Chapter 4
Grand Strategy
Supplemental Material

Postwar Conditions

The US national security system was established in 1947, but history did not begin there. Before embarking on an examination of Cold War and post-Cold War strategies, it is useful to review the geostrategic conditions existing at the end of WWII as the Cold War was taking shape.

United Nations

The Declaration of the United Nations established the alliance of status quo nations (Allies) who opposed those states that would use force to acquire territory and establish dominion over others (Axis). It also serves as the initial declaration of the formal United Nations that would be established later. A state had to be a signatory of the Declaration before war's end to become a member of the UN. After the war, the major powers of the victorious Allies took responsibility for the occupation of the defeated Axis powers and for governance of the areas not capable of governing themselves, including those devastated by the war and those freed from colonial rule but without the institutions of state. But the victorious wartime alliance was soon dissolved and two poles emerged in the East and West. The UN was not as united as hoped.

Europe

The United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union divided Europe. The United States, Great Britain, and France soon consolidated their areas, but the Soviet Union would not join in unification. Europe was divided into East and West by what would later be called the Iron Curtain. Germany was divided into East and West. Berlin was similarly divided. The Soviet Union consolidated its grip on Eastern Europe. A divided Europe would be the main theater throughout the Cold War competition.

Things were not so clear in other parts of Europe. Greece and Turkey remained unstable and a competition for the right to govern ensued. Both were host to violent insurgencies waged by domestic communist antagonists. Elsewhere, the competition was political, as in Italy, where communists actively competed in electoral processes. Political warfare would become the norm.

Latin America

Having overturned centuries of Islamic occupation in the Christian Reconquest, the Catholic Spaniards and Portuguese proceeded to bring Christianity to the Western Hemisphere. Resource exploitation under powerful landholders, patrons, brought the golden age of Spain. After European dominance weakened, Latin American countries slowly and painfully moved forward driven by nationalistic aspirations. Strongman governments and powerful oligarchies replaced European colonial powers in repressing populist ambitions. Socialism was appealing as a counter to oligarchy.

American foreign policy objectives in the Caribbean included controlling sea lanes for transit of the Panamanian Isthmus and denying a presence to foreign powers. The Panama Canal opened (1914) within weeks of declarations of war in Europe. In addition to preventing meddling by European powers, a priority was placed on protecting American business interests, including Cornelius Vanderbilt's trans-isthmus railroad and American fruit company plantations. To accomplish these ends, policy sought to establish local political stability and stimulate economic development.

Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine were guiding principles for US actions. President James Monroe's (1817-1825) original statement of the Monroe Doctrine (1823) was benign and in solidarity with new world peoples in the Western Hemisphere seeking self determination from

European powers. President James Polk (1845-1849), an expansionist Southern Democrat in the Jacksonian tradition, exploited a contrived incident to initiate the Mexican-American War (1846-1848). The war was waged under Manifest Destiny, as "allotted by Providence." The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) and the follow-on reduced Mexican claim to territory by 55 percent. President Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909) reinterpreted the Monroe Doctrine to include unilateral intervention to stabilize Latin American states unable to repay European lenders rather than risk European intervention (1904).

American Imperialism in Latin America

Insurgencies and other political instabilities in Latin America often threatened American strategic or commercial interests resulting in economic or military intervention. The Marine Corps was often deployed to re-establish order. Today we would describe the conditions as failed states and refer to the operations as peace operations, humanitarian assistance, and nation building. Marines separated the factions, established a constabulary, restored the judicial system, and provided public works, including the provision of education and medical care. It was not uncommon to use forced labor. In general, these operations were conducted within an environment containing some mix of bandits and rebel insurgents. Marines conducted tactical operations, typically in remote jungle environments and against guerrilla forces. The experiences of this period were codified in the *Small Wars Manual of 1940*.

Marines conducted three major and three lesser interventions in Central America and the Caribbean in the decades surrounding WWI. The first of the minor interventions contributed to the seizure of territory for the Panama Canal (1902). The United States encouraged a rebellion that separated the Panamanian Isthmus from Colombia and won a favorable treaty from the newly independent Panama. To protect American interests, marines entered Nicaragua (1912-1913) as its brutal dictator brought the country close to bankruptcy. In another minor intervention, marines helped overthrow what President Wilson called a government of butchers in Mexico (1914). The Mexican revolution against a government dominated by business and the Catholic Church eventually produced an election and a constitution. In one of the longer interventions, marines occupied Haiti (1915-1934) in response to a bloody revolution. Another major intervention into the Dominican Republic (1916-1924) resulted in marines establishing a military government. Marines returned to Nicaragua again (1926-1933) picking up where they left off from the earlier half of the intervention to provide for free elections with an insurgency in the background.

As foreign policy, American interventions and nation building attempts have a bleak history, particularly with respect to the tendency for the marine-built native constabularies to later support the rise of a dictator. It was common for marines to provide the officers of a constabulary, the Guardia, and have the enlisted ranks filled from the indigenous population. After marines left the Dominican Republic with a stable government from 1922 to 1924, General Rafael Trujillo later used the same constabulary to establish himself as dictator. Anastosia Somoza, backed by the Guardia, made himself president of Nicaragua in 1936. Marines returned to the Dominican Republic (1958-1963) to help strengthen the army of dictator François "Pappa Doc" Duvalier. Whether the US Government was deposing or installing tyrants, the marines were there. A lasting legacy was established.

Republican President William Howard Taft (1909-1913) preferred dollars over bullets—dollar diplomacy. Taft's administration encouraged US businesses to offer loans to repay debts to European powers. Insolvent states accepted loans in exchange for accommodations to US businesses and for governmental and economic reforms. US government takeover of custom houses ensured repayment. President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) reserved the right to decide which Latin American governments to recognize as legitimate (1915).

The era of American imperialism in Latin America nominally came to an end prior to WWII when in 1933 President Franklin Roosevelt's inaugural address introduced the good neighbor policy toward Latin America. But the United States would continue its unwelcome interventions. Rightwing dictators opposed to communism would be supported by the United States while indigenous, populist, and nationalist leftwing movements would be encouraged by the Soviet Union as part of the Cold War great-power competition.

Africa

African countries were freed from their colonial pasts. Few African states had the institutions of government or the skilled bureaucrats necessary for government. In general, those states that had been subjected to British rule fared better than others. State borders delineated convenient administrative districts and bore no resemblance to nations. Many former European colonies in Africa were made trustees of the UN rather than be granted immediate independence. For example, the UN placed Namibia under South African trusteeship; the UN rescinded South Africa's trusteeship 30 January 1970, but South Africa remained, and a war of independence ensued.

More violent than some, Angola's post-WWII history followed a common pattern. The Portugese had been involved in the region since 1482. The Portugese brought guns and Christianity, and an African king provided slaves and raw materials for export. The Dutch occupied Angola briefly (1641-1648) but Angola became a Portugese colony in 1655.

Militant anti-colonial parties began to form in the late 1940s. Two merged into the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in December 1956 under Agostinho Neto. Another two merged into the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) in March 1962 under Holden Roberto. Jonas Savimbi split from the FNLA to form the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in 1964. Revolts against colonial rule erupted in the early 1960s and were brutally repressed in a long counterinsurgency effort waged by Portugese Armed Forces. The Angolan War of Independence (1961-1975) was not won in Angola. The Portugese government was engaged in multiple colonial wars and grew increasingly authoritarian at home. Leftist forces overthrew the Lisbon government in the Carnation Revolution of 24 April 1974. Angola achieved formal independence 11 November 1975.

The Angolan Civil War (1975-2002) began even before the independence agreement was signed as the competing factions turned on each other. Whites fled leaving the country without experienced civil servants and professionals. The factions—all nationalistic, populist, and left leaning—presented the appropriate face to appeal to a chosen Cold War sponsor and became part of the East-West competition. South Africa, seeking regional hegemony and apartheid capitalism, invaded 23 October 1975 on the side of the FNLA and UNITA. Cuban forces united with the MPLA to oppose the South African coalition. All of southern Africa was engaged in one way or another.

Eastern Asia

The countries of Eastern Asia were part of a secondary, and in some cases tertiary, theater for the United States in WWII. But the war had been devastating for the locals, and there was a history of colonialism, civil war, and regional competitions. Nationalism would have powerful effects.

Japan. Getting an early start on WWII, Japan established dominion over large parts of Eastern Asia. Atrocities had been committed, and memories would be long. The Japanese would leave China, Korea, Indochina, and Oceania and return to Japan under American military occupation.

China. The modern day Chinese narrative includes arrival of Christian missionaries in the 16th Century and the humiliating presence of European powers during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). By the end of the 19th century, including two Opium Wars, China had been divided into spheres of influence by the European powers. The United States, without its own sphere and fearing lack of access to its commercial interests, convinced the Europeans of the Open Door Policy. The collapse of Western empires and unequal treaties imposed on China at the end of WWI initiated a new era. Strong nationalist sentiments and rebellion was accompanied by the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The long civil war in China (1927-1937), pitting Western-supported nationalists against Soviet-supported communists, was disrupted. The two factions continued fighting each other and simultaneously posed a unified front against Japanese invaders. The civil war resumed (1946-1950) with renewed vigor after Japanese defeat in WWII. Nationalist forces led by Chiang Kai-shek retreated to the island of Taiwan (Formosa) and formed the Republic of China (ROC). Communists led by

Mao Zedong established the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland. The West and the UN recognized the ROC as the legitimate government while the East recognized the PRC.

Korea. The Korean Peninsula had long been an area contested by China, Japan, and Russia. At the end of WWII, Japanese occupation was replaced by a partitioned Korea with a Soviet-backed communist government in the industrialized North and a US-backed dictatorial government in the underdeveloped South. The divided Korea would be the site of the first major Cold War conflict.

Indochina. After the Japanese withdrew, the French returned to Indochina to reestablish colonial prerogatives. As in Korea, Vietnam was divided north and south, with communist support for the government in the North and French support to the government in the South. The East and West major powers would conduct proxy wars throughout the Cold War. The *First Indochina War* (1946-1954) quickly ensued with civil wars in Vietnam (1946-1975), Laos (1953-1975), and Cambodia (1967-1975). Later American involvement would initiate the *Second Indochina War* (1962-1975) centered in Vietnam but involving Laos and Cambodia as well. Cambodia—Kampuchea under the Khmer Rouge—engaged in a period of self-mutilation (1975-1979). After unification of Vietnam under communism, Vietnam invaded Cambodia (1975-1989), and China's brief punitive invasion of Vietnam was repulsed (1979).

Western, Central, and Southern Asia

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire left a vacuum in Western, Central, and Southern Asia. The importance of oil in industrial-age warfare increased the significance of the region to the great powers. Nationalism would be prominent in the region as it struggled for independence and experimented with new methods of social organization.

Oil in the World Wars. The two world wars epitomize industrial-age warfare. The United States was the world's leading oil producer and was the principal supplier of oil to the Allied armies. But US resources were finite and it was abundantly clear that Middle Eastern oil would play a critical role in economic recovery of the industrial powers devastated by war, and oil would be a strategic resource should another war erupt.

Oil in the World Wars

With WWI developing, in 1903, British Foreign Secretary Lord Landsdowne warned Russia and Germany that Britain would "regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other power as a very grave menace to British interests, and we should certainly resist with all the means at our disposal."

Petroleum was critical to the industrial-age armies of WWII. Great Britain and the Soviet Union invaded Iran in 1941 to prevent Iran's railroads and oil from falling to Axis Powers. As the world's leading oil producer, the United States supplied most of the oil for Allied armies. But US resources were not infinite, and positive relations with Saudi Arabia became a strategic necessity. On 16 February 1943, FDR said, "the defense of Saudi Arabia is vital to the defense of the United States."

These, in a small way, establish the initial conditions for competition for oil in the Middle East throughout the Cold War. Western business interests continued to dominate the oil industries, including profits, in the Middle East. Western powers would support pro-Western Middle Eastern governments. Oil would flow freely and cheaply to the industrialized West. Threats to the status quo were seen as threats to national and international security. Threats would come from Soviet expansion and from the local forces of nationalism and a desire for self determination after a long period of European colonialism.

Iranian Revolutions. Persia is an ancient and sophisticated civilization dating back two and a half millennia. Arabs successfully brought Islam to Persia between the 7th and 9th centuries but never made it Arab. Persia became an independent state in 1501. The Enlightenment and the industrial revolution rapidly transformed European political and economic systems by the end of the 19th century. Persian political factions forced the shah to adopt a European-like constitution with monarch and elected parliament in 1906.

The competition between progressive constitutionalists and conservative monarchists continued. Russia and Great Britain continued their great power interventions throughout the First World War. After WWI a charismatic leader ascended to the throne and pursued the progressive agenda with a

heavy hand. (The shah asked foreign diplomats to use the name Iran rather than Persia.) American and German neutrality won favor.

Growing trade between Iran and Germany gave Great Britain and the Soviet Union a reason to intervene to prevent Iranian oil from supplying Germany during WWII. The United States later operated in Iran to supply the Soviet Union during the war. Great Britain and the United States withdrew at war's end as promised, but the Soviet Union required encouragement.

The Iranian Revolutions

Persia's Constitutional Revolution took place between 1906 and 1911. Mozafar al-Din Shah Qajar, who had ascended to the throne in June 1896, was forced by revolutionaries to adopt a constitution and elect a parliament on 5 August 1906. It replaced a weak, centralized, and corrupt government with a constitutional monarchy, both preserving the shah and establishing an elected parliament, the Majlis (the People's House). The constitution, modeled on the Belgian constitution, provided for the rule of law, equality, individual rights, universal public education, and freedom of the press. After the shah's death, his son, Mohammad Ali, ascended 21 June 1907. He secured large loans from Great Britain and Russia, ceding considerable influence. Iranian politics was divided internally by progressive constitutionalists and conservative monarchists.

The British and Russians announced a pact on 7 September 1907. They backed the shah and geographically divided the country between them. By dividing the country, they unified the Iranian factions. Great Britain and Russia intervened. Russian Cossaks stormed the parliament 23 June 1908 initiating a civil war. Christian missionaries pressured US politicians to respond with tough action, but Presidents Teddy Roosevelt and William Taft maintained a policy of neutrality. The revolution ended in 1911 and Iranian constitutionalists turned to the noninterventionist United States for assistance and Germany for trade. Relations between Iran and the United States would continue on favorable terms for 35 years.

After WWI and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey successfully transitioned to a secular government committed to modernization. Iran attempted a similar transition but with less success. Reza Khan overthrew the last shah of the Qajar Dynasty and ascended to the throne in 1925 and began the Pahlavi Dynasty. His rule was sectarian and authoritarian. He was a strong nationalist, particularly opposed to Russian and British influence. He initiated industrial expansion, railroad building, and an educational system. Western dress was required, the veil was prohibited, and Jews were emancipated from the ghettos.

To prevent Iran's railroads and oil from falling to the WWII Axis Powers, Great Britain and the Soviet Union invaded Iran in 1941 with a promise to leave at war's end. But the Soviets remained until Iran successfully out maneuvered them politically. President Truman provided strong support for Soviet withdrawal. And US neutrality paid dividends again.

Reza Shah Pahlavi was ousted in 1941 and replaced with his son, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who was expected to be more malleable. The shah's White Revolution (1963) was heavy-handed modernization that enflamed nationalist sentiments and fear in traditionalists. The stage was set for the Islamic Revolution (1979).

British India. By 1948, Brithish India had been divided into India, East and West Pakistan, Burma (now Myanmar), and Cylon (now Sri Lanka).

Afghanistan. The present-day borders of the Afghan state reflect historic great-power decisions and do not honor nations. It is bordered by Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan in the north; Pakistan on the east and south; Iran on the west, and even a short border with China at the far east of the Hindu Kush. The suffix "stan" means "land of." Baluchistan, not a state, spans Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Pashtunistan, also not a state, lies equally in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the *Durand Line*, was drawn down the middle of Pashtunland (1893) as part of the *Great Game* between Great Britain and Russia.

The region was long a crossroads for traders, migrants, and armies with diverse ethnic and religious groups. It was home to Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, and Zoroastrians before Arabs brought Islam to the region (642-870) soon after the religion's establishment. Islam brought the first unity to the various ethnic groups of the region. The great majority of Afghans are Sunni.

The Great Game

The Great Game (1813-1907) was a strategic competition between Czarist Russia and Great Britain over Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent. It was apparently more of a preoccupation of the British in defense of India, the Empire's crown jewel. The contest was centered in Afghanistan but involved the larger region.

The *Durand Line* was drawn to demarcate British and Russian spheres of influence in 1893. Convenient to the great powers, the line—like many drawn by outside powers—was not drawn with respect to nations (peoples). Here, Pashtuns had their land divided between Afghanistan and what later became Pakistan.

After WWII, as the British relinquished colonial authorities, the British Indian Empire was hastily divided into a Muslim state and a Hindu-majority secular state by the *Radcliffe Line*. The 1947 Partition created India and the divided state of East and West Pakistan separated by several hundred miles. East Pakistan became independent Bangladesh in 1971. Border disputes continue to plague Paki-Hindi relations.

Pashtuns, an Iranic people, comprise over 40 percent of the Afghan population. Ahmad Shah Durrani first unified the Pashtun tribes (early 18th century). At its peak, the Durrani, or Afghan, Empire (1747-1826) included all of today's Afghanistan and Pakistan and extended into neighboring Persia and India. Pashtuns, the majority in Afghanistan, constitute a major ethnic group in Pakistan and a minor presence in Iran. Unified Afghanistan was ethnically Pashtun and religiously Sunni Muslim.

Properly speaking, Pashtuns are the true ethnic Afghans. Other groups retain their ethnic identities, but they identify first as Afghans. Tajiks are Persian speaking and comprise over 25 percent of the Afghan population, and they are dominant in Tajikistan to the north. Uzbeks and Turkmen, Turkic peoples, are dominant in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan to the north but constitute less than 10 percent of the Afghan population. Many fled in the 1920s from Russian religious suppression. Hazaras are a Persian-speaking minority of less than 10 percent living mostly in central Afghanistan, but there is a sizable presence in Pakistan. Hazaras are Shia Muslims and have been brutally repressed by Pashtuns (18th, 19th, and 20th centuries) earlier for ethnic and later for religious differences. Baluchs, also an Iranic people, constitute a small minority.

Pakistan. The borders of Pakistan were drawn to suit the needs of outside powers and with little regard to peoples. The Durand Line divided the Pashtun people between Afghanistan and what later became Pakistan. After WWII, as the British relinquished colonial authorities, the British Indian Empire was hastily divided into a Muslim state and a Hindu-majority, secular state by the *Radcliffe Line*. The 1947 partition created India and the divided state of West and East Pakistan separated by a thousand miles.

The Punjabi people were and are divided between Pakistan and India, and Punjabis dominate Pakistani politics over Pashtuns, Sindhs, and Baluchs. Although united by Islam, the Punjabis consider themselves proper Muslims and Bengalis to be inferior Muslims. The Bengali people were divided between East Pakistan and India. Political power was centered in the Punjabi west but the larger population was in the Bengali East. East Pakistan became independent Bangladesh in 1971.

The borders of states in this region are not aligned with nations, and that misalignment would produce political problems for the various states, both internally and externally. Border disputes continue to plague Indo-Paki relations.

Palestine

Nationalism was an extremely powerful force at work in the postwar era. Two major nationalist movements had been gaining strength during and between the world wars. It had become clear that the promise of self determination could only be realized if nations had states with defensible borders and institutions that enforced the norms of the people. Arab nationalism would ultimately be frustrated, but Jewish nationalism solidified.

Arab Nationalism. The Arab world had not adopted modern forms of government and lacked the attendant organizational capacities. They were easy prey for European colonizers. The First World War offered Arabs the opportunity, the promise, of statehood after the fall of the Turkish dominated Ottoman Empire. It was not to be as European powers filled the vacuum left by the Ottomans. Arab

nationalism would be frustrated throughout the interwar period as Europeans denied Arab self determination. States emerged inside colonial boundaries and national identities began to develop within these states thus diffusing the drive toward a unified Arab state and Pan-Arabism. Sophisticated and charismatic leaders emerged in Egypt and in non-Arab Turkey and Iran. The region would be caught up in the Cold War competition between the major powers of East and West.

Arab Nationalism and the Great Betrayal

Arab nationalism was rekindled in WWI. Very important components of today's Arab-Islamic narrative are the events associated with the end of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. Three bodies of documents serve to describe this component: the *Hussein-McMahon Correspondence*, the *Sykes-Picot Agreement*, and the *Balfour Declaration*. The collective is sometimes referred to as the *Great Betrayal.*

Sherif Hussein, a Hashemite, was perhaps the single individual that could be considered the Arab spokesman during the First World War. Sir Henry McMahon, British high commissioner of Egypt, was the principal British spokesman in the Arab world. As early as 1914, the Hussein-McMahon correspondence began encouraging an Arab uprising against the Ottoman Turks and the promise of Arab independence after the war. An Arab Caliphate under Hussein was a possibility. Separately, in May 1915, two small movements, al-Fatat and al-Ahd, produced the Damascus Protocol describing their conditions for cooperation to support the British against the Turks. The Arab uprising began in June 1916, was led by Hussein's son Feisal, and was aided by T.E. Lawrence. The Hussein-McMahon correspondence (1915-1916), not a formal agreement, is often cited as the basis of Arab understanding of the way things were supposed to be after the war.

At the same time, member of British Parliament Sir Mark Sykes and French diplomat Charles François George-Picot were quietly discussing the postwar partition of the Ottoman Empire. It would be divided between the British and the French with Russia having the dominant role in the north. The British and French would have direct control in some areas and indirect control in others. Semi-autonomous Arab states would be possible where indirect European control existed. The resulting secret document is the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916).

The Balfour Declaration (1917)—a letter from British diplomat Arthur J. Balfour to the head of the British Zionist Organization Lord Rothschild in November 1917—indicated the British government's positive view toward a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Palestine was at the time an undefined area. A condition of the new homeland would be that the rights of the non-Jewish community would not be prejudiced.

The entirety is often evoked as "Sykes-Picot," and has the connotation of "white man speaks with forked tongue." It represents past betrayal and predicts future betrayal associated with the Western alliance, which includes present-day Israel. Self determination had been thwarted for the Arab nation, and direction of Arab history has been determined by the West. In the future, everything the US would say and do would be interpreted through this lens.

Jewish Nationalism. Ancient empires exiled Jews from their homeland; many migrated across Europe. Persecution in Western Europe during the Crusades pushed Jews to Eastern Europe. After Centuries of prosperity in Muslim Spain, Jews were driven out during the Inquisition. The Enlightenment improved the lot of Jews in Western Europe and simultaneously increased violent persecution in Russia. But the persecution soon returned to Western Europe culminating in the Holocaust. The true depth and breadth of the atrocities weren't fully apparent until war's end.

Jews benefited from the 18th century Enlightenment and liberalization in Western Europe, but the Dreyfus Affair dashed the hopes even of the most assimilated Jew, like Theodor Herzl. French Army Captain Alfred Dreyfus, falsely accused in 1894 of spying for Germany, was convicted and later vindicated. Herzl, having covered the Dreyfus Affair as a journalist, became convinced that assimilation was impossible and that anti-Semitism would not die. He wrote *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) in 1896. Herzl became the tireless promoter of a Jewish state and the father of modern Zionism.

Before WWI, the great majority of the world's Jews lived in Europe, about 50 percent in Poland, and only .2 percent lived in Palestine. About 2 percent of the population in Palestine was Jewish and about 10 percent Christian; the majority Arab population was Sunni Muslim. Arabs and Jews, both Semitic peoples, co-occupied Palestine in peace. European colonial exploitation of Arab lands and

European treatment of Jews led Jewish and Arab nationalists to consider alliance and common cause in their pursuit of self determination. By the end of WWII, the Palestinian population was about 58 percent Muslim, 33 percent Jew, and 8 percent Christian.

Jewish Nationalism—Zionism

After domination by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks, most Jews were already living in exile when the Romans banned those remaining following revolts in the 1st and 2nd centuries. The Roman province of Judea was renamed Palestine. Forced conversions took place in the Christian Byzantine Empire and in Christian France during the second half of the first millennium.

Jews prospered in Muslim Spain, centered in Cordoba, for four centuries, but following the defeat of the Moors in the 13th century the Spanish Inquisition targeted Jews and Muslims, driving out non-Christian influences completing the Christian Reconquest. Jews converted to Christianity in large numbers and were later put to death as the Spanish Inquisition strengthened in pursuit of Christian purity (1391). Later the Catholic Monarchs (Isabella and Ferdinand) signed an edict for Jews (1492) and Muslims (1501) to convert, leave, or be put to death. In northern Europe, Jews and Muslims were massacred during the Crusades (1095-1291). Jews were expelled from England in the late 13th century and from France in the 14th century.

The French Revolution (1789-1799) abruptly ended the *ancien régime*—political domination by the monarchy, aristocracy, and the established church. Emancipation of the Jews began in France (1791) and spread across Europe throughout the 19th century. Assimilation into local societies became an increasingly popular solution for many Jews. But scapegoating Jews increased after the financial crises that followed the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and the failure of the Panama Canal Investment Company in the middle 1880s.

The assassination of the Russian tsar (1881) punctuated the growing divide between Eastern and Western Europe. Jews were scapegoated for a variety of economic and social ills, many associated with liberalization and capitalism in Western Europe. By the end of the 19th century, state-led or state-allowed persecution of Russian Jews fueled a growing desire to return to their biblical home.

The First Aliya (1882-1903) doubled the Jewish population in Palestine. A British proposal to establish a Jewish homeland in Uganda was rejected (1903). Another wave of emigration accompanied the failed Russian revolution (1904-1905). Those who could afford it dispersed to the Western Hemisphere or into the British Empire. Others migrated to Western Europe. Some went to Palestine in the Second Aliya (1904-1914).

In accordance with the Balfour Declaration ([1917](#)), the League of Nations established the Palestine Mandate ([1922](#)) under British auspices after their defeat of the Ottomans. The Mandate included establishment of the institutions of state and of a Jewish homeland with civil rights protections regardless of religion or race. The Third Aliya (1919-1923) and Fourth Aliya (1924-1929) were also out of Eastern Europe. As Jewish immigration increased under British authority, riots by indigenous Arabs erupted in the 1920s causing the British to place restrictions on further Jewish immigration. A British White Paper ([1922](#)) was issued in an attempt to deal with Arab objections. The Fifth Aliya (1929-1939) was driven by the increasing anti-Semitism associated with Nazism and the pursuit of ethnic purity. Another British White Paper ([1939](#)) further restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine.

As Jews were pushed from one part of Europe to another, the longing grew for a state of their own. The problem was centered in Europe, often the product of an anti-Jewish (and anti-Muslim) interpretation of Christianity and sometimes the product of the related phenomenon of nationalism. It resulted in the sustained migration of Jews bringing a modern, 20th century European culture into a land occupied by a society with a traditional culture. The solution to a problem created by Europeans would be establishment of a Jewish state that displaced innocent Palestinian Arabs. The Palestinian issue would be one of the first and most complex faced by the new United Nations. By 2010, the United Nations would minister to 4.7 million registered Palestinian refugees.