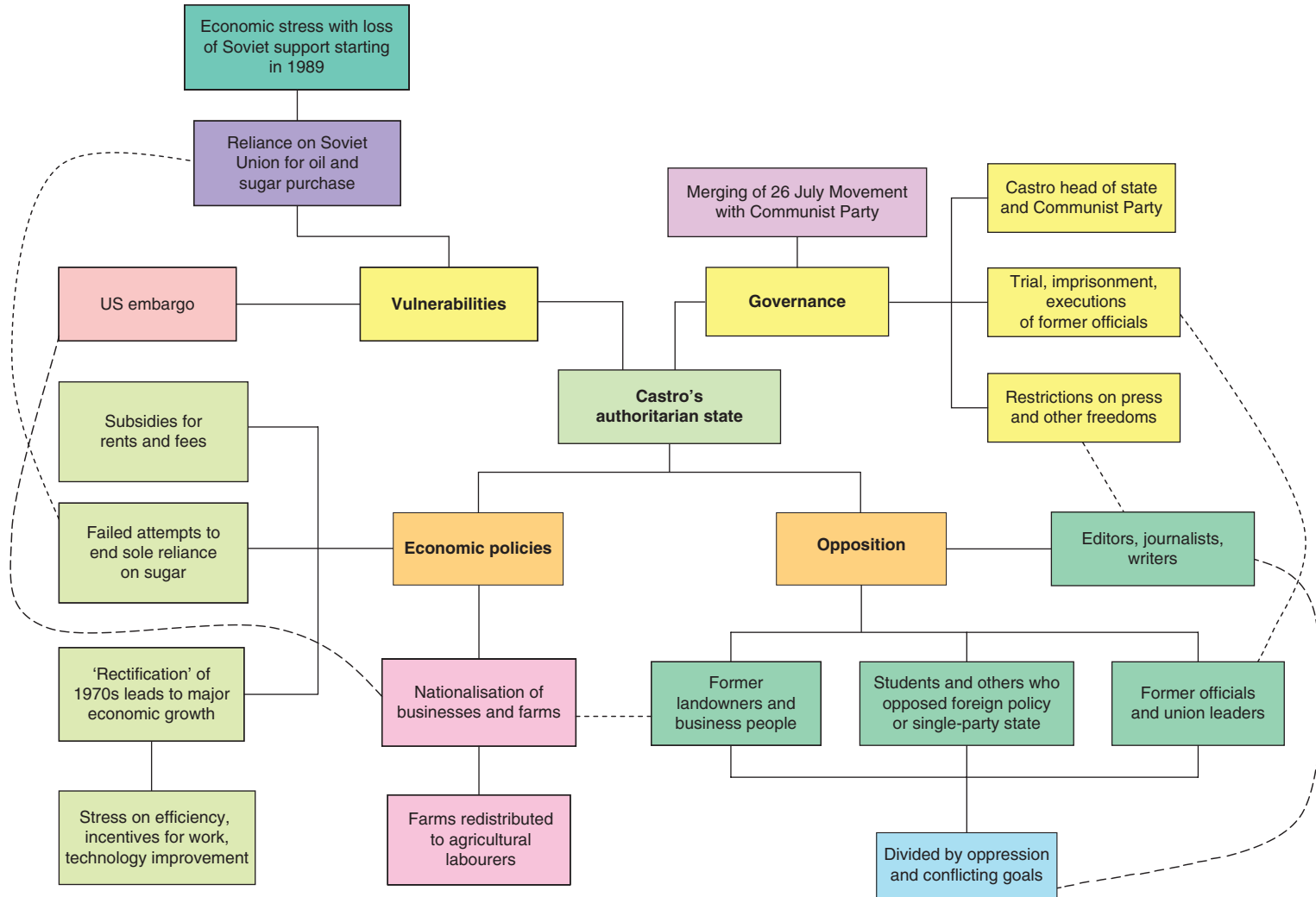
There were stronger grounds for Bush's animosity in 2003 when, in what was regarded internationally as an unnecessarily vindictive act, Castro ordered the execution of a group of Cuban dissidents who had seized a ferry in an attempt to escape to the USA. This time the EU was sufficiently angered to order economic sanctions to be placed on Cuba.

Castro's retirement

How fragile Cuba's economy was became evident in 2004 when a spike in world oil prices caused a severe fuel shortage in Cuba, forcing the closure of over one hundred factories; these included sugar refineries and steel mills. A partial recovery came a year later, however, when Castro did an exchange deal with Venezuela's President, Hugo Chavez, under which, in return for oil, Cuba sent teams of doctors to practise in Venezuela. It was one of Fidel's last clear initiatives. His growing frailty led to his increasing withdrawal from the centre of things. In 2006 he effectively stood down from government in favour of his brother, Raúl.

KEY TERM

The axis of evil Originally used by US President George W. Bush to refer to those countries which he regarded as supporting terrorism or developing weapons of mass destruction – Iran, Iraq and North Korea.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Castro's establishment of an authoritarian state

3 Life in Cuba under Castro, 1959–2006

► **Key question:** *What impact did Castro's rule have on the lives of the Cuban people?*

Castro's long career as leader significantly altered the conditions in which the Cuban people lived. This section describes the main changes.

The condition of the people in Castro's Cuba

An examination of some of the key statistics suggests that the main gains for the Cuban people were economic and social, with the main losses being political.

Improvement of people's conditions

As measured in 2002:

- Castro's Cuba was 55th out of the 187 countries listed in the **UN's Human Development Index**, a rise of ten places in five years.
- By the same measurement, Cuba was fifth in the list of South American countries.
- Cuba's **GDP** annual growth rate by the year 2000 was 5.6 per cent.
- Cuba had a universal, free welfare service (including health care and social security) and gained international renown for the quality of its medical treatment and welfare provision.
- Cuba had a remarkable number of doctors serving the population, 530 for every 10,000 people, the second-best ratio in Latin America.
- Cuba's **infant mortality rate** (7 deaths for every 1,000 births) was the lowest in South America.
- Average **life expectancy** was 77.6 years.
- Of the 88 nations classified as the '**developing world**', Cuba was ranked fourth in its success in tackling poverty.
- Cuba's **adult literacy rate** in 2008 stood at 98 per cent, the highest in South America and on a par with levels in the advanced world.
- Cuba spent 13.6 per cent of its GDP on education. This compared with 5.5 per cent in the USA.

The scale of Cuba's advance can be judged by comparing conditions in 1959 with those in 2000. The comparison shows:

- improvements had occurred in living conditions
- despite, or perhaps because of, rationing, far fewer people went hungry by 2000
- housing had improved in quality and availability
- unemployment had dropped to zero

How had the Cuban people fared under Castro?

KEY TERM

UN's Human Development Index A system operated by the United Nations from 1990 for measuring the relative economic and social development of individual states.

GDP Gross Domestic Product, the annual total value of goods produced and services provided, the standard way of measuring a country's economic strength.

Infant mortality rate The number of children who die within eighteen months of birth.

Life expectancy The age to which an individual was likely to live from birth.

Developing world (sometimes 'Third World') Nations with limited financial resources, low industrial growth rates, and poor living standards.

Adult literacy rate The percentage of the adult population with basic reading and writing skills.

KEY TERM

Mixed-race persons

Those with one black and one white parent.

Human Rights Watch (HRW)

An international non-governmental organization which monitors and reports on countries which breach human rights.

Labour camps Prisons and detention centres in which the inmates are required to perform heavy work.

- free education up to higher level became available even for the poorest
- racial discrimination had been outlawed and equality between blacks and **mixed-race persons** (35 per cent of the population) and whites (65 per cent of the population) became a legal and social norm
- women were given equal rights as citizens and workers.

Totalitarianism

The obvious achievements that the figures above indicate have to be set against the restrictions on human rights that became a notorious feature of Castro's rule. In a series of reports produced between 2000 and 2008, **Human Rights Watch (HRW)** listed Cuba as being guilty of a series of violations of basic rights, which included:

- arbitrary arrest
- imprisonment without trial
- summary executions
- suppression of all forms of political dissent
- denial of the right of 'free expression, association, assembly, privacy, movement, and due process of law'.

HRW joined with other monitoring bodies in 2008 to point out the following:

- Cuba was second only to the People's Republic of China in the number of journalists it imprisoned.
- Ordinary Cubans had very limited access to the internet, the right to use it being restricted to selected government-monitored locations. Unauthorized web-users risked a five-year prison term.
- By the end of the 1990s, Cuba's prison system, proportional to the size of the island's population, was the most extensive in Latin America, containing 40 maximum-security prisons, 30 other prisons, and 200 **labour camps**. In the majority of cases, prisoners were held in conditions which fell below international standards for such penal institutions.
- Cubans did not have the right to free movement, being unable to leave or return to Cuba without official government permission.

Some observers have argued that the violations of these rights justify describing Cuba as a totalitarian state under Castro. The figures strongly support that contention. While it has to be added that totalitarianism was not Castro's declared aim, that his purpose was not personal power but the regeneration of Cuba in the interests of its people, his leadership of Cuba between 1959 and 2006 bears all the hallmarks that are associated with regimes such as Stalin's, Hitler's and Mao's. His motives might have been more elevated than theirs but the methods of achieving his ends were similar:

- the one party-state
- strict censorship
- control of the legal system
- intolerance of dissent

- persecution of minorities (see below)
- an extensive prison-camp system
- centralized control of the main institutions of society and the state.

Treatment of minorities

Although Castro often stated that one of his objectives was to extend equality to the Cuban people, his treatment of minorities did not always fulfil that ideal.

Black Cubans

When black political movements adopted Marxism in the twentieth century they replaced class with race as their defining motivation. They were seeking equality and the end of white dominance over them. This was certainly the aim of black Cuban communists. In 1959, black Cubans, who were the descendants of the slaves brought from West Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to work on the island's sugar plantations, made up 10 per cent of Cuba's population of 12 million. Although slavery had been abolished in Cuba in 1886, the status of blacks had not risen to the level of the whites, their former masters, who were of European, largely Spanish, origin. Blacks invariably had the lowest incomes and lived in the poorest conditions.

Castro's taking power in 1959 had been immediately followed by an exodus of hundreds of thousands of Cubans from the island. It was overwhelmingly a flight of white Cubans. The great majority of blacks supported Castro, believing that their status and conditions would improve under him. They were to be disappointed. A black Cuban from Oriente province commented in 1963: 'We are still black and a minority. They free us on paper but there is a lot of separateness in our lives still.'

The leader of Cuba's black communists, Carlos Moore, noted in 1969 that the improvement of conditions for blacks had not figured in Castro's declared pre-revolutionary aims and that black Cubans had made more progress in the last ten years of Batista's rule than they had under Castro. Furthermore, a number of the members of Moore's black communists had been imprisoned for declining to co-operate with Cuba's official Communist Party. Moore argued that Castro's claim that he supported black advancement had been made more as an attempt to embarrass the USA, where the **civil rights movement** was a sensitive issue, than a genuine commitment. In Moore's judgement:

- the revolution had changed little since the white middle class was still in control
- anti-black prejudice continued
- blacks still played little part in Cuban politics
- the regime deliberately played down the contribution blacks had made to Cuba.

← How tolerant was Castro's regime of ethnic and social minorities?

KEY TERM

Civil rights movement

A powerful movement in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s, which campaigned for full political and economic equality for the country's ethnic minorities.

KEY TERM

Jehovah's Witnesses

A Christian religious sect whose beliefs included the notion that, since the secular state was corrupt, its laws did not need to be obeyed, a view that offended the authorities.

National service A period of compulsory military training.

Presumption of guilt

A reversal of the principle common in most legal systems that the accused is innocent until proved guilty.

Were the Cuban people protected or oppressed by the law as it operated under Castro?

Social minorities

There was a strong puritanical aspect to Castro's regime which made it intolerant of homosexuality. Known homosexuals were classified, along with **Jehovah's Witnesses** and corrupt officials, as 'social deviants'. Such groups were placed in special army units for what was termed 'rehabilitation', the notion being that hard military labour would cure them of what the authorities regarded as their perverse behaviour and turn them into productive contributors to the revolution.

The role of the military in imposing conformity

The army played an important social and economic role in Castro's Cuba. Young Cuban males were conscripted into a three-year programme of **national service**. An organization, Military Units to Aid Production (UMAP), had the responsibility not only for the training of the conscripts as soldiers, but also for directing them into vital civilian work, the harvesting of the sugar cane crop being a key example. The UMAP quickly gained a fearsome reputation for the way it operated. Stories of soldiers being regularly brutalized, some fatally, became so widespread that Castro eventually felt obliged to disband UMAP and order that a number of senior officers be put on trial for having allowed the excesses to occur.

Legal freedoms

By 1973, the independence of the judiciary was effectively ended when the courts were brought under direct government control. Believing that lawyers were basically conservative in outlook and, therefore, unlikely to be reliable supporters of Cuba's revolution, Castro discouraged legal studies in the universities. By 1974, Cuba had the lowest number of law students of all South American countries. Private law practices were also frowned upon and solicitors who wished to continue representing clients in court had to belong to state law firms. As a way of suppressing political opposition, Castro's regime encouraged the courts to adopt a **presumption of guilt** in dealing with cases against those charged with state crimes. Defence lawyers were instructed 'to avoid making use of defence motions that prevent justice from fulfilling its social function'.

Tribunals

Minor courts were replaced with revolutionary tribunals, presided over not by trained magistrates but by government-appointed 'people's representatives' who in most instances were members of the local branch of the Communist Party. This was presented by the government as a study in popular revolutionary justice. The tribunals had the authority to deal with 'misdemeanours', the type of case which affected people at a local everyday level – drunkenness, neighbourhood disputes, youth misbehaviour, etc. The punishments they could impose included:

- fines
- house arrest

- curfews
- confiscation of property.

Regardless of how effective the tribunals were as a means of law enforcement, their chief value to the regime was in providing ways of monitoring local populations and so increasing the government's powers of surveillance.

Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs)

An important set of local bodies that provided the government with an extra-judicial means of controlling the population were the CDRs. They provided a form of communal activity intended to consolidate the revolution by giving the people a sense of identity with the regime. Functioning ostensibly as social clubs, the committees were organized by the Communist Party and were supposedly meant to illustrate how well the people pulled together under Castro. The government's effectiveness in promoting the CDRs as a social instrument for uniting the people behind the regime, whether willingly or under duress, could be seen in their numerical growth (see Source F).

SOURCE F

Membership totals in Committees for the Defence of the Revolution.

Year	Number of members
1961	798,703
1965	2,001,476
1970	3,222,147
1975	4,800,000

What do the figures in Source F suggest about the popularity and influence of the CDRs?



Since the population of Cuba was around 12 million in 1976, the figures show that well over a third of the people belonged to CDRs. Clearly, this provided the regime with a formidable mechanism for maintaining control.

The 'exemplary parenthood' programme

An interesting example of the social role the CDRs were called upon to play was the 'exemplary parenthood' programme started under their direction in the late 1960s. Under this parents had to show that they were actively involved in their children's education. They were required to:

- make regular parental visits to the school.
- supervise their children's learning and explain such failings as bad behaviour and low marks
- ensure their children missed school no more than 5 days in a 100.

Other prominent aspects of the 'exemplary parenthood' programme were schemes aimed at:

- increasing the number of blood donors
- encouraging people to recycle glass and plastic as a means of meeting Cuba's commodity shortages.

How did Castro's rule affect women?

→ The role and status of women

Women's contribution to the revolution

Women had played a critical part in Castro's rise. In the 1950s, teams of them had worked in urban and rural areas to promote his revolutionary ideas. It had been a female lawyer, Haydée Santamaria, who had defended Castro at his trial following the 1953 Moncada attack (see page 208). During Castro's subsequent imprisonment, women were prominent in maintaining the 26 July Movement. A special women's guerrilla brigade had been formed under Celia Sanchez and had fought in the hills. One example of their propaganda role was their printing and distributing of over 10,000 copies of Castro's 'History Will Absolve Me' speech.

The Cuban Women's Federation

Given the contribution of women to the revolution, it followed logically that Castro would turn to them to assist in building the new Cuba. Formed in 1960, the Cuban Women's Federation (FMC) complemented the work of the CDRs, involving itself in the organization of a range of activities at local level, including:

- implementing Cuba's literacy drive
- training women and girls in domestic skills
- retraining former domestic servants for industrial work
- raising health standards by promoting hygiene programmes
- organizing day-care centres for women and infants
- enlisting and supervising unemployed women for voluntary work on the land.

SOURCE G

Numbers in the Cuban Women's Federation.

Year	No. of members	Number of branches
1961	17,000	340
1965	584,797	10,694
1970	1,324,751	27,370
1975	4,800,000	46,146

By 1975, three-quarters of Cuba's female population had joined the FMC. In that same year a Family Code was introduced which granted wives and husbands the same rights to be educated and pursue a career. The result of such measures was that by the year 2000 women made up:

- 43 per cent of Cuba's workforce, compared with 13 per cent in 1959
- 58 per cent of workers in technology
- 85 per cent of secretarial workers
- 63 per cent of workers in service industries.

However, these figures should not read as implying that women had made significant political or social progress under Castro. Indeed, the most characteristic feature of the FMC was its conservatism. Its leader, Vilma



What main trend is evident in Source G?

Espin, stated in 1969: ‘What one needs is to place five women where there were four men, to let those men go to fill a place where they are needed more. Let women be employed even though a higher number may be required.’ Five years later, she declared directly that the FMC was ‘feminine, not **feminist**’.

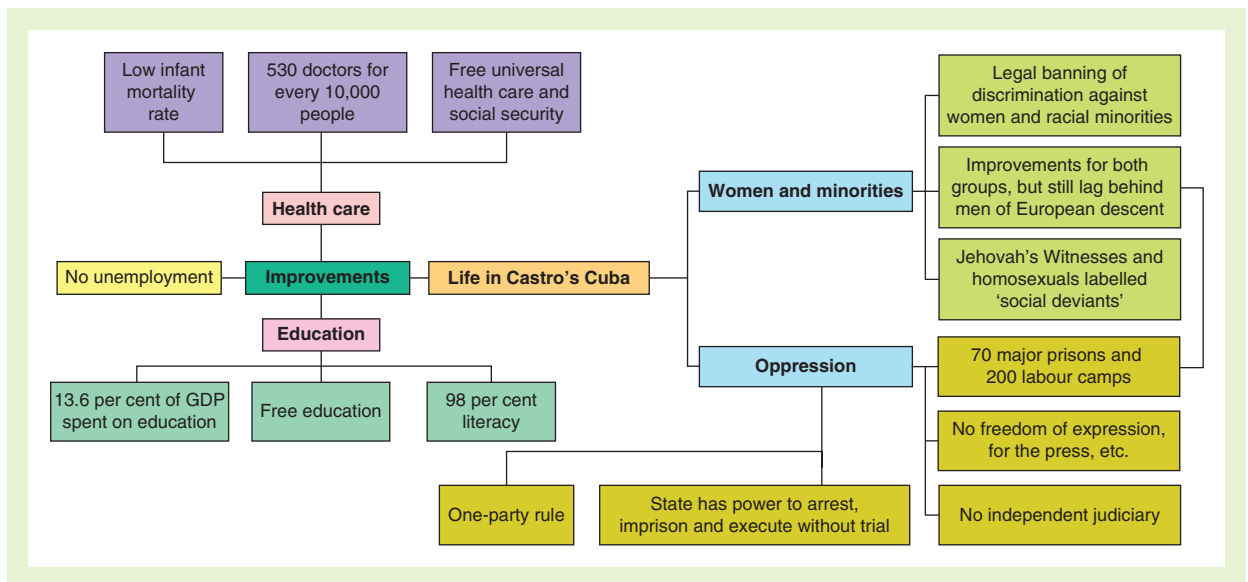
This outlook may explain why only 25 per cent of managerial posts were held by women, and why, despite their contribution to Castro’s success in 1959, only one in three of Cuba’s **National Assembly** delegates were women. It was not until 1986 that a woman became a member of the Communist Party’s **Politburo**. Lower down the organizational hierarchy, females played a still smaller role; in local party branches only one position in six was filled by a woman. It should be added that in comparative international terms these are not startling figures. In Europe around this time women were markedly unrepresented in formal politics.

KEY TERM

Feminist The principle of full female equality with men.

National Assembly The Cuban National Assembly of People’s Power, a parliament of 614 members elected every five years.

Politburo An inner core of some twenty leading members of the Communist Party.



SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Life in Cuba under Castro, 1959–2006

4 Key debate

▶ **Key question:** *Did Castro have an ideology?*

How important was nationalism to Castro?

→ Castro as nationalist

There is a well-founded argument put forward by some leading commentators, such as British historian Hugh Thomas and Eric Williams, a Caribbean scholar, that Fidel Castro did not have a definable political philosophy. Thomas in *Cuba* (1971) said that Castro lacked a 'fixed or coherent ideological point of view'. It is true that Castro claimed to be a communist after 1959, but this was done largely to spite the USA and attract the USSR. He was never a committed Marxist in the sense that Stalin and Mao Zedong were. Castro began with the notion that the people of Cuba could achieve their freedom by overthrowing a corrupt regime and replacing it with popular government. For the rest of his long career he kept to that belief and did not develop his ideas in any significant way. What inspired him was simple nationalism not complex political theory. Writing in 1970, Williams commented:

SOURCE H

Excerpt from *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492–1969* by Eric Williams, published by André Deutsch, UK, 1970, p. 486.

Castro is for revolutionary action. Marxist or not, the Cuban Revolution remains Castro's revolution, and the Communist party has no power in Cuba. For the rest Castro's programme is pure nationalist, comprehensible to and acceptable to any other Caribbean nationalist.



According to Source H, why is the Cuban Revolution best understood as Castro's Revolution?

How far was Castro a traditionalist in his approach to government?

→ Castro as traditionalist

Other writers have developed this theme by stressing that Castro's approach was **populist** rather than ideological. Historian Leycester Coltman suggests that Castro believed he had a special affinity with the Cuban people and that by appealing to their basic patriotism he could lift them to heights of endeavour and accomplishment. It was a matter of feeling rather than argument. His long public speeches were not philosophical treatises; they were rallying calls to the public. A fascinating aspect of this was the way Castro used Cuban religious tradition to appeal to the people (see Source I).

KEY TERM

Populism A political approach that seeks to create a direct relationship between the leader and the people, based on the idea that the leader has a special understanding of the people's needs.

SOURCE I

Excerpt from *The Real Fidel Castro* by Leycester Coltman, published by Yale University Press, USA, 2003, p. 140.

Castro was seen by many as a Christ-like figure, the pure one descending from the mountains to clean away the dirt and corruption of the cities. Even the sinful and unworthy could now redeem themselves by demonstrating their support for the Revolution. Castro was a Marxist and an atheist but he knew how to exploit the religious feelings of others. He encouraged the legend that the movement had started with twelve men, the temptation to create a parallel with Christ's apostles was too great to be resisted.

According to Source I, how was Castro raised above politics in the eyes of many Cubans?



Guevara's influence

Spanish historian Juan Lopez, in his *Democracy Delayed the Case of Castro's Cuba* (2002), and American historian Thomas Wright, in his *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution* (2000), have argued that it was Che Guevara who gave Castro such ideology as he had. They suggest that Guevara brought to Cuban politics not simply a sense of idealism but the notion that Cuba could rebuild itself by making its population 'the new men'. Guevara also used religious tradition when he claimed that historically the Spanish occupation had given Cuba the notion of a redeemed people. The Spanish priests, rather than patronize the people, had seen them as instruments for God's purpose in developing a new brand of human goodness. Translated into secular terms, this sense of re-creation had a powerful political impulse and it was this that pushed Castro towards the idea that he was not simply dealing with the grievances of the Cuban people; he was giving them a higher aspiration.

How important was the influence of Guevara on Castro?

Castro's pre-occupation with the USA

A number of scholars, most notably Eric Williams and Hugh Thomas, insist that Castro's ideas and policies cannot be understood unless they are put in the context of the Cold War, which was at its most intense when he came to power in 1959. It was impossible for the USA to see Cuba in isolation. Its concern was always how developments in Cuba would impact upon the international scene. Initially Castro's ideas did not stretch much beyond Cuba itself. However, given the times in which he lived and the hopes he had for Cuba, he was unavoidably drawn into global affairs. By the 1950s, the world had become **bi-polar**; neutrality was not a real option. A country or a bloc was either for or against the USA, for or against the USSR. There was no middle ground. It is in that context that Cuban politics and Castro's thinking have to be understood. He had a stark choice: either to continue with the US connection, which meant subordination to the USA, or turn to the Soviet Union which would be a new relationship but would still be as restrictive as the old. In short, he was in the position of all the Latin American leaders since the Monroe Doctrine – unable to be genuinely independent.

Why did Castro's relations with the USA prove so important?

KEY TERM

Bi-polar Divided between the two power blocs, the USA and its allies and the USSR and its allies.

**T
O
K**

Castro made Cuba more independent of US control – a move which was welcomed by many Cubans. Do individual leaders drive history or do they reflect the will of their people? (History, Language, Emotion, Reason, Human sciences)

An interesting slant has been offered on Castro's attitudes by a US analyst, Ann Louise Bardach. Building on the ideas of Williams and Thomas, she suggests in her *Cuba Confidential* (2003) that his distaste for US imperialism, which he regarded as the source of all Latin America's problems, obsessed him and conditioned his whole political outlook. For him, the development of the Cuban revolution was really a running battle with the United States. His severity towards his own people, not simply the Cuban *émigrés*, was reactive defiance against the USA. Castro was drawn towards the Soviet Union and Mao's China not because he necessarily admired their systems but because they shared his enmity towards his great foe.

Why did Castro adopt repressive policies in Cuba?

→ Castro's authoritarianism

On the issue of the severity of Castro's rule, other analysts argue that its repressive character was there from the beginning. While not discounting the idea of it as a product of his relations with the USA, they emphasize that stern control was regarded by Castro as essential to the effective government of Cuba (see Source J).

SOURCE J

Excerpt from *Cuba: Order and Revolution* by Jorge Domínguez, published by Belknap Press, USA, 1978, pp. 260–61.

In revolutionary Cuba, all levels of the mass organizations, the subordinate units of the party, and all elections lack important aspects of political autonomy and are subject to externally imposed restraints on the selection of leaders, election procedures and policy making. The fact of dependence remains constant.

*The revolution and its leaders legitimate the Constitution, the courts, the administration, the party, the mass organizations, and the elections – and not vice versa. Elections are deliberately set up to be unrepresentative politically in order to facilitate the **routinization of Fidel Castro's charisma** by bringing forth as candidates people who are said to resemble him in some way.*

Social historian Dayan Jayatilaka, in *Fidel's Ethics of Violence* (2007), also regards Castro's repressive approach to politics as defining his rule. Since Castro believed that his authority was basically for the good of the Cuban people, he felt entitled to use force and repression to maintain his authority. The end justified the means.

Why did Castro adopt communism?

→ Castro's communism

Castro's authoritarianism is a major feature of the debate over the source of Castro's communism. Some historians, for example Julia Sweig, in her *Inside the Cuban Revolution* (2002), suggest that it was an essential accompaniment of his early revolutionary thinking, but that, to avoid being seen taking sides in the Cold War, he chose not to stress his basic ideology. Others, including Brian Latell in his *After Fidel: the Inside Story of Castro's Regime* (2005), judge



According to Source J, what means were used by Castro's regime to impose central control?

KEY TERM

Routinization of Fidel Castro's charisma A process which, by constant emphasis, created a common outlook among the Cuban people that Castro's gifts as leader were the standard by which to judge all other politicians.

that he adopted communism for expedient reasons after coming to power, largely in order to win the support of the Soviet Union. A third notion, advanced, for example, by Jorge Domínguez, is that the rigours of the communist system appealed to Castro once he realized the scale of the problems confronting Cuba after he had come to power. US enmity and the need for strong government in Cuba made it a logical progression for him. It justified his totalitarian methods.

An interesting gloss is put on the debate by the British Marxist historian, Eric Hobsbawm, who suggested that it was practical necessity not free choice that led Castro to adopt communism in Cuba. His populist style left him no alternative (see Source K).

SOURCE K

Excerpt from *The Age of Extremes* by Eric Hobsbawm, published by Michael Joseph, UK, 1994, p. 440.

Fidel's form of government by informed monologues before the millions, was not a way to run even a small country or a revolution for any length of time. Even populism needs organization. The Communist party was the only body on the revolutionary side which could provide him with it. The two needed each other and converged.

According to Hobsbawm in Source K, what led Castro to adopt communism?



In another insightful observation, Hugh Thomas observed that there was perhaps too great a desire among Western historians to define Castro's communism. He thought it a mistake to label Castro by political terms that properly belong only in a European context. To make his point, Thomas suggested that it was equally possible to describe Castro's regime as fascist as it was to call it communist.

SOURCE L

Excerpt from *Cuba or the Pursuit of Freedom* by Hugh Thomas, published by Eyre & Spottiswoode, UK, 1971, pp. 1490–91.

It is tempting to compare Cuban communism with fascism. There is the willingness of large sections of the population to surrender their individuality as men did to Fascist leaders. There is the persistent elevation of the principle of violence and there is the cult of leadership ... and the continual denigration of bourgeois democracies ...

Fascism was a heresy of the international socialist movement and several fascist leaders had once been men of the Left ... it is possible to imagine Castro moving from extreme Left to extreme Right.

According to Source L, what is the evidence for regarding Castro as a fascist?



Thomas was quick to add that that these were superficial resemblances and he did not in fact believe Castro was a fascist. Thomas stressed that context is everything. Castro's communism was a specific phenomenon, particular to him and to Cuba.

Chapter summary

Cuba under Fidel Castro, 1959–2006

After a number of early failures, the young Cuban revolutionary, Fidel Castro, finally overthrew the corrupt regime of Fulgencio Batista in 1959. With the aid of another influential revolutionary, Che Guevara, Castro proceeded to create a new, authoritarian political system in Cuba. He had initially been well disposed towards the USA, but Cold War fears led the US government to regard him with suspicion. Castro reacted by declaring Cuba to be a communist state. This broke Cuba's vital economic link with the USA, which had been the major purchaser of the island's agricultural and manufactured products. Castro turned perforce to the USSR, which became Cuba's essential economic partner.

Overcoming military attempts by US-backed Cuban *émigrés* to remove him, Castro resorted to increasingly dictatorial methods to impose his control. Opposition was not tolerated and Cuba became a one-party state. Heavily dependent on Soviet aid, Castro allowed Soviet missiles to be sited in Cuba, a decision which put the island at grave risk of invasion by the USA at the time of the Missile Crisis in 1962. With the crisis resolved

peacefully, Castro returned to his attempts to develop the Cuban economy: he introduced policies aimed at diversifying industry, a process that involved the nationalization of domestic and foreign companies and businesses. The failure of a major effort to modernize Cuban agriculture persuaded Castro to adopt a new set of policies, which, between 1970 and 1990, went some way towards improving Cuba's economy. However, under an approach known as *rectification* Castro made it clear there was to be no lightening of political control.

Cuba's economic vulnerability was exposed by the collapse in the early 1990s of the Eastern bloc communist governments. Deprived of Soviet support, Castro was obliged to adjust his policies. During the 'Special Period' which began in 1991 Castro did not abandon Marxism but did allow more progressive moves to be made in order to cope with Cuba's food and other supply shortages. However, he never fully relaxed his central hold on Cuba and opposition groups continued to protest against his authoritarian methods.

At his retirement in 2006, Castro could look back on a record of chequered but basically successful leadership. Cuba had survived as an independent nation, albeit at the price of political repression, and the Cuban people had begun to enjoy substantial improvements in many aspects of their living and working conditions.



Examination practice

Below are a number of different questions for you to practise. For guidance on how to answer exam-style questions, see Chapter 10.

- 1 What was the importance of Che Guevara for Castro's rule?
- 2 To what extent were Castro's economic policies successful?
- 3 Explain the importance of communists in Castro's early government.
- 4 Assess the impact of Castro's rule on women.
- 5 Analyse the importance of emigration for Castro's Cuba.
- 6 Discuss the reasons for Castro's successful rise to power by 1959.
- 7 To what extent was Castro a totalitarian ruler between 1959 and 2000?
- 8 Why did little effective opposition form against Castro within Cuba during his rule?
- 9 What was the importance of the Cuban Missile Crisis for Castro's rule?
- 10 Discuss the successes and failures of Castro's agricultural policies.



Activities

- 1 Create a timeline of Castro's rise and rule. You could expand this to include visual images, biographies and historiography.
- 2 Cuba was almost totally reliant on sugar for its economy. Research the history of sugar with special focus on its economic impact on Caribbean islands and connection to slavery.
- 3 Castro adapted communism to address the specific needs of Cuba. Compare and contrast Cuba's form of communism with that found in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Which form of communism was Cuba's most closely aligned with? Explain.



Examination practice

Below are a number of different questions for you to practise. For guidance on how to answer exam-style questions, see Chapter 10.

- 1 Assess the importance of Nyerere in Tanganyika's achieving independence from Britain by 1961.
- 2 To what extent did opposition against Nyerere form within Tanzania by 1985?
- 3 In what ways and for what reasons did Nyerere introduce his policy of Ujamaa?
- 4 How did Nyerere's rule affect Tanzania's citizens of European descent?
- 5 Explain the importance of the military in Nyerere's Tanzania.
- 6 Assess the impact of Nyerere's economic policies on Tanzania by 1985.
- 7 What was the impact of Nyerere's rule on the arts in Tanzania?
- 8 To what extent were women affected by Nyerere's rule?
- 9 Why did Nyerere not continue as Tanzania's ruler after 1985?
- 10 To what extent was Nyerere a totalitarian ruler?



Activities

- 1 Nyerere attempted to forge a national identity for all people in the country of Tanzania, although there is no language, culture or tribe called Tanzanian. Discuss with your class the meaning and basis of nationalism and whether it is truly possible for a multi-ethnic, multi-national, multi-religious state to be completely successful. This discussion should include references to your TOK about language, history, and so forth.
- 2 Nyerere held strong views on education, some of which can be found at: www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/archive/publications/ThinkersPdf/nyereree.pdf. Read about Nyerere's thoughts on the nature of education and discuss to what extent you agree with him.
- 3 Tanganyika was part of Britain's colonial empire and Britain delayed granting it independence for many decades. With reference to TOK, is it ever defensible for one people to rule another?

Examination guidance

IB History Paper 2 requires you to write two essays, each from a different topic. Now that you have studied Topic 3: Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states, you have the knowledge to address several of the questions on the examination. This chapter is designed to help you:

- ★ understand the different types of questions
- ★ select an appropriate question
- ★ make a historical argument using evidence
- ★ outline and write your essay
- ★ involve historiography appropriately.

1 Preparing for Paper 2 examination questions

It is important that you understand the structure and demands of the Paper 2 examination. This section specifically focuses on Topic 3: Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states.

Types of questions

There will be a choice of six questions for each topic. You should answer only one of these questions for Topic 3 and a second question for the other topic you have studied.

Questions for Topic 3 may address the rise and rule of:

- one or two specifically named leaders of single-party states
- an authoritarian leader of your choice
- unspecified authoritarian leaders from different regions
- unspecified authoritarian leaders from the same or opposite ends of the political spectrum (i.e. Right-wing, Left-wing)
- or the effects of either one or more leaders on a specific theme such as women, minorities, education, culture, etc.

Command terms

A key to success is understanding the demands of the question. IB History questions use key terms and phrases known as command terms. The more common command terms are listed in the table on page 324, with a brief definition of each. More are listed in the appendix of the IB History Guide. Examples of questions using some of the more common command terms are included at the end of each of Chapters 2–9.

Command term	Description	Where found in this book
Analyse	Examine the basic structure or issues.	pages 60, 108, 150, 163, 203, 241, 280
Assess	Analyse the strengths and weakness of various arguments with a concluding opinion.	pages 203, 241, 280, 322, 333
Compare and contrast	Discuss the similarities and differences of leaders, referring to both throughout your answer and not treating each separately. You should not give an overview of each leader but should focus on the most important similarities and differences, rather than every tiny detail.	pages 60, 108, 150, 163, 241, 326, 333
Define	Give the meaning of the concept or term, with examples.	page 163
Describe	Give a detailed overview of some aspect of a leader's rule.	pages 215, 276, 333
Discuss	Review various arguments regarding a leader or leaders and conclude with an argument supported by evidence.	pages 60, 108, 150, 163, 203, 241, 280, 322, 333
Evaluate/Examine	Analyse the strengths and weaknesses of various arguments with a concluding opinion.	pages 282, 289, 333
Explain	Give a thorough overview which includes reasons for developments occurring.	pages 60, 108, 150, 163, 203, 241, 280, 322, 333
For what reasons and with what results	Explain the causes and determine the results of a particular event or events.	pages 163, 203, 280, 333
In what ways, and for what reasons	Analyse various methods or changes to a system or event and their causes.	page 322
Justify	Give legitimate, evidence-supported reasons for a specific conclusion.	pages 276, 333
To what extent	Determine the extent to which something is true or false, with answers usually being 'to no extent', 'to some extent', or 'to a great extent'.	pages 60, 108, 150, 163, 203, 241, 280, 322, 333, 351, 352

Answering questions

You will have five minutes of reading time at the start of your examination. It is during this time that you should review the questions in the two or more topics you have studied, including Topic 3. You will not be able to answer all the questions and this is normal. You should, however, be able to answer two to four questions. Once you have identified which ones you are able to address, choose the question for which you have the most knowledge and whose demands you fully understand. Many students may have great knowledge regarding one or more single-party states, but they may not understand fully what the question wants them to do. If you find the wording of a question confusing, consider addressing another question if you feel more comfortable doing so. Once you have chosen your question for Topic 3, you should look at your other topic(s) of study and repeat this exercise. Once you have made a decision on your second question for Paper 2, return to your Topic 3 question and begin to think about how you will address it, waiting for the end of the reading time.

Marks

All questions on Paper 2 are worth 20 points each for a total of 40 possible points for this paper. Your goal is to achieve marks in the upper mark bands, or range of grades. In order to attain the highest mark band (16–20), your essays should include:

- answers that very clearly address the demands of the question and are well structured and clear
- correct, relevant historical knowledge used appropriately to support your argument
- evidence that is critically analysed
- historical events that are placed in their context
- evidence that you understand there are different historical interpretations.

Timing your writing

You will have 1 hour and 30 minutes to complete both Paper 2 essays. This breaks down to 45 minutes per essay on average.

Part of your writing time, however, should be spent preparing a basic outline which will help you keep your answer structured and focused. You should spend perhaps five minutes on this. An example of a good outline to a question is shown on page 327.

Defining your terms

It is important that you define the terms you are using in the introduction of your essay. For example, if the question asks you:

- about some political philosophy, be sure to explain what that philosophy means

- to discuss two rulers, each from a different region, be sure to state clearly the region the rulers are from
- to discuss propaganda, be sure to explain what propaganda is and what formats you will address, such as radio, posters, cinema, or perhaps even education policy.

Making an argument

Your essays should make an argument, not just repeat details of a conflict or issue.

Your argument should be stated explicitly in your essay's introduction and conclusion with the supportive evidence discussed in the body of the essay. To strengthen your argument, you may wish to acknowledge historians whom you agree with, preferably by naming them and either summarizing their remarks or quoting them. You may even have enough knowledge on the issue being examined to be able to discuss opposing historians' viewpoints and why you disagree with their conclusions. This historical debate in which evidence is interpreted differently is called historiography and, if it is used wisely and correctly, it can help you achieve marks in the upper mark band. An example of a historiographical debate could be the extent to which a leader was fully in control of his state.

2 Examination answer

This section gives a high-level sample answer with examination advice and comments. You can apply this guidance when answering different questions on this topic.

With reference to two leaders of single-party states, each from a different region, compare and contrast how they maintained their authority.

Outlining

First you will need to decide which two leaders you wish to address, making sure they are from two different regions. The various regions are found on the front cover of your examination paper. For example, you might decide to focus on Hitler in the Europe and the Middle East region and Mao from the Asia and Oceania region.

At the end of the five-minute reading time you should outline your essay. An example is given opposite.

Paragraph 1:

Defining Hitler and Mao: dates, states. Hypothesis: mostly similar, but with some notable differences

Paragraph 2: Controlling their political parties

- Hitler:
 - Nazi Party
 - Executed party rivals, 1934
- Mao:
 - Purges, executions, imprisonment, exile
 - Peng Dehuai example, Great Leap Forward
 - Party control = government control, merging party and government

Paragraph 3: Propaganda

- Media
 - Film, radio, public speeches, posters
 - Leni Riefenstahl
 - Mein Kampf
 - Little Red Book
- All reinforces cult of personality which reinforces authority

Paragraph 4: Similar ways of ending opposition

- Prisons
 - Concentration camps, laogai
 - Millions removed/destroyed
- Prisons worked with secret police
 - Culture of spying created
 - Prevents opposition forming

Paragraph 5: Differences: Hitler steadily increases authority

- Maintains, builds, consolidates
 - Chancellor, 1933
 - Enabling Act, 1933
 - Führer, 1934
 - Army control, 1938

Paragraphs 6 and 7: Differences: Mao deals with challenges from within CCP

- 100 Flowers campaign
- Lushan Conference, 1959
 - Peng Dehuai
 - Deng Xiaoping
 - Liu Shaoqi
- Cultural Revolution

Paragraph 8: Differences: size

- *Of country*
- *Of bureaucracy*

Paragraph 9: Conclusion

- *Similarities:*

- *Party control*
- *Propaganda*
- *Police/prisons*

- *Differences:*

- *Hitler continues to consolidate authority*
- *Mao has to reassert himself at least twice to maintain control*

Then write your answer to the question. A sample answer is given below.

The introduction states clearly that the argument will focus on Hitler and Mao, defines their periods of rule and their states, explains briefly that they shared similarities, yet suggests there were differences.

• *Hitler and Mao were two authoritarian leaders of single-party states. Adolf Hitler was the leader of Germany from 1933 to 1945, Mao was Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and therefore leader of the People's Republic of China (PRC) from 1949 to 1976. While their methods of maintaining or reasserting their authority were similar, there were notable differences. Both Hitler and Mao were their party's leaders and once their parties controlled the state, the rule of each was consolidated. By controlling their parties, they were necessarily their state's rulers. Propaganda, in its various forms, reinforced this authority and built cults of personality around both men, making them less vulnerable to criticism or challenge, especially from the masses. Hitler expanded his authority over time and was never seriously challenged within or from without the Nazi Party until 1944, but Mao faced some opposition within the CCP itself, if not from the Chinese people themselves.*

Most importantly, both Hitler and Mao were able to dominate their respective states because they dominated their political parties. Hitler was leader of the National Socialist, or Nazi, Party of Germany and Mao was the highest ranking leader of the CCP. They both consolidated their power over their political parties by eliminating rivals. In the Night of the Long Knives in 1934, Hitler purged the more socialist and radical elements of the Nazi Party, some of whom challenged his leadership, resulting in the execution of his party rivals. Similarly, Mao removed those in the CCP who opposed him,

such as those who wanted Soviet-style urban-based revolution rather than Mao's rural-based, peasant revolution, or those who questioned his authority, such as the Minister of Defence, Peng Dehuai, regarding the failure of the Great Leap Forward. Mao's rivals were eliminated, just as Hitler's had been, through executions, internal exile and imprisonment. Party control meant state control since both parties merged with the government, becoming practically indistinguishable.

Uses the phrases 'Most importantly' and of 'great importance' to help indicate that the factors regarding maintenance of authority are being evaluated in terms of their relative significance.

Once control over the party was established and the party and government were successfully merged, propaganda was of great importance in maintaining and expanding authority. In both Germany and the People's Republic of China, leaders used mass media to broadcast their messages and appeal to the masses. Hitler made bombastic public speeches, broadcast by radio and prominently used in pro-Nazi films, such as those by Leni Riefenstahl. Mao did much the same thing, speaking in Tiananmen Square in the PRC capital Beijing, for example, to declare the creation of the new communist state. Hitler's book, 'Mein Kampf', which explained his views on the world, the relationship between the people and their state, race and other issues, has some similarities with the 'Little Red Book', a collection of Mao's various statements and writings that were compiled by the PRC's Minister of Defence Lin Biao and widely distributed. Posters were used by both regimes to spread propaganda to motivate the people for a common good, against perceived enemies and to reinforce support for the leader by invoking nationalism and other concepts, including a cult of personality which elevated Hitler and Mao to god-like status.

Supportive evidence in the form of events and individuals is presented with dates, helping indicate chronology and therefore cause and effect.

Finally, both leaders dealt with non-party opposition in similar ways. Under both Hitler and Mao, extensive prison networks were established. In Germany, communists, leading Jews, homosexuals and others were sent to concentration camps, such as Dachau, before the Second World War. This camp system was later vastly expanded to deal with millions, including prisoners of war, racial enemies (such as Jews and Roma), as well as religious and political dissidents. In China, the laogai prison system functioned in a similar way. Millions of prisoners were held in the laogai during Mao's rule. According to historian Philip Short in 'Mao: A Life', Mao saw the killing of his enemies as necessary politics. These prison systems operated in

conjunction with various state security police, in both Germany and the PRC, who spied on their people and encouraged them to incriminate others to avoid the possibility of being imprisoned themselves. This prevented opposition within the state from being able to organize and challenge Hitler's and Mao's individual authority.

Links between paragraphs help construct the argument more clearly.

While it is clear that Hitler and Mao had similar ways of maintaining their authority, there are notable, if subtle, differences as well. Hitler did not just maintain his authority from 1933 onwards, but increased and consolidated it between that date and 1938. Hitler not only maintained his authority within the state, but perhaps more importantly, within the Nazi Party which controlled the state. When Hitler was first named Chancellor, his authority was limited in theory by the need to consult Germany's President, von Hindenburg, and parliament, the Reichstag. The Enabling Act of 1933 allowed him to govern as Chancellor without having to consult the Reichstag. His authority was further expanded by his assumption of presidential powers upon Hindenburg's death in 1934 whereupon he was entitled Führer. Finally, in 1938, Hitler assumed full control over the army, the last sector of the government not under his full authority. This was reinforced by the oath of loyalty to Hitler personally that the army had taken earlier.

Specific focus on each leader in terms of maintenance of authority provides opportunity to discuss differences in authority and any limitations.

Mao, however, was clearly seen by the people of the People's Republic of China as the PRC's leader, but may have struggled within the CCP itself. He was the CCP Chairman, his 'Little Red Book' and various speeches were read by practically everyone and he was constantly promoted in the media, by the CCP, and the army, reinforcing the cult of personality that surrounded him. Unlike Hitler, however, he possibly faced some challenge within the CCP

Appropriate, supportive use of historians' views to demonstrate knowledge and understanding.

itself on at least two occasions. Historians continue to debate whether the challenge to Mao was a result of his paranoia or because there was an actual challenge by those wishing to follow a different line of communism. As the Chinese writer Jung Chang sees it, the 100 Flowers campaign was part of the movement towards a controlled society in which all expression of opinion had to meet the criteria of political correctness as defined by Mao. The way in which 'the anti-rightist' campaign purged the government and Party of his critics

was of a scale and ruthlessness that anticipated the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution a decade later.

Mao was also challenged within the CCP by Minister of Defence, Peng Dehuai, at the Lushan Conference in 1959 about the Great Leap Forward, although the significance of this challenge is debated. The fact that Peng felt he was able to write about Mao and criticize his policies indicates that Mao had not suppressed all opposition to his programme as had Hitler in Germany. Some historians see as evidence of Mao's limitations within the party the fact that Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shaoqi, two prominent CCP members, took control of the economy at this point. However, other historians stress that it was Mao himself who specifically asked them to take control and then only for a temporary period, which suggests, therefore, that his authority was not under threat. Having first imposed it on the Central Committee and having set up the Central Cultural Revolution Group in May 1966, Mao publicly launched the Cultural Revolution at a great rally in Tiananmen Square in August. The Cultural Revolution attacked Deng and Liu and their policies, and reinstated Maoism as the state's guiding philosophy.

The difficulty of dominating a country the great size of China presented Mao with difficulties that did not confront Hitler in Germany. While Germany was one of the most populated states in Europe, it still had only a few tens of millions of inhabitants. While Hitler did not overthrow the existing social and political order, this was certainly what Mao's government did. This was in addition to the sheer scale of the bureaucracy and numbers of political Party officials that Maoism required, which meant that Mao could not personally know and supervise every major political appointment.

Hitler and Mao maintained their authority in similar ways for the most part. Both controlled their political parties and then merged them with the state. Control of their respective parties entailed the elimination of rivals. Hitler was more successful than Mao in this respect after executing his rivals in 1934; Mao had to reassert himself and his political agenda at least twice from within the CCP. Both authoritarian leaders used police networks to spy on their citizens and remove those who were considered threats to the state. These police networks prevented groups from organising, divided

Historiographical debate about different interpretations of Mao's rule reinforces the argument by indicating understanding of different approaches to historical issues.

Conclusion summarizes main arguments and makes a definitive statement regarding their maintenance of power.

This essay is clearly focused on the question and indicates there is great awareness of its demands. Knowledge is detailed, accurate, used consistently. There is awareness and discussion of different approaches to the question and argument and different debates. The essay is well structured, the argument clearly expressed and balanced.

populations by fear and therefore helped maintain the leader's authority. Propaganda broadcast both parties' messages and reinforced the authority of the leader in various ways. Propaganda took the form of speeches, posters, films and radio broadcasts. While Hitler was able to consolidate and add to his authority after 1933, Mao was ostensibly the ultimate authority as Chairman of the CCP, yet had to reassert himself at least twice by appealing to the Chinese masses, specifically during the 100 Flowers campaign and the Cultural Revolution. In conclusion, both Hitler and Mao kept their political power by utilizing similar methods.



Examination practice

Below are a series of exam-style questions for Topic 3: Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states that are on more than one leader or cover more than one region. Questions on individual leaders can be found at the end of Chapters 2–4 and 6–9 in this book.

- 1 Evaluate the reasons for a lack of effective opposition to both Stalin and Nasser.
- 2 For what reasons, and with what results, did both Mao and Nyerere attempt to transform their countries economically?
- 3 Discuss the impact on education of two authoritarian leaders, each from a different region.
- 4 Justify the view advanced by some historians that all authoritarian leaders ruled similarly.
- 5 In what ways did the lives of women improve in both Stalin's Soviet Union and Mao's People's Republic of China?
- 6 To what extent did both Perón and Nyerere encounter resistance to their rule from the military within their states?
- 7 Examine the role of nationalism in the policies of Nasser and one other ruler of a single-party state.
- 8 Compare and contrast the rise to power of Nasser and Castro.
- 9 Assess the importance of economic success for the rules of Hitler and Castro.
- 10 Explain the impact of Mao's and Stalin's rule on art in their respective states.
- 11 With reference to two leaders of authoritarian states, each from a different region, describe their impact on agriculture.
- 12 'There were benefits arising from authoritarian rule during the twentieth century.' With reference to two leaders, each from a different region, examine the extent to which this statement is true.
- 13 Compare and contrast the ways in which Castro and Nyerere maintained power.
- 14 Assess the importance of youth movements in maintaining the authority of two twentieth-century leaders.
- 15 What was the importance of totalitarian regimes during the twentieth century?

Glossary

26 July Movement Castro's name for his revolutionary movement, chosen in commemoration of the Moncada Barracks attack, which had taken place on that date in 1953.

The 28 Bolsheviks A particular set of communists who had been trained in Moscow and came back to China with instructions to make the CCP conform to Soviet concepts of revolution.

5:1 destruction ratio Perónist policy of killing five opponents in retaliation for every one of their own number killed.

A priori Latin for 'from the first', a term in philosophy to describe the type of reasoning which assumes an assertion to be true before it has been proven so.

Absolutism A governmental system in which the levers of power are exclusively in the hands of a group or an individual.

Adult literacy rate The percentage of the adult population with basic reading and writing skills.

Agit-prop 'Agitation propaganda', the inculcating of political ideas through entertainment.

Agricultural co-operatives The pooling of local resources and farming for shared profits.

Alfred Rosenberg The Nazi Party's leading race theorist.

Allies In the First World War, principally France, Britain, Russia (1914–17), Italy (1915–18) and the USA (1917–18). In the Second World War, principally Britain, France (1939–40 and 1944–45), USSR (1941–45), and the USA (1941–45).

Amnesty International A charity created in 1961 to call attention to the plight or fate of prisoners of conscience and to apply moral pressure to regimes which transgressed legal and ethical codes.

ANC The African National Congress, originally formed in 1923 as a political party to press for black rights in South Africa, it reformed in 1961 as a militant force to fight against apartheid and white rule.

Annihilation policies The programme introduced by Lenin and continued by Stalin for destroying the Soviet Union's internal class enemies, beginning with the Kulaks, the rich peasants.

Anschluss The re-incorporation of Austria into the Third Reich in 1938.

Anti-movements The targeting of those in the PRC accused of such crimes as waste, corruption and tax evasion.

Apartheid A system formally adopted by the white South African government for the 'separate but equal' political and economic development of the different races. In practice it was a method for maintaining white minority rule.

Arab League Formed in 1945 with six member states – Egypt, Transjordan (Jordan after 1949), Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Yemen – it stood for collaboration between the members on 'the affairs and interests of the Arab countries'. From the beginning, Egypt was the strongest member.

Arab Socialist Union (ASU) The new name given in 1962 to the National Union, the sole party allowed to function legally in Egypt.

Armistice An agreement between warring sides to cease fighting in order to prepare the way for a formal peace treaty.

Aryan A person of Caucasian race; as understood by Hitler, the ideal racial type that was superior to all others.

The Aswan High Dam A vast construction intended to modernize Egypt by preventing the recurrent, destructive Nile floods and by providing a limitless supply of hydro-electric power.

Auschwitz The Nazis' main death camp in occupied Poland.

Autarky An economically self-sufficient nation.

Axis forces Drawn principally from Germany, Italy, and Vichy (unoccupied but pro-German) France.

The axis of evil Originally used by US President George W. Bush to refer to those countries which he regarded as supporting terrorism or developing weapons of mass destruction – Iran, Iraq and North Korea.

Baathists Members of a Pan-Arab socialist party which was particularly strong in Syria and Iraq.

Battle of Stalingrad A savage six-month battle on the Eastern Front in the winter of 1942–43, which ended with a humiliating defeat for the German armies at the hands of the Soviet forces.

Bi-polar Divided between the two power blocs, the USA and its allies and the USSR and its allies.

Black Germans There were some 25,000 people of African origin living in the Third Reich, descendants of those whose who had come from the German colonies before 1918.

Bolshevik The dominant branch of Russian communism, led by V.I. Lenin, which claimed to be the true interpreter of Marxism and which took power in Russia in the October Revolution of 1917.

Bolshevik Party The Russian Communist Party which had taken power in 1917.

Bourgeois The Marxist term for the controlling middle class who suppress the workers.

Bourgeois stage The period of history when the middle class, having undermined the previous feudal system, dominate society until the working-class revolution occurs.

British Commonwealth In a process that began in 1931, most of the countries of Britain's former empire, on becoming independent, joined together freely as an informal association of sovereign states under the patronage of the British Crown.

Cadres Dedicated Communist Party workers trained to take over as officials in the event of a revolution.

Canonization The conferring of sainthood by the Catholic Church.

Capitalist methods of finance The system in which the owners of private capital (money) increase their wealth by making loans on which they later receive interest.

Cash crop economy Arable farming for financial profit rather than for mere subsistence.

Caudillos Political military leaders, such as Perón.

CCRG A sub-committee of the Politburo which Mao appointed in May 1965 to direct the Cultural Revolution.

CDC (Commonwealth Development Corporation) Created by Britain in 1948 with the aim of financing self-sufficient agriculture and industry in the poorer countries of the Commonwealth.

Central Powers In the First World War, principally Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.

Chauvinist Militant ultra-nationalist.

Cheka The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, later known by such acronyms as OGPU and KGB.

Chiang Kaishek Became leader of the Nationalists on Sun Yatsen's death in 1925; throughout his career Chiang remained resolutely anti-communist.

Church hierarchy Argentina's Catholic bishops who had authority over the clergy and laity.

CIA Central Intelligence Agency – the USA's espionage and counter-espionage organization.

Civil rights movement A powerful movement in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s, which campaigned for full political and economic equality for the country's ethnic minorities.

Cleansing the class ranks A terror campaign to exterminate all those whose social background made them potential enemies of Mao and the communist state.

Cold War The period of political and diplomatic tension, 1945–91, between the capitalist USA and its allies and the communist USSR and its allies.

Collective farms Farms run as co-operatives in which the peasants shared the labour and the wages.

Collective state The nation conceived of as a single social unit rather than a set of individuals.

Collectivism A system based on the idea that individuals must subordinate their private interests to those of society as a whole.

Collectivization Depriving the peasants of their land and requiring them to live and work in communes.

Colonial Secretary The British minister principally responsible for negotiating with Tanganyika over independence.

Colonialism The takeover by European powers of territories whose people were too weak militarily to prevent their political and economic subjugation.

Columbia One of the most northerly of the South American countries, the Colombian Republic underwent a period of bloody political conflict in the 1940s and 1950s, known as 'the Violence'.

Comintern The Communist International, formed in 1919 in Moscow to organize worldwide revolution. The Comintern took a particular interest in China, believing that it could impose itself on the young CCP.

Commercial agreement Signed between the USSR and Cuba in February 1960, according to which the Soviet Union was to buy the bulk of the island's sugar crop in return for selling oil and industrial machinery to Cuba.

Communalism A form of society based on common ownership of property and sharing of resources.

Communes Collective farms.

Communism The revolutionary theories advanced by Karl Marx, who interpreted history as class struggle and called upon the working classes to overthrow their oppressors and create a workers' state.

Concentration camps Originally detention centres where anti-Nazis were held, they developed into a widespread prison network which became notorious for the barbarity with which inmates were treated.

Concordat An agreement between the Papacy and Nazi government signed in July 1933.

Confessional Church Established by Martin Niemöller in 1934 as a protest against the Nazi takeover of the Lutheran Church.

Confucianism A system of ethics, based on the teachings of Confucius (551–479 BC), which emphasized the need for people to be obedient to higher authority in order to preserve social harmony.

Congress The US parliament, made up of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Conjugal visits Visiting time set aside in Chinese communes for couples to have sex.

Conservatoire A specialist music college.

Constitutional monarchy A system in which a monarch, though formally head of state, has no personal power or authority except that consented to by parliament.

Cordobazo A violent rising in the Argentinian city of Cordoba in May 1969.

Corporate state A society whose various economic and social elements are integrated and controlled by the central government.

Corrective labour A euphemism for enforced work in harsh conditions to oblige the victim to acknowledge his former mistakes.

Council of Ministers A governing Cabinet.

CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Criminal libel Publishing false and seditious statements against the authorities.

Cuban émigrés Anti-Castro elements who had fled the island after the 1959 revolution.

Cult of personality A consistent use of mass propaganda to promote the idea of the leader as an

ideal, heroic figure; elevated above ordinary people and politics.

Cult status A position that entitles the holder to a special veneration among the people and puts him or her beyond criticism.

Dachau Germany's first concentration camp, opened in 1933.

Death's Head Division An SS unit which took its name from the skull and crossbones emblem its members wore on their caps.

Decree Against Terrorist Acts An order giving the NKVD limitless powers in pursuing the enemies of the Soviet state and the Communist Party.

Defectives The Nazi term for those regarded as suffering from incapacitating physical or mental disorders.

Democratic centralism The notion, first advanced by Lenin, that true democracy lies in party members' obedience to enlightened leadership.

Desacato Contempt – a legal restriction which was placed on opinions of which Perón's government disapproved.

Descamisados 'The shirtless ones', a term first used pejoratively by the upper class to describe Argentina's manual workers. Eva Perón's application of the word to the workers and the poor of Argentina, turned it into a term of respect rather than abuse.

Developing world (sometimes 'Third World') Nations with limited financial resources, low industrial growth rates and poor living standards.

DGI Dirección General de Inteligencia (General Directorate of Intelligence) – an internal security agency, concerned with enforcing conformity within Cuba. It was especially active as an anti-US spy network.

Diktat An imposed settlement.

The dialectic The dynamic force that drives history along a predestined path.

'Disappeared' A term that came into common use to describe how authoritarian regimes simply removed people they disapproved of without leaving any trace or offering any explanation. The logical deduction was that the 'disappeared' were killed by the regime.

DNB *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro* – German newspaper bureau.

Dominican Republic The Dominican Republic in the Caribbean had been led for two decades up to

1952 by Trujillo, who gained a fearsome name for the ferocity with which he suppressed political opposition.

DORA The British Defence of the Realm Act, which restricted civil freedoms by suspending traditional legal procedures and granted the government a range of powers over its citizens, including direction of labour.

Eastern bloc The countries of central and eastern Europe which were dominated by the Soviet Union between the late 1940s and late 1980s.

Eher Verlag A publishing house named after its founder Franz Eher, which the Nazis had bought in the 1920s.

Emperor Hirohito Reigned in Japan 1926–89, considered by some historians to be the driving force behind Japanese imperialism.

Enabling Bill A measure which granted the German Chancellor the power to govern by personal decree without reference to the Reichstag.

Enlightenment A flowering in the eighteenth century of new political, philosophical and social ideas about the nature of society and the individual. Key elements were the promotion of the rights of the individual and emphasis on the power of applied reason to solve society's problems.

Escambray A mountain range in central Cuba.

Estancieros Owners of the *estancias*, the great landed estates in Argentina.

Estates-General A French Assembly made up of 'the three orders' – aristocracy, clergy and commons – which gathered in 1789. The assertion by the commons that they alone were the sovereign authority was a critical stage in the development of the French Revolution.

Eton One of Britain's most exclusive schools, renowned for the number of politicians and statesmen it produced.

Eugenics The science of breeding human beings for their fitness and intelligence.

Excommunicated Formally dismissed from membership of the Catholic Church.

Extended family Parents, children and relatives, including in-laws.

Fabianism A form of socialism which believed that the institutions of society had to be radically altered, not through revolution but by a more gradual approach involving the education of people to accept the principles of social justice.

Factionalism Open criticism within the CPSU of central orders.

Fascism The ultra-nationalist movement that operated in Italy under Mussolini between 1922 and 1943. The term came generally to be used to describe extreme Right-wing regimes and ideas.

Fascist In strict terms, the word applies specifically to Italy's ultra-nationalist Fascist Party whose symbol was a bundle of rods (*fasces* in Latin), representing power and authority, but the term became used generally to describe Right-wing regimes of the twentieth century.

Faute de mieux In the absence of a better alternative.

Fedayeen The term referred to Egyptian civilians who in the 1940s volunteered to fight against the British occupation of the Suez Canal Zone.

Feddans A traditional measure of approximately one acre or half a hectare of land.

Feminists Supporters of the principle of full female equality with men.

Feudal A hierarchical system in which power is in the hands of an absolute ruler who distributes land and positions in return for obligatory civil or military duties being performed.

Feudalism A system in which privileged landowners oblige the landless to work for them.

Final Solution The Nazi euphemism for the extermination of the Jews.

First World War (1914–18) Fought mainly between the Central Powers (Germany and Austria–Hungary) and the Entente Powers (France, Britain and Russia).

Five-Year Plan A programme for industrial development based on a set of production quotas.

Freikorps German paramilitary units of demobbed soldiers.

FRELIMO 'Liberation Front of Mozambique', a guerrilla movement made up of a number of anti-Portuguese resistance groupings.

French Algeria Algeria, part of the French empire, had a large Muslim population, most of whom supported the Algerian independence movement. French forces became involved in a bitter struggle against Algerian nationalists (1954–62).

Führer The 'leader', used informally from 1924 to refer to Hitler and adopted in 1934 as his formal title.

Führer memorandum A document written or authorized by Hitler personally.

Führer principle The notion of Hitler as the faultless leader to whom all Germans owed obedience.

Gang of Four A group of extreme hardliners drawn from the Chinese Communist Party's Shanghai faction and led by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing.

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, an international body established in 1947 with the aim of making world commerce fairer and more profitable for all concerned by reducing tariffs and removing trade barriers.

Gauleiters Local Nazi Party secretaries who played a vital role in enforcing Nazi rule in the regions.

GDP Gross Domestic Product, the annual total value of goods produced and services provided, the standard way of measuring a country's economic strength.

General Confederation of Labour (CGT) An alliance of Argentinian trade unions, collectively numbering over a third of a million members.

Gestapo *Geheime Staatspolizei*, special state police in Germany and German-occupied Europe.

Gleichschaltung Consolidation of authority.

GMD The Guomindang (People's Party), also known as the Nationalists, a revolutionary party formed in 1905 under Sun Yatsen.

GNP Gross National Product, the annual total value of goods and services produced by a country at home, added to the profits from its export trade.

Gosplan The Soviet state economic planning agency.

Governor-General The official representative of the British government in Tanganyika, who held executive powers.

Great Depression The international economic recession that started in the USA in 1929 and led to a rapid fall in demand for manufactured goods in all industrial countries, a situation which created high levels of unemployment in the 1930s.

The Great Fatherland War The term adopted in the Soviet Union to describe the ferocious struggle that began with the German invasion of the USSR in 1941 and concluded with Soviet forces smashing their way into Germany in 1945.

The great helmsman A reference to Mao's wisdom in guiding the ship of state.

Guatemala A central American state bordered by Mexico and Belize.

Guerrilla A style of warfare in which mobile troops, who live off the land, harass the enemy with surprise attacks while avoiding pitched battles.

Gulag An extensive system of penal colonies spread across the USSR.

Heavy engineering Large-scale manufactures based on the use of iron and steel.

Heresy Rejection of the basic political belief on which the movement depends, analogous to the rejection of a basic religious belief.

Hermann Goering A member of the Nazi Party since its earliest days, he was one of Hitler's most important ministers. At the time of the army scandals in 1938, Goering was chief of the *Luftwaffe* (German air force) and responsible for the Third Reich's economic programme.

Holocaust The systematic killing by Nazi Germany of 6 million European Jews between 1942 and 1945.

Homo Sovieticus Perfect proletarian, Soviet man.

Hukou Internal PRC passport or visa.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) An international non-governmental organization which monitors and reports on countries which breach human rights.

The Hungarian Uprising An attempt, in October to November 1956, by the Hungarian communist government to break free of the Soviet Union's control; it was crushed by invading Soviet forces.

Hyper-inflation Very rapid and destructive fall in the purchasing value of money, causing a rapid drop in the value of the currency and a sharp rise in prices.

Icons Paintings of Christ and the saints; icons were one of the great achievements of Russian culture.

IMF International Monetary Fund – a scheme which began operating in 1947 with the aim of preventing nations from becoming insolvent. Member states made deposits into a central fund from which they could draw in time of need.

Imperial powers Those countries that had developed as colony-owning empires; principally, Russia, Britain, France, Germany, Austria–Hungary and Turkey.

Industrialization The process of creating a factory-based manufacturing economy.

Infant mortality rate The number of children who die within eighteen months of birth.

Institute for the Promotion of Argentine Commerce (IAPI) A state-controlled organization

empowered to use government funds to promote Argentina's trade.

Intellectuals A term stretched in the PRC to encompass all those whose way of life or work was judged to have given them privileges denied to the people.

Intelligentsia Persons of influence in the intellectual world; for example, academics and writers.

International Development Association

(IDA) Created in 1960 and funded by the USA, it aimed to reduce poverty in the poorest countries by providing them with grants to stimulate economic growth.

Ipsa facto By that very fact.

ISI Import Substituting Industrialization – replacing imported goods with home-produced commodities in Argentina.

Jahiliyya A state that has rejected Allah.

Jehovah's Witnesses A Christian religious sect whose beliefs included the notion that, since the secular state was corrupt, its laws did not need to be obeyed, a view that offended the authorities.

Jihad An Islamic term meaning a committed struggle of believers against unbelievers.

Junta Government by military generals.

Justicialismo A Perónist system said to rest on three fundamental principles: social justice, autarky and national sovereignty.

Konsomol The Soviet Communist Union of Youth.

KPD *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (German Communist Party).

Kraft durch Freude (KDF) The Nazi 'Strength through Joy' movement.

Kremlin A commonly used term referring to the Soviet government, which was located in the Kremlin fortress in Moscow, the USSR's capital.

Kristallnacht The Night of [Breaking] Glass.

kWh Kilowatt hours, the main measurement of electrical output.

La Prensa 'The Press' – a widely circulating newspaper that claimed to represent ordinary Argentinians.

La Semana Trágica The 'week of tragedy' in January 1919 when nationalist gangs roamed the streets of Buenos Aires, beating up foreigners, the main targets being Jews and communists.

Labour camps Prisons and detention centres in which the inmates are required to perform heavy work in the toughest conditions.

Labour unions Organized bodies representing such groups as the sugar and tobacco workers in Cuba.

Laogai The term, which means 're-education through labour', came to be used to describe the extensive prison-camp system which operated under Mao.

Latifundias The Cuban landowners' great estates.

Latin America South American countries which historically had been settled or controlled by Spain or Portugal.

League of Nations The international body created in 1919 with the aim of peacefully resolving disputes between nations.

Leftists Bolshevik Party members who wanted NEP abandoned.

Legislative Council Established in Tanganyika in 1926 as a supposedly national representative body but, by 1958, containing only European and Asian members.

Liberal-based programmes In the UK, between 1945 and 1951, the Labour government implemented a welfare-state programme based on ideas originally advanced by the Liberals.

Liberal-democracy Descriptive of states which function according to the principles of individual freedom and equality and operate systems under which governments can be removed at elections.

Liberated The CCP's term for the areas brought under their control and from which they drove out the landlords.

Libertarian Belief in the need to guard individuals and institutions from excessive government control.

Life expectancy The age to which an individual was likely to live from birth or a given age.

Light engineering Skilled, specialized activities such as precision tool-making.

Loess A type of soil that can be dug into easily and shaped but still remains firm.

Lower middle class Shopkeepers, traders, professional people, etc.

Lusaka Manifesto A communiqué condemning racism, presented by Kaunda and Nyerere at the

Conference of East and Central African States in April 1969, and signed by all the heads of state attending.

Mafia An underworld crime syndicate, particularly strong in Florida.

Majority rule The right of the largest group to have the largest representation in government.

Mandate An authority granted by the League of Nations to certain countries to monitor and protect the interests of particular states and regions created at the end of the First World War.

Maoism The identification of Chinese communism with Mao personally.

Marshall Plan A plan adopted by the USA in 1947 under which it offered to provide substantial amounts of dollars to any country willing to grant trade concessions to the United States in return.

Marshals of the Soviet Union Highest ranking military officers.

Martin Bormann Nazi Party Secretary.

Marxism/Marxist Relating to the ideas of Karl Marx, a German revolutionary, who had advanced the notion that human society developed historically as a continuous series of class struggles between those who possessed economic and political power and those who did not. He taught that the culmination of this dialectical process would be the crushing victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

Marxism–Leninism The revolutionary theories of class war as advanced by Karl Marx and later developed by Lenin.

May Day Or ‘Labour Day’ – 1 May, traditionally regarded as a special day for honouring the workers and the achievements of socialism.

Metaphysical union A bond between leader and people that goes beyond mere political considerations and suggests an affinity of feeling and respect.

Middle East Never an exact term, it includes such countries as Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Israel, Palestine, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran. Objections are sometimes raised to the use of the term on the grounds that it perpetuates the language of colonialism.

Missionaries Usually religious orders of priests and nuns who sought to spread their Christian message by founding and running schools and hospitals.

Mixed-race persons Those with one black and one white parent.

Modernization The movement of a nation from a rural, agricultural society to an urban, industrial one.

Monopoly capitalism A system in which the state interferes with the working of the economy in order to protect large commercial and industrial interests from competition from smaller concerns.

Monroe Doctrine A warning given by President Monroe in 1823 that the USA would not allow other powers to colonize or interfere in any part of the Americas, and would regard itself as the protector of the region.

Montoneros Formed in 1970 in the wake of the *cordobazo*, they were an extreme Left-wing Perónist group who believed in waging urban guerrilla warfare; arson and assassination were among their preferred methods.

National Assembly The Cuban National Assembly of People’s Power, a parliament of 614 members elected every five years.

National People’s Congress The elected body drawn from members of the CCP and from which members of the Politburo and State Council were appointed.

National service A period of compulsory military training.

National Union A title deliberately chosen by the RCC as representing Egypt itself. To oppose it, therefore, was to be anti-Egyptian. It had originally been called Liberation Rally.

Nationalism A devotion to the interests and culture of one’s nation, often leading to the belief that certain nationalities are superior to others.

Nazism The National Socialist movement that dominated Germany between 1933 and 1945.

Nazi–Soviet Pact A ten-year non-aggression agreement signed in 1939 between the Third Reich and the USSR.

Nehru The first leader (1947–64) of independent India after Britain’s withdrawal.

Neo-colonialism An attempt by the former colonial powers to re-impose their control on their previous possessions.

Neopatriarchal A new form of male domination.

NEP The New Economic Policy, which permitted the Soviet peasants to return to farming for private profit.

Nepmen A derisive term for the profiteers who had supposedly exploited the commercial freedoms allowed under NEP in order to enrich themselves.

Nepotism The granting of positions and privileges to family members or close associates.

New Deal A set of programmes introduced by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration to tackle the economic depression which afflicted the USA in the 1930s.

NKVD The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the Soviet secret police.

Nomenklatura The Soviet 'establishment' – privileged officials who ran the Party and government.

Non-aligned movement (NAM) An organization started in 1953, composed of countries which did not wish to support either of the Cold War blocs.

NSDAP National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi Party).

Nubians A group of people living in southern Egypt and northern Sudan with a distinct culture, language and history.

Nuclear family Two parents and their children, considered as a unit.

OUA The Organization of African Unity, founded in 1963, with essentially the same objectives as PAC.

Occupied Europe The areas overrun by German forces between 1939 and 1942 which were then placed under German administration and control.

October Revolution The seizure by the Bolsheviks of power in October 1917 from the interim Provisional Government that had led Russia since the abdication of the monarchy in February 1917.

OGPU Succeeded the *Cheka* as the Soviet state security force. In turn it became the NKVD and then the KGB.

Orgburo The Soviet Organizational Bureau of the Secretariat responsible for turning the government's executive decisions and policies into practice.

PAC Pan-African Congress, founded in 1900 to campaign for African freedom from colonial rule.

Packets Special benefits, such as villas and cars.

Pan-Arabism A trans-national movement for the unification of the Arab peoples in order to pursue their common interests and improve their conditions.

Paramount chief The formal title given by British administrators to an African tribal leader who was recognized and respected by the tribe's members as having legitimate authority over them.

Paris Peace Conference The gathering which drew up the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, which, with other peace treaties after the First World War, reshaped much of the post-war world.

Partido Ortodoxo Literally 'Orthodox Party', better translated as 'People's Party', which Castro joined in the late 1940s.

Party card The official CPSU warrant granting membership and privileges to the holder. It was a prized possession in the Soviet Union.

Pastoral letters Formal addresses from the bishops read out to the people attending Sunday mass.

Patriarchal Male-dominated.

Patriotic League An Argentinian nationalist group created to fight the immigrant organizations responsible, so the League claimed, for the strikes and industrial unrest and for bringing communism into the country.

Patronage Providing government approval and support and extending privileges to selected individuals and groups.

Perónists Supporters of Perón and Perónism.

Pharaoh The absolute ruler in ancient Egypt.

PLA China's People's Liberation Army, formerly the Red Army.

Platt Amendments Named after Senator Orville Platt, who introduced them into the US Congress in 1901, the amendments became the basis of what was, in effect, a binding treaty between Cuba and the USA.

PLO Palestinian Liberation Organization, formed in 1964 under Egyptian auspices and pledged to 'prohibit the existence of Zionism' through the use of terror tactics against Israeli targets.

Polaris A nuclear-armed missile.

Politburo An inner core of some twenty leading members of the Communist Party.

Populist A form of politics that seeks to create a direct relationship between the leader and the people, based on the idea that the leader has a special understanding of the people's needs.

PR Proportional representation, the allocation of seats according to the number of votes cast for each party.

Premier Soviet Chairman of the Council of Commissars.

Presumption of guilt A reversal of the principle common in most legal systems that the accused is innocent until proved guilty.

Proletariat The revolutionary working class destined, in Marxist revolutionary theory, to achieve ultimate triumph in the class war.

Prophets Individuals endowed with divine insight, as honoured in the three main monotheistic (belief in one God) religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Protectorate An area not formally taken over as a colony but still under protective jurisdiction.

Providence The notion that fate is predetermined by the force of history.

Purges A system of terror used by Lenin and Stalin in the USSR and Mao in China for removing anyone regarded as a threat to their authority.

Putschista Someone willing to engage in violent struggle but lacking a true understanding of the revolutionary process.

Qur'an (also Koran) The holy book of Islam, believed by Muslims to be the word of Allah as revealed to the Prophet Muhammad.

Radical Change at the very roots.

Radical Civic Union A conservative group, to which many businessmen belonged, formed in opposition to Perón.

Reactionaries CCP members who had lost faith in the revolution.

Reactionary Fiercely resistant to change.

Reactive pragmatism Responding to events as they occur rather than working to a prescribed plan.

Real wages Earnings measured not by their nominal value but by their purchasing power.

Rectification A revitalizing of the Cuban revolution by the correction of past errors.

Red Army The Bolshevik defence forces; the title was also adopted by the Chinese Communist forces.

Red Guards Units of young people, specially trained by Kang Sheng, the head of Mao's secret police, to act as terror squads.

Reich The German word for 'empire'. There were three Germanic empires, the First (962–1806), the Second (1871–1918) and the Third (1933–45).

Reichsbank The German state bank.

'Reunification' campaigns The Chinese government's euphemism for forcibly bringing the invaded provinces into line in 1950.

Revelation The disclosing of eternal truths.

Revisionism Departure from true communism, a blanket term applied to any idea of which Mao disapproved.

Revisionist Reactionary, anti-Party thinking.

Revolutionary correctness The idea that Chinese communism (Maoism) was a body of political, social and economic truth, as defined by Mao, which all CCP members had to accept.

Rightists Bolshevik Party and CCP members who argued for a slower, less violent development of revolution and for the continuation of the NEP.

Robert Ley Director of the Nazi German Labour Front.

Roca-Runciman Agreement Agreement between Britain and Argentina in 1933 under which Britain gave preferential treatment to Argentina's meat exports in return for Argentina's increasing its imports of British products.

Rogers Plan A proposal put forward in December 1969 by William Rogers, the US Secretary of State, for an Arab–Israeli cease-fire.

Routinization of Fidel Castro's charisma A process which, by constant emphasis, created a common outlook among the Cuban people that Castro's gifts as leader were the standard by which to judge all other politicians.

SA *Sturmabteilung* ('storm troopers'): Hitler's paramilitary force.

Sacrilege Degrading of something sacred.

Scapgoat A sacrificial victim on whom blame for misfortune is placed.

Schwartz Kapelle The 'Black Organization', a Gestapo designation for those on the political Right who were suspected of being anti-Hitler.

The scramble for Africa During the period 1870–1914, the major European powers vied with each other in colonizing various parts of Africa.

Second World War Fought between the Allies (principally Britain, China, USSR and the USA) and the Axis powers (principally Germany, Italy and Japan) 1939–45.

Secular state A nation that does not allow religion a defining or central place in its structure.

Self-determination The right of peoples to be free of domination by an outside power and to form a nation and government of their own choice.

Seminaries Training colleges for priests.

Show trials Special public court hearings, meant as propaganda exercises, in which the accused were paraded as enemies of the people.

Siegfried A legendary knight, regarded as representing the Germanic ideal.

Sierra Cristal A mountain range in northern Cuba.

Sierra Maestra A mountain range running across the province of Oriente in eastern Cuba.

Sino A prefix meaning Chinese.

Sisal A fibre that can be cultivated and processed into rope and twine.

Social justice A system in which the law operates to create equal rights for all and prevent exploitation of the weak by the powerful.

Social realism Representational work which related directly to the lives of the people.

Socialism Capable of taking many forms, it is essentially concerned with the structuring of society and the economy through government action to meet the needs of the people.

Southern Rhodesia A British colony 1923–64, became Rhodesia in 1964, and Zimbabwe in 1980.

Soviet Bolshevik/Communist-dominated worker–soldier local councils. In China, the term described a communist community dedicated to the practical application of Marxist egalitarian principles.

Soviet bloc The USSR and the countries of eastern Europe which it dominated, 1945–49.

Soviet Union of Writers The body which had authority over all published writers and had the right to ban any work of which it disapproved.

SRs Socialist Revolutionaries, the largest of the revolutionary parties in Russia until outlawed by the Bolsheviks after 1917.

SS Nazi *Schutzstaffeln* (protective squads).

Staple Basic crop or commodity on which an economy relies.

State Department The USA's foreign ministry.

State procurements Enforced collections of grain from the peasants in the USSR.

Straits of Tiran The narrow seven-mile (11 km) sea passage between the Sinai and Arabian peninsulas.

Struggle sessions A method for breaking victims' resistance by forcing them to engage in intense self-criticism until they confessed their guilt.

Subsidiary companies Businesses that operate separately in particular areas, often under a different name, but ultimately under the control of a parent company.

Sudan Since 1899, Sudan had been jointly governed by Britain and Egypt as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Nasser regarded Egypt's losing Sudan to be the necessary price for both countries' becoming independent from Britain.

Suez Canal The vital waterway linking the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, thus shortening the distance between Britain and its colonies and trading centres in Asia, east and southern Africa, and Oceania.

Suffrage The right to vote.

Sun Yatsen (1866–1925) The Chinese revolutionary who founded the Chinese Republic in the early twentieth century.

Syndicates State-controlled worker organizations in Argentina.

Tanganyika The large mainland area of what became Tanzania, when the neighbouring island of Zanzibar was incorporated in 1964.

Tango A traditional, stylized, erotic Argentinian dance, said to be the vertical expression of a horizontal desire.

TANZAM Tanzania–Zambia railway.

Teutonic Relating to peoples of Germanic origin, interchangeable as a term with Aryan.

The Whites Tsarists and anti-Bolsheviks.

Third Way An approach that avoids the extremes of communism and capitalism.

Tito The communist leader of Yugoslavia who successfully defied Soviet control.

Total theatre An approach which sought to break down the barriers between actors and audience by novel use of lighting, sound and stage settings.

Triple A The Argentine Anti-communist Alliance.

Triptych A painting made up of three separate panels, hinged together.

Triumvirate A ruling or influential bloc of three persons.

Trusteeship The new United Nations organization which took over from the old League of Nations body which had administered the mandates (renamed trusts).

Tsarist Russia A centuries-old autocratic state, lacking genuinely democratic institutions.

Tsars The traditional absolute rulers of imperial Russia.

Uighur, Kazakh, Hui and Kirghiz peoples Ethnic groups, which in regard to race, culture, language and religion were markedly distinct from the Han people who made up over 80 per cent of China's population.

Ujamaa The word in Swahili, Tanzania's national language, for 'familyhood' or community.

UN forces Military units brought into being by a formal UN Resolution and composed of troops from a number of member states.

UN Security Council The body established to resolve international disputes and empowered to use force, its permanent members being the USSR, the USA, Britain, France and Nationalist China.

UN's Human Development Index A system operated by the United Nations from 1990 for measuring the relative economic and social development of individual states.

United Nations The organization that superseded the League of Nations in 1945, committed to maintaining international security and promoting human rights. It began with 51 member states and was initially dominated by the USA upon whose financial support it depended.

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the name given to communist Russia and states under its control from 1922, also known as the Soviet Union.

Usury Charging exorbitant interest on money loans.

Varela Project A Catholic organization calling for political and religious freedom in Cuba.

Vatican The administrative centre of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome.

Veto Each individual permanent member of the UN Security Council had the right to block the collective or majority decision of the others.

Vietnam War The USA's failed attempt (1965–73) to defeat the communists in Vietnam, a venture that

caused deep divisions at home and damaged the USA's international reputation.

Villagization The collectivization of the peasantry, based on the programme adopted by Mao Zedong in the PRC, which Nyerere had observed at first hand on his visits to China.

Volk The nation as a community of racially pure Germans.

Vozhd Russian for a supreme leader, equivalent to the *Führer* in German.

Wabenzi The 'Benz people', a pejorative term used to describe Tanzanian officials in mocking reference to their buying luxurious Mercedes-Benz cars.

Wafd Arabic for 'delegation', suggesting the Party's claim to represent the people.

War Commissars Soviet ministers responsible for military organization.

Washington A term commonly used to refer to the US government, which is located in that city.

Wehrmacht (previously the *Reichswehr*) The German armed services, comprising the army, navy and air force, though the term was often used simply to describe the army.

Weimar A country town chosen as the new capital and seat of government of Germany in 1919 instead of troubled Berlin.

White émigrés Tsarist supporters who had fled to Germany from Russia after the Russian Revolution.

White Rose A group opposed to the Nazis, named after the flower as a symbol of peace.

Wilhelmine Germany The German state during the reigns of Kaiser William I (1871–88) and William II (1888–1918).

Zambia Formerly Northern Rhodesia.

Zionism The movement for the creation of a Jewish state; the term is often used to denote Israeli expansionism.

Further reading

Stalin

Books

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An outstanding modern analyst's collection of key contributions to the debate on Stalinism.

Barry McLoughlin and Kevin McDermott, *Stalin's Terror: High Politics and Mass Repression in the Soviet Union*, Palgrave, London, 2003
A detailed study of the Stalinist purges, the motives behind them and those involved in implementing them.

Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 2004
A fascinating account of how Stalin ran his government, dominating his ministers and officials and reducing them to frightened sycophants eager to carry out his will.

Robert Service, *Stalin: A Biography*, Macmillan, London, 2004
A lively analysis of Stalin's character and actions by a leading Western authority on Soviet history.

Robert Tucker, *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation*, Norton, New York, 1999
A particularly valuable analysis of the Stalinist system and how it has been interpreted by Russian and Western scholars.

Dmitri Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London 1991
Special insights provided by a Soviet scholar, who lived and worked in the USSR under Stalin.

Websites

www.marxists.org/history/ussr/text-index.htm
Soviet History Archive: a rich set of sources covering politics, economics, foreign affairs and culture. 177 pieces of documentary footage of the Soviet Union under Stalin.

Hitler

Books

Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History*, Macmillan, London, 2000
Taking as its theme the notion of National Socialism as a secular religion, the book is particularly impressive in its treatment of Nazi propaganda and the Hitler cult.

Joachim Fest, *Hitler*, Penguin, London, 1977
An important biography by a German writer concerned to place Hitler in his historical context as a particular product of German history.

Robert Gellately, *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler: The Age of Social Catastrophe*, Jonathan Cape, London, 2007

An especially helpful study that puts Hitler's dictatorship in context by comparing him with his great Soviet rivals.

Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936: Hubris and Hitler 1936–45: Nemesis*, Allen Lane, London, 1998 and 2000

A vast two-volume study, but well worth dipping into since it is written by a scholar acknowledged as the world's greatest authority on Hitler.

Michael Lynch, *Hitler*, Routledge, London, 2013

An up-to-date biography that incorporates many of the latest findings on Hitler and Nazi Germany.

Richard Overy, *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia*, Allen Lane, London, 2004

An important book that analyses the character of Hitler's regime by comparing it with Stalin's.

DVD

BBC TV series, 1997: *The Nazis: A Warning from History*

Website

www.hitler.org

Hitler Historical Museum: contains a large selection of writings, speeches, images and posters.

Mao

Books

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An important collection of articles which, by mounting a strong critique of Jung Chang's methodology, seeks to present a balanced assessment of Mao's impact on China.

Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story*, Jonathan Cape, London, 2005

A strongly committed and very readable account of Mao's policies, but criticized by other historians for its heavy bias against Mao.

Timothy Cheek (ed.) *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010

Fourteen of the world's leading authorities on Mao contribute to a set of essays, covering his ideas, policies and legacy and examining the historiography that has developed around him.

Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958–62*, Bloomsbury, London, 2010

A harrowing account of the disastrous results of Mao's Great Leap Forward.

Michael Lynch, *Mao*, Routledge, London, 2004

A combination of narrative and analysis, written with students in mind.

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, Belknap Press, 2006

An important book that traces the origins, course and consequences of Mao's extraordinary attempt to leave his permanent mark on the revolutionary China he had created.

Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, Norton, New York, USA, 1990

The classic account of Mao and his times by the leading Western authority on China's modern history.

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Collection of propaganda posters in Mao's PRC.

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An Arab scholar's sympathetic treatment of Egypt's great modernizer.

Guy Arnold, *Africa: A Modern History*, Atlantic Books, London, 2005

A major study which sets Nasser's Egypt in the context of African development.

Steven A. Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012

An up-to-date account of Nasser's achievements and his lasting influence on Egypt.

Jean Lacouture, *Nasser*, Secker & Warburg, London, 1973

A compelling biography by a French writer who was eyewitness to much of what he describes.

Anthony Nutting, *Nasser*, Constable, London, 1972

An interesting mixture of criticism and praise of Nasser's regime by someone who knew Nasser personally.

Abdel Magid Farid, *Nasser: The Final Years*, Ithaca Press, Reading, 1994

Thought-provoking reflections on the legacy left by Nasser to Egypt and the Arab world.

DVD

Feature film, 2007: *Six Days in June: The War that Redefined the Middle East*.

Websites

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/mideast.asp

***The Middle East 1916–2001: A Documentary Record*. Contains the key documents dealing with Egypt, Palestine and Israel.**

www.youtube.com/watch?v=LqG6UyTsEOI

***The Life and Death of Gamal Abdel Nasser*. A documentary film made in 1971.**

Castro

Books

Leycester Coltman and Julia Sweig, *The Real Fidel*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2003

A rounded and balanced study of Castro's leadership of the Cubans, written by a British diplomat who knew Castro personally.

Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution*, Belknap Press, Harvard, 1978

A very useful reference book with graphs and tables illustrating the narrative that deals with the early years of Castro's regime.

Clive Foss, *Fidel Castro*, Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 2000

An excellent short introduction to the main features of Castro's career and achievements.

Richard Gott, *Cuba: A New History*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2004

A sympathetic and stimulating study of Castro by a committed Left-wing British writer.

Robert E. Quirk, *Fidel Castro*, Norton, New York, 1993

A detailed study of Castro that pays particular attention to his relations with the USA and the Soviet Union.

Simon Reid-Henry, *Fidel and Che: A Revolutionary Friendship*, Sceptre Books, London, 2009

A long but highly readable account of one of the great formative relationships in Castro's career as a revolutionary.

Websites

www.fordham.edu/halsalt/mod/modsbook.asp

Fordham University's Internet Modern History Sourcebook. A very valuable source having sections devoted to Castro's Cuba (and all the regimes covered in this book).

www.marxists.org/history/cuba/archive/index.htm

Cuba government documents: contains important documents on Castro and Guevara.

<http://mssa.library.yale.edu/findaids>

Guide to the Cuban Revolution Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library: an important set of documents on Castro and the Cuban Revolution.

Perón

Books

Robert D. Crassweller, *Perón and the Enigma of Argentina*, Norton, New York, 1988

Examines both Perón as a leader and Perónism as a movement that existed independently of Perón.

Clive Foss, *Juan and Eva Perón*, Sutton, Stroud, 2006

A short but very readable analysis of the importance of Eva Perón to the Perónist regime.

Jill Hedges, *Argentina: A Modern History*, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2011
An up-to-date work that traces Argentina's development since the 1850s, paying particular attention to the Perón period.

Douglas Madsen and Peter G. Snow, *The Charismatic Bond: Political Behaviour in Time of Crisis*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1996
Examines Perónism as a cult and analyses the character of Perón's popularity as leader of Argentina.

Joseph Page, *Perón, a Biography*, Random House, New York, 1983
This long biography takes a sympathetic view of its subject and, while not always an easy read, provides many striking insights into Perón's leadership.

Robert A. Potash, *The Army and Politics in Argentina, 1945–1962*, Athlone Press, London, 1980
A study of Argentina under Perón, focusing on the vital relationship between him and the armed services.

David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993
A work that places Perón and Perónism in the context of Argentinian nationalism.

Websites

www.casahistoria.net/peron.htm
Argentina and the Peróns: a wide range of documents covering all the main features of Perón's regime.

www.marxists.org/history/argentina.htm
History of the Left in Argentina: a wide selection of documents illustrating the Left-wing movements in Perón's time.

Nyerere

Books

Guy Arnold, *Africa: A Modern History*, Atlantic Books, London, 2005
A large and very reliable study of Africa, containing many informative sections on Nyerere and Tanzania.

Chambi Chachage and Annar Cassam, *Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere*, Pambazuka Press, Kampala, Uganda, 2010
A collection of seventeen short essays by a range of African scholars dealing sympathetically with all the major aspects of Nyerere's leadership of Tanzania.

John Hatch, *Two African Statesmen*, Secker & Warburg, London, 1976
A comparative study of the leadership styles and achievements of Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia.

Michael Hodd (ed.) *Tanzania After Nyerere*, Pinter Publishers, London, 1988
Twenty studies by Western and African contributors, dealing with the political, economic and social issues that confronted Nyerere.

Godfrey Mwakikagile, *Nyerere and Africa: End of an Era. Biography of Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922–1999) President of Tanzania*, Protea Publishing, Atlanta, Georgia, 2002
A basically sympathetic study of Nyerere and his policies.

Ludovik S. Mwijage, *Julius K Nyerere: Servant of God or Untarnished Tyrant?*,
Wisdom House Books, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1994

Written by a Tanzanian dissident who was imprisoned by Nyerere's government,
this book concentrates on the repressive aspects of the regime that Nyerere
operated.

Websites

www.juliusnyerere.info/index.php/media/videos

Audio and video recordings of Nyerere during his time as leader.

www.juliusnyerere.info/index.php/resources

A collection of Nyerere's speeches and writings.

Internal assessment

The internal assessment is a historical investigation on a historical topic. Below is a list of possible topics that could warrant further investigation. They have been organized by theme.

Stalin

1. To what extent did Stalin control the Soviet Union's government by 1928?
2. How different were Stalin's views on international communism from Trotsky's views?
3. For what reasons and with what results did the Russian Orthodox Church endure persecution during Stalin's rule up to 1941?
4. How did communist rule affect Russia's Hermitage Palace in Leningrad between 1917 and 1941?
5. To what extent did the university curriculum change within the Soviet Union from 1924 to 1941?

Hitler

1. What was the importance of *Mein Kampf* for Hitler's foreign policy according to historian Richard Overy?
2. How were female teachers affected by the government's education policies between 1933 and 1939 in Germany?
3. To what extent did *Gleichaltung* merge provincial and national governments?
4. How did the US government's foreign policy alter towards Germany from 1933 to 1939?
5. How did the German government's use of propaganda differ from its use by the French government between 1933 and 1939?

Mao

1. What was the importance of the Soviet Union for the People's Republic of China during the Korean War, 1950 to 1953?
2. To what extent were Muslims treated differently to Tibetan Buddhists in the People's Republic of China during the Cultural Revolution?
3. To what extent did the Great Leap Forward affect the north and south of the People's Republic of China differently?
4. What was the role of government corruption in causing the Cultural Revolution?
5. For what reasons and with what results did the People's Republic of China and India battle over their mutual borders before 1976?

Nasser

1. How consistent was Nasser's foreign policy towards Britain between 1954 and 1970?
2. What was the significance of the Aswan High Dam for Egypt up to 1970?
3. To what extent were Egyptian Greeks affected by Nasser's economic policies?
4. Why did Nasser involve Egypt in Yemen in the 1960s?
5. How were the arts in Egypt affected by the military-established government between 1952 and 1980?

Castro

1. How did Castro's foreign policy towards France differ from his foreign policy towards Italy between 1962 and 2000?
2. What was the effect of the US economic embargo on Cuba's tourist industry between 1962 and 2000?
3. To what extent did school curricula change in Cuba from Batista's overthrow until 1980?
4. Why did Cuba become involved in the conflict in Angola between 1975 and 1991?
5. How successful was Castro in creating a communist society in Cuba by 1970?

Perón

1. To what extent were the visual arts affected by Perón's rule?
2. How did Perón's policies affect European immigration to Argentina between 1946 and 1955?
3. Did Perón's foreign policies towards other South American states differ from those of earlier Argentinian governments?
4. What was the economic effect of Perón's rule on Argentina's beef industry?
5. Why was Perón unable to remove opposition to his rule from Argentina's armed forces?

Nyerere

1. How did Tanzania's villagization programme affect neighbouring states?
2. To what extent was the standard of living of people living in Zanzibar different from those living on Tanzania's mainland during Nyerere's rule?
3. For what reasons and with what results did Tanzania become involved in a conflict with Uganda in 1978 and 1979?
4. How was the city of Dar es Salam affected architecturally by Nyerere's rule?
5. To what extent was tribal cohesion affected by Nyerere's political policies?

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