

Index

Abdullah (king of Jordan), 55, 56, 57	of Saudi Arabia, 49, 494
Adenauer, Konrad	of Vatican, 462, 463-64, 467, 469
armament policies of, 417	anti-imperialism/anti-colonialism, 186
economic policies of, 418	of Arab League, 52–54
foreign policies of, 103, 369, 417, 420–21	of PLO, 256
nuclear weapons strategy of, 341	of Soviet Union, 605
retirement of, 428	of United States, 19, 21
Adzhubei, Aleksei, 428, 476	anti-Westernism, of Khomeini, 327
Afghanistan	anti-Zionism
and India, 527	in British Mandatory Palestine, 191
Soviet intervention in, 491, 509–13, 548	in Ottoman Palestine, 190
and China, 531	Arab League, 8, 611
end of, 573–74	anti-imperialism of, 52-54
Islamist opposition against, 513-14	and Arab-Israeli conflict, 54-57, 62, 193
and Non-Aligned Movement, 533	194, 210, 240, 242, 243,
and United States/NATO, 541-43	245–46, 254
US intervention in, 601	Israeli Independence war
Africa	(1948–1949), 196, 198
and Israel, 209, 235	June War defeat, 224–25
representation in Asian-African	Palestinian issue, 241, 256
Movement from, 283, 286	rejection of Camp David Accords, 501
Aga Khan III, 312	rejection of UN partition plan for
agency of middle and smaller powers, 4, 5,	Palestine, 195
610–11	Suez Crisis, 61
al-Alami, Musa, 51	and Cold War, 58, 66
Albania, communist regime in, 71	creation of, 42, 45, 50–52, 66, 308
independence from Soviet Union, 75, 77,	Egyptian membership
82–83	expulsion, 490, 500, 502
Ale-Ahmad, Jalal, 327	readmission, 507
Algeria, independence of, 53, 104	internal divisions, 43, 63-66, 210
All-Indian Muslim League, 309	and Iranian Islamic Revolution, 505
Amin, Hafizullah, 510	and Korean War, 58–59
Amnesty International, 445	leadership of, 311
Andropov, Yuri V., 546, 547, 548, 552, 565	by Egypt, 50, 53, 63, 64, 314
Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty	Pakistan seeking membership of, 311
(1972), 353	Saudi criticism of, 320
anti-communism	UK influence in, 39–40, 42–43, 67
at Bandung Conference, 279, 281	Arab Liberation Army, 195
of Free World alliance, 90–91	Arab nationalism, 17, 49
of India, 168	British support for, 46, 50
of Pakistan, 173	Arab states / Arab world
of Reagan, 556	and Arab–Israeli conflict

736



Index 737

blockades and boycotts, 200-1, 234 June War defeat, 221, 224 Palestinian issue, 191 rejection of Sadat's peace initiative, 499–502 UN partition plan for Palestine rejection, 195 internal divisions, 208-10, 211, 507 leadership of Iraqi ambitions, 491, 495, 507 Syrian ambitions, 494 Pakistan seeking integration with, 312 Arab-Israeli conflict, 185-86, 188-89; see also Arab states / Arab world: and Arab-Israeli conflict; Arab League: and Arab-Israeli conflict attempts to settle, 236 Alpha proposals, 202, 243 Egypt-Israeli peace negotiations and treaty, 490, 493, 496-99, 519 Geneva Conference, 500 Madrid Conference, 601 Saudi proposals, 515 UN proposals, 204, 225-26, 228 US proposals, 203, 229, 252 and China, 125 and Cold War, 9, 186, 199, 201-5, 210-11, 221-23, 239 Israeli independence war (1948-49), 56, 195 - 98June War (1967), 218-25 aftermath, 225-33 build-up to, 213-18 impact of, 247-52, 319, 323 low-intensity border conflicts, 198-99 and Non-Aligned Movement, 234, 300-1 October War (1973), 233-38 and PLO, 256 Palestinian displacement resulting from, see Nakba (1947-49); Naksa (1967) and Soviet Union, 224, 237, 574-75, 607 and Vatican, 467, 477 Arafat, Yasser, 240, 244 anti-imperialism of, 256 Cold War strategy of, 257 Fatah leadership by, 246 and Khomeini, 506 PLO leadership by, 250-51, 495-96 and Sadat's peace initiative, 500 UN speech of (1974), 257 Arkhipov, Ivan, 576 Asia, Cold War in, 5, 9, 115, 116, 520, 609 end of, 491, 520, 536-37 legacy of, 598-600

Asian-African Internationalism, 10, 263, 285-86 Asian Relations Conference (1947), 269-70 aims of, 266-67 and Bandung Conference, 266, 275-81 Chinese participation in, 124, 125-26, 129-30, 163, 349 collapse of, 175, 281-85 emergence of, 58, 263, 267-71 Indian participation in, 175 and Indonesia's independence struggle, 271 - 73internal divisions, 276, 277, 279-81, 282 and Non-Aligned Movement, 287, 298-300 and Palestinian cause, 187 and pan-Islamism, 322 Aswan Dam project (Egypt), 60 Atlantic Charter (1941), 20, 268 Atomic Energy Commission (UN), 337 Attlee, Clement, 25, 193, 338 on European integration, 363, 364, 370 authoritarian states, Free World membership of, 90, 97-100 autonomy of Free World members, 91 Awami League, 178 Ayub Khan, Muhammad, 173-74, 322 Badoglio, Pietro, 94 Baghdad Pact, 29-30, 35, 211 membership of, 202, 313, 317 Nasser's opposition to, 59-60 undermining of, 36 Balfour Declaration (1917), 46, 190 Baltic States, independence of, 591 Bandaranaike, Sirimavo, 298 Bandung Conference (1955), 31, 263, 278-81 and Asian-African Internationalism, 266 build-up towards, 275-78 Cold War spirit at, 286 collapse of legacy of, 281-85 Nasser's participation in, 60 and Non-Aligned Movement, 287 Palestinian issue/representation at, 244, 280 Zhou's participation in, 125-26 Banerjee, S. K., 179 Bangladesh creation of, 178-80

and India, 527

Bao Dai, 142, 148

Baruch, Bernard, 337

al-Banna, Hassan, 314, 315



738 Index

Begin, Menachem, 490, 519 Vietnam War spilling over in, 155, 302-3 resignation of, 517 Vietnamese policies towards, 145, 158, 525 and Sadat's peace initiative, 497, 498, 499 Camp David Accords and Peace Treaty (1978, 1979), 499, 501 settlement policies of, 515 Benelux, 364, 372 Carter, Jimmy, 109, 355, 356, Bengsch, Alfred, 474 499, 555 Ben-Gurion, David, 195 human rights promotion by, 457 and Arab-Israeli conflict, 196, 199, and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, 204, 217 511, 542 on Suez Crisis, 207 Casablanca Conference (1943), 94 Beran, Josef, 466, 469, 479 Casaroli, Agostino, 479, 483, 484, 571 Beria, Lavrentii, 77 Castro, Fidel, 572 Berlin Catholic Church, see also Vatican blockade of (1948), 25, 416 Chinese accusations of imperialism Cold War struggle over, 343 of, 470 division of, 414 transnationalism of, 462 and Catholic Church/Vatican, 474 Ceaușescu, Nicolae, 87, 89, 232, 402 fall of, 589-90 closing of borders, 80-82, 396, 423-25 end of, 587 CENTO (Central Treaty Organization), Quadripartite Agreement on the final 63,532 status of (1971), 411, 433, 447 Charter 77, 459, 589 Chernenko, Konstantin U., 553, 560, 565, 578 talks on, 431-32 Berlinguer, Enrico, 88 Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 324, 354, 512 Chernobyl disaster (1986), 579 Bolshevik Revolution (1917), 4 Chernyaev, Anatoly S., 578, 592 Bonomi, Ivanoe, 94 Cherwell, Lord (Frederick Alexander Boumédiène, Houari, 221 Lindemann), 338 Bourgiba, Habib, 221 Chiang Kai-shek, 99, 118 Brandt, Willy, 110, 410 Ostpolitik of, 429–36, 447, 482 China Civil War in (1927-1949), 4, 119 Bretton Woods system, 21 as early Cold War conflict, 9, 115 collapse of, 111, 377, 539, 596 communist victory in, 119-21 creation of, 361 impact of, 115 Soviet withdrawal from, 385 Qing dynasty, 118 Brezhnev, Leonid I., 84, 352, 455, 535, China, communist (PRC), 9, 116, 541, 543 117-18, 137 and arms reduction / nuclear disarmaand Albania, 83 ment talks, 560 and Western Europe, 135 and Eastern European economic and Arab-Israeli conflict, 247, 249, problems, 550, 551, 552 256, 280 and Polish Crisis, 547 and Suez Crisis, 127 Brezhnev Doctrine, 86, 399, 549 criticism of Palestinian terrorism, 251 Briand, Aristide, 362 recognition of Israel, 201 British Commonwealth, 44 support for Palestinian cause, 125, 250, 254 collapse of communist regime in, 588 and Asian-African Internationalism, economic problems of, 403 125-26, 129-30, 284, 286, 298, and Vatican, 468 299-300 leadership of, 163 Bunche, Ralph, 197 Catholic Church in Burma, and Israel, 201 and Vatican, 470 Caliphate, Ottoman, 309 and CMEA, 394 Cold War in, 115 Cambodia

Crisis (1977-78), 523, 528-31

Cultural Revolution, 83, 131



economic development of, 128, 136, 521	Churchill, Winston, 20, 52
Deng's reform policies, 524, 568	on European integration, 363–64,
and Egypt, 205, 222	365, 370
foreign policies of, 122–23, 128	Clinton, Bill, 601
Four Modernizations program, 123,	CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic
128, 137	Assistance), 332, 381, 405–6
and France, 104-6, 346, 428	dissolution of, 592
Gang of Four, 521	economic integration in, 395–400, 401–2
Great Leap Forward, 80, 127, 128	economic liberalization policies by, 571
and India, 116, 127, 129, 162, 166,	economic problems of, 549-53, 561
168-74	energy demands of, 543
border clashes and wars, 298	establishment of, 389–92
improvement of relationship, 527	internal divisions/decline of, 397, 400-5
rivalry, 299	non-European membership of, 397
international recognition of, 121, 126, 133	reform attempts by Gorbachev, 570
and Japan, 524	and Soviet economy, 394–95
Korean War involvement of, 27, 75,	Cold War, see regional Cold Wars; global
121–22	Cold War
nuclear weapons program of, 125, 129,	Colombo Powers, 282–83
175, 299, 334, 339, 346, 349	Cominform, 387
and Pakistan, 174	Comintern, 17, 70, 119, 606
Palestinian cause supported by, 186	communism, collapse of, 462, 595–96
and pan-European security conference/	communist bloc, see Socialist Camp
CSCE talks, 449, 453, 456	communist parties, 70
radicalism of, 126-28, 129-31	in Afghanistan, 509, 510
and Soviet Union, 79-80, 120, 127, 131,	disappearance of, 595–96
346, 352, 531, 535–36, 576, 611	in Eastern Europe, 70, 71
friendship relation, 75	Soviet control of, 72
reconciliation attempts, 26	in Iran, 505
rift with, 84	Vietnamese, 138–39
and Syria, 213	in Western Europe, 73, 87, 96–97
and Taiwan issue, 279	government participation by, 93, 95
UN membership of, 124, 133, 134–35	Congress of Europe (1948), 367–68
and United States, 123–25, 131–34,	conventional weapons
155, 521	disarmament talks on, 540
normalization of relations, 524-25	Coolidge, Calvin, 20
rapprochement, 353–54	Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard N., 361-63,
and Vietnam / North Vietnam, 155	364, 387
attempts to improve relationship, 535	Council of Europe, 602
deterioration of relationship,	establishment of, 368, 444
521–22, 523	Cousins, Norman, 476, 477
disagreements, 153-54, 158	Croatia, Catholic Church in, 465
friendship relations, 145, 151	CSCE (Conference on Security and
punitive action against, 528–30	Cooperation in Europe), 409, 410,
split, 491	451–56, 461
China, Republic of (ROC/Taiwan) /	Chinese participation in, 135
Guomindang government (GMD),	emergence of, 438–39
118–19	impact on Eastern Europe of, 456-61
support of United States for, 98, 99, 125	preparations for, 445–51
Christian Democrats, post-Cold War	Vatican participation in, 484
weakening of, 603	Cuba
churches, see also Catholic Church; Russian	failed American invasion of (1961), 344
Orthodox Church, Soviet regime's	and Indochina, 532
use of	Missiles Crisis (1962), 297, 344-46
in Eastern Europe, 462	and Vatican, 476



740 Index

Cuba (cont.) and Non-Aligned Movement, 533 and Soviet Union, 572 Cyprus, division of, 457 Czechoslovakia Catholic Church in, 465 and Vatican, 468, 479 communist regime in, 71, 77, 86 collapse of, 588 economic reforms, 398, 399 human rights activism in, 459 Prague Spring / Soviet intervention in (1968), 85-86, 108, 399 Daud (king of Afghanistan), 509 Dayan, Moshe, 218, 228 debt crisis of Eastern Europe, 403-5, 540, 552 decolonization, 3 and Cold War, 2, 29 emergence of, 360 in Middle East, 185 promotion of, 52-54, 285 democracies, 106 Free World membership of, 90 Japanese, 96 Western European, 91–93 communist government participation, 96 - 97democratization, 597 in Asia, 599 in Eastern Europe, 602 in Middle East, 600 Deng Xiaoping, 137, 356 foreign policies of, 524, 535, 536 Indochina, 525, 528-29 Soviet Union, 576 reform policies of, 521, 524 Denmark, EC membership of, 377 Desai, Morarji, 182, 527, 531 de-Stalinization, 76-79, 89 Albanian rejection of, 82 and communist-Catholic relations, 471 criticism of by Mao, 79-80, 83, 126 by Ulbricht, 81 Romania's lack of, 83 developing world, see Third World countries Dien Bien Phu, battle of (1953), 146 The Discovery of India (Nehru), 164 Djilas, Milovan, 68 Domino Theory (Eisenhower), 160 Döpfner, Julius, 474, 480

DRV, see North Vietnam (DRV) Dubček, Alexander, 85 Dulles, John F., 203 East Germany (GDR) and Arab-Israeli conflict, 435 Catholic Church in, 474, 482 Cold War relationship with West Germany, 409, 417-19, 420-23, 436-37 détente, 409, 410, 429-36 East German spying, 436 West German economic aid, 551, 559, 561, 587 communist regime in, 70, 86, 413 and Berlin Crisis, 80-82 civil unrest, 77, 418-19, 586 collapse of, 584-88 economic policies of, 85, 388, 395, 398-99, 406 foreign policies of, 425-27 former Nazis in, 422 post-World War II territorial losses of, 439 creation of, 25, 417, 436 anti-fascist myth of, 422 and CSCE, 456 economic development of, 416, 418, 423, 425, 435 crises/problems, 549, 551 emigration/flight to West from, 423 human rights activism in, 458 international recognition of state of, 413, 421, 429, 433 left-wing and Palestinian terrorists supported by, 435-36 sports as marking of greatness in, 435 East Pakistan Crisis (1971-1972), 178-80, 304 Eastern Europe, 12 Catholic Church in, 462 détente, 477-85 suppression of, 465-67, 469, 473 Vatican engagement with, 473-77 communist regimes in, 70-71 collapse of, 584 de-Stalinization of, 76, 78-79 economic integration, 394-400 economic policies of, 86-87, 390-91 and CSCE, 455, 456-61 human rights impact of, 411 democratization in, 602 economic liberalization programs of, 562 economic problems of, 403-5, 492,

540-41

Druzhba (Friendship) oil pipeline, 395



Soviet control of, 25, 31, 71–73, 76, 332,	leadership of, 50, 53, 64, 314
606, 608	readmission, 507
collapse of, 565, 592	Arab League
crises in, 40	leadership of, 50
economic, 381–82, 385–87	and Baghdad Pact, 202
erosion of, 538, 561, 582, 584	in Cold War, 67, 225, 232, 494
reform attempts, 569–72	and Soviet Union, 35, 60,
West German relations with, 427, 438	203, 210, 213, 220, 222, 230–32,
Eban, Abba, 217, 230	324, 496
ECHR (European Court of Human	and United States, 205, 226, 236-38
Rights), 444–45	anti-communism of, 63
economy, global, 359-61, 382	non-alignment policies, 31, 43,
ECSC (European Coal and Steel	290–91, 304, 305
Community)	and East Germany, 427
and CMEA, 390	Free Officers Coup (1952), 315
creation of, 369-71	independence/self-rule of, 48
turning into general customs union, 372	Islamist activities in, 502
Ecumenical Council, 473	Nasser regime in, 53, 59
EDC (European Defense	foreign policies of, 209, 213–16, 300
Community), 371	pan-Arabism of, 63–66
French refusal to join, 101	nationalism in, 46
proposals for, 417	and pan-Islamism, 265, 314–20
EEC/EC (European Economic	Sadat regime in, 230–33, 238
Community / European	end of, 502
Communities), 332	foreign policies of, 494
British membership, French vetoes	and Saudi Arabia, 63, 66, 320–22,
against, 374, 376	323–24
and CMEA, 394, 400-1, 571	and United Kingdom, 53
Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), 375	Ehrenburg, Ilya, 76
common foreign policy/EPC (European	Eisenhower, Dwight D., 28, 160,
Political Cooperation), 447, 449	201, 341
creation of, 372	energy supplies for Eastern Europe, 402–3
and CSCE, 452, 453, 454, 456	549–50
EU formed by, 451	EPC (European Political
extensions of membership, 377–78, 380,	Cooperation), 449
400, 561	Erhard, Ludwig, 428
Franco-German cooperation in, 378	Eshkol, Levi, 216, 217, 223
internal democratization of, 379	Ethiopia, Italian seizure of, 48
OAPEC oil embargo faced by, 111	ethno-nationalism, resurgence in Europe
EFTA (European Free Trade Association),	of, 604
creation of, 373	Eurocommunism, 88
Egypt	Europe, 23; see also Eastern Europe;
and Arab–Israeli conflict, 33–34, 188,	Western Europe
198, 199, 204–5, 227–29	Cold War in, 5, 10, 331, 333, 337, 538,
Cold War politics, 232–33	563, 581, 609
June War (1967), 215–17,	détente, 91, 409-12
218–20, 229	East-West division, 31-33
October War (1973), 233–38	end of, 11, 492, 538, 562, 581, 590
Palestinian issue, 254	and Germany's division, 414
peace negotiations and treaty with	historiography of, 7
Israel, 213, 490, 493, 494,	legacy of, 602–4
496–99, 519	start of, 25
Suez Crisis, 59–61, 205–6	democratic regimes in, 457
and Arab League, 53, 63	economic crises in, 539
expulsion from, 490, 500, 502	in interwar period, 15
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	r



742 Index

Europe (cont.) leftist parties in, loss of power of, 596 security conference in, see CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) World War II impact in, 361, 439-40 European Convention on Human Rights (1953), 368, 444 European Monetary System, creation of, launching of, 379, 539 Faisal (Hashemite king of Iraq), 46, 48, 190 Faisal (king of Saudi Arabia), 221, 321-22, 324, 494, 508 Fatah, 240 and PLO, 246 founding of, 244 Soviet support for, 250 terrorist attacks by, 249-50, 255 Fawzi, Mahmoud, 200, 202 Finland, European Security Conference initiative by, 446 FLN (National Liberation Front of Algeria), 104 Ford, Gerald, 456 frame stories, 8 France and Algerian independence, 54, 104 and Arab-Israeli conflict, 222 and China (PRC), 346 mutual recognition, 104-6, 128 civil unrest in, 108 Communist Party in, 73, 88 government participation by, 557 economic policies in, 557-58 economic problems of, 557 and Germany, 362-63 great power status of, 102, 332 imperialism of, 53 in Indochina, 99-100, 139, 143 in Middle East, 46, 53 in North Africa, 274 and Israel, 208, 339 middle power status of, 110 nuclear weapons program of, 102, 334, 335, 340-41, 352 political system in, 92, 101 post-World War II economic recovery of, 371 and Soviet Union, 103, 109 Suez Crisis intervention by, 34, 61–62, 205 - 7and United States, 93, 100-6, 110 and West German Friendship Treaty (1963), 103, 428-29

and Western European integration, 358, 366, 369, 374-77, 378 withdrawal from NATO by, 36 Free World, 11, 40, 90, 611 authoritarian states incorporated into, 97-100 conservative transformation of, 553-59 former World War II enemies incorporated into, 93-97 internal divisions in, 36, 100-10 leadership of United States of, 4, 9, 28-30, 39, 90-91, 112 Western European challenges to, 40 unity of, 110-12 FRG, see West Germany (FRG) Gandhi, Indira, 163, 176-78, 181, 182, 525 foreign policies of, 533, 536, 537 and Non-Aligned Movement, 300, 301, 491 nuclear weapons strategy of, 354 Gandhi, Rajiv, 577 Gasperi, Alcide de, 369 Gaulle, Charles de, 9, 92, 101–2 and Algerian independence, 54, 104 and Arab-Israeli conflict, 222, 226 and civil unrest of 1960s, 108 fall of, 109 foreign policies of, 102-6, 376, 428-29 and Western European integration, 358, 374 nuclear weapons strategy of, 340-41 and Soviet Union, 103, 109 Gaza Israeli incursions in, 243 PLA fighting in, 249 as possible Palestinian state, 245 Gdańsk, strikes at shipyards of, 545 GDR, see East Germany (GDR) Gemayel, Amine, 516, 517 Gemayel, Bachir, 516 Geneva Accords on Indochina (1954), 122-24, 146-48 Germany in Cold War, 7, 10 economic development of, 97 Nazi regime in, 464 and Poland, 409 post-World War I and France, 362-63 reparations obligations, 360 and Soviet Union, 383 post-World War II division of, 410, 413-20; see also East Germany (GDR); West Germany (FRG)



reunification expectations/hopes, 81, 413, 417, 602	Hashemite kingdoms, 46, 48, 57 Heath, Edward, 377
and United States, 94	Helsinki Final Act (1975), 438-39,
Gierek, Edward, 460, 482, 544	455–56, 461
Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry, 378	human rights impact of, 456-61
Glemp, Józef, 546, 582	Herriot, Édouard, 362
global Cold War, 1-3, 4, 5, 8	Herzl, Theodor, 189
end of, 537, 563–65, 613	Himalayas, 165–66
legacy of, 595–96, 597–98	Chinese-Indian border disputes over,
research on, 6–7	169, 170–74, 180
start of, 8, 13-14, 22-26	historiography of Cold War, 6-7
winner of, 596	Hizbullah (Party of God, Lebanon),
Gomułka, Władysław, 78, 85, 442, 460,	517, 518
468, 472	Hlond, August, 467
and Catholic Church, 480	Ho Chi Minh, 138, 139, 142, 143, 145, 146
Gorbachev, Mikhail S., 537	Honecker, Erich, 432–33
Cold War perspectives of, 564, 572–78,	and communist regime's loss of legiti-
581, 613	macy, 585, 586–87
and Eastern European transforma-	and East German economic pro-
tions, 569–72, 584, 585, 586,	blems, 551
587, 590	on Soviet military interventions, 546
nuclear disarmament talks, 578–81	and West German rapprochement poli-
and collapse of Soviet Union, 591–94	cies, 434, 435
reform policies of, 561, 591	Hoxha, Enver, 77, 89
glasnost, 566–67	Hu Yaobang, 536
perestroika, 567–68	Hua Guofeng, 137, 521
rise to power of, 565–66	Huang Hua, 256, 531
Great Depression (1930s), 20	al-Hudaybi, Hassan, 316
great powers, see also superpower rivalry in	human rights
Cold War	and CSCE, 456–61
clashes of, 595	in Eastern Europe, 411, 439
in Cold War, 2, 13, 21–26, 39, 67, 102,	US attitudes towards, 455
608–9	post-Cold War developments, 597
Republican China, 119	Western European promotion of,
United States, 607, 613	443–45, 449, 453
France gaining status of, 332	Hungary
India seeking status of, 304	Catholic Church in, 472
in interwar period, 16–21	and Vatican, 468, 483
United Kingdom losing status of, 331,	suppression of, 466, 469, 472
373, 606	CMEA membership of, 402, 404
Greece	communist regime in, 77
British withdrawal from, 45	collapse of, 583
civil war in, 92	economic problems of, 550
democratization in, 457	economic reforms in, 562
Gromyko, Andrei A., 450, 500, 543	Soviet economic aid to, 388
Grósz, Károly, 583	Soviet intervention in (1956), 78, 472
Grundlagenvertrag (Basic Treaty, 1972, East	
and West Germany), 433–35	Hussein (Hashemite king of Hijaz), 48
Guillaume, Günther, 436	Hussein (king of Jordan), 216, 227, 252, 255, 501
dumaume, dummer, 450	
Habash Georges 251 252	al-Husseini, Mohammed Amin (Grand Mufti of Jerusalem), 56, 241, 242,
Habash, Georges, 251, 253	244, 280
Hallstein Doctrine, 421, 427	277, 200
abolition of, 429, 430 Hammarskjöld, Dag, 124–25, 204, 207	IBEC (International Bank of Economic
Harding, Warren G., 20	Cooperation), 397
Transmig, warren O., 20	Gooperanon), Jai



Ibn Saud (first king of Saudi Arabia), 48, 62, 63, 193, 321	and Vietnam, 116, 177–78, 180, 522, 527, 530
identity politics, resurgence in Europe of, 604	Indochina/Indochina conflict
IIB (International Investment Bank),	in Cold War, 115
402, 552	French imperialism in, 99–100, 139, 143
Iliescu, Ion, 590	Geneva peace negotiations and Accord
IMF (International Monetary Fund)	(1954) on, 146–48, 168
Hungarian membership of, 550	and India, 167–68
Polish membership of, 550	Japanese imperialism in, 142
imperialism, 605	and Soviet Union, 30
British, 8, 606	and United States, 29, 99, 157–59
decline of, 14, 25, 43	and Vietnam, 145, 155, 525
in Middle East, 43–45	Indonesia
Catholic, 470	and Asian–African Internationalism,
French, 53	271–73, 276–78, 283
in Indochina, 99–100, 139, 143	foreign policies of, 174
in Middle East, 46, 53	INF (intermediate nuclear forces) Treaty
in North Africa, 274	(1987), 580–81
in interwar period, 16, 359	international law, Vatican's status in, 463
Italian, 48	international system
Japanese	in Cold War
in China, 119	interconnectedness, 2
in Indochina, 141	structural change in, 2, 4, 8, 14, 35, 41
of United States, 11	in interwar period, 3, 13, 14–21, 605
in Indochina, 157–59	Khomeini's rejection of, 504
India	post-Cold War
and Afghanistan, 527	unipolar moment in, 596
armament policies of, 173-74	post-World War II, 8, 22–26, 606–8
nuclear weapons program, 167, 175,	Iran
176–77, 180–81, 304, 349,	British-Soviet rule of, 50
354–55, 526	Islamic Revolution (1979) in, 491, 502–7
and Bangladesh, 527	economic impact of, 543–44
British colonial rule of, 16	seizure of US embassy, 504
and China, 116, 127, 129, 162, 166,	and Israel, 201
168–74, 298, 299, 527, 530–31	non-alignment policies of, 532
democratic regime in, 116, 600	pan-Islamism leadership/initiatives by,
economic development of, 600	265, 308, 325–27
and Egypt, 300	support for Lebanese Shia acti-
foreign policies of, 9, 163, 164, 166–68,	vism, 517
174–76, 181–82, 525–28,	and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan,
533–34, 537	514, 574
and Arab–Israeli conflict, 200, 301	Iraq
and East Pakistan Crisis, 178–80	invasion of Kuwait by, 601
and Non-Aligned Movement / non-	Israeli attack on nuclear reactor in, 515
alignment policies, 10, 30, 116, 168,	nationalism in, 46
173, 289, 304, 491, 523, 526, 536	revolution in (1958), 35, 63
international isolation, 10, 162–63, 300, 520, 522–23	Egyptian dislike of, 64 US intervention in, 602
independence of, 163, 269	Iraq-Iran War (1980-87), 491, 506-7
and Pakistan, 162, 173–74, 175–76, 527	and Israel, 515
and Soviet Union, 176, 177, 179, 523,	and Non-Aligned Movement, 534
531, 536, 577	Ireland, joining EC, 377
territory of, 164–66, 309	Iron Curtain
partition with Pakistan, 164	removal of, 583, 585
and United States, 179, 526, 536	Islamic Congress, 316–17, 322
Omica otates, 117, 520, 550	101mine Congress, 510 11, 522



membership of, 317	pan-Asianism promoted by, 267
Islamic Economic Conferences, 312	and United States, 94, 95–96, 106
Islamic Summits, 323–24, 325	Jarring, Gunnar, 226, 228
Islamist movements	Jaruzelski, Wojciech, 547, 582, 583
in Afghanistan, 513	Jerusalem
in Egypt, 502	al-Aqsa Mosque fire in (1969), 323
in Iran, 491, 502–7	East, Jewish inhabitants of, 498
in Lebanon, 517–18	
	papal visits to, 477
in Pakistan, 513	Sadat's visit to (1977), 496–98
in Saudi Arabia, 507–9, 513	Jewish Agency, 193, 194, 195
rise of, 490, 493, 519	and Israeli Independence war
Saudi support for, 325, 328	(1948), 196
Israel	Jewish migration to Palestine, 189
and Africa, 209, 235	British limitations on, 191–93
and Arab League/Arab states, 54–57,	Holocaust survivors, 193
234, 323–24	Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 307, 309, 310–11
creation of, 56, 185, 189–95	John XXIII (pope), 473–77
US and Soviet support for, 33	John Paul II (pope), 465
and Egypt, peace negotiations and treaty,	human rights promotion by, 460
213, 490, 493, 496–99, 519	political role of, 462, 485–86, 544, 571,
expansionism of, 238	590, 594
international recognition of, 200	and Polish Crisis, 546, 548
interventions and incursions in Lebanon,	Johnson, Lyndon B., 102
500, 515	and Arab–Israeli conflict, 222
intervention of 1982, 491, 515–17	nuclear weapons strategy of, 348
and June War (1967)	and Vietnam War, 151, 153
aftermath, 225, 228, 230	Jordan
build-up to, 216–18	and Arab–Israeli conflict, 227
military successes, 218, 223	June War defeat, 220
nuclear weapons program of, 208, 334,	negotiations/peace treaty with Israel,
339, 348	56, 57, 196, 198
and October War (1973)	Palestinian presence/crisis in, 229, 242,
impact of, 237	252–55
unpreparedness for, 235	rejection of Camp David Accords,
and Palestinian issue, 242, 243, 248-49	501, 601
settlement policies in occupied territories	and Arab League, 55
of, 498, 499, 601	
and Soviet Union, 222, 575	Kádár, János, 85, 472, 583
and Suez Crisis, 34, 60, 61-62, 205-8	Kania, Stanisław, 545
and United States, 199, 205, 208	al-Karama, battle of, 249
and Vatican, 467	Karmal, Babrak, 509
West-German reparations payments	Kashmir, 164, 174, 176
to, 201	armed conflicts over, 175
Italy	Kennan, George Frost, 24, 26
Communist Party in, 73, 88	Kennedy, John F., 343, 345
economic development of, 97	Kerr, Malcolm, 63
imperialism of, 48	Khalid (king of Saudi Arabia), 494
and United States, 94–95, 96	Khaliquzzaman, Choudhry, 309, 311
and Omica States, 91 93, 90	Khan, Liaquat Ali, 311
Japan	Khan, Muhammad Zafarullah, 312
capitulation of, 336	Khilafat Movement, 309
and China, 524	Khmer Rouge, 145, 158
democracy in, 599	Non-Alignment support for, 303
economic development of, 599	Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 326–27,
imperialism of, 119, 141	491, 502–7, 532
1111perianom 01, 112, 171	To 1, JUA-1, JJA



746 Index

Khrushchev, Nikita S., 30, 77 intervention of 1982, 491, 515-17 economic policies of, 393, 396 nationalism in, 47 and Mao, 80 Palestinians in, 255 nuclear weapons strategy of, 296, activism of, 258 342-44, 346 and civil war, 258 Secret Speech of, 78 in World War II, 49 Two-State Theory for Germany of, 422 Lenin, Vladimir I., 605 and Ulbricht, 81-82 Leninism, 69 Western rapprochements to, 103 Leo XIII (pope), 463, 464, 473 Kiesinger, Georg, 442 Li Peng, 576 Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT, 1963), Kim Il-sung, 27, 75 Kishk, Muhammad Jalal, 319 83, 102, 297, 331, 346-47 Kissinger, Henry, 133, 134, 236, 237, 431 and non-proliferation, 347-48 Kohl, Helmut, 551, 559, 578, 585 negotiations on, 477 Kominek, Bolesław, 480 Lin Biao, 134 König, Franz, 485 Lloyd George, David, 190 KOR (Workers' Defense Committee, Locarno Pact (France-Germany, Poland), 460, 545 1925), 362 Lon Nol, 155, 302 Korean War (1950-1955), 3 and Arab League, 58-59 Longo, Luigi, 88 and China, 75, 121-22 and Cold War, 14, 26-33, 35 MacArthur, Douglas, 95, 96 impact on Socialist Camp of, 75-76 Malenkov, Georgii M., 393 United Nations ceasefire proposals for, Mao Zedong, 26, 75, 89, 134 273-74 Cultural Revolution launched by, 131 Kosygin, Aleksei N., 84, 398, 400, 404, 530 death of, 137 Kotelawala, John, 279, 282 de-Stalinization criticized by, 79-80, Kozakiewicz, Władysław, 545 83, 126 Krenz, Egon, 586, 587-88 economic policies of, 123, 127-28 Krishnamachari, T.T., 178 Great Leap Forward instigated by, 80 Kurras, Karl-Heinz, 107 and Khrushchev, 80 Kuwait, Iraqi invasion in, 601 and Nixon, 135 nuclear weapons strategy of, 125, 339 Laniel, Joseph, 146 radicalism of, 127-28, 129, 171 Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia Laos Vietnam War spilling over in, 146, criticized by, 87 150, 155 and Stalin, 120 Three-World Theory of, 135 Vietnamese influence in, 145, 158 Lateran Treaty (1929), 463 Maritain, Jacques, 465 Le Duan, 138, 145, 150-51, 152, 158, 159 Marshall Plan (1947-1953), 72, 93, 366, hard-line policies/radicalism of, 149-50, 367, 372 154, 159, 521, 572 Soviet response to, 387-89 Le Duc Tho, 152, 153 Marxism, 68 League against Imperialism, 267 Maududi, Abul Ala, 310, 324 League of Nations, mandate system of, Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 583 44, 46 McMahon, Henry, 165 Lebanon Mecca, Islamist attack on Grand Mosque civil war in (1975-1990), 495, 514-18 in, 508-9 end of, 600 MEDO (Middle Eastern Defense Syrian intervention (1976), 495 Organization), failure of, 29 independence of, 49 Meir, Golda, 207, 226, 237 Middle East Islamist Shia militias/activism in, 517-18, 556 British imperialism in, 17, 40, 43-45, 204 Israeli interventions and incursions in, Cold War in, 4, 5, 9, 42–43, 212–13, 500, 515 493-96,609



Index

747

end of, 10, 490, 493, 518-19 and pan-Arabism / Arab unity, 63-66, 210 and pan-Islamism, 317, 318, 322 and Soviet Union, 35, 36 legacy of, 600-2 start of, 33, 67 decolonization in, 185 National Arab Congress, 49 French imperialism in, 46, 53 national liberation movements, Chinese historiography of, 7 support for, 130 intra-Arab conflicts in, 42 national self-determination, US promotion Pakistani incorporation in, 311-12, of, 19, 20 313, 325 nationalism, see also Arab nationalism and Soviet Union, 189, 496, 607 Egyptian, 46 and United States, 29, 34, 203-4, 211 Iraqi, 46 in World War II, 49-52 Lebanese, 47 middle powers, in Cold War, 41, 610-11 Palestinian, 47, 191 France, 110 Syrian, 47 Mikoyan, Anastas I., 394 nation-state formation, 2 Mindszenty, József, 468, 469, 472, 483 in Middle East, 185 post-World War II, 409, 437 Mitterrand, François, 556-58 Mladenov, Petar, 588 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty MLF (Multi-Lateral Force), 347, 349, 441 Organization), 28 Mlynář, Zdeněk, 565 double-track decision of, 356, 540, Mohammad, Ghulam, 312 559-61 Mollet, Guy, 101, 340 establishment of, 365 Monnet, Jean, 370 Moscow Treaty (1970, West Germany – French withdrawal from, 36, 102 internal divisions, 539 Soviet Union), 430, 434 and pan-European security conference Munich Olympics, Palestinian terrorist proposals, 446, 447, 448 attack on Israeli team at, 256, 435 and Soviet Union, 542, 578 West German membership of, 419 Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt), 314-15 pan-Islamism of, 265, 315 Nazimuddin, Khawaja, 312 radicalization/revival of, 318–20 suppression of, 315–17, 321, 328 Nazism, Vatican's condemnation of, 464 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 31, 163-64 Muslim World League, 321 and Asian-African Internationalism, 263, Mussolini, Benito, 94 266, 267, 268-69, 271-72, 275, Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), 351 281, 282 Bandung Conference, 279, 280 Nagy, Imre, 77, 78, 472, 584 and China, 124, 170, 172 Najibullah, Mohammed, 573, 574 death of, 174 Nakba (1947-49), 196, 240 management of India's external relations Naksa (1967), 240, 247-52, 319, 323 by, 162-68, 169-71, 182 Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 31, 59-61 Himalayas border dispute with and Arab-Israeli conflict, 202, 203, China, 171 204-5, 208, 227 and Non-Aligned Movement, 264, 284, Israeli nuclear capabilities, 348 287, 288, 291, 292–93, 294, 295, 296, 299, 306 June War (1967), 215-17, 220 Palestinian issue, 245 nuclear weapons strategy of, 349 peace plans/negotiations, 229 and Pakistan, 174 Suez Crisis, 33, 53, 207 neo-liberalism, rise of, 596 and Asian-African Internationalism, New York stock market crash (1929), 360 283, 284 Ngo Dinh Diem, 100, 148, 150, 471, 483 death of, 229, 254 NGOs, on human rights, 445 international standing of, 203, 209, 267, Nitze, Paul H., 26 Nixon, Richard M., 106, 109, 111 292, 323 and Muslim Brotherhood, 317 and Arabi-Israeli conflict, 226 and CSCE talks, 452 and Non-Aligned Movement, 264, 287, 288, 290-91, 293, 295 nuclear weapons strategy of, 352



748 Index

Nixon, Richard M. (cont.) and Vietnam War, 109 (1968), 177visit to China, 133-34, 155 Nkrumah, Kwame, 283 Non-Aligned Movement, 10, 63, 263, 264, 351-54, 611 287-88 emergence of, 334 and Arab-Israeli conflict, 187, 234, and Europe, 10, 539 300-1, 303 impact of, 334 and Asian-African Internationalism, 287, 297-300 rise of, 41 and Cold War developments, 302, 305 and Vatican, 475 and Cuba, 533 decline of, 520, 531–35, 537 East Germany seeking recognition calls for, 295-97 by, 426 talks on, 345, 346 emergence of, 30, 65, 284, nuclear weapons 287, 288-91 and India, 491, 523, 526, 536 346, 349 internal divisions in, 301, 302-6, 532, 533-35, 537 leadership of, 300, 306 and nuclear arms race, 294-97, 344 1972 and 1979) PLO membership of, 256 post-Cold War, 597 and Socialist Camp, 301-2, 306, 532 and Soviet Union, 491 success of, 291-94 Vietnamese membership of, 522 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT, 1968), 350-51 of Pakistan, 354-55 India's refusal to join, 526 Vatican's signing of, 479 North Africa, French imperialism in, 274 North Korea, 75 342, 344 Chinese support for, 136 North Vietnam (DRV), 145, 148 and China alienation/disagreements, 136, 153-54, 158 friendship relation/Chinese support, 130, 145, 151, 155 creation of, 99, 147 use of, 24, 335 and India, 177 international recognition of, 144 Palestinian cause supported by, 186 of, 111, 234 pro-Soviet stance of, 87 and South Vietnam / reunification of Vietnam, 149-51, 156-57 Soviet/Socialist Camp support for, 151, 154 Ohnesorg, Benno, 107 Vietnam War strategies of, 151-53, 154-56, 159-60 Conference, 324 Norway, EC membership rejected by, 377 NSC-68 (national security paper, United Ottoman Empire, 15 States), 26, 27, 28

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty West German signing of, 430 nuclear superpower duopoly, 2, 331, 337, and Non-Aligned Movement, 294-97 nuclear test ban treaties, see also Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT, 1963) of China, 125, 129, 175, 299, 339, Cold War impact on, 357 disarmament agreements, see also SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties, post-Cold War developments, 598 talks on, 560, 578-81 of France, 101, 102, 340-41, 352 of India, 167, 175, 176-77, 180-81, 304, 349, 354-55, 526 of Israel, 208, 339, 348 of West Germany, 341, 347 proliferation of, 10, 331-32, 334-35, 341, 347-51, 598 of Soviet Union, 26, 295, 336, and Cuban Missile Crisis, 345-46 talks on test bans for, see also Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT, 1963) test bans for, 342-44 of United Kingdom, 337-38 of United States, 296, 342 in Western Europe, 560 OAPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries), oil embargo OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and

Development), 373 Organization of the Islamic

Iranian boycott of, 506 caliph of, 308



collapse of, 45–48, 309, 606	in Lebanon, 258
Outer Mongolia, CMEA membership	and civil war, 258
of, 397	nationalism of, 47, 191
	pan-Africanism, 283
Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza (shah of	pan-Arabism, 64, 208, 308
Iran), 325	pan-Asianism, 267
Pakistan	Panchsheel (five principles of peaceful coex
and China	istence), 122, 123, 167, 276
rapprochements, 174	Nehru's promotion of, 280
in Cold War, 312–13	Pandit, Vijaya Lakshmi, 268, 273
creation of, 310	pan-European security conference, see
East Pakistan split from, 178–80	CSCE (Conference on Security and
and India, 527	Cooperation in Europe)
problematic relationship, 162, 173–74	pan-Islamism, 10, 263, 264,
wars, 175–76	307–8, 328
Islamist movements in, 513	emergence of, 66, 187, 285
Islamization of, 512	leadership of / initiatives for
nuclear arms program in, 354–55	Egyptian, 314–20
pan-Islamism leadership/initiatives by,	Iranian, 325–27
264, 308–14, 317	Pakistani, 308–14, 512
and Saudi Arabia, 324	Saudi, 320–25
and United States, 313, 512	Pant, Apa B., 301
Palestine	Paris Peace Conference (1919), 46
British mandate rule of, 17, 47, 193	Paris Peace Treaties (1947), 386
Arab opposition against Jewish	Pathet Lao, 145, 150
immigration, 49, 54	Paul VI (pope), 477–85
Arab revolt (1936), 190	Peres, Shimon, 218
Jewish immigration limitations, 193	PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of
Palestinians in, 241	Palestine), 251
	terrorist attacks by, 253, 255, 257
Jewish migration to, 189, 191–93 Ottoman rule of	
	Pham Van Dong, 141, 149, 153, 154,
anti-Zionism in, 190	156, 525
partition of	Pius IX (pope), 463
Peel Commission proposal, 191	Pius XI (pope), 463, 464
UN proposal, 55, 185, 194–95	Pius XII (pope), 464, 466
Palestinian state	and Cold War, 467–73
Egypt taking right to negotiate for, 501	PLA (Palestinian Liberation Army), 246
possibilities for, 240, 245–46	fighting in Gaza, 249
Soviet support for, 257	PLO (Palestine Liberation
Palestinians, 9, 190, 240–41	Organization), 240
and Arab League, 51, 241,	Chinese support for, 130, 247, 249
245–46	disapproval of terrorist attacks, 256
Chinese support for, 126, 130, 280	creation of, 246–47
displacement in Arab-Israeli conflict of,	Egypt-Israeli disengagement agreement
185, 241–42	on Sinai condemned by, 258
and June War, 247–52	and Fatah, 246
possible return/compensation of, 198,	in Lebanon, 255, 514
243, 259, 601	evacuation to Tunisia, 516
start of, 195, 197	internal divisions/factional struggles, 257
in Jordan	496, 500
crisis caused by, 229, 252–54	international relations of, 495
expulsion of, 254–55	and Iranian Islamic Revolution, 506
internal divisions among, 241	leadership of, 250–51
international support for, 185–87	and Non-Aligned Movement, 256
leadership of, 242, 244, 250–51	and October War (1973), 256



750 Index

Palestine Liberation Organization (cont.) East German refusal to commit to, and Sadat's peace initiative / Camp David 422, 436 Accords, 500, 501 from Eastern Europe to Soviet Union, Soviet support for, 251, 257, 259 386, 388 from Germany after World War I, 360 UN observer status of, 257 Pol Pot, 158, 528 from West Germany to Israel, 201 Poland Revkjavik summit on nuclear disarmament Catholic Church in, 462, 466, 472 (1986), 580independence / political role of, 472 Rhee, Syngman, 98 and Vatican / pope, 467, 469, Riad, Mahmoud, 216, 220, 232 480-81, 486 Der Ring des Nibelungen (opera, Wagner), 1, 594 civil society / civil unrest in Crisis of 1980-81, 544-49 Rogers Plan (1970), 229, 252 opposition movements/human rights Rogers, William P., 229 activism, 459-61, 481 Romania communist regime in, 78 CMEA membership of, 397, 402, 406 collapse of, 582-83 communist regime in and East Germany, 409 collapse of, 589-90 economic problems of, 388, 404, independence from Soviet Union, 83, 87, 222, 381 550, 552 and Vatican, 468 post-World War II territorial changes to, 410, 414 economic problems of, 550 and West Germany mediation attempt in Arab-Israeli conconcerns over West German flict by, 232 rearmament, 409, 440-41, 442 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 20-21, 90, 93, recognition of Polish borders, 411 193,607 reconciliation, 430, 480, 481-82 Russian Orthodox Church, Soviet regime's political Islam, 307, 600; see also Islamist use of, 465, 474 RVN, see South Vietnam (SVN) movements Pompidou, Georges, 110, 376 Ponomarev, Boris N., 511, 548 Saadabad Pact (1937), 49 popes, 462 Sadat, Anwar, 230-33 Portugal, democratization in, 457 and Arab-Israeli conflict, 304 Potsdam Conference (1945), 414 June War aftermath, 230 Prague Spring (1968), 85 October War (1973), 233-35, 236-37, 238 PRC, see China, communist (PRC) protest movements, rise of, 106-10 Palestinian issue, 254 peace treaty/negotiations with Israel, Qutb, Sayyid, 318 490, 494, 496-99 assassination of, 502 Rákosi, Mátyás, 77, 78 and Muslim Brotherhood, 319 Rapacki, Adam, 442 Saddam Hussein, 507, 601 Rapallo Treaty (1922), 383 Sakharov, Andrei D., 88, 543 Reagan, Ronald, 110, 515, 554-57 SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties, and Arab-Israeli conflict, 516 1972 and 1979), 353, 355-57, Cold War perspectives of, 564 539, 542 Sastroamidjojo, Ali, 275 nuclear disarmament strategies of, 560, 579-81 Saud (king of Saudi Arabia), see Ibn Saud Reding, Marcel, 471 (first king of Saudi Arabia) regional Cold Wars, 1-3, 4-6, 7-8, 187, 609 Saudi Arabia, 48 end of, 10, 489-90, 613 and Arab League, 66 in Asia, 520, 536-37 anti-communism of, 49, 494 in Europe, 562 and Egypt, 63, 64, 66 in Middle East, 519 Islamists attacks / opposition movements

reparations payments

in, 491, 507-9, 513



pan-Islamism leadership / initiatives by,	division of, 116
265, 308, 320–25	nuclear arms race in, 354-55
and United States, 513	South Korea, and United States, 98
Schmidt, Helmut, 378, 540, 558-59	South Vietnam (SVN), 148-50
Schumacher, Kurt, 421	Catholic Church in, 471
Schuman, Robert, 369	and Vatican, 483
SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative), 578–79	and Non-Aligned Movement, 303
SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty	US support for, 98, 99–100
Organization), 30, 123, 147	Soviet Union (USSR)
and India, 168	Afghanistan intervention by, 491,
Shakhnazarov, Georgii, 582	509–14, 548
Sharett, Moshe, 200	and United States/NATO, 541–43
	end of, 573–74
Sharon, Ariel, 498, 515, 517	
Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 174–75, 176,	aid to Third World countries
299, 349	reductions in, 572
al-Shuqayri, Ahmad, 244, 245–46, 247,	and Albania, 82
249, 280	split, 82–83
Sihanouk (Prince, ruler of Cambodia), 150,	and China, 26, 75, 79, 84, 120, 127, 131,
155, 302	346, 352, 611
Simla Agreement (1914), 166	friendship relations, 26, 75, 120
Slipij, Josyf, 476–77	reconciliation attempt, 535–36, 576
small powers in Cold War, 41, 610–11	rift in relationship, 79–80, 84, 127,
Social Democrats, loss of power of, 596	131, 346, 352, 531
Socialist Camp, 11, 40	and East Germany, 448
and Asian–African Internationalism, 283	and France, 103, 109
and CSCE, 411	rapprochement, 103, 109
Helsinki Final Act, 457	and India, 176, 177, 179, 523, 577
Eastern European, 71–73	friendship treaty, 179
economic collapse of, 613	rapprochements, 531, 536
emergence of, 4, 9, 17, 607, 611	and Iranian Islamic Revolution,
internal divisions, 10, 36, 68, 69, 73–75,	504, 505
79–84, 89, 399, 490, 611	and Non-Aligned Movement, 491
isolation of, 392	and North Vietnam, 87, 151
and Korean War, 75–76	friendship relations, 87, 151
and Non-Aligned Movement, 264, 287,	and pan-European security conference/
301–2, 306, 532	CSCE, 440–42, 443, 446, 450–51,
and pan-European security conference/	452, 453, 454
CSCE talks, 439–43, 448, 454	and Chinese participation, 449
Soviet leadership of, 39, 68, 88–89	Helsinki Final Act, 455
de-Stalinization, 76–84	and Romania's independent course, 83, 87
and economic integration, 389, 391	and United States, 135
unity of, 86	rapprochements, 135
and Vatican, 409, 410, 411, 486, 571	US containment policies, 555–56, 608
active engagement, 475, 478–85	and Vatican, 479, 571
contestation, 485	
	and Vietnam, 522, 572
fatalistic resistance, 465–73	and West Germany, 428, 578
and Vietnam War, 154	détente, 430, 448
Yugoslavia's expulsion from, 73, 289	collapse of, 11, 591–94
Solidarność (trade union, Poland), 460,	communist revolution in
486, 545, 546	export of, 70, 605
rise of, 582–83	de-Stalinization in, 76, 77–78
suppression of, 548	Eastern Europe controlled by, 40, 71–73,
Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 455	541, 606, 608
South Asia	CMEA, 332, 381–82, 389,
Cold War in, 115	394–400, 406



752 Index

Soviet Union (USSR) (cont.) and Non-Aligned Movement, 301-2 collapse of, 565, 592 and Western European communists, 73 superpower status of, 35, 353 erosion of, 538, 545-53, 561, 562, 582, 584 decline of, 490, 492, 500 military interventions, 69, 78, 85-86, and United States 109, 399, 472, 546, 547, 548 rapprochements, 135 reform attempts, 569-72 Western containment of, 63, 101 security policies, 25, 31 in World War II, 18, 22 economic development of, 382-84 aftermath, 24, 95 and aid to Eastern European econo-Soyuz gas pipeline, 402 mies, 391, 394-95, 399, 402-3, 549 and Eastern European economies, democratization in, 457 391, 394 spillover effects of regional conflicts, 3 and Marshall Plan, 387-89 Sri Lanka, 600 Gorbachev reforms, 567-68 SRV, see North Vietnam (DRV) Stalin, Iosif V., 18-19, 43 Kosygin reforms, 398 anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism of, 199 New Course, 393-94 reforms, 393 blockade of Berlin by, 25, 416 World War II impact on, 384-87 death of, 76 efforts to undermine Atlantic partnerand Eastern Europe, 25-26, 68, 78 economic policies of, 381, 384, 387 ship, 577 and France, 103, 186 and Mao, 89, 120 Gorbachev reforms and Marshall Plan, 72 glasnost, 566-67 and Nazi Germany, 606 perestroika, 567-68 nuclear weapons strategy of, 336 great power status of, 2, 13, 17-19 and Tito, 73 in interwar period, 69-70 Stalinization in post-World War II world order, 24 of China, 75 Japanese defeat, 95 of Eastern Europe, 76 and Indochina conflict, 30 START (Strategic Arms Reduction Indochina policies of, 30, 529 Treaties), 592, 598 Middle Eastern policies of, 189, 496, 607 Stepinac, Aloijzije, 465, 478 and Arab-Israeli conflict, 224, 237, stories, networks of, 1, 8 574-75 student protests, 108 and Egypt, 60, 63, 203, 210, 213, 220, in France, 108 221, 231–32, 324, 496, 497 in West Germany, 107 and Israel, 222 Subandrio (foreign minister and Palestinians, 247, 250, 251, 257 Indonesia), 172 and Sadat's peace initiative, 500 Sudan, independence of, 53 and Suez Crisis, 34, 62 Sudetenland, German claims to, 440 North Korea supported by, 27 Suez Canal and North Vietnam, 106, 231 and British imperialism, 17, 50 nuclear weapons program of, 26, 295, British withdrawal from, 53, 59-60 336, 342, 344 reopening after October War of, 237 Suez Canal Company, Nasser's nationaliand arms limitations talks/agreements, 356, 578-81 zation of, 33, 60, 205-6 Suez Crisis (1956), 9, 33-35, 60-63 and Cuban Missile Crisis, 345-46 opposition movements in, 458 and British imperialism, 45 religion in, 479, 572 French-British-Israeli intervention, Catholic Church, 463 205 - 7and Non-Aligned Movement, 291 Russian Orthodox Church, 465, 474 and Romania, 83, 87 and pan-Islamism, 318 Socialist Camp led by, 3, 14, 39, 68, 88-89 resolution of, 207-8 control over Eastern Europe, 25, 31, United States and Soviet Union in, 211 70, 71, 332, 381, 389, 391, 392, 396 Suhrawardy, Huseyn Shaheed, 313



Index 753

Sukarno, Ahmed, 174, 294 formation of state of, 48 Sun Yat-sen, 118 Israel recognized by, 200 Two-Camp Theory (Stalin), 72 superpower rivalry in Cold War, 2, 337, 611 decentering of, 3, 6 Gorbachev's rejection of, 579 détente, 352-54, 355-57, 612 Mao's version of, 120, 129, 135 end of, 357, 542, 556, 612 Two-State Theory (for Germany, Khrushchev), 422 end of, 11, 578-81 persistence of, 6, 519, 564-65 rise of, 35, 41 U Thant, 216 Suslov, Mikhail A., 548 U-2 spy planes, shot down by Soviet SVN, see South Vietnam (SVN) Union, 343 Sykes-Picot agreement (1916), 46 Ulbricht, Walter, 70, 77, 395, 417 Syria economic policies of, 398 Arab world leadership ambitions of, 494 and Khrushchev, 81-82 and Arab-Israeli conflict and West German rapprochements, 432-33 June War defeat, 221 October War (1973), 236, 237 Ulbricht Doctrine, 429 rejection of Camp David Accords, 501 UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Baath regime in 443, 597 competition with Egypt, 215 United Arab Republic (UAR), 64, 211 radicalism of, 213-14 collapse of, 65, 208 in Cold War, 63 United Kingdom independence of, 49 economic problems of, 553 Lebanese civil war intervention by, 495 and Egypt nationalism in, 47 agreements of 1936 and 1956, 53 in World War II, 49 great power status of, 2, 3, 14, 16-17, 22 and Arab League, 39-40, 42-43, 67 Taiwan Strait Crisis (1954), 124, 126, 279 loss of, 14, 42-43, 67, 331, 351, Taraki, Nur Muhammad, 509, 510 373,606 Tashkent Agreement (1966), 176 nuclear weapons program, 337-38 Tet Offensive (1968), 152-53 imperialism/colonialism of, 8, 43-45, Thatcher, Margaret, 553-54, 561 46,606 Third World countries Middle Eastern policies of, 56, 204 China's claim to leadership of, 135 Suez Crisis intervention, 34, 61-62, Soviet aid to, 572 205 - 7Thorez, Maurice, 88 support for Israel, 54 Three-World Theory (Mao), 135, 521 and Western European integration / E(E)C Tibet membership, 358 Chinese occupation of, 166 applications to join, 110, 352, 374, 376 Indian rights and privileges in, 169 British applications for membership, Tiso, Josef, 466 377-78 Tito, Josip Broz, 73, 181, 232 commitments to, 112 death of, 534 early stages, 363-64 and Non-Aligned Movement Euroskepticism, 554, 561 and Soviet Union/Socialist Camp alliobstructionism, 369 ance, 264, 287, 288, 289-90, 291, refusals to join, 367, 370, 372 292-94, 295, 301, 302, 533 security alliances, 365 in World War II, 22, 50 and Soviet Union, 388 and Vatican, 479 economic recovery after, 372 Togliatti, Palmiro, 73, 88 United Nations Truman, Harry S., 24, 26, 194, 607 and Arab League, 58 Truman Doctrine, 25 Arab-Asian block in, 273-75, 283 Truong Chinh, 138, 144, 149 and Arab-Israeli conflict Turkey partition of Palestine proposal, 55,

185, 194-95, 227

democratization in, 457



754 Index

United Nations (cont.) rapprochements, 135, 450 peace negotiations/proposals, 197-98, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, 199, 204, 225–26, 228, 236, 239 511-12, 513, 541-43 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) of, and Asian-African Internationalism, 267, 268, 284 578-79 founding of, 21, 268 superpower status of, 35 Vietnam/Indochina conflict involvement membership of China, 121, 124, 133, 134-35, 353 of, 142, 147, 157-59, 160 East Germany, 426 escalation of, 151-53 India, 167, 169 European criticism of, 110 PLO observer status, 257 support for South Vietnam, 148 and nuclear arms control, 337 Vietnamization policies, 154, 155 nuclear test ban calls of, 295 and West Germany, 431 United States and Western Europe, 40, 92-93 and China, 121, 134, 521 European integration, 332, 364, 365, normalization of relations, 524-25 367, 376, 380 rapprochements, 131-34, 353-54 security alliance, 356, 359 Taiwan issue, 123-25 in World War II, 20, 22 civil unrest in, 106, 109 USSR, see Soviet Union (USSR) and CSCE, 452, 455, 456 Ustinov, Dmitri F., 547 economic policies of, 555 economic problems of, 360, 554 Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 526, 528, 530 and France, 100-6, 110 Vatican Free World leadership of, 4, 9, 14, 28-30, anti-communism of, 462-65, 467, 469 39, 90-91, 112 post-Cold War, 603 and authoritarian states, 97-100 and Socialist Camp / Eastern Europe, and former World War II enemies, 93-97 486, 571 great power status of, 2, 14, 19-21, 361, contestation, 485 607,613 engagements with, 409, 410, 411, and India, 179, 526, 536 473-85 fatalistic resistance, 465-73 in interwar period isolationism of, 20 Vatican Councils, Eastern European partiand Iranian Islamic Revolution, 504, 505 cipation in, 475-76 and Korean War, 26, 27-28 Versailles Peace Conference (1919), 360 Middle Eastern policies of Viet Minh (Viet Nam Independence Arab-Israeli conflict, 56, 203-4, 227, League), 141 235, 237, 516 Vietnam, 139, 142; see also North Vietnam and Cold War, 62, 211, 496 (DRV); South Vietnam (SVN) and Egypt, 202, 213, 231, 232-33, Cambodia invaded by, 528-31 236 - 38and China and Israel, 54, 199, 205, 208, 222, 225 attempts to improve relationship, 535 Lebanese civil war, 518 deterioration of relationship, 159, peace plans, 228, 252 521-22, 523 post-Cold War, 601 split with China, 491 Communist Party in, 9, 138-41, 142-43 and Suez Crisis, 34, 61, 206 nuclear proliferation policies of, 336, communist regime in, 116 341, 349, 355, 356 economic policies, 523 nuclear weapons program of, 296, promotion of revolution in Southeast 335, 342 Asia, 159, 160, 524, 525 division of, 115, 147 and test bans, 346 and Pakistan, 313, 512 and India, 116, 522, 527 and Saudi Arabia, 320, 508, 513 reunification of, 150-51, 156-57 and Soviet Union and Soviet Union, 522, 572 containment policies, 555-56, 608 and United States, 157-59, 520 division of Europe, 24-26 and Vatican, 470



Index 755

Vietnam War (1955-75), 7, 138, 145-51 anti-colonial character of, 143-44 and China, 130 as Cold War conflict, 9, 84, 144 Dien Bien Phu, battle of (1953), 146 Geneva Accords (1954), 146-48 and India, 167-68, 177-78, 180 involvement of United States in civil unrest over, 107, 109 escalation of, 105, 151-53 European criticism of, 110 Vietnamization policies, 154, 155 North Vietnamese strategies in, 154-56, 159-60 Paris peace talks/Accords (1968–1973), 153, 154, 156-57 Spring Offensive (1972), 156, 158 Tet Offensive (1968), 152-53 Vatican peace mission, 484 Vo Nguyen Giap, 141, 157, 535 Wagner, Richard, 1, 594 Wahhabism, 320 Wałęsa, Lech, 545, 546, 582 Die Walküre (opera, Wagner), 1 Warsaw Pact (WAPA) dissolution of, 592 establishment of, 31, 393, 419, 441 and Germany Question, 442 and pan-European security conference/ CSCE, 446, 447, 451 human rights issues, 455 Warsaw Treaty (1970, West Germany -Poland), 430 West German ratification of, 434 Washington treaty system (1921-22), West Bank Israeli occupation of, 248-49 settlement policies, 498, 499, 601 Jordanian annexation of, 57 possible Palestinian state in, 245 West Berlin, Western allied presence in, 424 West Germany (FRG) civil unrest in, 107 creation of, 25, 95, 416, 436 and CSCE, 456 democracy in, 413 and East Germany, 409, 417-19, 420-23, 436-37 collapse of East German communist regime, 585 détente, 409, 410, 429-36 East German closure of borders, 427

West German economic aid, 551, 559, 561, 587 and Eastern Europe, 427, 438, 442 recognition of post-World War II borders, 438 reconciliation efforts, 442 economic development of, 416, 418 economic problems/crises, 558, 559 and France, 103, 428-29, 559 and Israel, 66, 201 reparations payments, 201 and Poland, 411, 481–82 post-World War II territorial losses of, 440 rearmament of, 371, 417 Eastern European concerns over, 440-41, 442 nuclear weapons strategy, 341, 347 and Soviet Union, 428, 578 and United States, 95, 335 and Western European integration, 378 Franco-German cooperation Western Europe and China, 135 communist parties in, 73, 87 government participation by, 96-97 democratic regimes of, 91-93 economic development of crises, 492 post-World War II recovery, 371 economic problems of, 539 human rights promotion by, 443-45 integration of, 43, 358-59, 606; see also EEC/EC (European Economic Community / European Communities) creation of institutions, 367-73 crisis in, 374-77 intensification of, 539, 561 origins of, 361-67 populist criticism of, 604 Soviet / Eastern European opposition against, 387, 392, 400-1 success of, 379-80 security of, 577 and United States Free World leadership by, 40 Marshall Plan, 72 security guarantees, 356, 540 Wilson, Harold, 376 Wilson, Woodrow, 19-20, 605 World Muslim Congress, 273, 311 World War I impact of, 359, 605-6 Ottoman Empire in, 45

East German spying, 436



756 Index

World War II
genocide on Jews in, 191
impact of, 606–8
economic, 360, 384–87
on European borders, 439–40
Japanese capitulation, 336
Middle East in, 49–52
Soviet Union in, 18, 22
United Kingdom in, 22
United States in, 20, 22
Wyszyński, Stefan, 469, 472, 480, 546

Xuan Thuy, 172

Yahya Khan, Agha Muhammad, 178 Yalta Conference (1945), 386 Yeltsin, Boris N., 568, 591, 593 Yongzheng (Chinese emperor), 470 Yudin, Pavel, 75 Yugoslavia and CMEA, 381, 394 communist regime in, 71 non-alignment policies of, 87, 289, 304, 305, 306 and Arab–Israeli conflict, 300 and Soviet Union, 73, 87, 388 and Vatican, 468

Zahir (king of Afghanistan), 509
Zhao Ziyang, 536
Zhdanov, Andrei, 72, 388
Zhivkov, Todor, 570, 588
Zhou Enlai, 122, 124, 155
and Bandung Conference / Asian–African
Internationalism, 125–26, 130,
279–80, 281, 298
Four Modernizations program of, 128
and India, 169–70, 171
Zia-ul-Haq, Muhammad, 512
Zionism, 189–90; see also anti-Zionism