#### **MODULE 17: STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRACY**



## **California Connections**

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 former colonies respond to the Cold War and liberation? How was the Cold War waged all over the world?

As many former colonies were gaining their independence following World War II, the two Cold War superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—began competing for influence around the world. The Soviet Union continued its efforts to protect its borders through alliances and to spread communism, while the United States maintained a containment policy toward Communist expansion. As a result, both superpowers sought to get the newly independent countries to align with them by providing military and economic aid. By backing opposing sides in conflicts in these countries, the United States and the Soviet Union fought "proxy wars" without engaging each other directly. Although many nations tried to remain neutral, they often found themselves becoming aligned with either the United States or the Soviet Union in order to develop their nations. The following paragraphs will describe how nations in Africa and Latin America responded to pressure from the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Starting in the late 1950s, many countries in Africa won their independence from colonial rule. Many Western colonial powers left these new states ill-prepared for independence, with fragile democracies that soon ran into problems. Like other parts of the world, these new African nations were affected by the Cold War. Certain countries, like Zaire (the modern Democratic Republic of the Congo), took a stand against communism and received support from the West as a result. Other countries received military aid from the Soviet Union, including Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Congo (modern Republic of the Congo), Egypt, Ethiopia, Uganda, Benin, and Somalia, although Somalia later became strongly anti-Soviet. Certain countries, like Guinea, played the United States and the Soviet Union against each other to get the aid they wanted. South Africa, which you will learn more about in Lesson 2, was staunchly anti-Communist. However, its policy of apartheid, or complete separation of the races, caused many nations, including the United States, to impose trade restrictions during the Cold War period. Nigeria, which you will also read about in Lesson 2, won its independence from Britain in 1960 and chose a democratic model for its new government. However, ethnic divisions in the country soon led to the Biafra Civil War from 1967 to 1970. Prior to the war Nigeria had held a loosely pro-Western position; however, when the West failed to offer aid during the Biafra War, Nigeria turned to the Soviet Union for military support. Following the war, Nigeria would seek a more neutral stance. It would also struggle through many more internal conflicts in the coming decades.

Many countries in Latin America had already won their independence in the early 1800s, well before the start of the Cold War. However, problems that had originated while they were colonies continued to plague these nations during the Cold War. This led to military dictatorships in many countries, including Brazil and Argentina, which you will read more about in Lesson 1. As the United States sought to contain the spread of communism, it provided support to either governments or opposition groups in Latin American countries, depending on which it saw as anti-Communist. As you read before, the United States supported the El Salvadoran government in its struggle against Marxist rebels by providing aid to anti-Communist forces in Nicaragua. In Chile, the United States provided military and financial support to opposition groups because it was afraid that Chile's president, Salvador Allende, had ties with the Soviet Union. Allende was overthrown, and General Augusto Pinochet established a military dictatorship, bringing a violent crackdown on all opposition that would last for years. In 1980 Pinochet agreed to some mild reforms, and he finally stepped down in 1989. Fearing the spread of communism in Guatemala, the United States also provided weapons and financial support to opposition groups in that country, which overthrew Guatemala's democratically elected president. This led to a decades-long civil war in Guatemala. During this period, the United States often provided military aid to the new Guatemalan government because it was anti-Communist, despite the terrible human rights violations it committed. You will learn more about Chile and Guatemala during the Cold War period in Lesson 1.

#### How and why did the Cold War end?

The Cold War came to an end with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union collapsed because of both external and internal pressures, as you will learn in Lesson 3.

Many of the external pressures on the Soviet Union came from the United States. When Ronald Reagan became president of the United States, he took actions that escalated Cold War tensions. Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and put pressure on the Soviet Union by initiating a huge military buildup. The United States also provided support for rebels in Afghanistan who were fighting Soviet troops that had invaded that country. This caused the conflict in Afghanistan to drag on, which strained the economic and military

resources of the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev, who became the leader of the Soviet Union in 1985, realized that the Soviet Union could not afford to compete with the United States in the arms race and negotiated armscontrol treaties with Reagan.

The Soviet Union also faced internal pressures. It was unable to compete with the United States because its economy had grown stagnant. Goods were often in short supply, and Soviet citizens had to stand in line to buy basic necessities. Gorbachev realized that economic reforms were needed and would require a free and open exchange of ideas, which previous Soviet leaders had suppressed. He introduced three new policies—glasnost (openness), perestroika (economic restructuring), and democratization (gradual opening of the political system). His goal was to make the Soviet economic system more productive—not to do away with communism—but his reforms had unintended consequences. The new openness allowed people to complain, which encouraged dissidents to push for even greater change. Nationalist groups in several Soviet republics began to push for independence. Hardliners in the Communist Party, who opposed the reforms, tried to overthrow Gorbachev, but their attempted coup failed and caused the party to collapse. By December 1991, all 15 Soviet republics had declared their independence. The Soviet Union had come to an end.

The collapse of the Soviet Union also brought an end to the Cold War. The Cold War had been a conflict between two superpowers, and now one of the superpowers no longer existed.

### How have nations organized in the post-Cold War world? How have nations struggled in similar and different ways to achieve economic, political, and social stability?

The following paragraphs will discuss how certain nations organized themselves after the Cold War and examine similarities and differences between how those nations worked toward economic, political, and social stability. As you will discover, the borders of many of these nations had been drawn arbitrarily by colonial powers, without regard to the location of ethnic groups. As a result, ethnic groups were often split between multiple states or were forced into nation-states with other groups. The colonial powers that had drawn these borders often continued to influence their former colonies both politically and economically, at times creating challenges to the stability of the former colonies.

In Central and Eastern Europe, the collapse of the Soviet Union enabled and accelerated the reform and reorganization of countries, including Poland, Hungary,

Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Romania, which you will learn more about in Lesson 4. In Yugoslavia the presence of multiple ethnic groups led to conflict. Since the end of World War II, Yugoslavia had been a federation of six republics—Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia—with multiple ethnic groups in each republic. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, this federation began to break apart. This led to multiple conflicts and the commitment of atrocities, often the direct result of ethnic tensions and disagreements. You will read more about conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in Lesson 4.

In Africa many nations also faced ethnic and cultural conflicts, as you will read about in Lesson 2. Nigeria, for example, has three major ethnic groups: the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba, and the Igbo. Conflicts between these ethnic groups led to war in the 1960s. Ethnic differences remain a problem there, especially with the rise of the Islamic militant group Boko Haram. In South Africa, as you read earlier, racial divisions were institutionalized with the government policy of apartheid, which segregated whites from blacks. The South African constitution also gave whites many rights and privileges denied to blacks. Apartheid came to an end in the early 1990s, and the country now has a multiracial government. However, South Africa continues to face challenges, including the AIDS epidemic. This epidemic has killed millions in South Africa, diminishing its labor supply and requiring billions of dollars to fight the disease. The AIDS epidemic, as well as problems achieving economic development, have resulted in sub-Saharan Africa having some of the lowest life expectancy rates in the world. However, the outlook for Africa is improving. Botswana, for example, has one of the world's highest economic growth rates due to decades of stable government and the presence of natural resources, especially diamonds. In addition to South Africa and Botswana, there are other stable republics in Africa, including Morocco and Ghana. Nonetheless, these countries continue to face challenges, such as corruption and large income gaps between the rich and poor.

The Middle East has also suffered multiple conflicts since the end of World War II. Many of the conflicts have been between Israel and its Arab neighbors over territory and the rights of Palestinians, with Arab nations pushing for a separate Palestinian state. Conflicts have also resulted from differences between the Sunni and Shi'a divisions of Islam, especially conflicts involving Iran, which has long been predominantly Shi'a. After the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, other Muslim countries became concerned about the spread of Shi'a fundamentalism, and Iran's foreign relations with many of its neighbors have been strained. Concern about Iran's nuclear activities led the United Nations, the United

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## **California Connections**

States, and the European Union to impose sanctions against Iran in the 2000s.

The Middle East's importance as a supplier of oil for the rest of the world has aggravated its problems, as it holds more than half of the world's proven oil reserves. This is a major factor in the political and economic significance of states in the region, including Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran. Other problems in the region include the rise of terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and disputes over territory. In 2005 Iraq's government became Shi'acontrolled, further complicating relations in the region. There have been other signs of political change in the region as well. In 2009 the results of the presidential elections in Iran were disputed, leading to protests throughout Iran. In 2010–2012 a series of prodemocracy protests took place in the Middle East and North Africa. Known as the Arab Spring, these protests led to the overthrow of leaders in Tunisia and Egypt.

In Latin America several nations experienced civil wars in the 1980s, including Guatemala, which you will read more about in Lesson 1. These conflicts were often over ideologies (leftist vs. conservative or socialist vs. capitalist). However, indigenous people, like the Maya in Guatemala, have also fought mestizos (people of combined Indian and European heritage) for economic and social justice. By the 1990s most of these conflicts had come to an end, even if the issues that had caused the conflicts had not always been resolved. Certain Latin American countries, such as Costa Rica and Peru, have had stable democracies for many years and have been able to achieve economic growth. Following its revolution of 1910–1920, Mexico developed a strong national identity and adopted a constitution that has allowed it to be relatively stable politically and to develop economically. You will learn more about Mexico in Lesson 1. To help its economy, Mexico has signed trade agreements with 46 countries, including the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States and Canada and the Pacific Alliance with Peru, Colombia, and Chile. However, Mexico faces many challenges that have created tensions with the United States, such as the drug trade. In addition to being a major source of marijuana and heroin, Mexico has also served as a path for cocaine to reach the United States from South America. This has led to violence, especially in towns along the U.S.-Mexican border. Millions of Mexicans have immigrated to the United States, often illegally, creating further tensions with the U.S. government. These undocumented Mexican workers have been "pushed" from Mexico due to an oversupply of workers and various crises there and "pulled" to the United States by the hope of greater economic opportunity and demand for their labor.

# How have developing nations worked together to identify and attempt to solve challenges?

Many developing nations have worked together to identify and solve challenges. For example, the Organization of American States (OAS) works to promote democracy and defend human rights in the countries of the Americas. The African Union (formerly the Organization of African Unity) works to promote unity and solidarity of African nations and to encourage their economic development.

The strength of a developing country's economy often depends on the products it exports. Countries that export petroleum have generally prospered. Five of these countries formed the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960 to coordinate petroleum policies and to provide members with technical and economic aid. OPEC has since grown to include 13 members in the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa. Developing countries that rely on the export of other commodities, however, have often suffered as the value of those commodities fluctuated on the world market. These include many nations in Latin America and Africa that rely on the export of a few raw materials. Some of these nations have ended up deeply in debt to foreign banks. They have often turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which lends to countries with balance of payment difficulties. However, the IMF generally requires that these nations implement austerity measures, such as tax increases and cuts in social programs, in order to receive the loans.

Since the 1980s several Asian countries have become economic success stories. These include South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong—often called "Asian tigers" because of their economic success—as well as Japan and China. As you will read in Lesson 5, China, though still a Communist country, began to use capitalist ideas to help its economy. It allowed private businesses to operate and welcomed foreign technology and investment. As a result of these reforms, it has become a major manufacturer of inexpensive consumer goods, especially electronics and clothing, and the second-largest economy in the world. However, economic reforms in China did not lead to political reforms, as many had hoped. A prodemocracy movement was repressed, and China remains firmly under the control of the Communist Party. Nonetheless, some believe that political change may still come to China as it engages more and more with other countries. Due to the rapid economic development seen in China, India, and other Asian countries, it has been projected that Asia will become the economic center of the world by 2025.

#### **ACTIVITY**

### **Democracy and Capitalism**

As you have read, China, India, and other Asian countries are becoming new centers of economic power. Although these countries have achieved economic success by following capitalist economic models, their forms of government vary widely.

- **1. Conducting Research** Your task is to use library or Internet resources to learn more about the governments of China, India, and other Asian countries. As you conduct your research, look for answers to the following questions:
  - · To what degree do these governments support democracy and individual liberties?
  - How do these governments confront violence and instability, and how does this affect their support of individual liberties?
  - How are the economic projections for these countries related to their capitalist economies?
  - What relationship do you see between capitalist economies and varying degrees of democratic forms of government?
- 2. Writing a Report Write a report summarizing what you have learned about the relationship between capitalist economies and democratic forms of government.
- 3. Reviewing and Proofreading Make sure that your report is clear and specific. Check your report for capitalization, spelling, punctuation, and grammar. Properly cite credible sources that you used in your report.

### **ACTIVITY**

### **Postcolonial Developments**

You have just read a brief summary of postcolonial developments in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and China. Now you will perform a comparative analysis of developments in three of these regions and prepare a multimedia presentation to demonstrate what you have learned.

1. Planning Break into groups of four, and have each group member choose one of the four regions—Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, or China. Make sure each region is covered by a group member.

- 2. Researching Conduct research to learn more about postcolonial developments in your chosen region. As you investigate your region, look for answers to the following questions:
  - How have nations in this region struggled to achieve economic, political, and social stability?
  - · What economic systems and forms of government are currently found in this region?
  - · Have ethnic, linguistic, and cultural differences influenced nation-building efforts in this region? If so, in what ways?
  - · How have civil wars or regional disputes impacted this region?

As you conduct your research, also look for maps, charts, photographs, and audio or video clips that could be used to illustrate your points.

- 3. Comparing and Analyzing Gather with the other three members of your group and compare what you have learned about your regions. Analyze the similarities and differences between the developments in the four regions that you researched.
- 4. Preparing a Multimedia Presentation Combine your findings to create a multimedia presentation that demonstrates the similarities and differences between the four regions as they have faced challenges in the postcolonial world. Focus on information that answers the questions under "Researching" above. Include maps, charts, photographs, and audio/video clips to enhance your presentation.







Module 17

# Struggles for Democracy



#### **Essential Question**

Have the attempts at democracy in China and nations in Latin America, Africa, and the former Soviet bloc been worthwhile?



About the Photo: Protesters march in Caracas, Venezuela, in favor of democracy. In this module, you will learn about the struggles for change in Latin America, Africa, the former Soviet bloc, and China.

### **Explore ONLINE!**

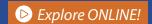


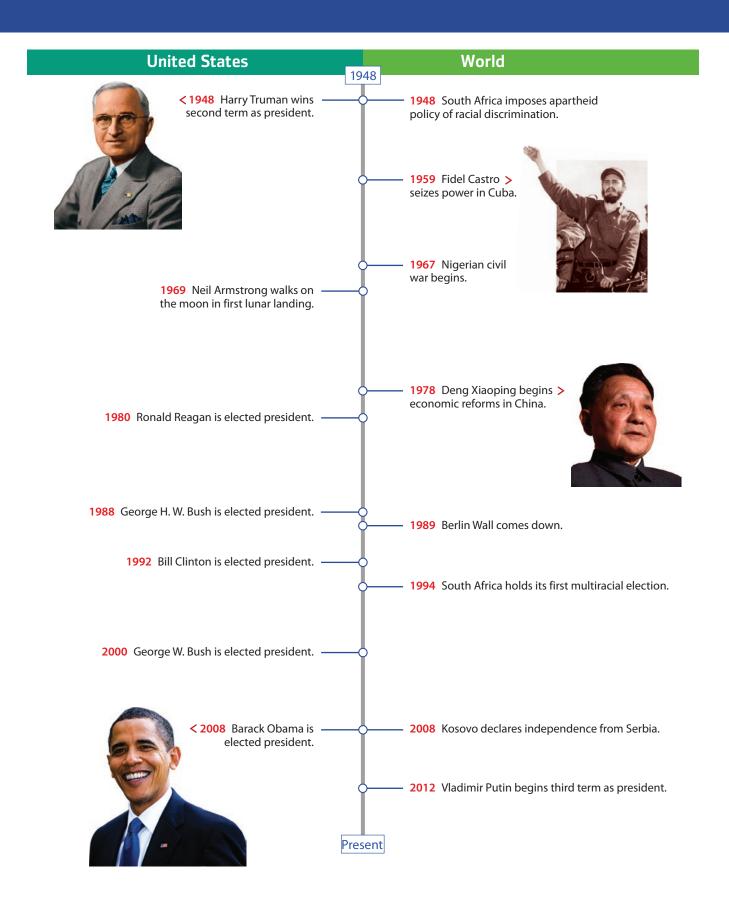
#### VIDEOS, including...

- · Josip Broz Tito: The Rebel Communist
- · Eva Perón
- 100 Years of Terror
- The Fall of the Soviet Union
- · The Fall of the Berlin Wall
- Tiananmen Square
- **O**Document-Based Investigations
- **Graphic Organizers**
- Interactive Games
- Image Compare: South Africa's Flags
- Carousel: Fall of the Berlin Wall

**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. 10.9.2 Analyze the causes of the Cold War, with the free world on one side and Soviet client states on the other, including competition for influence in such places as Egypt, the Congo, Vietnam, and Chile. 10.9.4 Analyze the Chinese Civil War, the rise of Mao Tsetung, and the subsequent political and economic upheavals in China (e.g., the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the Tiananmen Square uprising). 10.9.5 Describe the uprisings in Poland (1956), Hungary (1956), and Czechoslovakia (1968) and those countries' resurgence in the 1970s and 1980s as people in Soviet satellites sought freedom from Soviet control. 10.9.7 Analyze the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union, including the weakness 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. 10.10.1 Understand the challenges in the regions, including their geopolitical, cultural, military, and economic significance and the international relationships in which they are involved. 10.10.2 Describe the recent history of the regions, including political divisions and systems, key leaders, religious issues, natural features, resources, and population patterns. 10.10.3 Discuss the important trends in the regions today and whether they appear to serve the cause of individual freedom and democracy.

### Timeline of Events 1945-Present





### Case Study

Latin American **Democracies** 

## **Democracy**

### The Big Idea

In Latin America, economic problems and authoritarian rule delayed democracy.

### Why It Matters Now

By the mid-1990s, almost all Latin American nations had democratic governments.

### **Key Terms and People**

Brasília land reform standard of living recession PRI

### **Setting the Stage**

By definition, democracy—or liberal democracy as it is sometimes called—is government by the people. Direct democracy, in which all citizens meet to pass laws, is not practical for nations. Therefore, democratic nations developed indirect democracies, or republics, in which citizens elect representatives to make laws for them. For example, the United States is a republic. But democracy is more than a form of government. It is also a way of life and an ideal goal. A democratic way of life includes practices such as free and open elections.

### **Democracy As a Goal**

The chart "Making Democracy Work" lists four practices in a democracy, together with conditions that help these democratic practices succeed. Many nations follow these practices to a large degree. However, establishing democracy is a process that takes years.

Even in the United States, the establishment of democracy has taken time. Although the principle of equality is part of the Constitution, many Americans have struggled for equal rights. To cite one example, women did not receive the right to vote until 1920. Democracy is always a "work in progress."

Other political ideologies have existed in the United States as well. Though socialism and communism never became strong political forces in the United States, both have maintained a presence here. The movements have remained a much stronger presence in other parts of the world, including Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Democratic institutions may not ensure stable, civilian government if other conditions are not present. The participation of a nation's citizens in government is essential to democracy. Education and literacy—the ability to read and write—give citizens the tools they need to make political decisions. Also, a stable economy with a strong middle class



and opportunities for advancement help democracy. It does so by giving citizens a stake in the future of their nation.

Other conditions advance democracy. First, a firm belief in the rights of the individual promotes the fair and equal treatment of citizens. Second, rule by law helps prevent leaders from abusing power without fear of punishment. Third, a sense of national identity helps encourage citizens to work together for the good of the nation. In contrast, a citizen of an authoritarian system receives few or no rights while their rulers demand loyalty and service to the government.

The struggle to establish democracy and to build stable economies continued into the 21st century as many nations abandoned authoritarian rule for democratic institutions. As the Cold War has faded, nations have worked to establish a new world order, in which countries work together to promote peace rather than conflict. The Organization of American States (OAS) is one such way the countries of the Americas work together to promote democracy and defend human rights. A United Nations study released in July 2002 warned that the spread of democracy around the world could be derailed if free elections in poor countries are not followed by economic growth. The United Nations Development Program's annual report warned particularly about Latin America.

**Reading Check Make Inferences** Why would democracy suffer if citizens didn't participate?

Common	Conditions That Foster Those Practices
Free elections	Having more than one political party Universal suffrage—all adult citizens can vote
Citizen participation	High levels of education and literacy Economic security Freedoms of speech, press, and assembly
Majority rule, minority rights	All citizens equal before the law Shared national identity Protection of such individual rights as freedom of religion Representatives elected by citizens to carry out their will
Constitutional government	Clear body of traditions and laws on which government is based Widespread education about how government works National acceptance of majority decisions Shared belief that no one is above the law
Interpret Charts How might economic security foster citizen participation?	

### **Dictators and Democracy**

Many Latin American nations won their independence from Spain and Portugal in the early 1800s. However, three centuries of colonial rule left many problems. These included powerful militaries, economies that were too dependent on a single crop, and large gaps between rich and poor. These patterns persisted in the modern era. Citizens of many Latin American countries worked to gain more rights. Women, indigenous people, and other groups fought for both civil rights—the rights of citizens to political and social freedoms, and for human rights—the basic rights belonging to every person.

After gaining independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazil became a monarchy. This lasted until 1889, when Brazilians established a republican government, which a wealthy elite controlled. Then, in the 1930s, Getulio Vargas became dictator. Vargas suppressed political opposition. At the same time, however, he promoted economic growth and helped turn Brazil into a modern industrial nation.

**Kubitschek's Ambitious Program** After Vargas, three popularly elected presidents tried to steer Brazil toward democracy. Juscelino Kubitschek (zhoo•suh•LEE•nuh-KOO•bih•chehk), who governed from 1956 to 1961, continued to develop Brazil's economy. Kubitschek encouraged foreign investment to help pay for development projects. He built a new capital city, Brasília (bruh•ZIHL•yuh), in the country's interior. Kubitschek's dream proved expensive. The nation's foreign debt soared and inflation shot up.

Kubitschek's successors proposed reforms to ease economic and social problems. Conservatives resisted this strongly. They especially opposed the plan for **land reform**—breaking up large estates and distributing that land to peasants. In 1964, with the blessing of wealthy Brazilians, the army seized power in a military coup.

**Military Dictators** For two decades military dictators ruled Brazil. Emphasizing economic growth, the generals fostered foreign investment. They began huge development projects in the Amazon jungle. The economy boomed.

The boom had a downside, though. The government froze wages and cut back on social programs. This caused a decline in the **standard of living**, or level of material comfort, which is judged by the amount of goods people have. When Brazilians protested, the government imposed censorship. It also jailed, tortured, and sometimes killed government critics. Nevertheless, opposition to military rule continued to grow.

**The Road to Democracy** By the early 1980s, a **recession**, or slowdown in the economy, gripped Brazil. At that point, the generals decided to open up the political system. They allowed direct elections of local, state, and national officials.

## Latin America UNITED STATES BAHAMAS DOMINICAN REPUBLIC Mexico City HONDURAS **GUATEMALA** NICARAGUA EL SALVADOR **GUYANA** PANAMA VENEZUELA COLOMBIA ECUADOR-BRAZIL PERU Brasília BOLIVIA 2,000 km PARAGUAY URUGUAY ARGENTINA FALKLAND IS. (Br.) **Interpret Maps** 1. Location Which country—Argentina, Brazil, or Mexico—spans the equator? **2. Region** Which one of the three countries has a coast on the Caribbean Sea?

In 1985, a new civilian president, José Sarney (zhoh•ZAY-SAHR•nay), took office. Sarney inherited a country in crisis because of foreign debt and inflation. He proved unable to solve the country's problems and lost support. The next elected president fared even worse. He resigned because of corruption charges.

In 1994 and again in 1998, Brazilians elected Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who achieved some success in tackling the nation's economic and political problems. Although trained as a Marxist scholar, Cardoso became a strong advocate of free markets. One of his main concerns was the widening income gap in Brazil. He embarked on a program to promote economic reform.

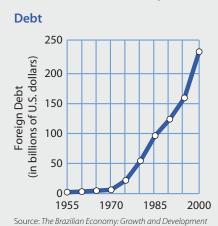
**The 2002 Presidential Election** In the presidential election of October 2002, Cardoso's handpicked successor to lead his centrist coalition was José Serra. Serra faced two candidates who proposed a sharp break with Cardoso's pro-business policies. One of these candidates was Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, a candidate of the leftist Workers Party.

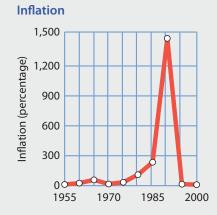
An economic crisis hit many countries in South America, including Brazil, in 2002. Because of stalled economic growth, rising unemployment, and poverty, there was a backlash against free-market economic policies. This made the election of 2002 a close contest. Da Silva, the leftist candidate, won the hotly disputed election, defeating the ruling party candidate, Serra. The election was part of the trend toward socialist governments in Latin America. By 2005, approximately three out of four Latin Americans were living under leftist administrations. This marked a change from the previous era when leaders ruled governments supported by the United States, a country seeking to end the spread of communism.

Da Silva, who was reelected in 2006, proved a more moderate president than his supporters and opponents had expected. In 2010, Dilma Rousseff became the first woman president elected in Brazil. She has faced many challenges, including natural disasters and political scandals. Demonstrators at widespread protests have called for her impeachment. Despite these challenges, Brazil continues on the path of democracy.

**Reading Check Analyze Motives** Why might the wealthy have preferred military rule to land reform?

### Brazilian Economy, 1955–2000





### **Interpret Graphs** Of the years shown on the line graph, which was the worst year for inflation?

### **State-Sponsored Terror**

In 1970, Chileans elected the leftist Salvador Allende as president. Allende spent huge amounts of money in efforts to improve the lives of the working class and stimulate the economy. The government broke up large estates and distributed the land to peasants. It also nationalized foreignowned companies. For a time, Allende's measures were successful and widely popular.

Allende's Fall Allende soon ran into trouble. Industrial and farm production fell, prices rose, and food shortages spread. In addition, Allende's socialist policies alienated business owners and worried the U.S. government, which feared that Allende had developed close ties with the Soviet Union. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) began providing secret funding and military training to opposition groups in Chile in hopes of triggering an anti-Allende revolt. As the economy failed, more and more people turned against Allende. On September 11, 1973, the military rebelled. Allende and more than 3,000 others died in the bloodshed.

**The Pinochet Regime** Several weeks before the coup, Allende had appointed a new commander in chief of the army, Augusto Pinochet (pee•noh•CHET). General Pinochet was closely involved in the rebellion. He took command of the new military regime and became president in 1974.

Pinochet moved quickly to destroy the opposition. He disbanded congress, suspended the constitution, and banned opposition parties. He also censored the media. His plan to cement his control of the Chilean government can best be described as politically motivated mass murder. Within three years, an estimated 130,000 people were arrested for opposing the government. Thousands of people disappeared, were tortured, killed, or fled into exile.

Despite the political crackdown, Chile's economy experienced rapid growth. Pinochet's government privatized state-owned businesses, slashed government budgets, cut tariffs, and eased government regulations. Exports grew and the economy took off. The cost of living, however, exploded and the gap between rich and poor got wider and wider. Even with a 30 percent unemployment rate, Chile became the fastest-growing economy in Latin America.

**Government Reform** Under international pressure, Augusto Pinochet agreed to mild reforms in 1980. That year, he allowed for a new constitution. Under the agreement, Pinochet would remain president until 1989 and receive immunity for any crimes he may have committed. However, courts in Europe and Chile continued to seek justice for victims of the Pinochet regime. Pinochet was eventually charged with kidnapping and murder, but the court was not able to convict him before his death in 2006. Today, Chile's government is once again a democracy.

#### **Reading Check**

**Find Main Ideas** State the main idea of the section "The Pinochet Regime." Then cite at least two details that support the main idea.

### **One-Party Rule**

Unlike Brazil, Mexico enjoyed relative political stability for most of the 20th century. Following the Mexican Revolution, the government passed the Constitution of 1917. The new constitution outlined a democracy and promised reforms.

**Beginnings of One-Party Domination** From 1920 to 1934, Mexico elected several generals as president. However, these men did not rule as military dictators. They did create a ruling party—the National Revolutionary Party, which dominated Mexico under various names for the rest of the 20th century. From 1934 to 1940, President Lázaro Cárdenas (KAHR•day•nahs) tried to improve life for peasants and workers. He carried out land reform and promoted labor rights. He nationalized the Mexican oil industry, kicking out foreign oil companies and creating a state-run oil industry. After Cárdenas, however, a series of more conservative presidents turned away from reform.

**The Party Becomes the PRI** In 1946, the main political party changed its name to the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI. In the halfcentury that followed, the PRI became the main force for political stability in Mexico. Although stable, the government was an imperfect democracy. The PRI controlled the congress and won every presidential election. The government allowed opposition parties to compete, but fraud and corruption tainted the elections.

Even as the Mexican economy rapidly developed, Mexico continued to suffer severe economic problems. Lacking land and jobs, millions of Mexicans struggled for survival. In addition, a huge foreign debt forced the government to spend money on interest payments. In the late 1960s, students and workers began calling for economic and political change. On October 2, 1968, protesters gathered at the site of an ancient Aztec market in Mexico City. As the gathering was ending, soldiers opened fire on the protestors. The massacre claimed several hundred lives.

People also called for change in the United States as the civil rights movement there grew in strength. Between 1942 and 1964, more than four million Mexicans moved to the United States as part of the bracero program. Braceros worked as farm laborers in California and other states. Migrant workers often faced very poor working conditions and received little pay. Labor leaders such as César Chávez worked to improve the rights of these workers.

Chávez effected change by organizing boycotts and encouraging migrant farmers to form labor unions. As the movement grew, Chávez's opponents tried to stop it. When a large grape grower named Schenley sprayed its vineyard workers with pesticides, Chávez and the National Farm Workers Association fought back harder. They organized a massive march that resulted in Schenley agreeing to a bargain with the union.

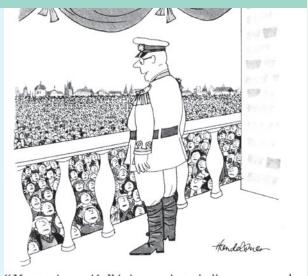
### **Historical Source**

### Military Rule and Democracy

Throughout the 20th century, many Latin American countries were ruled by military dictators or political bosses. Most typically, the dictator's support came from the wealthy and the military. But sometimes the dictator's support came from the people.

#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

Do dictators typically take into account the opinions of the people they rule? What does this cartoon suggest about the dictator's attitude toward the opinion of the people he rules?

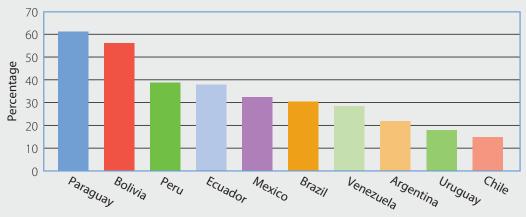


goodness, if I'd known how badly you wanted democracy I'd have given it to you ages ago."

Another critical episode occurred during the early 1980s. By that time, huge new oil and natural gas reserves had been discovered in Mexico. The economy had become dependent on oil and gas exports. In 1981, world oil prices fell, cutting Mexico's oil and gas revenues in half. Mexico went into an economic decline.

**Economic and Political Crises** The 1980s and 1990s saw Mexico facing various crises. In 1988, opposition parties challenged the PRI in national elections. The PRI candidate, Carlos Salinas, won the presidency. Even so, opposition parties won seats in the congress and began to force a gradual opening of the political system.

### Latin Americans Living in Poverty, 2006–2007



Source: Social Panorama of Latin America, 2009

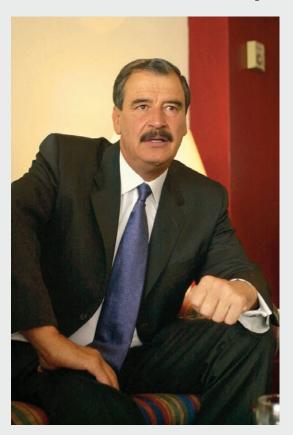
#### **Interpret Graphs**

In which three countries of Latin America is the percentage of people living in poverty the lowest? In which three countries is the poverty rate the highest?

During his presidency, Salinas signed NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA removed trade barriers between Mexico, the United States, and Canada. In early 1994, peasant rebels in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas (chee•AH•pahs) staged a major uprising. Shortly afterward, a gunman assassinated Luis Donaldo Colosio, the PRI presidential candidate for the upcoming election.

**The PRI Loses Control** After these events, Mexicans grew increasingly concerned about the prospects for democratic stability. Nevertheless, the elections of 1994 went ahead. The new PRI candidate, Ernesto Zedillo (zuh•DEE•yoh), won. Opposition parties continued to challenge the PRI.

In 1997, two opposition parties each won a large number of congressional seats, denying the PRI control of congress. Then, in 2000, Mexican voters ended 71 years of PRI rule by electing center-right candidate Vicente Fox as president.



Former President Vicente Fox of Mexico

**Reading Check** Analyze Effects Why does over-reliance on one product weaken an economy?

**New Policies and Programs** Fox's agenda was very ambitious. He advocated reforming the police, rooting out political corruption, ending the rebellion in Chiapas, and opening up Mexico's economy to free-market forces.

Fox also argued that the United States should legalize the status of millions of illegal Mexican immigrant workers. Fox hoped that a negotiated agreement between the United States and Mexico would provide amnesty for these undocumented Mexican workers in the United States. After Felipe Calderón, a conservative, was elected president in 2006, he continued many of Fox's policies. However, tensions between the governments grew over Washington's plan to build a fence along the two countries' border.

The United States' presence has also been felt in Mexico as part of the U.S. War on Drugs. Violence connected to the drug trade increased dramatically during Calderón's presidency. Calderón's administration decided to expand the use of military force against drug traffickers. Since 2006, Calderón has sent thousands of troops to the U.S.-Mexico border to fight against drug cartels. Washington continues to support these efforts by supplying military equipment and training to Mexican soldiers.

The War on Drugs has weighed heavily on the nation's economy. Mexico's economy also struggled after the H1N1 flu pandemic hit the nation in 2009. Citizens elected Enrique Peña Nieto in 2012, marking a return to PRI rule. Nieto has worked to improve the economy by increasing foreign investment in the nation's oil industry, but he has met resistance from congress. His administration has had success in implementing political and electoral reforms, however.

### Perón Rules Argentina

was under democratic rule.

Argentina had struggled to establish democracy. It was a major exporter of grain and beef. It was also an industrial nation with a large working class. In 1946, Argentine workers supported an army officer, Juan Perón, who won the presidency and then established a dictatorship.

**Political and Economic Disorder** 

Mexico and Brazil were not the only Latin American countries where democracy had made progress. By the late 1990s, most of Latin America

Perón did not rule alone. He received critical support from his wife, Eva—known as Evita to the millions of Argentines who idolized her. Together, the Peróns created a welfare state. The state offered social programs with broad popular appeal but limited freedoms. After Eva's death in 1952, Perón's popularity declined and his enemies—the military and the Catholic Church—moved against him. In 1955, the military ousted Perón and drove him into exile.



Eva Perón

**Repression in Argentina** For many years, the military essentially controlled Argentine politics. Perón returned to power once more, in 1973, but ruled for only a year before dying in office. By the mid-1970s, Argentina was in chaos.

In 1976, the generals seized power again. They established a brutal dictatorship and hunted down political opponents. For several years, torture and murder were everyday events. By the early 1980s, several thousand Argentines had simply disappeared, kidnapped by their own government.

#### Vocabulary

welfare state a government that tries to provide for all its citizens' needs—including health, education, and employment

Argentinian women protesting the disappearance of children they believe were taken by the government.



Some groups worked to address these human rights violations. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, an association of Argentine women whose children and grandchildren had disappeared or been killed, were one such group. For nearly 30 years, they held weekly vigils in a park near the presidential palace to call attention to the missing.

**Democracy and the Economy** In 1982, the military government went to war with Britain over the nearby Falkland Islands and suffered a defeat. Disgraced, the generals agreed to step down. In 1983, Argentines elected Raúl Alfonsín (ahl•fohn•SEEN) president in the country's first free election in 37 years.

During the 1980s, Alfonsín worked to rebuild democracy and the economy. Carlos Menem gained the presidency in 1989 and continued the process. He attempted to stabilize the currency and privatize industry. By the late 1990s, however, economic problems intensified as the country lived beyond its means.

A Growing Crisis In December 2001, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) refused to provide financial aid to Argentina. Then President Fernando de la Rúa resigned in the face of protests over the economy. He was succeeded by Eduardo Duhalde, who tried to deal with the economic and social crisis. In 2002, Argentina had an unemployment rate of about 24 percent. The country defaulted on \$132 billion in debt, the largest debt default in history, and devalued its currency. In 2003, under then President Nestor Kirchner, the nation renegotiated its debt with the IMF. In 2006, Argentina successfully repaid its debt. Despite high inflation rates, Argentina's economy continued to strengthen throughout the early 21st century under the leadership of the nation's first female president, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.

### **Reading Check**

Analyze Causes What finally caused military rule to end in Argentina?

### **Chaos in Central America**

Guatemala gained independence from Spain in 1821 and Mexico in 1823. Beginning in 1838, Rafael Carrera ruled Guatemala under a nationalistic policy, giving power to the Church and to aristocracy. He maintained control until his death in 1865. For many decades afterward, different presidents worked to improve infrastructure, increase Guatemalan exports, and better the country's health and education systems. At the same time, however, leaders ruled ineffectively and committed human rights violations. The struggle for economic autonomy and social justice would continue into the 20th century.

**Rise of Military Dictatorships** As in Argentina, the military controlled Guatemalan politics for many years. In 1931, General Jorge Ubico rose to power via a military coup. He was the fourth military dictator to rule in Guatemala. During his reign, the United Fruit Company, a U.S.-owned company, became the most important business in the country. In 1944, a military group that supported change took control of government. Under this group, political parties were formed and presidential elections were held. Leaders reformed many parts of the country, including giving laborers better benefits. But leaders in other countries worried about the spread of communism in Guatemala. Similar to the situation in Chile, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower directed the CIA to supply weapons and funding to forces fighting against the Guatemalan president.

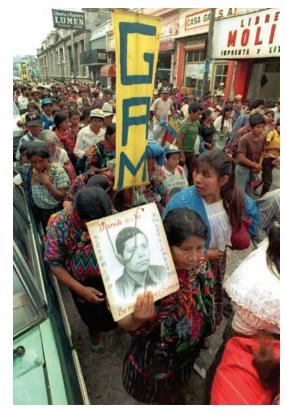
**Civil War Begins** A military coup overthrew the democratically elected Guatemalan president in 1954. Its leader, Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, became the new president. Armas took away many of the reforms that previous leaders had put in place. He removed voting rights for illiterate citizens, took land away from peasants, and imprisoned thousands of Guatemalans labeled as Communists. Thus began the nation's long and torturous civil war. For three decades, right-wing government military forces fiercely battled against leftist groups, including many Mayan revolutionaries who fought for economic and social justice.

**Violence and Terror Grows** During this period, the government supported armies that caused terrible violence throughout Guatemala. Many people were tortured, murdered, or disappeared. There were few bright spots during this time. In 1966, citizens elected a civilian president. However, his promises for economic reforms and social justice were largely unmet. Violence and social unrest only intensified. Between 1970 and 1983, more than 50,000 Guatemalans were killed and many more fled to other countries.

**United States Influence** In 1977, U.S. President Jimmy Carter ended military aid to Guatemala. However, six years later President Ronald Reagan overturned Carter's arms embargo, despite continuing massacres.

The civil war death toll continued to rise throughout the 1980s. In 1993, the United States and European nations threatened to impose economic sanctions after Guatemalan president Jorge Serrano disbanded congress. As a result, business owners, who worried about the economic repercussions, helped force Serrano out of power.

In 1994, peace talks finally began between the Guatemalan government and guerrilla insurgents. Two years later, the civil war ended. A United Nations report issued in 1999 found that the Guatemalan military committed a large majority of the human rights crimes that occurred during the civil war. More than 80



Indigenous groups suffered human rights violations during Guatemala's decades-long civil war.

**Reading Check Analyze Causes** What led to the breakout of the civil war in Guatemala?

percent of the victims were Mayans. Unfortunately, very little progress has been made in bringing human rights violators during the war to justice. Guatemala remains a country plagued by drugs, inequality, and high rates of crime. More than half of its residents live in poverty.

#### **Lesson 1 Assessment**

1. Organize Information Which country do you think has made the most progress? Explain.

Nation	Steps toward democracy
Brazil	
Mexico	
Argentina	

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

- 3. Analyze Effects What effect did the Falklands War have on the military government in Argentina?
- **4. Compare and Contrast** Compare and contrast the rise of military dictatorships in Brazil, Guatemala, and Argentina.
- **5. Synthesize** What have been some of the obstacles to democracy in Latin America?
- **6. Develop Historical Perspective** What are some of the attributes of democracy?



## The Challenge of **Democracy in Africa**

### The Big Idea

The ethnic and racial conflicts in Nigeria and South Africa hindered democracy.

### Why It Matters Now

In 1996, as Nigeria struggled with democracy, South Africa adopted a bill of rights that promotes racial equality.

### **Key Terms and People**

federal system martial law dissident apartheid Nelson Mandela

### **Setting the Stage**

Beginning in the late 1950s, dozens of European colonies in Africa gained their independence and became nations. As in Latin America, the establishment of democracy in Africa proved difficult. In many cases, the newly independent nations faced a host of problems that slowed their progress toward democracy. The main reason for Africa's difficulties was the negative impact of colonial rule. European powers had done little to prepare their African colonies for independence.

### **Colonial Rule Limits Democracy**

The lingering effects of colonialism undermined efforts to build stable, democratic economies and states. This can be seen throughout Africa.

**European Policies Cause Problems** When the Europeans established colonial boundaries, they ignored existing ethnic or cultural divisions. New borders divided peoples of the same background or threw different—often rival—groups together. Because of this, a sense of national identity was difficult to develop. After independence, the old colonial boundaries became the borders of the newly independent states. As a result, ethnic and cultural conflicts remained.

Other problems had an economic basis. European powers had viewed colonies as sources of wealth for the home country. The colonial powers encouraged the export of one or two cash crops, such as coffee or rubber, rather than the production of a range of products to serve local needs. Europeans developed plantations and mines but few factories. Manufactured goods were imported from European countries. These policies left new African nations with unbalanced economies and a small middle class. Such economic problems lessened their chances to create democratic stability.



#### **Reading Check**

**Identify Problems** Why did the newly independent African nations have unbalanced economies?

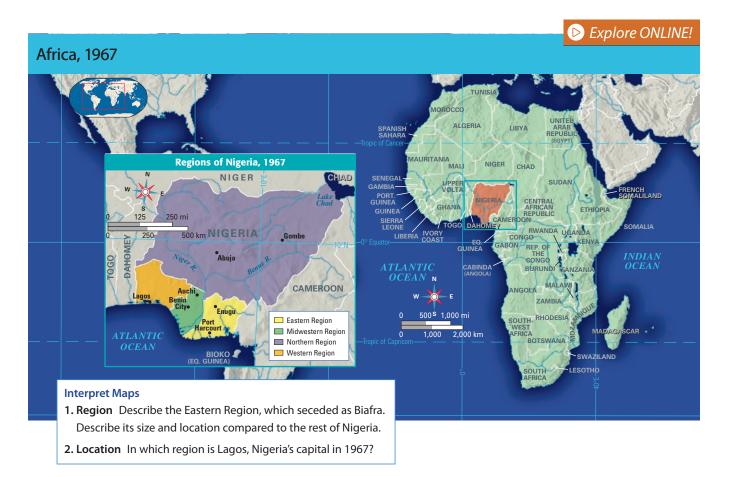
European rule also disrupted African family and community life. In some cases, colonial powers moved Africans far from their families and villages to work in mines or on plantations. In addition, most newly independent nations still lacked a skilled, literate work force that could take on the task of building a new nation.

**Short-Lived Democracies** When Britain and France gave up their colonies, they left fragile democratic governments in place. Soon problems threatened those governments. Rival ethnic groups often fought for power. Strong militaries became tools for ambitious leaders. In many cases, a military dictatorship replaced democracy.

### Civil War in Nigeria

Nigeria, a former British colony, won its independence peacefully in 1960. Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and one of its richest. However, the country was ethnically divided. This soon created problems that led to war.

**A Land of Many Peoples** Three major ethnic groups live within Nigeria's borders. In the north are the Hausa-Fulani, who are mostly Muslim. In the south are the Yoruba and the Igbo (also called Ibo), who are mostly Christians, Muslims, or animists, who believe that spirits are present in animals, plants, and natural objects. The Yoruba, a farming people with a tradition of kings, live to the west. The Igbo, a farming people who have a democratic tradition, live to the east.



After independence, Nigeria adopted a **federal system**. In a federal system, power is shared between state governments and a central authority. The Nigerians set up three states, one for each region and ethnic group, with a political party in each.

**War with Biafra** Although one group dominated each state, the states also had ethnic minorities. In the Western Region, non-Yoruba minorities began to resent Yoruba control. In 1963, they tried to break away and form their own region. This led to fighting. In January 1966, a group of army officers, most of them Igbo, seized power in the capital city of Lagos. These officers abolished the regional governments and declared martial law, or temporary military rule.

The Hausa-Fulani, who did not trust the Igbo, launched an attack from the north. They persecuted and killed many Igbo. The survivors fled east. In 1967, the Eastern Region seceded from Nigeria, declaring itself the new nation of Biafra (bee • AF • ruh).

The Nigerian government then went to war to reunite the country. The Igbo were badly outnumbered and outgunned. In 1970, Biafra surrendered. Nigeria was reunited, but perhaps more than a million Igbo died, most from starvation.

### Nigeria's Nation-Building

After the war, Nigerians returned to the process of nation-building. "When the war ended," noted one officer, "it was like a referee blowing a whistle in a football game. People just put down their guns and went back to the business of living." The Nigerian government did not punish the Igbo. It used federal money to rebuild the Igbo region.

**Federal Government Restored** The military governed Nigeria for most of the 1970s. During this time, Nigerian leaders tried to create a more stable federal system, with a strong central government and a number of regional units. The government also tried to build a more modern economy based on oil income.

In 1979, the military handed power back to civilian rulers. Nigerians were cheered by the return to democracy. Some people, however, remained concerned about ethnic divisions in the nation. Nigerian democracy was short lived. In 1983, the military overthrew the civilian government, charging it with corruption. A new military regime, dominated by the Hausa-Fulani, took charge.

A Return to Civilian Rule In the years that followed, the military governed Nigeria, while promising to bring back civilian rule. The army held elections in 1993, which resulted in the victory of popular leader Moshood Abiola. However, officers declared the results invalid, and a dictator, General Sani Abacha, took control.

General Abacha banned political activity and jailed dissidents, or government opponents. Upon Abacha's death in 1998, General Abdulsalami Abubakar seized power and promised to end military rule. He kept his

#### **Reading Check Analyze Effects** What was the effect of the war on

the Igbo?

word. In 1999, Nigerians elected their first civilian president, Olusegun Obasanjo, in nearly 20 years. In 2003, Obasanjo was reelected.

**Civilian Presidents** Obasanjo was an ethnic Yoruba from southwest Nigeria. As a critic of Nigerian military regimes, he had spent three years in jail (1995–1998) under Sani Abacha. As a former general, Obasanjo had the support of the military.

Obasanjo worked for a strong, unified Nigeria. He made some progress in his battle against corruption. He also attempted to draw the attention of the world to the need for debt relief for Nigeria. Obasanjo saw debt relief as essential to the relief of hunger and the future of democracy in Africa.

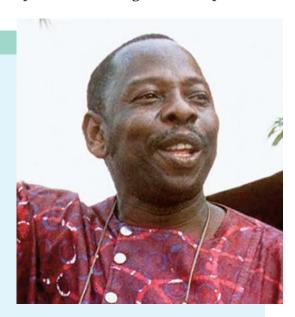
The controversial 2007 elections brought President Umaru Yar'Adua to power. Like his mentor Mr. Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua faced a variety of problems. These included war, violence, corruption, poverty, pollution, and hunger. In addition, militant groups threatened Nigeria's oil exports

#### DOCUMENT-BASED INVESTIGATION Historical Source

#### Ken Saro-Wiwa

Ken Saro-Wiwa was a Nigerian writer, political activist, and member of the Ogoni people. The Ogoni live in a poor part of the country that has large oil reserves. Mr. Saro-Wiwa denounced the Nigerian oil industry's pollution of his people's land and intimidation of those who spoke out.

In 1994, Saro-Wiwa and eight fellow Ogoni activists were arrested on murder charges. Despite nearly unanimous international agreement that the charges were unsupported, they were convicted and sentenced to death. Shortly before he was hung in November 1995, Saro-Wiwa smuggled several manuscripts out of prison.



"Injustice stalks the land like a tiger on the prowl. To be at the mercy of buffoons [fools] is the ultimate insult. To find the instruments of state power reducing you to dust is the injury. . . . It is also very important that we have chosen the path of non-violent struggle. Our opponents are given to violence and we cannot meet them on their turf, even if we wanted to. Non-violent struggle offers weak people the strength which they otherwise would not have. The spirit becomes important, and no gun can silence that. I am aware, though, that non-violent struggle occasions more death than armed struggle. And that remains a cause for worry at all times. Whether the Ogoni people will be able to withstand the rigors of the struggle is yet to be seen. Again, their ability to do so will point the way of peaceful struggle to other peoples on the African continent. It is therefore not to be underrated."

-Ken Saro-Wiwa, quoted in A Month and a Day: A Detention Diary

#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

- 1. What do Saro-Wiwa's imprisonment and execution suggest about the government of General Sani Abacha?
- 2. What seems to be Saro-Wiwa's attitude toward his persecutors?

#### **Reading Check**

**Contrast** How did the leadership of General Abacha and General Abubakar differ?

and economic growth. Yar'Adua also faced health problems through much of his presidency. After his death in 2010, his vice president, Goodluck Jonathan was sworn in as president. One of the most serious problems facing Jonathan has been Boko Haram, the Islamic militant group that has killed and kidnapped thousands in Nigeria.

### South Africa Under Apartheid

In South Africa, racial conflict was the result of colonial rule. From its beginnings under Dutch and British control, South Africa was racially divided. A small white minority ruled a large black majority. In 1910, South Africa gained self-rule as a dominion of the British Empire. In 1931, it became an independent member of the British Commonwealth. Although South Africa had a constitutional government, the constitution gave whites power and denied the black majority its rights.

**Apartheid Segregates Society** In 1948, the National Party came to power in South Africa. This party promoted Afrikaner, or Dutch South African, nationalism. It also instituted a policy of apartheid, complete separation of the races. The minority government banned social contacts between whites and blacks. It established segregated schools, hospitals, and neighborhoods.

In 1959, the minority government set up reserves, called homelands, for the country's major black groups. Blacks were forbidden to live in white areas unless they worked as servants or laborers for whites. The homelands policy was totally unbalanced. Although blacks made up about 75 percent of the population, the government set aside only 13 percent of the land for them. Whites kept the best land.

**Blacks Protest** The blacks of South Africa resisted the controls imposed by the white minority. In 1912, they formed the African National Congress (ANC) to fight for their rights. The ANC organized strikes and boycotts to protest racist policies. The government banned the ANC and imprisoned many of its members. One was ANC leader Nelson Mandela (man•DEHL•uh).

The troubles continued. In 1976, riots over school policies broke out in the black township of Soweto, leaving about 600 students dead. In 1977, police beat popular protest leader Stephen Biko to death while he was in custody. As protests mounted, the government declared a nationwide state of emergency in 1986.

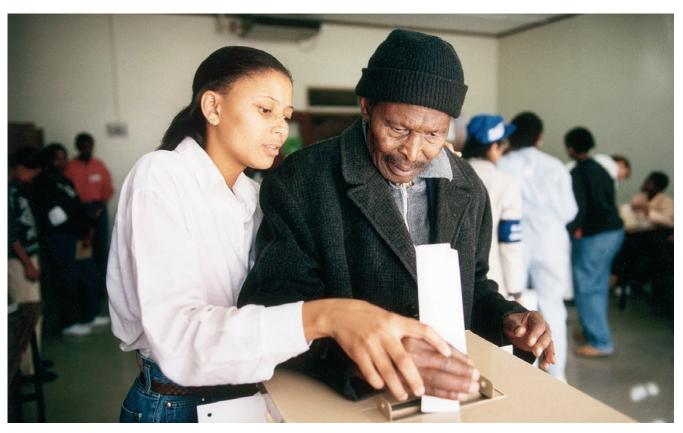
### Struggle for Democracy

By the late 1980s, South Africa was under great pressure to change. For years, a black South African bishop, Desmond Tutu, had led an economic campaign against apartheid. He asked foreign nations not to do business with South Africa. In response, many nations imposed trade restrictions. They also isolated South Africa in other ways, for example, by banning South Africa from the Olympic Games. (In 1984, Tutu won the Nobel Peace Prize for his nonviolent methods.)

### **Reading Check**

Make Inferences How did the policy of apartheid strengthen whites' hold on power?

**The First Steps** In 1989, white South Africans elected a new president, F. W. de Klerk. His goal was to transform South Africa and end its isolation. In February 1990, he legalized the ANC and also released Nelson Mandela from prison.



A young South African poll worker helps an elderly man to vote in the first election open to citizens of all races.

These dramatic actions marked the beginning of a new era in South Africa. Over the next 18 months, the South African parliament repealed apartheid laws that had segregated public facilities and restricted land ownership by blacks. World leaders welcomed these changes and began to ease restrictions on South Africa.

Although some legal barriers had fallen, others would remain until a new constitution was in place. First, the country needed to form a multiracial government. After lengthy negotiations, President de Klerk agreed to hold South Africa's first universal elections, in which people of all races could vote, in April 1994.

**Majority Rule** Among the candidates for president were F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. During the campaign, the Inkatha Freedom Party—a rival party to the ANC—threatened to disrupt the process. Nevertheless, the vote went smoothly. South Africans of all races peacefully waited at the polls in long lines. To no one's surprise, the ANC won 63 percent of the vote. They won 252 of 400 seats in the National Assembly (the larger of the two houses in Parliament). Mandela was elected president. Mandela stepped down in 1999, but the nation's democratic government continued.



Nelson Mandela (1918-2013)

Nelson Mandela said that he first grew interested in politics when he heard elders in his village describe how freely his people lived before whites came. Inspired

to help his people regain that freedom, Mandela trained as a lawyer and became a top official in the ANC. Convinced that apartheid would never end peacefully, he joined the armed struggle against white rule. For this, he was imprisoned for 27 years.

After his presidential victory, Mandela continued to work to heal his country.



### F. W. de Klerk (1936 - )

Like Mandela, Frederik W. de Klerk also trained as a lawyer. Born to an Afrikaner family with close links

to the National Party, de Klerk was elected to Parliament in 1972.

A firm party loyalist, de Klerk backed apartheid but was also open to reform. Friends say that his flexibility on racial issues stemmed from his relatively liberal religious background.

In 1993, de Klerk and Mandela were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to bring democracy to South Africa.

A New Constitution In 1996, after much debate, South African lawmakers passed a new, more democratic constitution. It guaranteed equal rights for all citizens. The constitution included a bill of rights modeled on the United States Bill of Rights. The political and social changes that South Africa had achieved gave other peoples around the world great hope for the future of democracy.

**South Africa Today** In 1999, ANC official Thabo Mbeki won the election as president in a peaceful transition of power. As Mbeki assumed office, he faced a number of serious challenges. These included high crime rates— South Africa's rape and murder rates were among the highest in the world. Unemployment stood at about 40 percent among South Africa's blacks, and about 60 percent lived below the poverty level. In addition, an economic downturn discouraged foreign investment.

Mbeki promoted a free-market economic policy to repair South Africa's infrastructure and to encourage foreign investors. Investing in the education and training of a nation's workforce can lead to economic growth. In 2002, South Africa was engaged in negotiations to establish free-trade agreements with a number of countries around the world, including those of the European Union as well as Japan, Canada, and the United States. This was an attempt at opening the South African economy to foreign competition and investment, and promoting growth and employment. Investing in the education and training of South Africans led to economic growth as well.

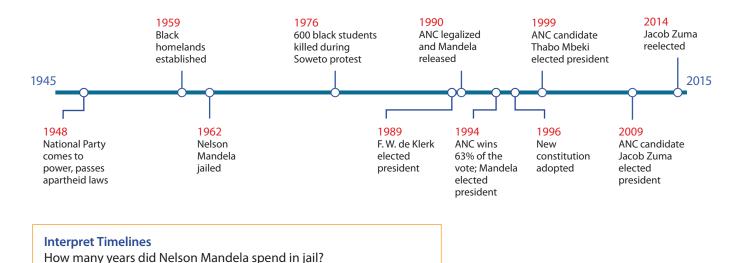


This was South Africa's flag from 1927 to 1994.



South Africa adopted this flag in 1994.

### Timeline: South Africa, 1948-2014

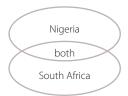


**Reading Check Analyze Effects** How did Desmond Tutu help force South Africa to end apartheid?

One of the biggest problems facing South Africa was the AIDS epidemic. Some estimates concluded that 6 million South Africans were likely to die of AIDS by 2010. The economic impact has been widespread as well. The nation's labor supply has been diminished due to the AIDS pandemic. Lower productivity has led to a decline in exports. Mbeki disputed that AIDS was caused by HIV (human immunodeficiency virus). His opinion put South Africa at odds with the scientific consensus throughout the world. However, in 2009, South African president Jacob Zuma broadened the country's AIDS policy. As of 2015, the nation was investing more than one billion dollars each year to run its HIV and AIDS treatment program—the largest program in the world.

#### **Lesson 2 Assessment**

1. Organize Information Which country is more democratic? Explain.



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

- 3. Analyze Effects What effect did old colonial boundaries have on newly independent African states?
- **4. Identify Problems** What do you think is the main problem that Nigeria must overcome before it can establish a truly democratic government?
- **5. Analyze Issues** What are some of the important issues facing South Africa today?
- **6. Summarize** What were the main negative effects of the economic policies of European colonizers?



## The Collapse of the **Soviet Union**

### The Big Idea

Democratic reforms brought important changes to the Soviet Union.

### Why It Matters Now

Russia continues to struggle to establish democracy.

### **Key Terms and People**

Politburo Mikhail Gorbachev glasnost perestroika **Boris Yeltsin** CIS "shock therapy"

### Setting the Stage

After World War II, the Soviet Union and the United States engaged in a cold war. Each tried to increase its worldwide influence. The Soviet Union extended its power over much of Eastern Europe. By the 1960s, it appeared that communism was permanently established in the region. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet Union's Communist leadership kept tight control over the Soviet people. But big changes, including democratic reforms, were on the horizon.

### **Gorbachev Moves Toward Democracy**

Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev and the **Politburo**—the ruling committee of the Communist Party—crushed all political disagreement. Censors decided what writers could publish. The Communist Party also restricted freedom of speech and worship. After Brezhnev's death in 1982, the aging leadership of the Soviet Union tried to hold on to power. However, each of Brezhnev's two successors died after only about a year in office. Who would succeed them?

**A Younger Leader** To answer that question, the Politburo debated between two men. One was Mikhail Gorbachev (mih•KYL-GAWR•buh•chawf). Gorbachev's supporters praised his youth, energy, and political skills. With their backing, Gorbachev became the party's new general secretary. In choosing him, Politburo members did not realize they were unleashing another Russian Revolution.

The Soviet people welcomed Gorbachev's election. At 54, he was the youngest Soviet leader since Stalin. Gorbachev was only a child during Stalin's ruthless purge of independentminded party members. Unlike other Soviet leaders, Gorbachev decided to pursue new ideas.



#### DOCUMENT-BASED INVESTIGATION **Historical Source**

#### Glasnost

Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika shook up the traditional way of doing things in the Soviet economy and in the society at large.

#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

- 1. One arrow points down the road toward stagnation. Where is the other arrow, pointing in the opposite direction, likely to lead?
- 2. Why might the Soviet Union look different to the figure in the cartoon?



### **Reading Check**

**Draw Conclusions** What effect would glasnost likely have on the public's opinion of Gorbachev? **Glasnost Promotes Openness** Past Soviet leaders had created a totalitarian state. It rewarded silence and discouraged individuals from acting on their own. As a result, Soviet society rarely changed, and the Soviet economy stagnated. Gorbachev realized that economic and social reforms could not occur without a free flow of ideas and information. In 1985, he announced a policy known as **glasnost** (GLAHS•nuhst), or openness.

Glasnost brought remarkable changes. The government allowed churches to open. It released dissidents from prison and allowed the publication of books by previously banned authors. Reporters investigated problems and criticized officials. These changes helped to improve human rights for the Soviet people by giving them more freedom to do and say what they wanted.

### Reforming the Economy and Politics

The new openness allowed Soviet citizens to complain about economic problems. Consumers protested that they had to stand in lines to buy food and other basics.

**Economic Restructuring** Gorbachev blamed these problems on the Soviet Union's inefficient system of central planning. Under central planning, party officials told farm and factory managers how much to produce. They also told them what wages to pay and what prices to charge. Because individuals could not increase their pay by producing more, they had little motive to improve efficiency.

In 1985, Gorbachev introduced the idea of perestroika (pehr•ih•STROY•kuh), or economic restructuring. In 1986, he made changes to revive the Soviet economy. Local managers gained greater authority over their farms and factories, and people were allowed to open small private businesses. Gorbachev's goal was not to throw out communism, but to make the economic system more efficient and productive.

### **Democratization Opens the Political System** Gorbachev knew that for the economy to improve, the Communist Party would have to loosen its grip on Soviet society. In 1987, he unveiled a third new policy called democratization which was a gradual opening of the political system.

The plan called for the election of a new legislative body. In the past, voters had merely approved candidates who were handpicked by the Communist Party. Now, voters could choose from a list of candidates for each office. The election produced many surprises. In several places, voters chose lesser-known candidates and reformers over powerful party bosses.

**Foreign Policy** Soviet foreign policy also changed, in part due to President Ronald Reagan's strong anti-Soviet views. Reagan famously called the Soviet Union "an evil empire" during a speech in 1983. To compete militarily with the Soviet Union, Reagan had begun the most expensive military buildup in peacetime history, costing more than \$2 trillion. Under pressure from U.S. military spending, Gorbachev realized that the Soviet economy could not afford the costly arms race. Arms control became one of Gorbachev's top priorities. In December 1987, he and Reagan signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. This treaty banned nuclear missiles with ranges of 300 to 3,400 miles.

**Reading Check** Make Inferences Why would it be inefficient for the central government to decide what should be produced all over the country?

### The Soviet Union Faces Turmoil

Gorbachev's new thinking led him to support movements for change in both the economic and political systems within the Soviet Union. Powerful forces for democracy were building in the country, and Gorbachev decided not to oppose reform. Glasnost, perestroika, and democratization were all means to reform the system. However, the move to reform the Soviet Union ultimately led to its breakup.

Various nationalities in the Soviet Union began to call for their freedom. More than 100 ethnic groups lived in the Soviet Union. Russians were the largest, most powerful group. However, non-Russians formed a majority in the 14 Soviet republics other than Russia.

Ethnic tensions brewed beneath the surface of Soviet society. As reforms loosened central controls, unrest spread across the country. Nationalist groups in Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldavia (now Moldova) demanded self-rule. The Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia called for religious freedom.

**Lithuania Defies Gorbachev** The first challenge came from the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. These republics had been independent states between the two world wars until the Soviets annexed them in 1940. Fifty years later, in March 1990, Lithuania declared its independence. To try to force it back into the Soviet Union, Gorbachev ordered an economic blockade of the republic.

Although Gorbachev was reluctant to use stronger measures, he feared that Lithuania's example might encourage other republics to secede. In January 1991, Soviet troops attacked unarmed civilians in Lithuania's capital. The army killed 14 and wounded hundreds.



Mikhail Gorbachev (1931 - )

Mikhail Gorbachev's background shaped the role he would play in history. Both of his grandfathers were arrested during Stalin's purges. Both were eventually

freed. However, Gorbachev never forgot his grandfathers' stories.

After working on a state farm, Gorbachev studied law in Moscow and joined the Communist Party. As an official in a farming region, Gorbachev learned much about the Soviet system and its problems.

He advanced quickly in the party. When he became general secretary in 1985, he was the youngest Politburo member and a man who wanted to bring change. He succeeded. Although he pursued reform to save the Soviet Union, ultimately he triggered its breakup.



Boris Yeltsin (1931 - 2007)

Boris Yeltsin was raised in poverty. For ten years, his family lived in a single room.

As a youth, Yeltsin earned good grades but behaved badly. Mikhail Gorbachev

named him party boss and mayor of Moscow in 1985. Yeltsin's outspokenness got him into trouble. At one meeting, he launched into a bitter speech criticizing conservatives for working against perestroika. Gorbachev fired him for the sake of party unity.

Yeltsin made a dramatic comeback and won a seat in parliament in 1989. Parliament elected him president of Russia in 1990, and voters reelected him in 1991. Due at least in part to his failing health (heart problems), Yeltsin resigned in 1999.

**Yeltsin Denounces Gorbachev** The assault in Lithuania and the lack of economic progress damaged Gorbachev's popularity. People looked for leadership to Boris Yeltsin. He was a member of parliament and former mayor of Moscow. Yeltsin criticized the crackdown in Lithuania and the slow pace of reforms. In June 1991, voters chose Yeltsin to become the Russian Federation's first directly elected president.

In spite of their rivalry, Yeltsin and Gorbachev faced a common enemy in the old guard of Communist officials. Hardliners—conservatives who opposed reform—were furious that Gorbachev had given up the Soviet Union's role as the dominant force in Eastern Europe. They also feared losing their power and privileges. These officials vowed to overthrow Gorbachev and undo his reforms.

**The August Coup** On August 18, 1991, the hardliners detained Gorbachev at his vacation home on the Black Sea. They demanded his resignation as Soviet president. Early the next day, hundreds of tanks and armored vehicles rolled into Moscow. However, the Soviet people had lost their fear of the party. They were willing to defend their freedoms. Protesters gathered at the Russian parliament building, where Yeltsin had his office.

Around midday, Yeltsin emerged and climbed atop one of the tanks. As his supporters cheered, he declared, "We proclaim all decisions and decrees of this committee to be illegal. . . . We appeal to the citizens of Russia to . . . demand a return of the country to normal constitutional developments."

On August 20, the hardliners ordered troops to attack the parliament building, but they refused. Their refusal turned the tide. On August 21, the military withdrew its forces from Moscow. That night, Gorbachev returned to Moscow.

**End of the Soviet Union** The coup attempt sparked anger against the Communist Party. Gorbachev resigned as general secretary of the party. The Soviet parliament voted to stop all party activities. Having first seized power in 1917 in a coup that succeeded, the Communist Party now collapsed because of a coup that failed.

The coup also played a decisive role in accelerating the breakup of the Soviet Union. Estonia and Latvia quickly declared their independence. Other republics soon followed. Although Gorbachev pleaded for unity, no one was listening. By early December, all 15 republics had declared independence.

Yeltsin met with the leaders of other republics to chart a new course. They agreed to form the Commonwealth of Independent States, or **CIS**, a loose federation of former Soviet territories. Only the Baltic republics (also called states) and Georgia declined to join. The formation of the CIS meant the death of the Soviet Union. It also signaled the end of the Cold War. On Christmas Day 1991, Gorbachev announced his resignation as president of the Soviet Union, a country that ceased to exist. Fifteen new countries, including Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the Baltic States, formed in its place.

**Reading Check** 

**Analyze Motives** Why do you think the Soviet troops refused the order to attack the parliament building?





A Russian soldier throws away a spent shell case near the Chechnyan capital of Grozny.

### Russia Under Boris Yeltsin

As president of the large Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin was now the most powerful figure in the CIS. He would face many problems, including an ailing economy, tough political opposition, and an unpopular war.

Yeltsin Faces Problems One of Yeltsin's goals was to reform the Russian economy. He adopted a bold plan known as "shock therapy," an abrupt shift to free-market economics. Yeltsin lowered trade barriers, removed price controls, and ended subsidies to state-owned industries.

Initially, the plan produced more shock than therapy. Prices soared; from 1992 to 1994, the inflation rate averaged 800 percent. Many factories dependent on government money had to cut production or shut down entirely. This forced thousands of people out of work. By 1993 most Russians were suffering economic hardship.

Economic problems fueled a political crisis. In October 1993, legislators opposed to Yeltsin's policies shut themselves inside the parliament building. Yeltsin ordered troops to bombard the building, forcing hundreds of rebel legislators to surrender. Many were killed. Opponents accused Yeltsin of acting like a dictator.

### Vocabulary

subsidies government funds given in support of industries

**Impact on the World** The breakup of the Soviet Union created challenges in many parts of the world. Tensions between Russia and the United States grew as Yeltsin and other Russian leaders worried about U.S. dominance. Leaders in Moscow strengthened relations with China and India in an attempt to challenge the United States. Hostility grew further as the two nations disagreed over issues in Iraq.

Dozens of countries had chosen to stay nonaligned, or neutral, during the Cold War. These nations were also impacted by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Some feared the nonaligned countries that had banded together during the Cold War had lost their purpose to protect nations of the developing world. Internal conflicts among the many diverse members of the movement also presented problems.

**Chechnya Rebels** Yeltsin's troubles included war in Chechnya (CHEHCH•nee•uh), a largely Muslim area in southwestern Russia. In 1991, Chechnya declared its independence, but Yeltsin denied the region's right to secede. In 1994, he ordered 40,000 Russian troops into the breakaway republic. Russian forces reduced the capital city of Grozny (GROHZ•nee) to rubble. News of the death and destruction sparked anger throughout Russia.

With an election coming, Yeltsin sought to end the war. In August 1996, the two sides signed a ceasefire. That year, Yeltsin won reelection. War soon broke out again between Russia and Chechnya, however. In 1999, as the fighting raged, Yeltsin resigned and named Vladimir Putin as acting president.

### Russia Under Vladimir Putin

Putin forcefully dealt with the rebellion in Chechnya—a popular move that helped him win the presidential election in 2000. Nonetheless, violence in the region continues.

#### **Reading Check**

**Compare** Compare Yeltsin's action here to his actions during the August Coup. Which were more supportive of democracy?

#### **BIOGRAPHY**

### Vladimir Putin (1952- )

Vladimir Putin worked for 15 years as an intelligence officer in the KGB (Committee for State Security). Six of those years were spent in East Germany. In 1990, at the age of 38, he retired from the KGB with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

In 1996, he moved to Moscow where he joined the presidential staff. Eventually, Boris Yeltsin appointed Putin prime minister. When Yeltsin resigned at the end of 1999, he appointed Putin acting president. In 2000 and 2004, Putin won election as president. In 2008, he took the post of prime minister. He returned to the office of president for a third term in 2012.



Putin Struggles with Chechnya Putin's war in Chechnya helped draw terrorism into the Russian capital itself. In October 2002, Chechens seized a theater in Moscow, and more than 150 people died in the rescue attempt by Russian forces.

As the war in Chechnya dragged on, Russian popular support faded, and Putin moved to suppress his critics. The 2005 Chechen elections helped restore order, and as of 2010, under President Dmitry Medvedev, the rebels had been largely quieted. But rebellion still simmers.

**Economic, Political, and Social Problems** Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has seen growth in homelessness, domestic violence, and unemployment, and a decrease in life expectancy. Concerns over Russia's nuclear weapons have grown. Experts worry that security at nuclear storage sites in Russia is lacking. In addition, several former Soviet republics have stockpiles of nuclear weapons that some worry could get in the hands of rogue states and terrorist organizations.

Observers have wondered whether Russian democracy could survive. Putin's presidency has not settled the question. Russia has been moving toward greater participation in world trade by modernizing banking, insurance, and tax codes. Putin also worked to improve the economy by increasing exports in oil and natural gas. At the same time, attacks on democratic institutions such as a free press have not built the world's confidence.

The histories of Russia and its European neighbors have always been intertwined. Unrest in the Soviet Union had an enormous impact on Central and Eastern Europe as well.

**Reading Check Make Inferences** Why do you think some critics have

wondered whether Russian democracy will survive?

#### **Lesson 3 Assessment**

1. Organize Information Add major events from the lesson to a timeline like the one shown here.



- 2. Key Terms and People For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- 3. Evaluate Describe the weaknesses of the Soviet command economy.
- 4. Synthesize How did Gorbachev's reforms help to move the Soviet Union toward democracy?
- **5. Evaluate** What were some of the consequences of the breakup of the Soviet Union?
- 6. Compare In what ways were the policies of Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin similar?



## Changes in Central and Eastern Europe

### The Big Idea

Changes in the Soviet Union led to changes throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

### Why It Matters Now

Many Eastern European nations that overthrew Communist governments are still struggling with reform.

### **Key Terms and People**

Solidarity Lech Walesa reunification ethnic cleansing



### Setting the Stage

The Soviet reforms of the late 1980s brought high hopes to the people of Central and Eastern Europe. For the first time in decades, they were free to make choices about the economic and political systems governing their lives. However, they discovered that increased freedom sometimes challenges the social order. Mikhail Gorbachev's new thinking in the Soviet Union led him to urge Central and Eastern European leaders to open up their economic and political systems.

### **Poland and Hungary Reform**

The aging Communist rulers of Europe resisted reform. However, powerful forces for democracy were building in their countries. In the past, the threat of Soviet intervention had kept such forces in check. Now, Gorbachev was saying that the Soviet Union would not oppose reform.

Poland and Hungary were among the first countries in Eastern Europe to embrace the spirit of change. In 1980, Polish workers at the Gdansk shipyard went on strike, demanding government recognition of their union, Solidarity. When millions of Poles supported the action, the government gave in to the union's demands. Union leader **Lech Walesa** (lehkvah•WEHN•sah) became a national hero.

**Solidarity Defeats Communists** The next year, however, the Polish government banned Solidarity again and declared martial law. The Communist Party discovered that military rule could not revive Poland's failing economy. In the 1980s, industrial production declined, while foreign debt rose to more than \$40 billion.

Public discontent deepened as the economic crisis worsened. In August 1988, defiant workers walked off their jobs. They demanded raises and the legalization of Solidarity. The military leader, General Jaruzelski (yar•uh•ZEHL•skee), agreed to hold talks with Solidarity leaders. In April 1989,

Jaruzelski legalized Solidarity and agreed to hold Poland's first free election since the Communists took power.

In elections during 1989 and 1990, Polish voters voted against Communists and overwhelmingly chose Solidarity candidates. They elected Lech Walesa president.

Poland Votes Out Walesa After becoming president in 1990, Lech Walesa tried to revive Poland's bankrupt economy. Like Boris Yeltsin, he adopted a strategy of shock therapy to move Poland toward a free-market economy. As in Russia, inflation and unemployment shot up. By the mid-1990s, the economy was improving.

Nevertheless, many Poles remained unhappy with the pace of economic progress. In the elections of 1995, they turned Walesa out of office in favor of a former Communist, Aleksander Kwasniewski (kfahs•N'YEHF•skee).

Poland Under Kwasniewski President Kwasniewski led Poland in its drive to become part of a broader European community. In 1999, Poland became a full member of NATO. As a NATO member, Poland provided strong support in the war against terrorism after the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001.

In 2005, Lech Kaczynski of the conservative Law and Justice Party won the presidency. The following year Kaczynski's twin brother Jaroslaw became prime minister. The Kaczynskis fought Poland's pervasive corruption, opposed rapid reforms of the free market, and supported the American-led campaign in Iraq. After Lech Kaczynski was killed in a plane crash in 2010, Bronislaw Komorowski of the Civic Platform Party was elected president. Political scandals lowered support of Komorowski's party, however, and Polish citizens elected Andrzej Duda to replace him in 2015.

**Hungarian Communists Disband** Inspired by the changes in Poland, Hungarian leaders launched a sweeping reform program. To stimulate economic growth, reformers encouraged private enterprise and allowed a small stock market to operate. A new constitution permitted a multiparty system with free elections.

The pace of change grew faster when radical reformers took over a Communist Party congress in October 1989. The radicals deposed the party's leaders and then dissolved the party itself. Here was another first: a European Communist Party had voted itself out of existence. A year later, in national elections, the nation's voters put a non-Communist government in power.

In 1994, a socialist party—largely made up of former Communists won a majority of seats in Hungary's parliament. The socialist party and a democratic party formed a coalition, or alliance, to rule.

In parliamentary elections in 1998, a liberal party won the most seats in the National Assembly. In 1999, Hungary joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a full member. In the year 2001, there was a general economic downturn in Hungary. This was due to weak exports, a

Vocabulary deposed removed from power

**Reading Check Analyze Causes** How did Solidarity affect Communist rule in Poland?

decline in foreign investment, excessive spending on state pensions, and increased minimum wages. Economic crises continued through the early part of the 21st century, leading to broad legislative actions by the government. In 2012, Hungary adopted a new constitution that emphasized conservative, Christian morals. Many in Hungary protested this constitution, and foreign criticism rose as well.

## **Germany Reunifies**

While Poland and Hungary were moving toward reform, East Germany's 77-year-old party boss, Erich Honecker, dismissed reforms as unnecessary. Then, in 1989, Hungary allowed vacationing East German tourists to cross the border into Austria. From there they could travel to West Germany. Thousands of East Germans took this new escape route to the west.

**Fall of the Berlin Wall** In response, the East German government closed its borders entirely. By October 1989, huge demonstrations had broken out in cities across East Germany. The protesters demanded the right to travel freely, and later added the demand for free elections. Honecker lost his authority with the party and resigned on October 18.

In June 1987, President Reagan had stood before the Berlin Wall and demanded, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!" Two years later, the wall was indeed about to come down. The new East German leader, Egon Krenz, boldly gambled that he could restore stability by allowing people to leave East Germany. On November 9, 1989, he opened the Berlin Wall. The longdivided city of Berlin erupted in joyous celebration. Krenz's dramatic gamble to save communism did not work. By the end of 1989, the East German Communist Party had ceased to exist.



The fall of the Berlin Wall, November 10, 1989

**Reunification** With the fall of communism in East Germany, many Germans began to speak of **reunification**—the merging of the two Germanys. However, the movement for reunification worried many people who feared a united Germany.

The West German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, assured world leaders that Germans had learned from the past. They were now committed to democracy and human rights. Kohl's assurances helped persuade other European nations to accept German reunification. Germany was officially reunited on October 3, 1990.

**Germany's Challenges** The newly united Germany faced serious problems. More than 40 years of Communist rule had left eastern Germany in ruins. Its railroads, highways, and telephone system had not been modernized since World War II. East German industries produced goods that could not compete in the global market.

Rebuilding eastern Germany's bankrupt economy was going to be a difficult, costly process. To pay these costs, Kohl raised taxes. As taxpayers tightened their belts, workers in eastern Germany faced a second problem—unemployment. Inefficient factories closed, depriving millions of workers of their jobs.



#### **Reading Check**

Synthesize Why would Europeans fear the reunification of Germany?

**Economic Challenges** In 1998, voters turned Kohl out of office and elected a new chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder, of the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP). Schroeder started out as a market reformer, but slow economic growth made the task of reform difficult. Although Germany had the world's third largest economy, it had sunk to fifth by 2005. Germany's unemployment rate was among the highest in Europe, and rising inflation was a problem. However, in 2006, a year after Angela Merkel of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) was elected chancellor, unemployment fell below 4 million, and Germany's budget deficit was kept to within EU limits. In 2013, Merkel became only the third chancellor in Germany since World War II to win three elections, and her international popularity remained high.

Reunification has also forced Germany—as Central Europe's largest country—to rethink its role in international affairs.

## **Democracy Spreads in Czechoslovakia**

Changes in East Germany affected other European countries, including Czechoslovakia and Romania.

**Czechoslovakia Reforms** While huge crowds were demanding democracy in East Germany, neighboring Czechoslovakia remained quiet. A conservative government led by Milos Jakes resisted all change. In 1989, the police arrested several dissidents. Among those was the Czech playwright Václav Havel (VAH•tslahv-HAH•vehl), a popular critic of the government.

On October 28, 1989, about 10,000 people gathered in Wenceslas Square in the center of Prague. They demanded democracy and freedom. Hundreds were arrested. Three weeks later, about 25,000 students inspired by the fall of the Berlin Wall gathered in Prague to demand reform. Following orders from the government, the police brutally attacked the demonstrators and injured hundreds.

The government crackdown angered the Czech people. Huge crowds gathered in Wenceslas Square. They demanded an end to Communist rule. On November 25, about 500,000 protesters crowded into downtown Prague. Within hours, Milos Jakes and his entire Politburo resigned. One month later, a new parliament elected Václav Havel president of Czechoslovakia.

**Czechoslovakia Breaks Up** In Czechoslovakia, reformers also launched an economic program based on "shock therapy." The program caused a sharp rise in unemployment. It especially hurt Slovakia, the republic occupying the eastern third of Czechoslovakia.

Unable to agree on economic policy, the country's two parts—Slovakia and the Czech Republic—drifted apart. In spite of President Václav Havel's pleas for unity, a movement to split the nation gained support among the people. Havel resigned because of this. Czechoslovakia split into two countries on January 1, 1993.

### **Reading Check Analyze Causes** What was the main cause of the breakup of Czechoslovakia?

Havel was elected president of the Czech Republic. He won reelection in 1998. Then, in 2003, Havel stepped down as president, in part because of ill health. The Czech parliament chose Václav Klaus, a right-wing economist and former prime minister, to succeed him. The economy of the Czech Republic has steadily improved in the face of some serious problems, aided by its becoming a full member of the European Union (EU) in 2004. In 2012, the Czech government passed a constitutional amendment to allow direct presidential elections. The following year Milos Zeman was elected in the first presidential election in the country.

Slovakia, too, proceeded on a reformist, pro-Western path. It experienced one of the highest economic growth rates in the region in 2002. In 2004, it elected Ivan Gasparovic president and joined both NATO and the EU. Andrej Kiska, an entrepreneur, became president in 2014.

## **Overthrow in Romania**

By late 1989, only Romania seemed unmoved by the calls for reform. Romania's ruthless Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu (chow-SHES-koo) maintained a firm grip on power. His secret police enforced his orders brutally. Nevertheless, Romanians were aware of the reforms in other countries. They began a protest movement of their own.

A Popular Uprising In December, Ceausescu ordered the army to fire on demonstrators in the city of Timisoara (tee•mee•SHWAH•rah). The army killed and wounded hundreds of people. The massacre in Timisoara ignited a popular uprising against Ceausescu. Within days, the army joined the people. Shocked by the collapse of his power, Ceausescu and his wife attempted to flee. They were captured, however, and then tried and executed on Christmas Day, 1989. Elections have been held regularly since then. In 2014, Klaus Iohannis was elected president.

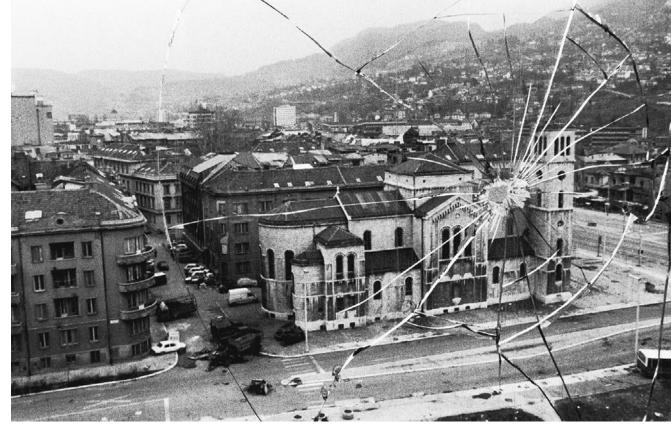
### **SOCIAL HISTORY**

## The Romanian Language

The Romanians are the only people in Eastern Europe whose ancestry and language go back to the ancient Romans. Romanian is the only Eastern European language that developed from Latin. For this reason, Romanian is very different from the other languages spoken in the region.

Today's Romanians are descended from the Dacians (the original people in the region), the Romans, and tribes that arrived later, such as the Goths, Huns, and Slavs.

Romanian remains the official language today. Minority groups within Romania (such as Hungarians, Germans, Gypsies, Jews, Turks, and Ukrainians) sometimes speak their own ethnic languages among themselves. Nonetheless, almost all the people speak Romanian as well.



A view of downtown Sarajevo through a bullet-shattered window

**The Romanian Economy** Throughout the 1990s, Romania struggled with corruption and crime as it tried to salvage its economy. In 2001, overall production was still only 75 percent of what it had been in 1989, the year of Ceausescu's overthrow. In the first years of the 21st century, two-thirds of the economy was still state owned.

However, the government made economic reforms to introduce elements of capitalism. The government also began to reduce the layers of bureaucracy in order to encourage foreign investors. In 2007, Romania joined the European Union as the Romanian government began to move away from a state-controlled economy. Much of Iohannis's campaign focused on ending corruption and raising living standards for Romanians. The nation is the second poorest in the European Union.

# The Breakup of Yugoslavia

Ethnic conflict plagued Yugoslavia. This country, formed after World War I, had eight major ethnic groups—Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, Slovenes, Macedonians, Albanians, Hungarians, and Montenegrins. Ethnic and religious differences dating back centuries caused many people to develop prejudiced views of other groups, based on long-held stereotypes. After World War II, Yugoslavia became a federation of six republics. Each republic had a mixed population.

A Bloody Breakup Josip Tito, who led Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1980, held the country together. After Tito's death, ethnic resentments boiled over. Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic (mee·LOH·sheh·vihch) asserted leadership over Yugoslavia. Many Serbs opposed Milosevic and his policies and fled the country.

**Reading Check Contrast** Contrast the democratic revolutions in Czechoslovakia and Romania.

Two republics, Slovenia and Croatia, declared independence. In June 1991, the Serbian-led Yugoslav army invaded both republics. After months of bloody fighting, both republics freed themselves from Serbian rule. Early in 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina joined Slovenia and Croatia in declaring independence. (In April, Serbia and Montenegro formed a new Yugoslavia.) Bosnia's population included Bosniaks (44 percent), Serbs (31 percent), and Croats (17 percent). While Bosniaks and Croats backed independence, Bosnian Serbs strongly opposed it. Supported by the country of Serbia, the Bosnian Serbs launched a war in March 1992.

During the war, Serbian military forces used violence and forced emigration against Bosniaks living in Serb-held lands. Called ethnic **cleansing**, this policy was intended to rid Bosnia of its Bosniak population. The international response focused on providing humanitarian aid to those affected by the war. Critics argue that many nations, including the United States and those in the European Union, could have done more to end the human rights abuses taking place in Bosnia. By 1995, the Serbian military controlled 70 percent of Bosnia. In December of that year, leaders of the three factions involved in the war signed a UN- and U.S.-brokered peace treaty. In September 1996, Bosnians elected a three-person presidency, one leader from each ethnic group. By 2001, Bosnia and Herzegovina began to stand on its own without as much need for supervision by the international community.

**Rebellion in Kosovo** The Balkan region descended into violence and bloodshed again in 1998, this time in Kosovo, a province in southern Serbia made up almost entirely of ethnic Albanians. As an independence movement in Kosovo grew increasingly violent, Serbian military forces invaded the province. In response to growing reports of atrocities—and the failure of diplomacy to bring peace—NATO began a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999. After enduring more than two months of sustained bombing, Yugoslav leaders finally withdrew their troops from Kosovo. In February 2008 Kosovo declared its independence. Kosovo has been recognized by over 110 countries, but not by Serbia. However, in 2013 Kosovo and Serbia agreed to normalize their relations.

**The Region Faces Its Problems** In the early years of the 21st century, there were conflicting signs in Yugoslavia. Slobodan Milosevic was extradited to stand trial for war crimes but died in 2006, while his trial was continuing. A large portion of the country's foreign debt was erased. Despite an independence movement in Kosovo, parliamentary elections under UN supervision took place in November 2001 without violence.

## **History in Depth**

## Ethnic Groups in the Former Yugoslavia

Many ethnic and religious groups lived within Yugoslavia, which was a federation of six republics. The map shows how the ethnic groups were distributed. Some of those groups held ancient grudges against one another. The chart summarizes some of the cultural differences among the groups.



Differences Among the Ethnic Groups		
Group	Language (slavic unless noted)	Religion
Albanians	Albanian (not Slavic)	mostly Bosniak
Croats	dialect of Serbo-Croatian*	mostly Roman Catholic
Hungarians	Magyar (not Slavic)	many types of Christians
Macedonians	Macedonian	mostly Eastern Orthodox
Montenegrins	dialect of Serbo-Croatian*	mostly Eastern Orthodox
Bosniak	dialect of Serbo-Croatian*	Muslim (converted under Ottoman rule)
Serbs	dialect of Serbo-Croatian*	mostly Eastern Orthodox
Slovenes	Slovenian	mostly Roman Catholic

#### **Interpret Visuals**

Use the chart to find out information about the various groups that lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina (as shown on the map). What were some of the differences among those groups?

\*Since Yugoslavia broke apart, many residents of the former republics have started to refer to their dialects as separate languages: Croatian for Croats, Bosnian for Bosniaks, Serbian for Serbs and Montenegrins.

In Montenegro (which together with Serbia made up Yugoslavia), an independence referendum in May 2006 revealed that most voters wanted to separate from Serbia. As the Montenegrins declared independence in 2006, Serbia accepted the new situation peacefully. In 2007, Serbia held a parliamentary election in which the ultra-nationalist Radical Party made some gains, but it could not win enough seats to form a new government.

The nations of Central and Eastern Europe made many gains in the early years of the 21st century. Even so, they continued to face serious obstacles to democracy. Resolving ethnic conflicts remained crucial, as did economic progress. If the nations of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union can improve their standard of living, democracy may have a better chance to grow.

#### **Reading Check**

**Identify Problems** Why did Bosnia's mixed population cause a problem after Bosnia declared independence?

#### **Lesson 4 Assessment**

1. Organize Information Which nation seems to have done best since the breakup? Explain.

Former nations	Reasons for breakup
Yugoslavia	
Czechoslovakia	

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

- 3. Evaluate What effect did reunification have on Germany's international role?
- **4. Analyze Causes** Why did ethnic tension become such a severe problem in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia?
- **5. Draw Conclusions** What are some of the problems faced in Central and Eastern Europe in the 21st
- 6. Analyze Effects What effect did economic reform have on Slovakia?



# **China: Reform and Reaction**

## The Big Idea

In response to contact with the West, China's government has experimented with capitalism but has rejected calls for democracy.

### Why It Matters Now

After the 1997 death of Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, President Jiang Zemin seemed to be continuing Deng's policies.

### **Key Terms and People**

Zhou Enlai Deng Xiaoping Four Modernizations Tiananmen Square Hong Kong

## **Setting the Stage**

The trend toward democracy around the world also affected China to a limited degree. A political reform movement arose in the late 1980s. It built on economic reforms begun earlier in the decade. However, although the leadership of the Communist Party in China generally supported economic reform, it opposed political reform. China's Communist government clamped down on the political reformers. At the same time, it maintained a firm grip on power in the country.

## The Legacy of Mao

After the Communists came to power in China in 1949, Mao Zedong set out to transform China. Mao believed that peasant equality, revolutionary spirit, and hard work were all that was needed to improve the Chinese economy.

However, lack of modern technology damaged Chinese efforts to increase agricultural and industrial output. In addition, Mao's policies stifled economic growth. He eliminated incentives for higher production. He tried to replace family life

Mao's Attempts to Change China		
Mao's Programs	Program Results	
First Five-Year Plan 1953–1957	Industry grew 15 percent a year.  Agricultural output grew very slowly.	
Great Leap Forward 1958–1961	China suffered economic disaster—industrial declines and food shortages.  Mao lost influence.	
Cultural Revolution 1966–1976	Mao regained influence by backing radicals. Purges and conflicts among leaders created economic, social, and political chaos.	

#### **Interpret Charts**

Which of Mao's programs do you think had the greatest impact on China?





Zhou Enlai, a translator, Mao Zedong, President Nixon, and Henry Kissinger meet in Beijing in 1972.

with life in the communes. These policies took away the peasants' motive to work for the good of themselves and their families.

Facing economic disaster, some Chinese Communists talked of modernizing the economy. Accusing them of "taking the capitalist road," Mao began the Cultural Revolution in 1966 to cleanse China of antirevolutionary influences.

Instead of saving radical communism, however, the Cultural Revolution turned many people against it. In the early 1970s, China entered another moderate period under **Zhou Enlai** (joh-ehn•ly). Zhou had been premier since 1949. During the Cultural Revolution, he had tried to restrain the radicals.

## China and the West

Throughout the Cultural Revolution, China played almost no role in world affairs. In the early 1960s, China had split with the Soviet Union over the leadership of world communism. In addition, China displayed hostility toward the United States because of U.S. support for the government on Taiwan.

**China Opened Its Doors** China's isolation worried Zhou. He began to send out signals that he was willing to form ties to the West. In 1971, Zhou startled the world by inviting an American table-tennis team to tour China. It was the first visit by an American group to China since 1949.

The visit began a new era in Chinese-American relations. In 1971, the United States reversed its policy and endorsed UN membership for the People's Republic of China. The next year, President Nixon made a state visit to China. He met with Mao and Zhou. The three leaders agreed to begin cultural exchanges and a limited amount of trade. In 1979, the United States and China established diplomatic relations.

**Economic Reform** Both Mao and Zhou died in 1976. Soon, moderates took control of the Communist Party. They jailed several of the radicals who had led the Cultural Revolution. By 1980, Deng Xiaoping (duhngshow pihng) had emerged as the most powerful leader in China. He was the last of the "old revolutionaries" who had ruled China since 1949.

### **Reading Check**

**Analyze Effects** What was the ultimate result of Mao's radical Communist policies?

Although a lifelong Communist, Deng boldly supported moderate economic policies. Unlike Mao, he was willing to use capitalist ideas to help China's economy. He embraced a set of goals known as the Four **Modernizations**. These called for progress in agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology. Deng launched an ambitious program of economic reforms.

First, Deng eliminated Mao's communes and leased the land to individual farmers. The farmers paid rent by delivering a fixed quota of food to the government. They could then grow crops and sell them for a profit. Under this system, food production increased by 50 percent in the years 1978 to 1984.

Deng extended his program to industry. The government permitted private businesses to operate. It gave the managers of state-owned industries more freedom to set production goals. Deng also welcomed foreign technology and investment.

Deng's economic policies produced striking changes in Chinese life. As incomes increased, people began to buy appliances and televisions. Chinese youths now wore stylish clothes and listened to Western music. Gleaming hotels filled with foreign tourists symbolized China's new policy of openness.

# Massacre in Tiananmen Square

Deng's economic reforms produced a number of unexpected problems. As living standards improved, the gap between the rich and poor widened. Increasingly, the public believed that party officials profited from their positions.

Furthermore, the new policies admitted not only Western investments and tourists but also Western political ideas. Increasing numbers of Chinese students studied abroad and learned about the West. In Deng's view, the benefits of opening the economy exceeded the risks. Nevertheless, as Chinese students learned more about democracy, they began to question China's lack of political freedom.

**Students Demand Democracy** In 1989, students sparked a popular uprising that stunned China's leaders. Beginning in April of that year, more than 100,000 students occupied **Tiananmen** (tyahn•ahn•mehn) **Square**, a huge public space in the heart of Beijing. The students mounted a protest for democracy.

The student protest won widespread popular support. When thousands of students began a hunger strike to highlight their cause, people poured into Tiananmen Square to support them. Many students called for Deng Xiaoping to resign.

**Deng Orders a Crackdown** Instead of considering political reform, Deng declared martial law. He ordered about 100,000 troops to surround Beijing. Although many students left the square after martial law was declared, about 5,000 chose to remain and continue their protest.

**Reading Check** Synthesize What were some of Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms?

#### **Historical Source**

## Training the Chinese Army

After the massacre in Tiananmen Square, Xiao Ye (a former Chinese soldier living in the United States) explained how Chinese soldiers are trained to obey orders without complaint.



#### **Analyze Historical Sources**

- 1. For whom did the soldiers seem to believe they were making their physical sacrifices?
- 2. What attitude toward obeying orders did their training seem to encourage in the soldiers?

"We usually developed bleeding blisters on our feet after a few days of . . . hiking. Our feet were a mass of soggy peeling flesh and blood, and the pain was almost unbearable. . . . We considered the physical challenge a means of tempering [hardening] ourselves for the sake of the Party. . . . No one wanted to look had...."

"And during the days in Tiananmen, once again the soldiers did not complain. They obediently drove forward, aimed, and opened fire on command. In light of their training, how could it have been otherwise?"

> -Xiao Ye, "Tiananmen Square: A Soldier's Story"

The students revived their spirits by defiantly erecting a 33-foot statue that they named the "Goddess of Democracy."

On June 4, 1989, the standoff came to an end. Thousands of heavily armed soldiers stormed Tiananmen Square. Tanks smashed through barricades and crushed the Goddess of Democracy. Soldiers sprayed gunfire into crowds of frightened students. They also attacked protesters elsewhere in Beijing. The assault killed hundreds and wounded thousands.

The attack on Tiananmen Square marked the beginning of a massive government campaign to stamp out protest. Police arrested thousands of people. The state used the media to announce that reports of a massacre were untrue. Officials claimed that a small group of criminals had plotted against the government. Television news, however, had already broadcast the truth to the world.

#### **Reading Check Analyze Causes** How did economic reform introduce new political ideas

to China?

## **China Enters the New Millennium**

The brutal repression of the prodemocracy movement left Deng firmly in control of China. During the final years of his life, Deng continued his program of economic reforms.

Although Deng moved out of the limelight in 1995, he remained China's leader. In February 1997, after a long illness, Deng died. Communist Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin (jee-ahng-zeh-meen) assumed the presidency.

**China Under Jiang** Many questions arose after Deng's death. What kind of leader would Jiang be? Would he be able to hold on to power and ensure political stability? A highly intelligent and educated man, Jiang had served as mayor of Shanghai. He was considered skilled, flexible, and practical. However, he had no military experience. Therefore, Jiang had few allies among the generals. He also faced challenges from rivals, including hardline officials who favored a shift away from Deng's economic policies.

Other questions following Deng's death had to do with China's poor human rights record, its occupation of Tibet, and relations with the United States. During the 1990s, the United States pressured China to release political prisoners and ensure basic rights for political opponents. China remained hostile to such pressure. Its government continued to repress the prodemocracy movement. Nevertheless, the desire for freedom still ran through Chinese society. If China remained economically open but politically closed, tensions seemed bound to surface.

In late 1997, Jiang paid a state visit to the United States. During his visit, U.S. protesters demanded more democracy in China. Jiang admitted that China had made some mistakes but refused to promise that China's policies would change.

President Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji announced their retirement in late 2002. Jiang's successor was Hu Jintao. However, Jiang was expected to wield influence over his successor behind the scenes. Hu became president of the country and general secretary of the Communist Party. Jiang remained political leader of the military. Both supported China's move to a market economy.

### **BIOGRAPHY**

## Jiang Zemin (1926-)

Jiang Zemin was trained as an engineer. After working as an engineer, heading several technological institutes, and serving as minister of the electronics industry, he moved up in politics.

In 1982, he joined the Central Committee of the Communist Party in China. He became mayor of Shanghai in 1985, in which post he proved to be an effective administrator. In 1989, he became general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party. This promotion was largely due to his support for the government's putdown of the prodemocracy demonstrations in that year. In 1993, he became president. In 2003, he stepped down and was replaced by Hu Jintao; however, Jiang retained power behind the scenes.



### **Reading Check**

**Summarize** What challenges did Jiang Zemin face when he became president?

**Transfer of Hong Kong** Another major issue for China was the status of **Hong Kong**. Hong Kong was a thriving business center and British colony on the southeastern coast of China. On July 1, 1997, Great Britain handed Hong Kong over to China, ending 155 years of colonial rule. As part of the transfer, China promised to respect Hong Kong's economic system and political liberties for 50 years.

Many of Hong Kong's citizens worried about Chinese rule and feared the loss of their freedoms. Others, however, saw the transfer as a way to reconnect with their Chinese heritage. In the first four or five years after the transfer, the control of mainland China over Hong Kong tightened.

## China Beyond 2000

The case of China demonstrates that the creation of democracy can be a slow, fitful, and incomplete process. Liberal reforms in one area, such as the economy, may not lead immediately to political reforms.

People celebrate in Tiananmen Square after Beijing won the bid for the 2008 Olympic Games.



**Economics and Politics** In China, there has been a dramatic reduction in poverty. Some experts argue that China managed to reform its economy and reduce poverty because it adopted a gradual approach to selling off state industries and privatizing the economy rather than a more abrupt approach. China's strategy has paid off; by 2017, the country had the world's second largest economy after the United States. Cheap consumer goods from China are filling shops and department stores worldwide.

But China's economic strength has come with a cost. The wealth gap between urban and rural areas has widened, with inequality leading to social unrest. In addition, rapid industrialization has caused pollution and severe environmental problems.

As countries are increasingly linked through technology and trade, they will have more opportunity to influence each other politically. When the U.S. Congress voted to normalize trade with China, supporters of such a move argued that the best way to prompt political change in China is through greater engagement rather than isolation. Another sign of China's increasing engagement with the world was its successful hosting of the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing. Two years later China hosted the Expo 2010, a world exposition in Shanghai that was one of the largest world fairs ever hosted.

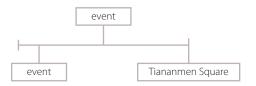
In recent years, China's economy has begun to slow. Decreased global demand has caused traditional sources of growth in China, such as investment and manufacturing, to decline. A new five-year plan introduced in 2015 has promised to better balance the economy by focusing on the service and technology industries. The plan also officially ends the controversial one-child policy in China to help increase the future labor supply.

### **Reading Check**

Make Inferences Why has technology led to an increase in political influence between China and other countries?

#### **Lesson 5 Assessment**

1. Organize Information Other than the demonstration in Tiananmen Square, which events in the lesson were most important? Explain.



- 2. Key Terms and People For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- 3. Analyze Effects What effect did Mao's policies have on economic growth?

- 4. Form Opinions How would you describe China's record on human rights?
- **5. Predict** Judging from what you have read about the Chinese government, do you think Hong Kong will keep its freedoms under Chinese rule? Explain.
- **6. Summarize** What were some of the events that followed the demonstration in Tiananmen Square?
- 7. Compare and Contrast Has there been greater progress in political or economic reform in China?

## **Photojournalism**

From the earliest days of photography, media such as magazines and newspapers have used photographs to convey the news. Today, websites are a common source of news journalism. Photojournalists must respond quickly to recognize a historymaking moment and to record that moment before it passes. As these photographs demonstrate, photojournalists have captured many of the democratic struggles that have occurred in the last few decades. In some cases, news photographs have helped protesters or oppressed people gain the support of the world.

#### **FLIGHT FROM SREBRENICA** ▶

During the conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United Nations declared the city of Srebrenica a safe area. Even so, the Bosnian Serb army invaded in July 1995 and expelled more than 20,000 Muslims—nearly all of them women, children, or elderly people. In addition, the soldiers held more than 7,000 men and boys prisoner and over a five-day period massacred them.





#### MAN DEFYING TANKS

A single Chinese man blocked tanks on their way to crush prodemocracy protests in Tiananmen Square in June 1989. No one knows for sure what happened to the man afterward—or even who he was. Even so, this image has become one of the enduring photographs of the 20th century; it has come to stand for one man's courage in defying tyranny.



#### **▲ ABUELAS DE PLAZA DE MAYO**

From 1976 to 1983, the military government of Argentina tortured and killed thousands of political dissidents and sometimes stole their children. In this demonstration in December 1979, the Abuelas de *Plaza de Mayo* (Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo) demanded to know the fate of their relatives. The banner they carried reads "Disappeared Children."



#### ▲ FALL OF THE WALL

When the East German government opened the Berlin Wall in November 1989, a huge celebration broke out. Some people began to use pickaxes to demolish the wall entirely. Others danced on top of the wall.



### **▲ VOTING LINE**

When South Africa held its first all-race election in April 1994, people were so eager to vote that they stood in lines that sometimes stretched nearly a kilometer (0.62 mile).

#### **Critical Thinking**

- **1.Form Opinions** Choose one of the photographs, and evaluate its impact on human behavior.
- **2. Evaluate** Use the Internet to find a news photograph that you think effectively shows a recent historic event. Bring a copy of the photograph to class, and explain orally or in writing what it conveys about the event. Be sure to carefully evaluate the website you choose for accuracy.

## Module 17 Assessment

## **Key Terms and People**

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the democratic movements that took place from 1945 to the present.

- 1. PRI
- 2. apartheid
- 3. Nelson Mandela
- 4. Mikhail Gorbachev

- **5.** glasnost
- 6. Lech Walesa
- 7. Deng Xiaoping
- 8. Tiananmen Square

## **Main Ideas**

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

### Democracy

- 1. What are four common democratic practices?
- 2. What group held up democratic progress in both Brazil and Argentina until the 1980s?

## The Challenge of Democracy in Africa

- 3. What brought about the civil war in Nigeria?
- 4. What were three significant steps toward democracy taken by South Africa in the 1990s?

## The Collapse of the Soviet Union

- 5. What were the main reforms promoted by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev?
- 6. What was the August Coup, and how did it end?

## **Changes in Central and Eastern Europe**

- 7. Which nations overthrew Communist governments in 1989?
- 8. What led to the breakup of Yugoslavia?

#### China: Reform and Reaction

- 9. What changes took place in China during the 1970s?
- 10. How did the Chinese government react to demands for democratic reform?

# Module 17 Assessment, continued

## **Critical Thinking**

- 1. Evaluate List several leaders who helped their nations make democratic progress. For each, cite one positive action.
- 2. Analyze Issues What are some examples from this chapter in which the negative impact of one culture on another blocked democratic progress?
- 3. Synthesize Consider what conditions helped democratic movements succeed and what conditions caused difficulties for them. What do you think were their hardest challenges?
- **4. Draw Conclusions** How does a nation's economy affect its democratic progress?
- 5. Summarize It has been said that Gorbachev's reforms led to another Russian Revolution. In your opinion, what did this revolution overthrow? Support your opinion in a two-paragraph essay.
- **6.** Compare Choose a revolutionary or independence movement you have read about in this module. Compare and contrast the movement with a revolutionary or independence movement from a previous era. What were people trying to achieve in each movement? Were they successful?

## **Engage with History**

A government official has asked you to evaluate the following three systems: free market capitalism, communism, and socialism. Go through the module and gather information to create a chart comparing the three systems. Then, compile a report to recommend which system you think is the most successful. Consider the following issues:

- unemployment
- inflation
- political effects
- social upheaval

## **Focus on Writing**

Working in small teams, write biographies of South African leaders who were instrumental in the revolutionary overturn of apartheid. Use at least one existing biography and one newspaper article in your research. Include a brief critique of each source's accuracy before writing your own biography.

## **Multimedia Activity**

With two other classmates, plan a two-week virtual field trip to explore the sights in China, including the Forbidden City and the sites of the 2008 Summer Olympics. After selecting and researching the sites you'd like to visit, use maps to determine your itinerary. Consider visiting the following places and enjoying these excursions:

- sites of the 2008 Summer Olympic Games
- sites around Beijing
- Great Wall
- a cruise along the Chang Jiang or Huang He Rivers
- Three Gorges Dam
- Shanghai

For each place or excursion, give one reason why it is an important destination on a field trip to China. Include pictures and sound in your presentation.

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Printed in the U.S.A.

ISBN 978-1-328-81200-1

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