This material is designed to help you think about large historical topics in a manageable and meaningful way and to connect the content to the California standards.

How did the former colonies respond to the Cold War and liberation?

After World War II many developing nations that major world powers had previously possessed gained independence. The Cold War then became a divisive era in which newly independent nations—and many established nations—aligned either with the Soviet Union or the United States for access to resources and defense, which were important for nation building and economic development. At times of economic crisis, such as the falling oil industry in the 1970s, people from former colonies migrated to the former imperial centers, or metropoles, of Britain, France, and Spain. Such increased diversity resulted in the rise of major world capitals as we know them now. London, Paris, and Madrid had advancing economic opportunities and were appealing to immigrants from previously occupied territories.

Many newly independent states formed democracies with open market economies, prompting an increased exchange of culture in addition to business and industry. The instability of some emerging nations opened them up to influence from superpowers. This sometimes led to dependency, but alternatively, a new nation was sometimes able to play one superpower against the other. As a result, that nation gained advantages that they would not have had if they had simply aligned with one superpower or the other.

In Cold War hot spots—areas of the most direct and intense face-offs between the Soviets and the Americans—competing interests reached their height. In Module 15 you learned about conflicts in Iran, Hungary, Cuba, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. Countries like Algeria, Angola, and the Congo also experienced some of the most heated conflicts between superpower ideologies. For example, following the Algerian War of Independence from 1954–1962, France granted Algeria its freedom. The Soviet Union quickly offered increased economic help to the new nation, and Algeria fell into the Soviet sphere of influence.

Under Belgian imperial rule, the Congo had been exploited for nearly a century. In 1960 Belgium granted the Congo independence, and Patrice Lumumba was elected Congo’s first prime minister. Lumumba was a strong proponent of Congolese neutrality and an end to colonialism. When faced with Western resistance, however, Lumumba turned to the Soviet Union for support in suppressing revolts and bringing stability and independence to the Congo. Fearing that the Congo would fall into the Soviet sphere of influence, Belgium and the United States supported the Congolese army colonel, Joseph Mobutu, and Lumumba was captured and killed. In 1965 Mobutu led a military coup and installed himself as dictator. Mobutu ruled for 32 years, during which his autocratic rule drove the country into poverty and civil war.

In Angola, Portuguese colonial rulers had no desire to release their holdings. Angolans took up arms to gain independence, and Portugal finally granted Angola its freedom in 1975. When the MPLA, the Angolan Communist Party, took control of the government, numerous rebel groups arose to challenge them in a civil war. Cuba and the Soviet Union supported the Communists, while South Africa supported the rebel factions.

How was the Cold War waged all over the world?

The post–World War II developing nations played out their futures as battlegrounds in the Cold War. Most had to choose a side or wait for it to be chosen for them. In fact, the futures of many nations in the 20th century were mandated by Western powers and the United Nations. For example, the British plan for Palestine was initially to establish an Arab nation and an Israeli nation. The Palestinian Arabs rejected this plan. When the British withdrew from the region, the Jewish leadership declared an independent Israel and fought back an invasion by their Arab neighbors in order to keep it. Although the UN managed to convince the nations to agree to a formal armistice, further clashes arose between Israel and its neighbors in the coming decades. Also in the Middle East, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq were formed as independent nations from UN mandates that were largely determined by former colonial powers.

As the number of independent nations increased, so too did tension between the United States and the Soviet Union over whether the independent nations would follow democratic or Communist policies. Thus, even in places where no obvious Cold War conflict existed, nations felt its pressure, whether ideologically, economically, politically, or culturally. The struggle often led to civil wars and clashes between neighboring nations allied to different superpowers.

In places with valuable resources, such as oil in the Middle East, lumber in Africa, or fruits in Central America, the superpowers competed to acquire allies and better access to natural resources. As the superpowers battled for dominance, such resources became important to foster a diverse and powerful economy and to develop strong ties to other nations. If a country could exert economic influence over another, then political and cultural influences might follow. On the other hand, political influence could result in economic advantage and lead to cooperation benefiting both parties involved.
Arthur James Balfour, “Balfour Declaration”

Arthur James Balfour, the British foreign secretary, wrote the following letter in 1917 to Lord Rothschild, a prominent leader of the Jewish people in Britain. Because this document was written 31 years before the creation of Israel as a Jewish state, it emphasizes the history of competing interests in the future of Palestine. A key region in the Middle East, Palestine is a strategic location, both economically and culturally. The region has many sites sacred to Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Balfour’s letter expresses the sentiments behind the establishment of the state of Israel, which was the object of Zionist thinking. The details of the plan changed over the years, but with broad popular support following the horrors of the Holocaust, the independent state of Israel was established in 1948.

November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty’s Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

“His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur James Balfour

ACTIVITY

Nation Building During the Cold War

In small groups of three or four, do a compare and contrast analysis of two former colonies as they developed after gaining independence. These can be colonies that were controlled by the same imperial power, or they can have different imperial rulers and histories of independence. When analyzing their paths to becoming independent nations, explore the similarities and differences of their experience. What role did the previous imperialist rulers have in shaping these two histories? What effect, if any, did the Cold War have on the newly independent nations? Record your group’s findings in a chart.

ACTIVITY

Natural Resources and the Cold War

Write an essay in which you assess the relationship between the Cold War and a natural resource of a particular nation or geographic area. Research how the development of a nation or an area was impacted by the competition of the Cold War and the race to acquire resources. For example, you could write about the oil industry in the Middle East. You could also write about the lumber industry in Indonesia or Central America or about mining in Africa or South America. The previously discussed hot spots of Cold War conflict can provide a starting point to explore why those areas were so greatly disputed and so important, focusing on the resources unique to each particular location. Frame your analysis in terms of how your chosen nation or region participated in the ongoing ideological conflict of the Cold War, directly or indirectly, and how a natural resource in your assigned region could affect global economics and politics.

Analyze Sources

How does the declaration’s format as a letter between two people affect the tone of the statement and convey how the British want to appear to their audiences—the Jewish people, Palestinians, and other nations?
Module 16

The Colonies Become New Nations

Essential Question
How can leaders of nations unify diverse populations of people?

About the Photo: Citizens celebrate India’s independence from British rule in the streets of Calcutta. After World War II, independence movements swept Africa and Asia. The emergence of new nations from European- and U.S.-ruled colonies brought a change in ownership of vital resources. It also brought new rights and opportunities for the people in these nations.

In this module, you will learn about how nations and peoples around the world struggled to gain their independence from colonial powers.

10.1.3 Consider the influence of the U.S. Constitution on political systems in the contemporary world. 10.4.3 Explain imperialism from the perspective of the colonizers and the colonized and the varied immediate and long-term responses by the people under colonial rule. 10.4.4 Describe the independence struggles of the colonized regions of the world, including the roles of leaders, such as Sun Yat-sen in China, and the roles of ideology and religion. 10.9.6 Understand how the forces of nationalism developed in the Middle East, how the Holocaust affected world opinion regarding the need for a Jewish state, and the significance and effects of the location and establishment of Israel on world affairs. 10.9.7 Analyze the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union, including the weaknesses of the command economy, burdens of military commitments, and growing resistance to Soviet rule by dissidents in satellite states and the non-Russian Soviet republics. 10.9.8 Discuss the establishment and work of the United Nations and the purposes and functions of the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, NATO, and the Organization of American States. HREP.2 Students identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations. HREP.4 Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Gandhi leads Indian campaign of civil disobedience.</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>State of Israel is created.</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>Sukarno proclaims Indonesian independence.</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>South Africa establishes apartheid system.</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>India gains independence from Britain.</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Mao Zedong launches Cultural Revolution in China.</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>Britain defeats Argentina in war over Falkland Islands.</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Soviet Union breaks up into 15 republics.</td>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>Mobutu dictatorship in Zaire falls.</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>United States drives Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Liberia elects Africa's first female president.</td>
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The Big Idea
New nations emerged from the British colony of India.

Why It Matters Now
India today is the largest democracy in the world.

Key Terms and People
Rowlatt Acts
Amritsar Massacre
Mohandas K. Gandhi
civil disobedience
Salt March
Congress Party
Muslim League
Muhammad Ali Jinnah
partition
Jawaharlal Nehru
Indira Gandhi
Benazir Bhutto

Setting the Stage
After World War II, dramatic political changes began to take place across the world. This was especially the case with regard to the policy of colonialism. Countries that held colonies began to question the practice. After the world struggle against dictatorship, many leaders argued that no country should control another nation. Others questioned the high cost and commitment of holding colonies. Meanwhile, the people of colonized regions continued to press even harder for their freedom. All of this led to independence for one of the largest and most populous colonies in the world: British-held India.

Modern-day India is a mix of old and new.
Nationalism Surfaces in India

Growing nationalism led to the founding of two nationalist groups, the primarily Hindu Indian National Congress, or Congress Party, in 1885 and the Muslim League in 1906. At first, such groups concentrated on specific concerns for Indians. By the early 1900s, however, they were calling for self-government. Though deep divisions existed between Hindus and Muslims, they found common ground. They shared the heritage of British rule and an understanding of democratic ideals. These two groups both worked toward the goal of independence from the British.

The nationalists were further inflamed in 1905 by the partition of Bengal. The province was too large for administrative purposes, so the British divided it into a Hindu section and a Muslim section. Keeping the two religious groups apart made it difficult for them to unite in calling for independence. In 1911, the British took back the order and divided the province in a different way.

World War I Increases Nationalist Activity

Until World War I, the vast majority of Indians had little interest in nationalism. The situation changed as over a million Indians enlisted in the British army. In return for their service, the British government promised reforms that would eventually lead to self-government.

In 1918, Indian troops returned home from the war. They expected Britain to fulfill its promise. Instead, they were once again treated as second-class citizens. Radical nationalists carried out acts of violence to show their hatred of British rule. To curb dissent, in 1919 the British passed the Rowlatt Acts. These laws allowed the government to jail protesters without trial for as long as two years. To Western-educated Indians, denial of a trial by jury violated their individual rights.

Ram Mohun Roy (1772–1833)

In the early 1800s, some Indians began demanding more modernization and a greater role in governing themselves. Ram Mohun Roy, a modern-thinking, well-educated Indian, began a campaign to move India away from traditional practices and ideas. Ram Mohun Roy saw arranged child marriages and the rigid caste separation as parts of Indian life that needed to be changed. He believed that if the practices were not changed, India would continue to be controlled by outsiders. Roy’s writings inspired other Indian reformers to call for adoption of Western ways. Roy also founded a social reform movement that worked for change in India.

Besides modernization and Westernization, nationalist feelings started to surface in India. Indians hated a system that made them second-class citizens in their own country. They were barred from top posts in the Indian Civil Service. Those who managed to get middle-level jobs were paid less than Europeans. A British engineer on the East India Railway, for example, made nearly 20 times as much money as an Indian engineer.
Amritsar Massacre To protest the Rowlatt Acts, around 10,000 Hindus and Muslims flocked to Amritsar, a major city in the Punjab, in the spring of 1919. At a huge festival in an enclosed square, they intended to fast and pray and to listen to political speeches. The demonstration, viewed as a nationalist outburst, alarmed the British. They were especially concerned about the alliance of Hindus and Muslims.

Most people at the gathering were unaware that the British government had banned public meetings. However, the British commander at Amritsar believed they were openly defying the ban. He ordered his troops to fire on the crowd without warning. The shooting in the enclosed courtyard continued for ten minutes. Official reports showed nearly 400 Indians died and about 1,200 were wounded. Others estimate the numbers were higher.

News of the slaughter, called the Amritsar Massacre, sparked anger across India. Almost overnight, millions of Indians changed from loyal British subjects into nationalists. These Indians demanded independence.

Gandhi’s Tactics of Nonviolence

The massacre at Amritsar set the stage for Mohandas K. Gandhi (GAHN-dee) to emerge as the leader of the independence movement. Gandhi’s strategy for battling injustice evolved from his deeply religious approach to political activity. Though Gandhi was Hindu, his teachings blended ideas from all of the major world religions, including Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Gandhi attracted millions of followers. Soon they began calling him the Mahatma (muh-HAH-T-muh), meaning “great soul.”

Noncooperation When the British failed to punish the officers responsible for the Amritsar Massacre, Gandhi urged the Indian National Congress to follow a policy of noncooperation with the British government. In 1920, the Congress Party endorsed civil disobedience, the deliberate and public
refusal to obey an unjust law, and nonviolence as the means to achieve independence. Gandhi then launched his campaign of civil disobedience to weaken the British government's authority and economic power over India.

**Boycotts** Gandhi called on Indians to refuse to buy British goods, attend government schools, pay British taxes, or vote in elections. Gandhi staged a successful boycott of British cloth, a source of wealth for the British. He urged all Indians to weave their own cloth. Gandhi himself devoted two hours each day to spinning his own yarn on a simple handwheel. He wore only homespun cloth and encouraged Indians to follow his example. As a result of the boycott, the sale of British cloth in India dropped sharply.

**Satyagraha**
A central element of Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence was called *satyagraha*, often translated as “soul-force” or “truth-force.”

> “Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force. For instance, the government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me: I do not like it, if, by using violence, I force the government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.”

—Gandhi, Chapter XVII, *Hind Swaraj*

**Nonviolence**
In *Pledge of Resistance in Transvaal Africa*, 1906, Gandhi offered a warning to those who were contemplating joining the struggle for independence.

> “[I]t is not at all impossible that we might have to endure every hardship that we can imagine, and wisdom lies in pledging ourselves on the understanding that we shall have to suffer all that and worse. If some one asks me when and how the struggle may end, I may say that if the entire community manfully stands the test, the end will be near. If many of us fall back under storm and stress, the struggle will be prolonged. But I can boldly declare, and with certainty, that so long as there is even a handful of men true to their pledge, there can only be one end to the struggle, and that is victory.”


**Analyze Historical Sources**
1. How is soul-force different from body-force?
2. What do Gandhi’s writings suggest about his view of suffering? Give examples from each document.
Strikes and Demonstrations  Gandhi’s weapon of civil disobedience took an economic toll on the British. They struggled to keep trains running, factories operating, and overcrowded jails from bursting. Throughout 1920, the British arrested thousands of Indians who had participated in strikes and demonstrations. But despite Gandhi’s pleas for nonviolence, protests often led to riots.

The Salt March  In 1930, Gandhi organized a demonstration to defy the hated Salt Acts. According to these British laws, Indians could buy salt from no other source but the government. They also had to pay sales tax on salt. To show their opposition, Gandhi and his followers walked about 240 miles to the seacoast. There they began to make their own salt by collecting seawater and letting it evaporate. This peaceful protest was called the Salt March.

Soon afterward, some demonstrators planned a march to a site where the British government processed salt. They intended to shut this salt-works down. Police officers with steel-tipped clubs attacked the demonstrators. An American journalist was an eyewitness to the event. He described the “sickening whacks of clubs on unprotected skulls” and people “wringing in pain with fractured skulls or broken shoulders.” Still the people continued to march peacefully, refusing to defend themselves against their attackers. Newspapers across the globe carried the journalist’s story, which won worldwide support for Gandhi’s independence movement.

More demonstrations against the salt tax took place throughout India. Eventually, about 60,000 people, including Gandhi, were arrested.

Britain Grants Limited Self-Rule  Gandhi and his followers gradually reaped the rewards of their civil disobedience campaigns and gained greater political power for the Indian people. In 1935, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act. It provided local self-government and limited democratic elections but not total independence.

However, the Government of India Act also fueled mounting tensions between Muslims and Hindus. These two groups had conflicting visions of India’s future as an independent nation. Indian Muslims, outnumbered by Hindus, feared that Hindus would control India if it won independence.

A Movement Toward Independence  The British had ruled India for almost two centuries. Indian resistance to Britain intensified in 1939, when Britain committed India’s armed forces to World War II without first consulting the colony’s elected representatives. The move left Indian nationalists stunned and humiliated. Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi launched a nonviolent campaign of noncooperation with the British. Officials imprisoned numerous nationalists for this action. In 1942, the British tried to gain the support of the nationalists by promising governmental changes after the war. But the offer did not include Indian independence.
As they intensified their struggle against the British, Indians also struggled with each other. The Indian National Congress, or the **Congress Party**, was India’s national political party. Most members of the Congress Party were Hindus, but the party at times had many Muslim members.

In competition with the Congress Party was the **Muslim League**, an organization founded to protect Muslim interests. Members of the league felt that the mainly Hindu Congress Party looked out primarily for Hindu interests. The leader of the Muslim League, **Muhammad Ali Jinnah** (mu•HAM•ihd-ah•LEE-JIHN•uh), insisted that all Muslims resign from the Congress Party. The Muslim League stated that it would never accept Indian independence if it meant rule by the Hindu-dominated Congress Party. Jinnah stated, “The only thing the Muslim has in common with the Hindu is his slavery to the British.”

**Freedom Brings Turmoil**

When World War II ended, Britain found itself faced with enormous war debts. As a result, British leaders began to rethink the expense of maintaining and governing distant colonies. With India continuing to push for independence, the stage was set for the British to hand over power. However, a key problem emerged: Who should receive the power—Hindus or Muslims?

**Partition and Bloodshed** Muslims resisted attempts to include them in an Indian government dominated by Hindus. Rioting between the two groups broke out in several Indian cities. In August 1946, four days of clashes in Calcutta left more than 5,000 people dead and more than 15,000 hurt.

British officials soon became convinced that partition, an idea first proposed by India’s Muslims, would be the only way to ensure a safe and secure region. **Partition** was the term given to the division of India into separate Hindu and Muslim nations. The northwest and eastern regions of India, where most Muslims lived, would become the new nation of Pakistan. Pakistan comprised two separate regions in 1947: West Pakistan and East Pakistan. (See map, The Indian Subcontinent, 1947.)

The British House of Commons passed an act on July 16, 1947, that granted two nations, India and Pakistan, independence in one month’s time. In that short period, more than 500 independent native princes had to decide which nation they would join. The administration of the courts, the military, the railways, and the police—the whole of the civil service—had to be divided down to the last paper clip. Most difficult of all, millions of Indian citizens—Hindus, Muslims, and yet another significant religious group, the Sikhs—had to decide where to go.

During the summer of 1947, 10 million people were on the move in the Indian subcontinent. As people scrambled to relocate, violence among the different religious groups erupted. Muslims killed Sikhs who were
moving into India. Hindus and Sikhs killed Muslims who were headed into Pakistan. In all, an estimated 1 million died.


The Battle for Kashmir As if partition itself didn’t result in enough bloodshed between India’s Muslims and Hindus, the two groups quickly squared off over the small region of Kashmir. Kashmir lay at the northern point of India next to Pakistan. Although its ruler was Hindu, Kashmir had a majority Muslim population. Shortly after independence, India and Pakistan began battling each other for control of the region. The fighting continued until the United Nations arranged a ceasefire in 1949. The ceasefire left a third of Kashmir under Pakistani control and the rest under Indian control. The two countries continue to fight over the region today.
Modern India

With the granting of its independence on August 15, 1947, India became the world’s largest democracy. As the long-awaited hour of India's freedom approached, Jawaharlal Nehru became the independent nation’s first prime minister.

Nehru Leads India  Nehru served as India’s leader for its first 17 years of independence. He had been one of Gandhi’s most devoted followers. Educated in Britain, Nehru won popularity among all groups in India. He emphasized democracy, unity, and economic modernization. Unlike Gandhi, he promoted industrialization as the key to improving India’s economy. After independence, he worked to enhance India’s heavy manufacturing industries.

Nehru used his leadership to move India forward. He led other newly independent nations of the world in forming an alliance of countries that were neutral in the Cold War conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union. On the home front, Nehru called for a reorganization of the states by language. He also pushed for industrialization and sponsored social reforms. He tried to elevate the status of the lower castes, or those at the bottom of society, and help women gain the rights promised by the constitution.

The Coldest War

No part of Kashmir is beyond a fight for India and Pakistan—including the giant Siachen glacier high above the region. The dividing line established by the 1949 cease-fire did not extend to the glacier because officials figured neither side would try to occupy such a barren and frigid strip of land.

They figured wrong. In 1984, both sides sent troops to take the glacier, and they have been dug in ever since. At altitudes nearing 21,000 feet, Indian and Pakistani soldiers shoot at each other from trenches in temperatures that reach 70 degrees below zero. This bitterly cold war was interrupted in 2003 when Pakistan and India declared a cease-fire.

Jawaharlal Nehru

(1889–1964)

Nehru’s father was an influential attorney, and so the first prime minister of India grew up amid great wealth. As a young man, he lived and studied in England. “In my likes and dislikes I was perhaps more an Englishman than an Indian,” he once remarked.

Upon returning to India, however, he became moved by the horrible state in which many of his fellow Indians lived. “A new picture of India seemed to rise before me,” he recalled, “naked, starving, crushed, and utterly miserable.” From then on, he devoted his life to improving conditions in his country.
**Troubled Times**  Nehru died in 1964. His death left the Congress Party with no leader strong enough to hold together the many political factions that had emerged with India’s independence. Then, in 1966, Nehru’s daughter, **Indira Gandhi**, was chosen prime minister. After a short spell out of office, she was reelected in 1980.

Although she ruled capably, Gandhi faced many challenges, including the growing threat from Sikh extremists who themselves wanted an independent state. The Golden Temple at Amritsar stood as the religious center for the Sikhs. From there, Sikh nationalists ventured out to attack symbols of Indian authority. In June 1984, Indian army troops overran the Golden Temple. They killed about 500 Sikhs and destroyed sacred property. In retaliation, Sikh bodyguards assigned to Indira Gandhi gunned her down. This violent act was met by a murderous frenzy that led to the deaths of thousands of Sikhs.

In the wake of the murder of Indira Gandhi, her son, Rajiv (rah•JEEV) Gandhi, took over as prime minister. His party, however, lost its power in 1989 because of accusations of widespread corruption. In 1991, while campaigning again for prime minister near the town of Madras, Rajiv was killed by a bomb. Members of a group opposed to his policies claimed responsibility.
**Reading Check**

Analyze Challenges

What are some of the issues modern-day India must face?

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**21st-Century Challenges**  
In 2004, India elected Manmohan Singh, a Sikh, as its first non-Hindu prime minister. He and his nation face a number of challenges. Though India is a secular democracy, simmering religious tensions still occasionally boil over in episodes of violence and reprisal. India also faces population growth that is expected to surpass that of China by 2035. There is also a serious military threat to the government’s authority from Maoist rebels in the nation’s eastern states.

More troubling are India’s tense relations with its neighbor Pakistan and the fact that both have nuclear weapons. In 1974, India exploded a “peaceful” nuclear device. For the next 24 years, the nation quietly worked on building up its nuclear capability. In 1998, Indian officials conducted five underground nuclear tests. Meanwhile, Pakistan had been building its own nuclear program. Shortly after India conducted its nuclear tests, Pakistan demonstrated that it too had nuclear weapons. The presence of these weapons in the hands of such bitter enemies and neighbors has become a matter of great international concern, especially in light of their continuing struggle over Kashmir. In 2002, the two nations came close to war over Kashmir. However, in 2003 a peace process began to ease tension, but India still blames Pakistan for encouraging violence. Terror attacks by Islamic extremists, including an attack on the Indian parliament in December 2001 and a two-day attack in November 2008 on sites throughout Mumbai, have also been blamed on Pakistan.

For most of India’s history since independence, the Congress Party led the nation. The Congress Party focused on jobs and the economy, but still the economy worsened. In 2014, two-thirds of the people voted for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) candidate, Narendra Modi, who used his lower-class background to appeal to many of the country’s poor. The BJP is a pro-Hindu party.

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**Pakistan Copes with Freedom**

The history of Pakistan since independence was no less turbulent than that of India. Pakistan began as two states, East Pakistan and West Pakistan, with more than 1,000 miles of Indian territory between them. In culture, language, history, geography, economics, and ethnic background, the two regions were very different. Only the Islamic religion united them.

**Civil War**  
From the beginning, the two regions of Pakistan experienced strained relations. While East Pakistan had the larger population, it was often ignored by West Pakistan, home to the central government. In 1970, a giant cyclone and tidal wave struck East Pakistan and killed an estimated 266,000 residents. While international aid poured into Pakistan, the government in West Pakistan did not quickly transfer that aid to East Pakistan. Protesters called for an end to all ties with West Pakistan.

On March 26, 1971, East Pakistan declared itself an independent nation called Bangladesh. A civil war followed between Bangladesh and Pakistan. Eventually, Indian forces sided with Bangladesh. Pakistani forces surrendered. More than 1 million people died in the war. Pakistan lost about one-seventh of its area and about one-half of its population to Bangladesh.
A Pattern of Instability  Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the first governor-general of Pakistan, died shortly after independence. Beginning in 1958, Pakistan went through a series of military coups. Ali Bhutto took control of the country following the civil war. A military coup in 1977 led by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq removed Bhutto, who was later executed for crimes allegedly committed while in office.

After Zia's death, Bhutto's daughter, Benazir Bhutto, was twice elected prime minister. However, she was removed from office in 1996. Nawaz Sharif became prime minister after the 1997 elections. In 1999, army leaders led by General Pervez Musharraf ousted Sharif in yet another coup and imposed military rule over Pakistan. By 2007, however, he faced growing political opposition at home. Meanwhile, Benazir Bhutto had returned from exile abroad, only to be assassinated in December 2007. By August 2008, Musharraf had resigned, with Bhutto's widower, Asif Ali Zardari, winning the presidency the following month.

In 2010, Pakistan endured the worst floods in recorded history. The disaster led to food and water shortages, disease, looting, and transportation and communications problems. Pakistan is a nation that relies on agriculture. The floods destroyed farmland and killed farm animals, which led to shortages of food and raw materials.

In 2011, U.S. forces located the leader of the al-Qaeda network, Osama bin Laden, in a city near Islamabad in Pakistan. On May 2, the U.S. military staged an operation in which bin Laden was killed. Before the operation, Pakistani officials had denied that bin Laden was living in Pakistan. The U.S. military action increased distrust between the United States and Pakistan. In 2013, Nawaz Sharif entered his third term as prime minister.

Bangladesh and Sri Lanka Struggle

Meanwhile, the newly created nations of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka struggled with enormous problems of their own in the decades following independence.

Bangladesh Faces Many Problems  The war with Pakistan had ruined the economy of Bangladesh and fractured its communications system. Rebuilding the shattered country seemed like an overwhelming task. Sheik Mujibur Rahman became the nation’s first prime minister. He soon took over all authority and declared Bangladesh a one-party state. In August 1975, military leaders assassinated him.

Over the years Bangladesh has attempted with great difficulty to create a more democratic form of government. Charges of election fraud and government corruption are common. In recent years, however, the government has become more stable.
Bangladesh also has had to cope with crippling natural disasters. Bangladesh is a low-lying nation that is subject to many cyclones and tidal waves. Massive storms regularly flood the land, ruin crops and homes, and take lives. A cyclone in 1991 killed approximately 139,000 people. Such catastrophes, along with a rapidly growing population, have put much stress on the country’s economy. Bangladesh is one of the poorest nations in the world. The per capita income there is about $360 per year. About half the workers are employed in agriculture and fishing jobs.

Civil Strife Grips Sri Lanka

Another newly freed and deeply troubled country on the Indian subcontinent is Sri Lanka, a small, teardrop-shaped island nation just off the southeast coast of India. Formerly known as Ceylon, Sri Lanka gained its independence from Britain in February 1948. Two main ethnic groups dominate the nation. Three-quarters of the population are Sinhalese, who are Buddhists. One-fifth are Tamils, a Hindu people of southern India and northern Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka’s recent history has also been one of turmoil. A militant group of Tamils has long fought an armed struggle for a separate Tamil nation. Since 1981, thousands of lives have been lost. In an effort to end the violence, Rajiv Gandhi and the Sri Lankan president tried to reach an accord in 1987. The agreement called for Indian troops to enter Sri Lanka and help disarm Tamil rebels. This effort was unsuccessful, and Indian troops left in 1990. But in 2009, a government military offensive decisively defeated Tamil separatist forces.
Sri Lanka began to recover from its long civil war. The economy grew, and at first the government had strong support. The parliament amended Sri Lanka’s constitution to give the president greater powers. Over time, however, these greater powers led to human rights abuses against Tamils. In an upset victory in 2015, voters elected a new president.

As difficult as postindependence has been for the countries of the Indian subcontinent, other former colonies encountered similar problems. A number of formerly held territories in Southeast Asia faced challenges as they became independent nations.

Lesson 1 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Make a timeline, similar to the one shown, that lists the leaders of India and Pakistan. What tragic connection did many of the leaders share?

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Draw Conclusions** Why did British officials partition India into India and Pakistan?

4. **Synthesize** Why might India’s political and economic success be so crucial to the future of democracy in Asia?

5. **Analyze Issues** How did religious and cultural differences create problems for newly emerging nations?

6. **Draw Conclusions** What is the main cause today of civil strife in Sri Lanka?

7. **Synthesize** How did imperialism contribute to unity and to the growth of nationalism in India?
Southeast Asian Nations Gain Independence

The Big Idea
Former colonies in Southeast Asia worked to build new governments and economies.

Why It Matters Now
The power and influence of the Pacific Rim nations are likely to expand during the next century.

Key Terms and People
Ferdinand Marcos
Corazón Aquino
Aung San Suu Kyi
Sukarno
Suharto

Setting the Stage
World War II had a significant impact on the colonized groups of Southeast Asia. During the war, the Japanese seized much of Southeast Asia from the European nations that had controlled the region for many years. The Japanese conquest helped the people of Southeast Asia see that the Europeans were far from invincible. When the war ended and the Japanese themselves had been forced out, many Southeast Asians refused to live again under European rule. They called for and won their independence, and a series of new nations emerged.

The Philippines Achieves Independence
The Philippines became the first of the world’s colonies to achieve independence following World War II. The United States granted the Philippines independence in 1946, on the anniversary of its own Declaration of Independence, the Fourth of July.
The United States and the Philippines  The Filipinos’ immediate goals were to rebuild the economy and to restore the capital of Manila. The city had been badly damaged in World War II. The United States had promised the Philippines $620 million in war damages. However, the U.S. government insisted that Filipinos approve the Bell Act in order to get the money. This act would establish free trade between the United States and the Philippines for eight years, to be followed by gradually increasing tariffs. Filipinos were worried that American businesses would exploit the resources and environment of the Philippines. In spite of this concern, Filipinos approved the Bell Act and received their money.

The United States also wanted to maintain its military presence in the Philippines. With the onset of the Cold War, the United States needed to protect its interests in Asia. Both China and the Soviet Union were rivals of the United States at the time. Both were Pacific powers with bases close to allies of the United States and to resources vital to U.S. interests. Therefore, the United States demanded a 99-year lease on its military and naval bases in the Philippines. The bases, Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base near Manila, proved to be critical to the United States later in the staging of the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Interpret Maps

1. **Location**  Which former Dutch colony is made up of a series of islands spread out from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean?

2. **Region**  From which European country did the most colonies shown gain their independence?
These military bases also became the single greatest source of conflict between the United States and the Philippines. Many Filipinos regarded the bases as proof of American imperialism. Later agreements shortened the terms of the lease, and the United States gave up both bases in 1992.

After World War II, the Philippine government was still almost completely dependent on the United States economically and politically. The Philippine government looked for ways to lessen this dependency. It welcomed Japanese investments. It also broadened its contacts with Southeast Asian neighbors and with nonaligned nations.

From Marcos to Ramos  Ferdinand Marcos was elected president of the Philippines in 1965. The country suffered under his rule from 1966 to 1986. Marcos imposed an authoritarian regime and stole millions of dollars from the public treasury. Although the constitution limited Marcos to eight years in office, he got around this restriction by imposing martial law from 1972 to 1981. Two years later, his chief opponent, Benigno Aquino, Jr., was assassinated as he returned from the United States to the Philippines, lured by the promise of coming elections.

In the elections of 1986, Aquino's widow, Corazón Aquino, challenged Marcos. Aquino won decisively, but Marcos refused to acknowledge her victory. When he declared himself the official winner, a public outcry resulted. He was forced into exile in Hawaii, where he later died. In 1995, the Philippines succeeded in recovering $475 million Marcos had stolen from his country and deposited in Swiss banks.

During Aquino's presidency, the Philippine government ratified a new constitution. It also negotiated successfully with the United States to end the lease on the U.S. military bases. In 1992, Fidel V. Ramos succeeded Aquino as president. Ramos was restricted by the constitution to a single six-year term. The single-term limit is intended to prevent the abuse of power that occurred during Marcos's 20-year rule.

As she took the oath of office, Aquino promised to usher in a more open and democratic form of government.

Excerpt from Corazón Aquino's Inaugural Speech

“I pledge a government dedicated to upholding truth and justice, morality and decency in government, freedom and democracy. I ask our people not to relax, but to maintain more vigilance in this, our moment of triumph. The Motherland can’t thank them enough, yet we all realize that more is required of each of us to achieve a truly just society for our people. This is just the beginning.”

—Corazón Aquino, inaugural speech, Feb. 24, 1986

Historical Source

According to Aquino, what is needed to achieve a just society?
The Government Battles Rebels
Since gaining its independence, the Philippines has had to battle its own separatist group. For centuries, the southern part of the country has been a stronghold of Muslims known as the Moros. In the early 1970s, a group of Moros formed the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). They began an armed struggle for independence from Philippine rule.

In 1996, the government and rebels agreed to a cease-fire, and the Moros were granted an autonomous region in the southern Philippines. The agreement, however, did not satisfy a splinter group of the MNLF called Abu Sayyaf. These rebels have continued fighting the government, often using terror tactics to try to achieve their goals. In 2000, they kidnapped 21 people including foreign tourists. While the group eventually was freed, subsequent kidnappings and bombings by Abu Sayyaf have killed and injured hundreds of people. President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo launched an all-out military response to this group. The United States provided military assistance to the government’s efforts.

Arroyo faced widespread crime, including kidnappings. She was accused of corruption, which led to two attempted coups in 2003 and 2006. After the 2006 coup attempt, Arroyo banned public demonstrations. Many people looked upon this action as evidence of her authoritarian rule.

In 2010, the people elected as president Benigno S. Aquino III, son of Corazón Aquino. He faced many issues, including a powerful typhoon in 2013, which killed thousands of people and left hundreds of thousands homeless.

British Colonies Gain Independence
Britain’s timetable for granting independence to its Southeast Asian colonies depended on local circumstances. Burma had been pressing for independence from Britain for decades. It became a sovereign republic in 1948. In 1989, Burma was officially named Myanmar (mee•AHN•mahr), its name in the Burmese language.

Burma Experiences Turmoil
After gaining freedom, Burma suffered one political upheaval after another. Its people struggled between repressive military governments and prodemocracy forces. Conflict among Communists and ethnic minorities also disrupted the nation. In 1962, General Ne Win set up a military government, with the goal of making Burma a socialist state. Although Ne Win stepped down in 1988, the military continued to rule repressively.
In 1988, **Aung San Suu Kyi** (owng sahn soo chee) returned to Burma after many years abroad. Her father was Aung San, a leader of the Burmese nationalists’ army killed years before by political rivals. Aung San Suu Kyi became active in the newly formed National League for Democracy (NLD). For her prodemocracy activities, she was placed under house arrest for six years by the government. In the 1990 election—the country's first multiparty election in 30 years—the National League for Democracy won 80 percent of the seats. The military government refused to recognize the election, and it kept Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest. She was finally released in 1995, only to be placed under house arrest again in 2000. Freed in 2002, she was detained again in 2003. In June 2007, Aung San Suu Kyi’s house arrest was extended.

In 2010, Burma passed new laws. Among other things, the laws said that people married to foreign nationals could not run for political office. This law disqualified Aung San Suu Kyi, who was married to a British citizen, from running for office. Most international groups, including the United Nations, thought that the 2010 election was not fair. Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest six days after the election.

On February 4, 2011, members of the legislature elected Thein Sein, a former general, president of Myanmar. Thein Sein made many reforms. He removed restrictions on the press and released many political prisoners. He allowed unions to form, and people to demonstrate peacefully. He even relaxed the restrictions on Aung San Suu Kyi.

In December, the NLD became an official party. In 2012, Aung San Suu Kyi ran for office. She and other NLD candidates won 43 of 45 seats. Since the elections, the United States and European Union have lifted restrictions on Myanmar. In addition, Myanmar officials are working to increase investment in the nation and to attract tourists.
Malaysia and Singapore During World War II, the Japanese conquered the Malay Peninsula, formerly ruled by the British. The British returned to the peninsula after the Japanese defeat in 1945. They tried, unsuccessfully, to organize the different peoples of Malaya into one state. They also struggled to put down a Communist uprising. Ethnic groups resisted British efforts to unite their colonies on the peninsula and in the northern part of the island of Borneo. Malays were a slight majority on the peninsula, while Chinese were the largest group on the southern tip, the island of Singapore.

In 1957, officials created the Federation of Malaya from Singapore, Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah. The two regions—on the Malay Peninsula and on northern Borneo—were separated by 400 miles of ocean. In 1965, Singapore separated from the federation and became an independent city-state. The federation, consisting of Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah, became known as Malaysia. A coalition of many ethnic groups maintained steady economic progress in Malaysia.

Singapore, which has one of the busiest ports in the world, has become an extremely prosperous nation. Lee Kuan Yew ruled Singapore as prime minister from 1959 to 1990. Under his guidance, Singapore emerged as a banking center as well as a center of trade. It had a standard of living far higher than any of its Southeast Asian neighbors. In 2011, the Geneva World Economic Forum listed the world’s strongest economies. Singapore’s economy ranked third, behind Switzerland and Sweden and ahead of the United States, Germany, and Japan.

In addition, efforts are underway in Singapore to make health care, public housing, and education more affordable for all of its people. A national health care plan went into effect at the end of 2015.

Indonesia Gains Independence from the Dutch

Like members of other European nations, the Dutch, who ruled the area of Southeast Asia known as Indonesia, saw their colonial empire crumble with the onset of World War II. The Japanese conquered the region and destroyed the Dutch colonial order. When the war ended and the defeated Japanese were forced to leave, the people of Indonesia moved to establish a free nation.

Sukarno Leads the Independence Movement Leading the effort to establish an independent Indonesia was Sukarno (soo•KAHR•noh), known only by his given name. In August 1945, two days after the Japanese surrendered, Sukarno proclaimed Indonesia’s independence and named himself president. A guerrilla army backed him. The Dutch, supported initially by Britain and the United States, attempted to regain control of Indonesia. But after losing the support of the United Nations and the United States, the Dutch agreed to grant Indonesia its independence in 1949.
The new Indonesia became the world’s fourth most populous nation. It consisted of more than 13,600 islands, with 300 different ethnic groups, 250 languages, and most of the world’s major religions. It contained the world’s largest Islamic population. Sukarno, who took the official title of “life-time president,” attempted to guide this diverse nation in a parliamentary democracy.

Instability and Turmoil  Sukarno’s efforts to build a stable democratic nation were unsuccessful. He was not able to manage Indonesia’s economy, and the country slid downhill rapidly. Foreign banks refused to lend money to Indonesia, and inflation occasionally soared as high as 1,000 percent. In 1965, a group of junior army officers attempted a coup. A general named Suharto (suh•HAHR•toh) put down the rebellion. He then seized power for himself and began a bloodbath in which 500,000 to 1 million Indonesians were killed.

Suharto, officially named president in 1967, turned Indonesia into a police state and imposed frequent periods of martial law. Outside observers heavily criticized him for his annexation of nearby East Timor in 1976 and for human rights violations there. Suharto’s government also showed little tolerance for religious freedom.

Bribery and corruption became commonplace. The economy improved under Suharto for a while, but from 1997 through 1998 the nation suffered one of the worst financial crises in its history. Growing unrest over both government repression and a crippling economic crisis prompted Suharto to step down in 1998. While turmoil continued to grip the country, it moved slowly toward democracy. The daughter of Sukarno, Megawati Sukarnoputri, was elected to the presidency in 2001.

Upon taking office, the new president hailed the virtues of democracy.

Vocabulary

coup  the sudden overthrow of a government by a small group of people

DOCUMENT-BASED INVESTIGATION  Historical Source

Excerpt from Megawati Sukarnoputri’s Inaugural Speech

“Democracy requires sincerity and respect for the rules of the game. Beginning my duty, I urge all groups to sincerely and openly accept the outcome of the democratic process . . . . In my opinion, respect for the people’s voice, sincerity in accepting it, and respect for the rules of game are the main pillars of democracy which we will further develop. I urge all Indonesians to look forward to the future and unite to improve the life and our dignity as a nation.”

—Megawati Sukarnoputri, July 23, 2001

Analyze Historical Sources

According to Sukarnoputri, what are the cornerstones of democracy?
Changing Times in Southeast Asia

As you have read, many countries in Southeast Asia have undergone revolutionary changes in their political and social organization. The region continues to struggle with its past and to face new challenges, but democratic reforms are becoming more common.

The past and present exist side by side throughout much of Southeast Asia. For an increasing number of Southeast Asians, housing, transportation, even purchasing food are a mixture of old and new. These images explore the differences between traditional and modern, rich and poor, past and present.

**HOUSING**

The luxury apartment building (background) in Jakarta, Indonesia, towers over the shabby and polluted slum of Muarabaru (foreground). Indonesia declared its independence in 1945 but was not recognized by the United Nations until 1950. Since independence, Indonesians have enjoyed relative economic prosperity, but bridging the gap between rich and poor is an issue that faces Indonesia and much of Southeast Asia.

**TRANSPORTATION**

The water buffalo-drawn cart (above) is a common sight in rural Thailand. It is a mode of transport that reaches deep into the past.

In Bangkok, Thailand (right)—with its cars, motorcycles, and public buses—transportation is very different. These distinctly past and present modes of transportation symbolize the changes many Southeast Asian countries are facing.
MARKETS
As the postcolonial economies of Southeast Asia grow, traditional markets, like the floating market in Thailand (above), give way to the modern convenience of stores with prepackaged foods, like this street-side store (below) in Vietnam.

Critical Thinking
1. **Draw Conclusions**  Why might some countries in Southeast Asia have more successful economies than others?

2. **Form and Support Opinions**  Are the issues facing Southeast Asians discussed here also a concern for Americans? Why or why not?
Indonesia’s next president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, faced enormous challenges, including ethnic strife and government corruption. In 2004, an earthquake caused a large tsunami that flooded Indonesia’s western coast. The tsunami caused many deaths and great damage. In spite of this disaster, Yudhoyono improved the nation’s economy. In 2009, he was elected to a second term.

Soon after the election, however, Yudhoyono faced more natural disasters. These natural disasters included a major earthquake, tsunamis, and a volcanic eruption. Despite this, Yudhoyono led Indonesia to continued prosperity and peace. Economic growth slowed in 2013, however, and inflation rose. In 2014, Joko Widodo became Indonesia’s new president.

**East Timor Wins Independence** As Indonesia worked to overcome its numerous obstacles, it lost control of East Timor. Indonesian forces had ruled the land with brutal force since Suharto had seized it in the 1970s. The East Timorese, however, never stopped pushing to regain their freedom. Jose Ramos-Horta, an East Timorese independence campaigner, won the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize (along with East Timor’s Roman Catholic bishop) for his efforts to gain independence for the region without
violence. In a United Nations-sponsored referendum held in August 1999, the East Timorese voted for independence. The election angered pro-Indonesian forces. They ignored the referendum results and went on a bloody rampage. They killed hundreds and forced thousands into refugee camps in West Timor, which is a part of Indonesia. UN intervention forces eventually brought peace to the area. In 2002, East Timor celebrated independence and changed its name to Timor-Leste. In May 2007, Jose Ramos-Horta won the presidency, but in 2008, he was injured in an assassination attempt. Ramos-Horta recovered, but he lost his second bid for president. Ramos-Horta appointed Xanana Gusmão to be prime minister.

During Gusmão’s first term, the economy grew. But many people still lived in poverty. The government did little to improve their condition. In February 2015, Gusmão stepped down as prime minister. He was succeeded by Rui Maria de Araújo.

As on the Indian subcontinent, violence and struggle were part of the transition in Southeast Asia from colonies to free nations. The same would be true in Africa, where numerous former colonies shed European rule and created independent countries in the wake of World War II.

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**Reading Check**

Summarize

How did East Timor achieve independence?

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**Lesson 2 Assessment**

1. **Organize Information** Use a table to show challenges nations faced following independence. Which nation faced the greatest challenges? Why?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Challenges Following Independence</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Philippines</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Draw Conclusions** Why did the retention of U.S. military bases in the Philippines so anger Filipinos?

4. **Synthesize** What was the outcome of the 1990 Myanmar election? How did the government respond?

5. **Clarify** How did World War II play a role in the eventual decolonization of Southeast Asia?

6. **Make Inferences** Why do you think that the United States demanded a 99-year lease on military and naval bases in the Philippines?

7. **Compare and Contrast** What was similar and different about the elections that brought defeat to the ruling governments in the Philippines and in Burma?
New Nations in Africa

The Big Idea
After World War II, African leaders threw off colonial rule and created independent countries.

Why It Matters Now
Today, many of those independent countries are engaged in building political and economic stability.

Key Terms and People
Negritude movement
Kwame Nkrumah
Jomo Kenyatta
Ahmed Ben Bella
Mobutu Sese Seko

Setting the Stage
Throughout the first half of the 20th century, Africa resembled little more than a European outpost. As you recall, the nations of Europe had marched in during the late 1800s and colonized much of the continent. Like the diverse groups living in Asia, however, the many different peoples of Africa were unwilling to return to colonial domination after World War II. And so, in the decades following the great global conflict, they too won their independence from foreign rule and went to work building new nations.

Achieving Independence
The African push for independence actually began in the decades before World War II. French-speaking Africans and West Indians began to express their growing sense of black consciousness and pride in traditional Africa. They formed the Negritude movement, a movement to celebrate African culture, heritage, and values.

When World War II erupted, African soldiers fought alongside Europeans to “defend freedom.” This experience made them unwilling to accept colonial domination when they returned home. The war had changed the thinking of Europeans too. Many began to question the cost, as well as the morality, of maintaining colonies abroad. These and other factors helped African colonies gain their freedom throughout the 1950s and 1960s.
The ways in which African nations achieved independence, however, differed across the continent. European nations employed two basic styles of government in colonial Africa—direct and indirect. Under indirect rule, local officials did much of the governing and colonists enjoyed limited self-rule. As a result, these colonies generally experienced an easier transition to independence. For colonies under direct rule, in which foreigners governed at all levels and no self-rule existed, independence came with more difficulty. Some colonies even had to fight wars of liberation, as European settlers refused to surrender power to African nationalist groups.

No matter how they gained their freedom, however, most new African nations found the road to a strong and stable nation to be difficult. They had to deal with everything from creating a new government to establishing a postcolonial economy. Many new countries were also plagued by great ethnic strife. In colonizing Africa, the Europeans had created artificial borders that had little to do with the areas where ethnic groups actually lived. While national borders separated people with similar cultures, they also enclosed traditional enemies who began fighting each other soon after the Europeans left. For many African nations, all of this led to instability, violence, and an overall struggle to deal with their newly gained independence.

Ghana Leads the Way

The British colony of the Gold Coast became the first African colony south of the Sahara to achieve independence. Following World War II, the British in the Gold Coast began making preparations. For example, they allowed more Africans to be nominated to the Legislative Council. However, the Africans wanted full freedom. The leader of their largely nonviolent movement was Kwame Nkrumah. Starting in 1947, he worked to liberate the Gold Coast from the British. Nkrumah organized strikes and boycotts and was often imprisoned by the British government. Ultimately, his efforts were successful.

On receiving its independence in 1957, the Gold Coast took the name Ghana. This name honored a famous West African kingdom of the past. Nkrumah became Ghana’s first prime minister and later its president-for-life. Nkrumah pushed through new roads, new schools, and expanded health facilities. These costly projects soon crippled the country. His programs for industrialization, health and welfare, and expanded educational facilities showed good intentions. However, the expense of the programs undermined the economy and strengthened his opposition.

In addition, Nkrumah was often criticized for spending too much time on Pan-African efforts and neglecting economic problems in his own country. He dreamed of a “United States of Africa.” In 1966, while Nkrumah was in China, the army and police in Ghana seized power. Since then, the country has shifted back and forth between civilian and military rule and has struggled for economic stability. In 2000, Ghana held its first open elections.
In 2001, the people elected a new president: Agyekum Kufuor. This transition was the first peaceful transfer of power between elected governments since 1957. In 2004, the people reelected Kufuor.

In Ghana’s 2008 presidential elections, the people elected John Evans Atta Mills, and there was again a peaceful transfer of power. In 2012, Mills died. He was succeeded by his vice president, John Dramani Mahama. In the next election, Mahama ran against seven other candidates and narrowly won reelection.

**Fighting for Freedom**

In contrast to Ghana, nations such as Kenya and Algeria had to take up arms against their European rulers to win their freedom.

*Kenya Claims Independence*  The British ruled Kenya, and many British settlers resisted Kenyan independence—especially those who had taken over prize farmland in the northern highlands of the country. They were forced to accept African self-government as a result of two developments. One was the strong leadership of Kenyan nationalist *Jomo Kenyatta*. The second was the rise of a group known as the Mau Mau (MOW mow). This was a secret society made up mostly of native Kenyan farmers forced out of the highlands by the British.

Using guerrilla war tactics, the Mau Mau sought to push the white farmers into leaving the highlands. Kenyatta claimed to have no connection to the Mau Mau. However, he refused to condemn the organization. As a result, the British imprisoned him for nearly a decade. By the time the British granted Kenya independence in 1963, more than 10,000 Africans and 100 settlers had been killed.

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**BIOGRAPHY**

*Jomo Kenyatta*  
(1891–1978)

A man willing to spend years in jail for his beliefs, Kenyatta viewed independence as the only option for Africans.

*The African can only advance to a “higher level” if he is free to express himself, to organize economically, politically and socially, and to take part in the government of his own country.*

On the official day that freedom came to Kenya, December 12, 1963, Kenyatta recalls watching with delight as the British flag came down and the new flag of Kenya rose up. He called it “the greatest day in Kenya’s history and the happiest day in my life.”
Interpret Maps

1. **Place** Which countries in Africa were already independent in 1955?

2. **Location** In what decade did most of the African nations gain their independence?
Kenyatta became president of the new nation. He worked to unite the country’s many cultures and language groups. Kenyatta died in 1978. His successor, Daniel arap Moi, had a more difficult time running the nation. Some people disagreed with his one-party rule and accused his government of corruption. Ethnic conflicts killed hundreds and left thousands homeless. Moi stepped down in 2002. A new party gained power through free elections.

A record high number of voters turned out for the 2007 presidential elections. It was one of the closest elections in Kenya’s history. Disputes over the close results led to violence. More than 1,000 people were killed and more than 600,000 injured in the violence that followed the election.

In August 2010, Kenyan voters adopted a new constitution. This constitution gave more control to local governments and limited the president’s power.

Although many people feared the worst, the presidential election of 2013 was mostly peaceful. The people elected Uhuru Kenyatta, Jomo Kenyatta’s son, with 50.07 percent of the vote.

In 2011, Kenyan troops joined a fight against an Islamic militant group, al-Shabaab, in Somalia. In retaliation, the group began to attack Kenya. One attack occurred in 2013, when al-Shabaab gunmen attacked a shopping mall in Nairobi. At least 65 people were killed. In late 2014, al-Shabaab killed dozens of non-Muslims in northern Kenya. On April 2, 2015, al-Shabaab attacked a Kenyan university, killing more than 140 people.

**Algeria Struggles with Independence** France’s principal overseas colony, Algeria, had a population of 1 million French colonists and 9 million Arabs and Berber Muslims. After World War II, the French colonists refused to share political power with the native Algerians. In 1954, the Algerian National Liberation Front, or FLN, announced its intention to fight for independence. The French sent about half a million troops into Algeria to fight the FLN. Both sides committed atrocities. The FLN prevailed, and Algeria gained its independence in July 1962.

The leader of the FLN, **Ahmed Ben Bella**, became first president of the newly independent Algeria. He attempted to make Algeria a socialist state but was overthrown in 1965 by his army commander. From 1965 until 1988, Algerians tried unsuccessfully to modernize and industrialize the nation. Unemployment and dissatisfaction with the government contributed to the rise of religious fundamentalists who wanted to make Algeria an Islamic state. The chief Islamic party, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), won local and parliamentary elections in 1990 and 1991. However, the ruling government and army refused to accept the election results. As a result, a civil war broke out between Islamic militants and the government. The war continues, on and off, to this day.

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**Reading Check**

How did the granting of independence to the British colonies of Ghana and Kenya differ?
Civil War in Congo and Angola

Civil war also plagued the new nations of Congo and Angola. Congo’s problems lay in its corrupt dictatorship and hostile ethnic groups. Meanwhile, Angola’s difficulties stemmed from intense political differences.

Freedom and Turmoil for Congo

Of all the European possessions in Africa, one of the most exploited was the Belgian Congo. Belgium had ruthlessly plundered the colony’s rich resources of rubber and copper. In addition, Belgian officials ruled with a harsh hand and provided the population with no social services. They also had made no attempt to prepare the people for independence. Not surprisingly, Belgium’s granting of independence in 1960 to the Congo (known as Zaire from 1971 to 1997) resulted in upheaval.

In 1960, Patrice Lumumba became the Congo’s first prime minister. He worked for a united Congo because he didn’t want to divide the nation along ethnic or regional lines. Like many other African leaders, he supported Pan-Africanism, neutralism, and an end to colonial territories. Soon after he came to power, however, he was murdered. People throughout Africa mourned his death.

After years of civil war, an army officer, Colonel Joseph Mobutu, later known as Mobutu Sese Seko (moh•BOO•too•SAY•say•SAY•koh), seized power in 1965. For 32 years, Mobutu ruled the country that he renamed Zaire. He maintained control though a combination of force, one-party rule, and gifts to supporters. Mobutu successfully withstood several armed rebellions. He was finally overthrown in 1997 by rebel leader Laurent Kabila after months of civil war. Shortly thereafter, the country was renamed the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

On becoming president, Kabila promised a transition to democracy and free elections by April 1999. Such elections never came. By 2000 the nation endured another round of civil war, as three separate rebel groups sought to overthrow Kabila’s autocratic rule. In January 2001, a bodyguard assassinated Kabila.

His son, Joseph Kabila, took power and began a quest for peace. In 2002, the government signed peace deals with rebel groups and neighboring countries. In 2006, Kabila was elected president under a new constitution. In 2008, the government and more than 20 rebel groups signed a peace agreement. They wanted to end the fighting in the eastern part of the nation. Later in the year, however, rebels attacked. The truce broke down. Tens of thousands of people were displaced.
Eleven candidates ran for election in 2011. Kabila, with 49 percent of the vote, was declared the winner. Former prime minister Etienne Tshisekedi, with 32 percent of the vote, was second. The Supreme Court later confirmed the results, but Tshisekedi’s party rejected the results. Tshisekedi declared himself the nation’s rightful president. Kabila’s party, however, had won more than half of the seats in the National Assembly.

**War Tears at Angola** To the southwest of Congo lies Angola, a country that not only had to fight to gain its freedom but to hold itself together after independence. The Portuguese had long ruled Angola and had no desire to stop. When an independence movement broke out in the colony, Portugal sent in 50,000 troops. The cost of the conflict amounted to almost half of Portugal’s national budget. The heavy cost of fighting, as well as growing opposition at home to the war, prompted the Portuguese to withdraw from Angola in 1975.

Almost immediately, the Communist-leaning MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) declared itself the new nation’s rightful government. This led to a prolonged civil war, as various rebel groups fought the government and each other for power. Each group received help from outside sources. The MPLA was assisted by some 50,000 Cuban troops and by the Soviet Union. The major opposition to the MPLA was UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola),

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### History in Depth

#### Genocide in East Africa

In East Africa, both Rwanda and Darfur, a region in Sudan, have suffered from campaigns of genocide.

In the spring of 1994, the Rwandan president, a Hutu, died in a suspicious plane crash. In the months that followed, Hutus slaughtered about 1 million Tutsis before Tutsi rebels put an end to the killings. The United Nations set up a tribunal to punish those responsible for the worst acts of genocide.

In 2004, Sudanese government forces and progovernment militias began killing villagers in Darfur as part of a campaign against rebel forces. In 2007, President Bush announced fresh sanctions against Sudan.

In 2009 an International Criminal Court (ICC) issued an arrest warrant for president Omar al-Bashir, president of Sudan. The ICC accused Bashir of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The Sudan government said that Bashir was innocent.

In spite of the presence of United Nations troops, terror in Darfur continues. In 2014, the UN stated that more than 3,000 villages in Darfur had been burned down. It said also that there was widespread violence against the people there.
to which South Africa and the United States lent support. For decades, the two sides agreed to and then abandoned various cease-fire agreements. In 2002, the warring sides agreed to a peace accord, and the 27-year-long civil war ended.

The Angolan government had to rebuild the country, which had been destroyed by warfare. Epidemics and cholera outbreaks occurred because of poor sanitation. The civil war left more than 4 million people homeless. Hundreds of thousands of refugees outside the nation wanted to return home.

Thousands of land mines buried across the country limited farmers’ ability to farm again. The Angolan government had to work with separatist groups, who demanded independence. When the government and the main separatist group reached an agreement in 2006, Angolans hoped that peace had finally come to their nation.

In 2008, Angola held elections. The MPLA won about four-fifths of the vote. A new constitution let the president be elected by the party with the most votes. The MPLA party selected José dos Santos to be president. In the 2012 elections, the MPLA easily won a majority, and dos Santos was reelected.

As the colonies of Africa worked to become stable nations, the new nation of Israel was emerging in the Middle East. However, its growth upset many in the surrounding Arab world and would prompt one of the longest-running conflicts in modern history.
Conflicts in the Middle East

The Big Idea
Division of the Palestine Mandate after World War II made the Middle East a hotbed of competing nationalist movements.

Why It Matters Now
The Arab-Israeli conflict is one of several conflicts in the region today.

Key Terms and People
Anwar Sadat
Golda Meir
PLO
Yasir Arafat
Menachem Begin
Camp David Accords
intifada
Oslo Peace Accords
Yitzhak Rabin

Setting the Stage
In the years following World War II, the Jewish people won their own state. The gaining of their ancient homeland along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, however, came at a heavy price. A Jewish state was unwelcome in this mostly Arab region, where Arab nationalism, or Pan-Arabism, was a common sentiment. The resulting Arab hostility led to a series of wars. Perhaps no Arab people, however, have been more opposed to a Jewish state than the Palestinian Arabs who claim that the entire Jewish land belongs to them.

Israel Becomes a State
The former Palestine Mandate now consists of Israel, Jordan, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. To Jews, their claim to the land dates back 3,000 years, when Jewish kings ruled the region from Jerusalem. To Palestinian Arabs, the land has belonged to them since their conquest of the area in the seventh century.

After being forced out of Jerusalem during the second century CE, many Jews were dispersed throughout the world. Those who remained in the newly named Roman province of Palestinia were unable to establish their own state. The global dispersal of the Jews, which had begun many centuries before, is known as the Diaspora. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a Jewish nationalist movement began supporting the return of Jews to the region. Known as Zionists, they planned to reestablish the Jewish national homeland. At this time, the region known as Palestine was still part of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by Islamic Turks. After the Ottomans’ defeat in World War I, the League of Nations gave Britain a mandate to oversee Palestine until it was ready for independence.
Both Jews and Arabs had moved to the area in large numbers, and the Jews were pressing for their own nation in the territory. The Arabs living in the region strongly opposed such a move. In a 1917 letter to Zionist leaders, British Foreign Secretary Sir Arthur Balfour promoted the idea of creating a Jewish homeland in Palestine while protecting the “rights of existing non-Jewish communities.” The British also promised the Arabs a state and gave part of the Palestine Mandate—Transjordan—to Abdullah for a kingdom in 1921.

At the end of World War II, the United Nations took action. In 1947, the UN General Assembly voted to partition the Palestine Mandate into an Arab state and a Jewish state. Jerusalem was to be an international city owned by neither side. The terms of the partition gave Jews and Arabs land according to their population centers. In the wake of the war and the Holocaust, the United States and many European nations felt great sympathy for the Jews.

All of the Islamic countries voted against partition, and the Palestinian Arabs rejected it outright. They argued that the UN did not have the right to partition a territory without considering the wishes of the majority of its people. Finally, the date was set for the formation of Israel, May 14, 1948. On that date, David Ben-Gurion, long-time leader of the Jews residing in Palestine, announced the creation of an independent Israel.

Israel and Arab States in Conflict

The new nation of Israel got a hostile greeting from its neighbors. The day after it proclaimed itself a state, six Islamic states—Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria—invaded Israel. The first of many Arab-Israeli wars, this one ended within months in a victory for Israel. Full-scale war broke out again in 1956, 1967, and 1973. Arab governments forced out 700,000 Jews living in Arab lands. Most moved to Israel.

The state that the UN had set aside for Arabs never came into being because the Arabs rejected it. Israel gained part of the land in the 1948–1949 fighting. Meanwhile, Egypt took control of the Gaza Strip, and Jordan annexed the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Old City of Jerusalem. (See map, The Middle East, 1947–present.) While the fighting raged, at least 600,000 Arab Palestinians fled, migrating from the areas under Israeli control. They settled in refugee camps in the areas designated for the Arab state and in neighboring Arab countries.
Interpret Maps

1. Location What is the southernmost point in Israel, and what is its strategic value?

The 1956 Suez Crisis  The second Arab-Israeli war followed in 1956. That year, Egypt seized control of the Suez Canal, which runs through Egypt between the Gulf of Suez and the Mediterranean Sea. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser blockaded Israeli shipping and took the canal, which was controlled by British interests. The military action was prompted in large part by Nasser’s anger over the loss of U.S. and British financial support for the building of Egypt’s Aswan Dam.

Outraged, the British made an agreement with France and Israel to retake the canal. With air support provided by their European allies, the Israelis marched on the Suez Canal and quickly defeated the Egyptians. However, pressure from the world community, including the United States and the Soviet Union, forced Israel and the Europeans to withdraw from Egypt. This left Egypt in charge of the canal and thus ended the Suez Crisis.

Arab-Israeli Wars Continue  Tensions between Israel and the Arab states began to build again in the years following the resolution of the Suez Crisis. By early 1967, Nasser and his Arab allies, equipped with Soviet tanks and aircraft, felt ready to confront Israel. “We are eager for battle in order to force the enemy to awake from his dreams,” Nasser announced, “and meet Arab reality face to face.” He moved to close off the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel’s outlet to the Red Sea.

Arab armies massed on Israel’s borders. The Israelis struck airfields in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Syria. Safe from air attack, Israeli ground forces struck like lightning on three fronts. Israel defeated the Arab states in what became known as the Six-Day War, because it was over in six days. Israel lost 800 troops in the fighting, while Arab losses exceeded 15,000.

As a consequence of the Six-Day War, Israel gained control of the old city of Jerusalem, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank. Israelis saw these new holdings as a key buffer zone against further Arab attacks and expected to exchange the land for peace agreements. Arabs who lived in Jerusalem were given the choice of Israeli or Jordanian citizenship. Most chose the latter. People who lived in the other areas came under Israel’s control pending a peace treaty.

A fourth Arab-Israeli conflict erupted in October 1973. Nasser’s successor, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat (AHN•wahr-suh•DAT), planned a joint Arab attack on the date of Yom Kippur, the holiest of Jewish holidays. This time the Israelis were caught by surprise. Arab forces inflicted heavy casualties and recaptured some of the territory lost in 1967. The Israelis, under their prime minister, Golda Meir (MY•uhr), launched a counterattack and regained most of the lost territory. Both sides agreed to a truce after several weeks of fighting, and the Yom Kippur war came to an end.

Anwar Sadat
The Palestine Liberation Organization  As Israel fought for its existence, the Palestinians struggled for recognition. While the United Nations had granted both Jews and Arabs their own states, the Arabs rejected their state and the Arab countries launched a war to destroy Israel. The Arabs refused to negotiate peace with Israel.

In 1964, Palestinian officials formed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to push for the formation of an Arab Palestinian state that would include all of Israel. Originally, the PLO was an umbrella organization made up of different groups—laborers, teachers, lawyers, and guerrilla fighters. Soon, guerrilla groups came to dominate the organization and insisted that the only way to achieve their goal was through armed struggle. In 1969 Yasir Arafat (YAH-sur-AR-uh-FAT) became chairman of the PLO. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the group carried out numerous terrorist attacks against Israel. Some of Israel’s Arab neighbors supported the PLO’s goals by allowing PLO guerrillas to operate from their lands.

Efforts at Peace

In November 1977, just four years after the Yom Kippur war, Anwar Sadat stunned the world by extending a hand to Israel. No Arab country up to this point had recognized Israel’s right to exist. In a dramatic gesture, Sadat went before the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, and invited his one-time enemies to join him in a quest for peace.

Sadat emphasized that in exchange for peace Israel would have to recognize the rights of Palestinians. Furthermore, it would have to withdraw from territory captured in 1967 from Egypt, Jordan, and Syria.

Golda Meir (1898–1978)

Meir was born in Kiev, Russia, but grew up in the American heartland. Although a skilled carpenter, Meir’s father could not find enough work in Kiev. So he sold his tools and other belongings and moved his family to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Meir would spend more than a decade in the United States before moving to the Palestine Mandate.

The future Israeli prime minister exhibited strong leadership qualities early on. When she learned that many of her fellow fourth-grade classmates could not afford textbooks, she created the American Young Sisters Society, an organization that succeeded in raising the necessary funds.
U.S. President Jimmy Carter recognized that Sadat had created a historic opportunity for peace. In 1978, Carter invited Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (mehn•AHK•hehm-BAY•gihn) to Camp David, the presidential retreat in rural Maryland. Isolated from the press and from domestic political pressures, Sadat and Begin worked to reach an agreement. After 13 days of negotiations, Carter triumphantly announced that Egypt recognized Israel as a legitimate state. In exchange, Israel agreed to return the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. Signed in 1978, the Camp David Accords ended 30 years of hostilities between Egypt and Israel and became the first signed agreement between Israel and an Arab country.

Anwar Sadat (left), President Carter, and Prime Minister Begin celebrate the signing of the Camp David Accords.
While world leaders praised Sadat, his peace initiative enraged many Arab countries. In 1981, a group of Muslim extremists assassinated him. However, Egypt’s next leader, Hosni Mubarak (HAHS•nee-moo•BAHR•uhk), worked to maintain peace with Israel.

**Israeli-Palestinian Tensions Increase** One Arab group that continued to clash with the Israelis was the Palestinians, a large number of whom lived in the West Bank and Gaza Strip—lands controlled by Israel. During the 1970s and 1980s, the military wing of the PLO conducted a campaign against Israel. Israel responded forcefully, bombing suspected rebel bases in Palestinian towns. In 1982, the Israeli army invaded Lebanon in an attempt to destroy strongholds in Palestinian villages. The Israelis became involved in Lebanon’s civil war and were forced to withdraw.

In 1987, Palestinians began to express their frustrations in a widespread intifada, or “uprising.” The intifada took the form of boycotts, demonstrations, violent attacks on Israelis, rock throwing, shootings, and use of explosives. The intifada continued into the 1990s, with little progress made toward a solution. However, the intifada affected world opinion, which, in turn, put pressure on Israel and the Palestinians to negotiate. Finally, in October 1991, Israeli and Palestinian delegates met for a series of peace talks.

**The Oslo Peace Accords** Negotiations between the two sides made little progress, as the status of the Palestinian
History in Depth

**Signs of Hope**

Amid the cycle of violence and disagreement in the Middle East, there are small but inspiring efforts to bring together Israelis and Palestinians. One is Seeds of Peace, a summer camp that hosts teenagers from opposing sides of world conflicts in the hopes of creating lasting friendships. Another is the West-Eastern Divan, an orchestra made up of Jewish and Arab musicians—the creation of famous Jewish conductor Daniel Barenboim and prominent Palestinian writer Edward Said.

Edward Said and Daniel Barenboim (left) talk about their orchestra (right).

Territories proved to be a bitterly divisive issue. In 1993, secret talks in Oslo, Norway, produced a surprise agreement: the **Oslo Peace Accords**. Israel agreed to grant the Palestinians self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, beginning with Jericho. The Palestinians agreed to end violence and recognize Israel. Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** (YIHTS-hahk-rah-BEEN) and Arafat signed the agreement in 1993. In 1994, Jordan and Israel signed a peace treaty.
Continuing Palestinian terrorist attacks against Israelis and the assassination of Rabin in 1995 by a right-wing Jewish extremist demonstrated the difficulty of making the agreement work. Rabin was succeeded as prime minister by Benjamin Netanyahu (neh•tan•YAH•hoo), who had opposed the Oslo Accords. Still, Netanyahu made efforts to keep to the agreement. In January 1997, Netanyahu met with Arafat to work out plans for a partial Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank.

Peace Slips Away

In 1999, the slow and difficult peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians seemed to get a boost. Ehud Barak won election as Israeli prime minister. Many observers viewed him as a much stronger supporter of the peace plan than Netanyahu had been. The world community, led by the United States, was determined to take advantage of such a development.

In July of 2000, U.S. President Bill Clinton hosted a 15-day summit meeting at Camp David between Ehud Barak and Yasir Arafat. Arafat rejected American and Israeli proposals and offered no alternatives, so the peace process once again stalled. Just two months later, Israeli political leader Ariel Sharon visited Jerusalem’s Temple Mount, a site holy to both Jews and Muslims. The next day, the Voice of Palestine, the Palestinian Authority’s official radio station, called upon Palestinians to protest the visit. Riots broke out in Jerusalem and the West Bank, and a second intifada, sometimes called the Al-Aqsa intifada, was launched.

The Conflict Intensifies

The second intifada began much like the first with demonstrations, attacks on Israeli soldiers, and rock throwing. Palestinian groups also used suicide bombers as a weapon against Israelis. Their attacks on Jewish settlements and on civilian locations throughout Israel significantly raised the level of bloodshed. As the second intifada continued through 2007, thousands of Israelis and Palestinians had died in the conflict.

In response to the uprising, Israeli forces moved into Palestinian refugee camps and clamped down on terrorists. Troops destroyed buildings in which they suspected extremists were hiding and bulldozed entire areas of Palestinian towns and camps. The Israeli army bombed Arafat’s headquarters, trapping him inside his compound for many days.

Arab-Israeli relations did not improve with Israel’s next prime minister, Ariel Sharon. Sharon, a former military leader, refused to negotiate with the Palestinians until attacks on Israelis stopped. Eventually, under intense pressure from the world community, Arafat agreed to take a less prominent role in peace talks.
In early 2003, the Palestinian Authority appointed its first-ever prime minister, PLO official Mahmoud Abbas. Shortly afterward, U.S. President George W. Bush brought together Sharon and Abbas to begin working on a new peace plan known as the “road map.” But violence increased again in 2003, and talks stalled.

Shifting Power and Alliances In the summer of 2005, Israel unilaterally evacuated all its settlers and military from the Gaza Strip. Then in 2006, Hamas, a militant terrorist group intent on replacing Israel with an Islamic state, won majority control in Palestinian Authority elections.

Israel refused to recognize the new Hamas government. However, in August 2007, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert began talks with Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas. In 2010, Olmert was replaced as prime minister by Benjamin Netanyahu and, after three weeks, the talks broke down when Israel refused to stop building Jewish housing in the West Bank.

In 2012, Abbas asked the UN General Assembly to recognize Palestinian statehood. He requested that the UN upgrade the status of Palestine to “nonmember observer state.” This status, which is less than full UN membership, allowed Palestinians to become members of international groups, such as the International Criminal Court. The resolution passed.

In 2014, Netanyahu’s governing coalition collapsed and early elections were held. However, Netanyahu’s Likud party (a nationalist party that is against a Palestinian state) won more seats than any other party and Netanyahu remained as prime minister.

Reading Check Evaluate What do you think it will take to achieve peace between Palestinians and Israelis?

Lesson 4 Assessment

1. Organize Information Make notes about the major events of the Arab-Israeli conflict. What is the significance of the 1967 war to Jews and Palestinians?

2. Key Terms and People For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Analyze Issues What historic claim do both Palestinians and Jews make to the same land?

4. Summarize What land did Israel gain from the wars against its Arab neighbors?

5. Synthesize What were the terms of the Oslo Accords?

6. Compare How was the creation of Israel similar to the establishment of an independent India?

7. Draw Conclusions Why do you think all of the Israeli-Palestinian accords ultimately have failed? Some have said that this conflict represents the struggle of right against right. Explain why you agree or disagree.
The Big Idea
Lands controlled or influenced by the Soviet Union struggled with the challenges of establishing new nations.

Why It Matters Now
The security issues in these nations pose a threat to world peace and security.

Key Terms and People
Transcaucasian Republics
Central Asian Republics
mujahideen
Taliban

Setting the Stage
For thousands of years, the different peoples of Central Asia suffered invasions and domination by powerful groups such as the Mongols, Byzantines, Ottomans, and finally the Communist rulers of the Soviet Union. While such occupation brought many changes to this region, its various ethnic groups worked to keep alive much of their culture. They also longed to create nations of their own, a dream they realized in the early 1990s with the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the decade since then, however, these groups have come to know the challenges of building strong and stable independent nations.

Freedom Brings New Challenges
In 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed, and the republics that it had conquered emerged as 15 independent nations. Among them were those that had made up the Soviet empire’s southern borders. Geographers often group these new nations into two geographic areas.

Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia make up the Transcaucasian Republics. These three nations lie in the Caucasus Mountains between the Black and Caspian seas. East of the Caspian Sea and extending to the Tian Shan and Pamir mountains lie the five nations known as the Central Asian Republics. They are Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.
Economic Struggles Since gaining independence, these nations have struggled economically and are today some of the poorest countries in the world. Much of the problem stems from their heavy reliance on the Soviet Union for economic help. As a result, they have had a difficult time standing on their own. Economic practices during the Soviet era have created additional problems. The Soviets, for example, converted much of the available farmland in the Central Asian Republics to grow “white gold”—cotton. Dependence on a single crop has hurt the development of a balanced economy in these nations.

Azerbaijan, which is located among the oil fields of the Caspian Sea, has the best chance to build a solid economy based on the income from oil and oil products. Meanwhile, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are working hard to tap their large reserves of oil and natural gas.

Interpret Maps

1. Location Which Transcaucasian Republic nation extends the farthest east?
2. Place Which is the only Central Asian Republic that neither contains nor has access to a sea or lake?
Ethnic and Religious Strife  Fighting among various ethnic and religious groups has created another obstacle to stability for many of the newly independent countries of Central Asia. The region is home to a number of different peoples, including some with long histories of hostility toward each other. With their iron-fisted rule, the Soviets kept a lid on these hostilities and largely prevented any serious ethnic clashes. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, however, long-simmering ethnic rivalries erupted into fighting. Some even became small regional wars.

Such was the case in Azerbaijan. Within this mostly Muslim country lies Nagorno-Karabakh, a small region of mainly Armenian Christians. In the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse, the people of this area declared their independence. Azerbaijan had no intention of letting go of this land, and fighting quickly broke out. Neighboring Armenia rushed to aid the Armenian people in the district. The war raged from 1991 through 1994, when the two sides agreed to a cease-fire. As of 2017, the status of Nagorno-Karabakh remained unresolved.

Afghanistan and the World

Just to the south of the Central Asian Republics lies one of the region's more prominent nations. Afghanistan is a small nation with both mountainous and desert terrain. It is one of the least-developed countries in the world, as most of its inhabitants are farmers or herders. And yet, over the past several decades, this mostly Muslim nation has grabbed the world's attention with two high-profile wars—one against the Soviet Union and the other against the United States.

Struggle for Freedom  Afghanistan has endured a long history of struggle. During the 1800s, both Russia and Britain competed for control of its land. Russia wanted access to the Indian Ocean through Afghanistan, while Britain wanted control of the land in order to protect the northern borders of its Indian Empire. Britain fought three separate wars with the Afghans before eventually leaving in 1919.

That year, Afghanistan declared itself an independent nation and established a monarchy. The government implemented various reforms and tried to modernize the country. In 1964, the country devised a constitution that sought to establish a more democratic style of government. However, officials could not agree on a reform program and most people showed little interest in the effort to transform the government. As a result, a democratic system failed to develop.

Pushing Back the Soviets  Nonetheless, Afghanistan had grown stable enough to establish good relations with many Western European nations and to hold its own on the world stage. When the Cold War conflict between the United States and Soviet Union broke out, Afghanistan chose to remain neutral. However, over the years, it received aid from both of the opposing superpowers.
Situated so close to the Soviet Union, however, Afghanistan could not hold out against the force of communism forever. In 1973, military leaders overthrew the government. Five years later, in 1978, a rival group with strong ties to the Soviet Union seized control of the country. Much of the population opposed the group and its strong association with communism. Many Afghanis felt that Communist policies conflicted with the teachings of Islam.

The opposition forces banded together to form a group known as the mujahideen (moo•JAH•heh•DEEN), or holy warriors. These rebels took up arms and fought fiercely against the Soviet-supported government. The rebellion soon prompted the Soviet Union to step in. In 1979 and 1980, Soviet troops rolled into Afghanistan to conquer the country and add it to their Communist empire.

With the Soviets’ superior military force and advanced weaponry, the war had all the makings of a quick and lopsided affair. But the Afghan rebels used the land and guerrilla tactics to their advantage. In addition, the United States provided financial and military assistance. After nearly 10 years of bloody and fruitless fighting, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops. The Afghanis had taken on the world’s Communist superpower and won.

Rise and Fall of the Taliban  With the Soviets gone, various Afghan rebel groups began battling each other for control of the country. A conservative Islamic group known as the Taliban emerged as the victor. By 1998, it controlled 90 percent of the country. Another rebel group, the Northern Alliance, held the northwest corner of the country. Observers initially viewed the Taliban as a positive force, as it brought order to the war-torn nation, rooted out corruption, and promoted the growth of business.

History in Depth

Destroying the Past

Among the Taliban’s extreme policies that stemmed from their interpretation of Islam, one in particular shocked and angered historians around the world. In the years after gaining power, Taliban leaders destroyed some of Afghanistan’s most prized artifacts—two centuries-old Buddhas carved out of cliffs in the Bamiyan Valley.

The Taliban deemed the giant statues offensive to Islam. Ignoring pleas from scholars and museums, they demolished the ancient figures with dynamite and bombs. One of the two statues was thought to have dated back to the third century CE.
However, the group followed an extreme interpretation of Islamic law and applied it to nearly every aspect of Afghan society. Taliban leaders restricted women’s lives by forbidding them to go to school or hold jobs. They banned everything from television and movies to modern music. Punishment for violating the rules included severe beatings, amputation, and even execution.

Even more troubling to the world community was the Taliban’s role in the growing problem of world terrorism. Western leaders accused the Taliban of allowing terrorist groups to train in Afghanistan. The Taliban also provided refuge for terrorist leaders, including Osama bin Laden, whose al-Qaeda organization is thought to be responsible for numerous attacks on the West—including the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC, on September 11, 2001.

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the U.S. government demanded that the Taliban turn over bin Laden. After its leaders refused, the United States took military action. In October 2001, U.S. forces began bombing Taliban air defense, airfields, and command centers, as well as al-Qaeda training camps. On the ground, the United States provided assistance to anti-Taliban forces, such as the Northern Alliance. By December, the United States had driven the Taliban from power.

**Challenges Ahead** While the Taliban regrouped in remote parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan, Afghan officials selected a new government under the leadership of Hamid Karzai. Later, in 2004, he was elected president for a five-year term. His government faced the task of rebuilding a country that had endured more than two decades of warfare. However, in 2006, the Taliban appeared resurgent, and NATO troops took...
over military operations in the South. Heavy fighting continued. In 2008, civilian casualties reached the highest levels since the war began.

On August 20, 2009, Afghanistan held a presidential election. Karzai won, and later that year he was inaugurated as president for a second term.

By 2012, NATO forces in Afghanistan had reached nearly 150,000. President Barack Obama sent U.S. troops, too. This increase in troops had mixed results. Although NATO troops removed the Taliban from some areas, Taliban fighters attacked military and civilian targets in other areas.

NATO withdrew all troops by 2014. Then Afghanistan held a presidential election. Under Afghanistan’s constitution, Karzai could not run again. Two leading candidates, Abdullah Abdullah and Ashraf Ghani, emerged. Because of voter fraud, both candidates declared victory.

On September 21, 2014, Ghani and Abdullah worked out a compromise. Ghani would become president. But Abdullah (or someone from his party) would become chief executive officer, which was a newly created role.

The challenge before Afghanistan is neither unique nor new. Over the past 60 years, countries around the world have attempted to shed their old and often repressive forms of rule and implement a more democratic style of government.

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**Lesson 5 Assessment**

1. **Organize Information** Make a list like the one shown. Which challenge for the Central Asian nations is most difficult to overcome?

   - Freedom Brings New Challenges
     - A.
     - B.

   - Afghanistan and the World
     - A.
     - B.

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Summarize** What countries make up the Central Asian Republics?

4. **Draw Conclusions** Why did Afghans oppose the idea of Communist rule? Why might Afghans have been willing to accept Taliban rule by 1998?

5. **Analyze Causes** Why did the United States take military action against the Taliban?

6. **Make Inferences** Some historians call the Soviet-Afghan war the Soviet Union’s “Vietnam.” What do they mean by this reference? Do you agree with it?

7. **Identify Problems** Why did the new nations of Central Asia experience such economic difficulties?
Module 16 Assessment

Key Terms and People

For each term or name below, briefly explain its connection to colonial independence or other international developments after World War II.

1. partition
2. Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Indira Gandhi
4. Corazón Aquino
5. Jomo Kenyatta
6. Anwar Sadat
7. PLO
8. mujahideen

Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

The Indian Subcontinent Achieves Freedom
1. What two nations emerged from the British colony of India in 1947?
2. How did Jawaharlal Nehru spur India’s economic growth after India became an independent nation?
3. In what way did Pakistan undergo a partition?
4. Briefly explain the reason for the civil disorder in Sri Lanka.

Southeast Asian Nations Gain Independence
5. What were some concerns the Filipinos had regarding the Bell Act?
6. Who is Sukarno, and what did he accomplish in Indonesia?

New Nations in Africa
7. Why were Kwame Nkrumah’s politics criticized?
8. Why did Zaire face such difficulty upon gaining independence?
9. What sparked the present-day civil struggle in Algeria?

Conflicts in the Middle East
10. What was the Suez Crisis?
11. What were the Camp David Accords?

Central Asia Struggles
12. Which nations comprise the Transcaucasian Republics?
13. What was the Taliban?
Critical Thinking

1. Use a web diagram to show some of the challenges that newly independent nations have faced.

2. **Support Opinions** Do you think there should be a limit to the methods revolutionaries use? Explain your opinion.

3. **Analyze Issues** Why have so many of the new nations that emerged over the past half-century struggled economically?

4. **Draw Conclusions** In your view, was religion a unifying or destructive force as colonies around the world became new nations? Support your answer with specific examples from the text.

5. **Contrast** Describe the nature of totalitarianism and the police state that existed in Russia, and how it differed from some authoritarian governments you learned about in this lesson.

6. **Compare** Compare the rise of nationalism in Turkey, India, and China.

7. **Analyze** Compare and contrast the methods used by African and Asian nations to achieve independence.

8. **Infer** Use a globe to make a chart that shows the distance from Moscow and Washington, DC, to Afghanistan, Ghana, the Philippines, and India. What do these distances tell you about the influences of the United States and the Soviet Union on these new nations?

9. With a partner, take turns reading, listening to, summarizing, and discussing the quotation by Anwar Sadat in Lesson 4.

Analyse Historical Accuracy

Examine websites, documentaries, movies, newspaper articles, and biographies about one of the leaders in these lessons. Based on what you know, critique the historical accuracy of at least two sources. What specifically can you find that is biased or inaccurate? What is most fair and impartial?

Interact with History

Now that you have read about the efforts by so many former colonies to forge new countries, identify the main factors that determine whether a new nation struggles or thrives. Be sure to cite specific examples from the text.

Focus on Writing

Select one of the leaders discussed in this module. Review the decisions the leader made while in power. Write an evaluation of the leader’s decisions and his or her impact on the country. Consider the following:

- the leader’s views on government and democracy
- the leader’s handling of the economy
- the leader’s accomplishments and failures

Multimedia Activity

Creating a Database

Use the Internet, library resources, and other reference materials to create a database showing the economic growth of any four countries discussed in this module. Create one table for each country, with column headings for each measure of economic growth you choose to record and row headings for each 10-year period. Then insert the most current data you can find. Consider the following questions to get started.

- Which statistics will be most useful in making comparisons between nations?
- Which nations have capitalist economies? What other types of economies did you discover?
- Which nations have “one-crop” economies?