

Decolonization

In the waning days of Britain's rule in India, its last viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, turned to the great Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi and said in exasperation, "If we just leave, there will be chaos." Gandhi replied, "Yes, but it will be our chaos."

—Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World*, 2008

"Our chaos" is indeed a theme of the period of decolonization as empires broke apart and even relatively small states began to break away and re-form. People felt a new sense of nationalism following World War II. Independence and self-determination created a multitude of new countries in Asia and Africa, some of which had no tradition of being countries, such as Bangladesh and Nigeria, and some of which had long struggled to maintain autonomy, such as Vietnam. In Europe, areas that for centuries had been under first the Ottoman Empire and then under other countries' control became independent states, including Croatia and Slovenia in 1991. States that had been put together by the Versailles treaty in 1918 began to break apart. For example, Czechoslovakia divided into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993.

The Breakdown of Empires

The high point of empires and colonization was World War I. The British, the French, and other Europeans had colonized almost all of Africa, India, and Southeast Asia, and they dominated China. The Turkish Ottoman Empire controlled the Middle East. But the desire for self-government that had fueled colonial rebellions throughout the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as national independence movements in Europe in the nineteenth century spread throughout the world in the twentieth century.

The two world wars crystallized the opposition to the empires. World War I resulted in the breakup of two large multiethnic empires, Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Turkey. World War II accelerated the dismantling of global colonial empires. Between the end of World War II in 1945 and the year 2000, the number of independent states more than doubled, going from around 75 to around 190. Many of the countries formed consisted of combinations of ethnic groups that had never been united in independent states before. Without a common heritage, many of these countries found developing national unity a challenge.

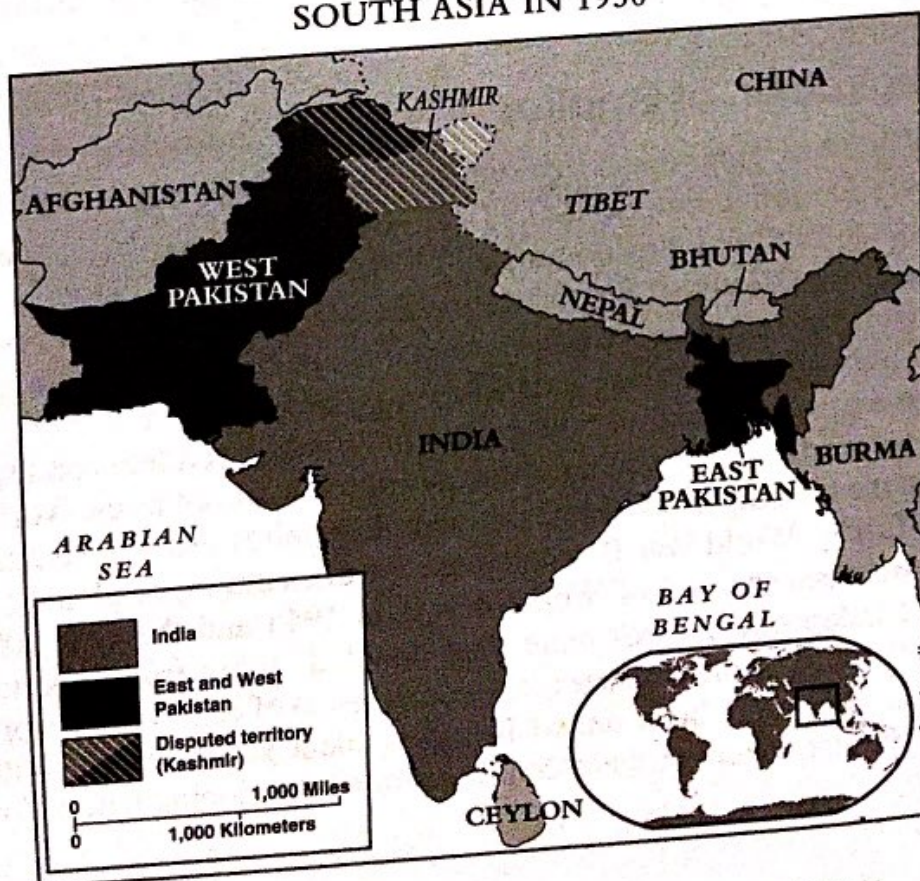
Indian Independence

The drive for Indian self-rule began in the nineteenth century with the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Its leader in 1920 was Mohandas Gandhi. Earlier, while living in South Africa, Gandhi had experienced racial discrimination, and become an advocate of civil disobedience and *passive resistance* to unjust power. (His ideas and actions would later inspire U.S. civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. and South African leader Nelson Mandela.) In 1930, Gandhi protested against the British monopoly on salt production by leading a 240-mile-long walk to the sea, where the marchers deliberately broke the law by making salt and others broke the law by buying it. Police beat marchers and arrested 60,000 people. In the end, the British did little to change the salt law, but they realized how weak their control was.

The independence movement in South Asia was supported by Hindu and Muslim groups, united by their desire to get rid of the British. Although not all Indian leaders agreed with Gandhi, they put aside their differences until after World War II (1939–1945). Immediately following the war, leaders again demanded independence. Britain was ready to negotiate independence in South Asia, just as it would later do in West Africa with the colony of the Gold Coast.

Division and Conflict However, before winning independence, Muslims decided that they feared living in an independent India dominated by Hindus. Distrust between Muslims and Hindus dated back centuries to the Umayyad Caliphate in the eighth century, when Muslims destroyed Hindu temples. Muslims campaigned for an independent Muslim country—Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah led the *Muslim League* in this quest.

SOUTH ASIA IN 1950



In 1947, the British divided colonial India into two independent countries: a mostly Hindu India and a mostly Muslim Pakistan. India's population was about ten times larger than Pakistan's. The *partition* of the colony into two countries was chaotic and violence broke out along religious lines. Nearly ten million Hindus and Sikhs fled their homes in Pakistan to resettle in India and over seven million Muslims fled India for Pakistan. In the turmoil, between 500,000 and one million people died.

Assassination of Gandhi To add to the confusion and heartache, Gandhi, a Hindu, was assassinated in 1948. The killer was a right-wing Hindu upset with Gandhi's willingness to accommodate the concerns of Muslims and to support a secular government.

Creation of Bangladesh The partition was further complicated by geography. Pakistan itself consisted of two distinct sections separated by India: *West Pakistan* was west of India and *East Pakistan* was east of India. For nearly 25 years, West and East Pakistan struggled to form one country. Besides the roughly 1,000 miles between them, the two areas were divided by language. West Pakistanis spoke Urdu or one of several other languages while most East Pakistanis spoke Bengali. After a violent Pakistani civil war in 1971 in which hundreds of thousands died and millions became refugees in India, East Pakistan became the independent country of *Bangladesh*.

Indian-Pakistani Relations Meanwhile, distrust between Pakistan and India grew. While India evolved into a democracy, Pakistan had a mixture of elected leaders and authoritarian military rulers. Moderate leaders in both countries confronted powerful conservative religious movements that opposed compromise with the other country. One persistent tension between India and Pakistan was over Kashmir, a border region in the mountainous north. At the time of partition, most people in Kashmir were Muslims, but the leader was a Hindu. Hence, both Pakistan and India claimed it. At times the rivalry there broke out into armed conflict. The tension between the two countries became more significant after each began developing nuclear weapons.

Steps Toward Gender Equality Both India and Pakistan gave women the right to vote in 1947. India elected its first female prime minister in 1966, Indira Gandhi. Though not related to Mohandas Gandhi, she was the daughter of Nehru. Pakistan elected its first female prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, in 1988. Her father had also served as prime minister.

Emigration The emigration of large numbers of refugees and immigrants from Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh to London illustrated the movement of former colonial subjects to imperial *metropolises*, large cities in the home country. (Similarly, Vietnamese, Algerians, and West Africans migrated to Paris and other cities in France, and Filipinos migrated to the United States.) Called "British Asians" in Great Britain, these immigrants had actually begun to arrive in large numbers following the chaos of World War II. Many found employment in the medical field. Others took jobs as manual workers, particularly on railroads and in foundries and airports.

To reduce the number of people coming from South Asia, the British Parliament passed more restrictive immigration legislation and developed a policy called “managed migration.” This system of immigration control allowed the entrance into Great Britain of highly skilled workers, semiskilled workers to fill temporary labor shortages, and students. Today, approximately 4 percent of the British population is British Asian.

Post-Colonial Struggles in Southeast Asia

France claimed control of Vietnam in the 1860s and Cambodia in the 1870s. The region was known as French Indochina during the twentieth century. The two French colonies began to fight for autonomy during the Cold War era.

Vietnam Following World War II, the Vietnamese Communists, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, proclaimed the country’s independence. Ho, like leaders in China, Cuba, and Yugoslavia, created a powerful political movement by combining country-specific nationalism with the internationalist idea of communism.

France responded by attempting to re-establish its colonial rule, sparking a Vietnamese war of independence that lasted until 1954. The peace treaty at the end of the war split the country into North and South Vietnam, with elections planned for 1956 that would reunite the country. However, many in South Vietnam, along with the United States, opposed the Communists and feared Ho would win the election. No election was held. War broke out between the Communist North and the South, which was supported by U.S. military troops. After the withdrawal of U.S. troops in 1973, the fighting between North and South Vietnam continued until the North’s victory in 1975. A Communist government ruled the reunited Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and South Vietnamese fled to other countries. More than one million people, including 58,000 Americans, died in the fighting.

Beginning in the 1980s, Vietnam introduced some market-based economic reforms. In following years, Vietnam and the United States reestablished trade and diplomatic relations. (Test Prep: Write an outline connecting Vietnam’s fight for independence with the Vietnam War. See pages 558–559.)

Cambodia After World War II, Vietnam’s neighbor Cambodia pressured France into granting independence in 1953. Cambodia’s royal family continued to head the government and tried to maintain its status as a nonaligned nation during the first two decades of the Cold War. However, Cambodia was eventually drawn into the Vietnam War.

Following the Vietnam War, a Communist guerilla organization called the *Khmer Rouge*, under the leadership of *Pol Pot*, fought and overthrew the right-wing government of Cambodia. Once in power, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge imposed a ruthless form of communism with a Chinese-model “cultural revolution” that targeted intellectuals and dissenters. The slaughter and famine that followed took more than two million lives, about one-quarter of the population of the country. Mass graves of victims from the “killing fields”

of Cambodia continued to be discovered in the countryside and jungles for decades afterward. (Test Prep: Create a graphic organizer comparing the Cambodian genocide with the Holocaust. See page 542.)

In 1977, Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia to support opponents of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. At the end of the ensuing war, the Vietnamese took control of the government in Cambodia and helped the country to regain some stability, even as some fighting continued and hundreds of thousands of refugees left the country. In 1989, Vietnamese forces completed their withdrawal from Cambodia. A peace agreement reached in 1991 allowed free elections, monitored by the United Nations. Prince Sihanouk became a constitutional monarch, and the country developed a democratic government with multiple political parties. Economic reforms in the 1980s allowed aspects of a market economy to develop.

Israelis and Palestinians

The breakup of the Ottoman Territory after World War I created several new countries in the Middle East and the Balkans. However, many were unstable. One of the most difficult issues was the conflict between the new country of Israel and the Palestinians.

Zionism The *Zionist movement* gained its initial impulse in the 1890s from reaction to the Dreyfus Affair. Theodore Herzl, a Hungarian Jewish intellectual and journalist, used the affair as evidence that assimilation of Jews into European society was failing as a strategy to provide safety and equal opportunity. At the First Zionist Congress in 1897, he urged the creation of a separate Jewish state. (See page 412 for more on the birth of Zionism.)

Birth of Israel Zionists hoped that the new state could be established in Palestine because that was where their ancestors had lived. In modern times, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire and most of its inhabitants were Arabs who practiced Islam. In a new state, Zionists argued, Jews could be free of persecution. In 1917, in the midst of World War I, the British government issued the *Balfour Declaration*, which favored the establishment in Palestine of a "national home" for the Jewish people:

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

—Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour, writing to Baron Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community

The situation was complicated because a British officer T. E. Lawrence, known as "Lawrence of Arabia," promised certain Arabs an independent state

as well. The British Foreign Office hoped that Arabs would rise up against the Ottoman Empire, which would make it easier to defeat during World War I. The Balfour Declaration promised civil and religious rights to non-Jews in Palestine, but the supporters of the Arabs did not trust the British.

Following the end of World War I in 1918, Britain was given a mandate over former Ottoman lands in the Middle East. Soon Zionists began to immigrate to Palestine from Europe and from other Middle Eastern areas. As immigration increased, the Arabs in the area protested their loss of land and traditional Islamic way of life. World War II and the death of six million Jews in the Holocaust provided another impetus for Jewish immigration. The fate of the European Jews brought worldwide sympathy for the survivors. Britain, trying to hold the line on Jewish immigration in the face of Arab opposition, turned the matter over to the UN General Assembly. As in India, leaders hoped that partition would bring peace and stability. In 1948, after the UN divided Palestine into Jewish and Arab sections, the Jewish section declared itself to be a new country: Israel.

Repeated Wars War broke out immediately between Israel and the Palestinians, who were supported by neighboring Arab countries. Arab forces from Syria, Jordan (then called Transjordan), Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel. After several cease-fires, the Israeli army defeated the Arab forces and an armed truce was declared. Immediately following the truce, about 400,000 Palestinians became refugees, living in camps near the Israeli border.

Three other Israeli-Palestinian wars followed. In 1956, Israel, with support from France and Great Britain, invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, in part to liberate the Suez Canal, which had been nationalized by the Egyptian government. Following international protests, Israel and its allied forces were ordered to withdraw from Egypt. In the 1967 war, also known as the Six-Day War, Israel fought on three fronts against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, gaining the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. In the 1973 war, also known as the Yom Kippur War, Israel repelled a surprise invasion by Egypt and Syria.

Israeli-Egyptian Peace After 30 years of conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors, U.S. President *Jimmy Carter* mediated the *Camp David Accords*, a peace agreement between Prime Minister *Menachem Begin* of Israel and President *Anwar Sadat* of Egypt. However, the 1979 peace treaty was rejected by the Palestinians and several Arab states. The *Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)* and its longtime leader *Yasser Arafat* wanted the return of occupied lands and the creation of an independent nation of Palestine.

Ongoing Violence In the twenty-first century, the peace process became more complicated when the Palestinians split into two factions. One, *Fatah*, controlled the West Bank. The other, *Hamas*, controlled Gaza.

Security concerns led the Israeli government to implement tighter border controls on the West Bank and on Gaza. These controls, amounting to economic sanctions, severely restricted normal activity for hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and fomented anger. There was ongoing violence between the

two sides, with mortar attacks from Palestinian territory on civilian targets in Israel followed by Israeli military incursions against militant targets. Between 2000 and 2014, there were 8,166 conflict-related deaths, 7,065 of which were Palestinian and 1,101 of which were Israeli.

Egypt

Having long been under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt became a nominally independent kingdom in 1922. However, the British retained some of the same treaty rights there that they had held under their mandate following World War I. A 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty allowed more Egyptian autonomy. Still, it also allowed the British to keep soldiers in Egypt to protect the Suez Canal. The British army continued to influence Egyptian internal affairs.

Nasser Following World War II in 1945, Egypt became one of 6 founding members of the *Arab League*, which grew to 22 member states. In 1952, General *Gamal Abdel Nasser*, along with Muhammad Naguib, overthrew the king and established the Republic of Egypt. Naguib became its first president; Nasser, its second. Nasser was a great proponent of *Pan-Arabism*, a movement promoting the cultural and political unity of Arab nations. Similar transnational movements would attempt to unite all Africans (*Pan-Africanism*) and all working people (*communism*).

Nasser's domestic policies blended Islam and socialism. He instituted land reform, transforming private farms into socialist cooperatives that would maintain the existing irrigation and drainage systems and share profits from crops. He *nationalized* some industries and businesses, including foreign-owned banks, taking them over and running them as state enterprises. However, Nasser touched off an international crisis when he nationalized the Suez Canal.

The Suez Crisis Built with Egyptian labor—thousands of whom died while working on the project—and French investment between 1859 and 1869, the Suez Canal had been under lease to the French for a period of 99 years. To the Egyptians, this lease symbolized colonial exploitation, which Nasser pledged to fight. In addition, the British owned interests in the canal, which they administered jointly with the French. In 1956, Nasser seized the canal, and Israel invaded Egypt at the behest of Britain and France. The two European countries then occupied the area around the canal, claiming they were enforcing a UN cease-fire. However, the United States and the Soviet Union opposed British and French actions and used the United Nations to broker a resolution to the conflict, which is known as the *Suez Crisis*.

The removal of foreign troops was followed by an agreement for the canal to become an international waterway open to traffic of all nations under the sovereignty of Egypt. UN peacekeepers were deployed to the Sinai Peninsula. Britain, France, and Israel were not happy with the interference of the United States in the Suez Crisis, but U.S. efforts led to a peaceful compromise solution. The incident also served as an example of a nation maintaining a nonaligned position between the United States and the Soviet Union—the two superpowers in the Cold War.

Sadat and Peace with Israel President Anwar Sadat, who ruled Egypt from 1970 to 1981, participated in the peace negotiations with U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin that led to the 1979 Camp David Accords. Egypt agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist, while Israel agreed to pull out of the Sinai Peninsula. The agreement was a first step in achieving peace between Israel and its neighbors.

However, the deal was unpopular with most of Egypt's Arab allies. Within Egypt, conservatives and fundamentalist Muslims strongly opposed it. On October 6, 1981, one of these fundamentalists, an Egyptian army officer, assassinated Sadat. Like Gandhi, Sadat was killed by a right-wing member of his own religion.

Following the death of Sadat, hopes for peace in the Middle East vanished for several years. However, Egypt upheld its agreement with Israel. As incentive to Egypt to maintain its peace with Israel, the United States gave Egypt more military aid than it gave to any other country except Israel and the two countries where it was fighting a war—Iraq and Afghanistan.

This money provided Egypt with some stability. However, the government was repressive and corrupt. The popular reform movement that swept through North Africa and the Middle East beginning in 2011, known as the Arab Spring, brought down Egypt's government.

Iran

The modern country of *Iran* is the descendant of the Persian and Safavid empires. Although not technically a colony, it fell under foreign domination in the late nineteenth century. Britain and Russia fought to control the area in a rivalry nicknamed "the Great Game." The competition grew even keener when oil was discovered in Iran in the early twentieth century.

Shah Reza Khan In 1921, *Reza Khan* seized power and within a few years declared himself *shah*, hereditary ruler. He modernized the country's infrastructure, abolished extraterritoriality, and tried to curb the power of the *mullahs*, men educated in Islamic law who held most official posts in the overwhelmingly Shia country. Reza Khan flirted with Hitler's Nazi regime during World War II, prompting Russia and Britain to invade Iran in 1941. The two countries forced him to abdicate power to his young son, *Muhammad Reza Pahlavi*, and they kept their forces in Iran until the end of the war.

Shah Muhammad Reza Iranian nationalists viewed the new shah as a puppet of Western powers, particularly of the United States. In 1951, under direction from the nationalist prime minister, the Iranian parliament voted to nationalize the oil industry, which was controlled by a British-owned oil company. Muhammad Reza was forced to flee Iran when it was discovered that he had asked the CIA to replace the prime minister in a failed coup. In 1953, the U.S. orchestrated the removal of the prime minister and Muhammad Reza was able to return to power. He instituted several progressive reforms, such as giving women the right to vote, creating a social welfare system, and

modernized the educational system. However, he ran an authoritarian and oppressive regime, making extensive use of secret police. By 1979, he had alienated both religious conservatives and advocates for greater democracy.

The Iranian Revolution In 1979, a revolution toppled the shah, who was forced to leave Iran permanently. The new government was a *theocracy*, a form of government in which religion is the supreme authority. The Shia cleric *Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini* became the Supreme Leader. The new government established a Guardian Council, a body of civil and religious legal experts who were responsible for interpreting the constitution and making sure all laws complied with shariah (Islamic law). The clergy was given the right to approve or disapprove anyone who ran for office. Iran became the leading anti-Western, and particularly anti-Israel, government in the Middle East.

At the same time Iran was opposing the West and Israel, it had tense relations with several neighbors. Iran, as a non-Arab and Shia country, was culturally very unlike its Arab, Sunni neighbors. In 1980, these differences led to a major war between Iran and Iraq. Fighting lasted eight years, and ended with neither side able to claim a clear victory.

Nuclear Program Iran's program to develop nuclear technology to generate electrical energy and for medical uses created the fear that it would use the program to also develop nuclear weapons. To pressure Iran to take steps to show it was not developing such weapons, a U.S.-led coalition imposed sanctions on Iran that devastated its economy. In 2016, the coalition reached an agreement with Iran that required Iran to take steps to make building a nuclear bomb more difficult. For example, Iran agreed to ship nearly all of its enriched uranium out of the country, dismantle equipment that could be used to build a bomb, and submit to inspections. In return, the coalition lifted the sanctions.

Turkey

Turkey was founded as a secular republic in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, and its military took on the role of protecting that status. In 1960, 1971, and 1980, the army temporarily took control of the government when it felt it needed to protect this heritage. And in 1997 and 2007, the army issued statements of support for secular government against the growing threat from Islamic extremists.

Turkey and Europe Beginning in the days of Ataturk, Turkey fostered close economic and political ties with Europe. Because of Turkey's key strategic location in the Middle East, Europe and the United States were equally eager to have Turkey as an ally. Turkey joined NATO in 1955 and became an associate member of the European Union in 1987.

However, three issues complicated the relationship between Turkey and Europe in the late twentieth century. One was religion. While Europe had a Christian heritage and was becoming increasingly secular, Turkey was an Islamic country with a growing fundamentalist movement.

A second issue was the status of Cyprus, an island nation in the eastern Mediterranean and an EU member. While the island was dominated by Greek Cypriots, Turkey recognized a breakaway region of Turkish Cypriots. No other European country recognized this region as independent.

A third issue was the status of the *Kurds*, an ethnic minority living in eastern Turkey and in parts of Syria, Iraq, and Iran. In the 1970s, Kurdish nationalists formed the *Kurdistan Workers' Party*, or PKK, and began an armed struggle against the Turks to win cultural and political rights. Turkey, and its ally the United States, labeled the PKK a terrorist organization. However, Turkey's harsh efforts to crush the PKK drew international criticism.

Comparing Iran and Turkey		
Category	Iran	Turkey
Major Ethnic Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly Persians • Some Kurds • Few Arabs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly Persians • Some Kurds • Few Arabs
Dominant Religion	Shia Islam	Sunni Islam
Government	Became an Islamic republic under a theocracy in 1979	Became a secular republic in 1923
Relationship with the United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. helped overthrow Iran's elected government in 1953 • The Shah was a U.S. ally, 1953 to 1979 • Very poor since 1979 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joined NATO in 1955
Important Leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shah Muhammad Reza: authoritarian and pro-Western • Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini: leader of the 1979 Revolution 	Mustafa Kemal: led country to independence and supported secularism
Status of Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women won the right to vote in 1963 • Restrictions relaxed in the 1960s • Restrictions increased after 1979 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women won the right to vote in 1934 • Restrictions relaxed in the 1960s

African Nationalism Following World War II

At the end of World War II, movements for independence gained momentum in Africa as Africans tried to end exploitation of their lands and resources. Many Africans resented that colonization had placed them under white European

administrators. African newspapers and radio stations began encouraging nationalism and independence. Communist leaders, including those educated abroad in the Soviet Union or other new Communist countries, made use of the media to condemn imperialism while promoting independence and state-run economies. Unlike other Communist regimes, African versions of socialism usually retained elements of capitalism.

Ghana Great Britain agreed to negotiate independence for its West African colony of the *Gold Coast*, just as it had for its colonies in South Asia. The Gold Coast combined with the former British Togoland to form Ghana, the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence in the twentieth century. The new country of Ghana was smaller in area than the historic kingdom by the same name. Ghana's independence in 1957 was achieved through negotiations led by the United Nations. Its first president, *Kwame Nkrumah*, took office in the newly established republic in 1960. He was responsible for numerous public works and development projects, such as hydroelectric plants. He was also accused of running the country into debt and allowing widespread corruption, an economic pattern that would often be seen in subsequent African dictatorships. In 1964, he claimed dictatorial powers when the voters agreed to a *one-party state* with Nkrumah as party leader.

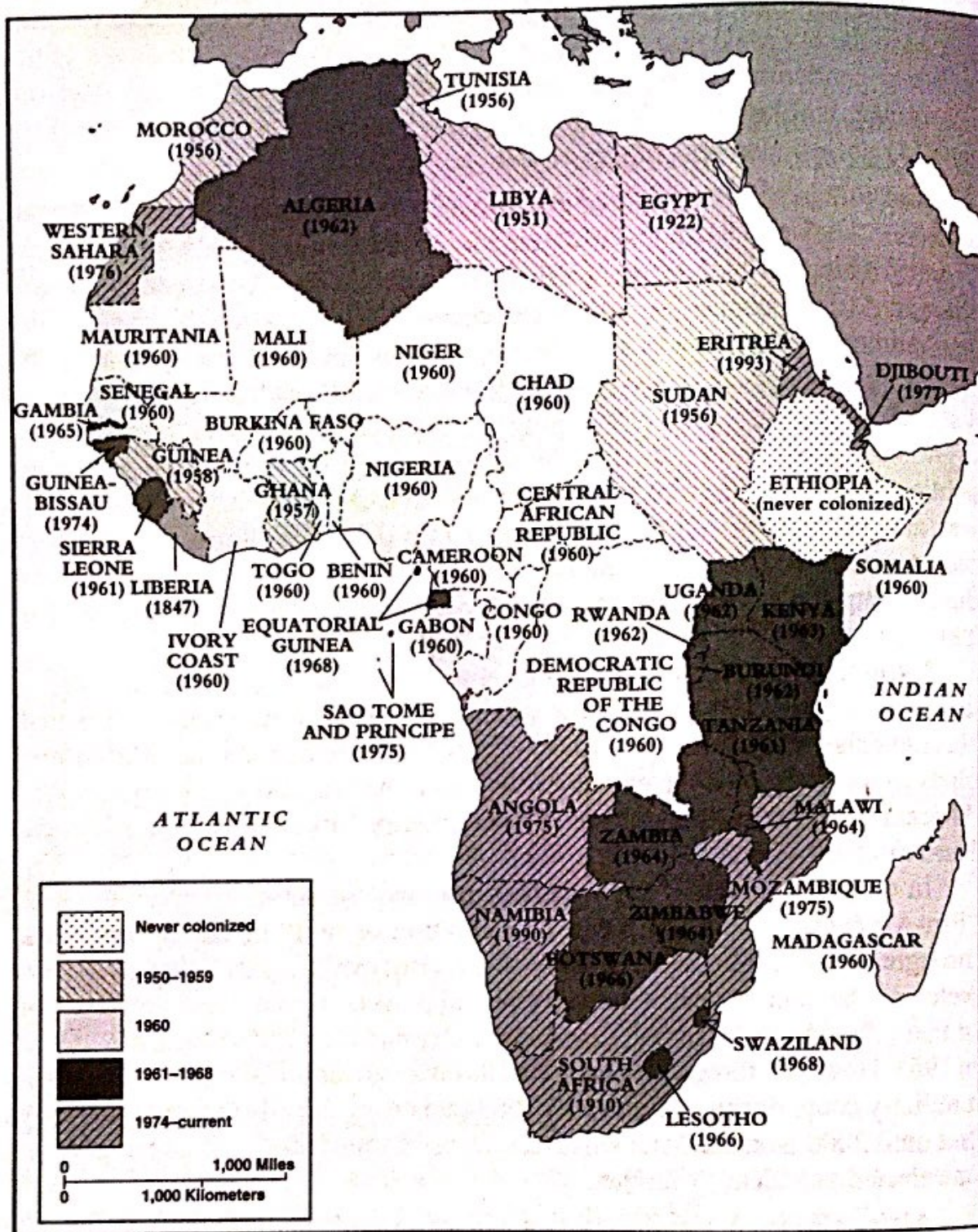
Nkrumah was a vocal promoter of *Pan-Africanism*, a term that had been in use with different implications for some two centuries. American and British abolitionists, in their opposition to slavery in the nineteenth century, had formed plans to return former slaves to their homes in Africa, calling their ideas Pan-Africanism or Africa for Africans. The country of Liberia was founded on this Pan-Africanist vision.

In the second half of the twentieth century, for some Africans, the term "Pan-Africanism" came to mean a celebration of unity of culture and ideas throughout the continent. The movement also made it clear that it did not welcome the intervention of former colonial powers. In keeping with his vision of Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah founded the *Organization of African Unity (OAU)* in 1963. However, three years later the Nkrumah government was overthrown in a military coup, during which many foreigners were expelled from the country. Not until 2000 would Ghana witness a peaceful transfer of civilian power from one elected president to another.

Africa Union A specific political objective for Africa that developed in the late twentieth century was the formation of an organization of African states that would be similar to the European Union. In 2002, the OAU was replaced by the *African Union (AU)*, with membership numbering 53 African nations. AU leaders shared hopes for closer cooperation, but they disagreed on where or whether the organization should intervene in the affairs of member states. (Test Prep: Create a chart showing details of regional organizations such as the NATO, the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, CENTO, the European Union, and NAFTA. See pages 555-556, 588, and 599.)

Algeria In northern Africa, the French colony of Algeria followed a path similar to the British lands that became Ghana. It won independence but fell

INDEPENDENCE IN AFRICA SINCE 1910



under the control of a strong leader and became a single-party state. However, Algeria endured far more violence before becoming independent.

The *Algerian War for Independence* began in 1954, although many Algerians had been campaigning for independence since World War II. The war was a complicated affair with many groups involved. Since so many French people lived in Algeria as settlers, the French government considered Algeria a part of France and was adamant that it could not become a separate country. But the French in Algeria were a minority. The Algerian movement for independence was led by the *FLN (National Liberation Front)*, which

used effective guerrilla techniques against half a million French forces sent to Algeria. While French military casualties were relatively low, hundreds of thousands of Algerians died in the war. The violence of the street-by-street battles in the conflict was captured by the 1966 film *The Battle of Algiers*.

The Algerian conflict caused sharp divisions in France. The French Communist Party, quite powerful at the time, favored Algerian independence. Violence broke out in urban areas throughout France. In 1958, French President Charles De Gaulle, with a new mandate for expanded presidential power under the constitution of the new *Fifth Republic*, planned the steps through which Algeria would gain independence. He then went straight to the people of France and Algeria to gain approval of his plan in a referendum, thereby bypassing the French National Assembly.

Independence and War However, with the coming of independence in 1962, war broke out again in Algeria. Thousands of pro-French Algerians and settlers fled the country. The large influx of these refugees into France created housing and employment problems as well as an increase in anti-immigration sentiment. The violence that followed in Algeria left between 50,000 and 150,000 dead at the hands of FLN armies and lynch mobs. The first president of the new Algerian Republic was overthrown in 1965 in a military coup led by his former ally. The National Liberation Front continued in power under different leadership, making Algeria a single-party state for a number of years. The NLF maintained a socialist authoritarian government that cracked down on dissent. Meanwhile, the government led a drive for modernization of industry and collectivization of agriculture.

Algerian Civil War In 1991, violence again surfaced in Algeria, this time in reaction to one-party rule. The Islamic Salvation Front won the first round in an election that was then canceled. A bloody *Algerian Civil War* followed (1991–2002), during which the FLN continued in control. President Abdulaziz Bouteflika was chosen by the army in 1999. In his second term, he attempted to be more inclusive of insurgents, although suicide bombings continued. In 2011, the military state of emergency, in place since 1992, was lifted in response to protests in the wake of major uprisings in nearby states, including Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya.

Comparing Ghana and Algeria Both Ghana and Algeria experienced growing pains under military rule. The main struggles were between those who favored multiparty states and those who favored single-party socialism. In Ghana, a new constitution was written in 1992, easing the transfer of power between elected governments. One point of national pride was that a Ghanaian leader *Kofi Annan* became UN Secretary General in 1997. In Algeria, by contrast, religious tensions grew worse. As in other countries in North Africa and the Middle East, a growing right-wing Islamist movement that was willing to use violence challenged the power of mainstream Muslims. In 1992, an Islamist assassinated Algeria's president. As in Egypt and Turkey, the military responded by repressing Islamic fundamentalists. In 1997, Algeria banned political parties based on religion.

Kenya On the eastern side of Africa bordering the Indian Ocean, *Kenya* was—like its neighbors Uganda, Somalia, and Tanzania—home to large populations of Asians as well as tribal groups. Many of the Asians in Kenya were merchants and professional people, forming much of the middle class. Britain had been the colonial power, and Swahili and English were the official languages.

Before independence, there was resistance in Kenya against the white occupiers. A group called the *Mau Mau* carried out terror campaigns in 1952 in protest against economic conditions as well as British colonialism. The central government, with British support, attempted to put down the *Mau Mau* rebellion, but the fighting escalated into a civil war and the *Mau Mau* gained support throughout Kenya. The British ultimately gave up the area, granting independence in 1963. The first election resulted in the presidency of *Jomo Kenyatta* (1964–1978), an advocate for independence who had served a prison term for supporting the *Mau Mau*.

Progress in Kenya was slowed because of differences between the Kikuyu, Kuyha, and Luo tribes. Tensions were also heightened by the existence of a large Asian community, which had its roots in the colonial period when the British brought 35,000 Indian workers into the area to build the Mombassa-Kisumu Railway (1886–1901). After completion of the railway, these workers received permission from the government to settle on unoccupied lands. The number of South Asians gradually grew, along with their prosperity, gained through agriculture and retail establishments. Their relative prosperity along with antiforeign sentiments made the Asians targets for violence.

Independent Kenya had only one political party, the *Kenyan African National Union (KANU)*. Following the death of Kenyatta in 1978, Vice President *Daniel Moi* took over and ruled for 24 years while Kenyan stability disintegrated in the face of increasing corruption. Finally, the *International Monetary Fund (IMF)* threatened to withdraw loans if the corruption continued. In the 2000s, the government pledged to clean up bribery government kickbacks. Violence between tribes was common, especially during elections. After the 2007 presidential elections, for example, supporters of the losing candidate refused to accept the results, prompting violence that killed about one thousand people and displaced some six hundred thousand Kenyans. The formation of a coalition government brought some measure of peace. However, attacks on Asians, particularly Indians, continued.

Angola The Portuguese colony of Angola in southwest Africa won its independence in 1975, after 14 years of armed struggle. Like the Algerians and the Vietnamese, the Angolans had to fight to end their colonial status. However, Angola faced greater ethnic conflict than did Algeria or Vietnam. The borders of Angola, like the borders of many newly independent African countries, had been set by European colonial powers with little regard for the makeup of the ethnic groups thrown together under one government. In terms of European history, Angola was more like a small empire, consisting of three distinct and rival cultural groups, than a nation-state in which everyone shared a common

culture. Each group had fought for independence. Each wanted to control the country's lucrative diamond mines. And each was supported by other countries:

- The Mbundu tribe was back by the U.S.S.R. and Cuba.
- The Ovimbundu tribe was back by South Africa.
- The Bankongo tribe was backed by the United States.

Upon independence, civil war broke out. In 2002, after 27 years of fighting, the rivals agreed on a cease-fire. However, threats of violence from militant separatist groups remained.

Nigeria The western Africa country of *Nigeria*, the most populous state on the continent, gained independence from Britain in 1960. The *Biafran Civil War* began in 1967 when the *Igbos*, a Westernized, predominately Christian tribe in the southeastern oil-rich *Niger River Delta* area attempted to secede from the northern-dominated government. The *Igbos* sought autonomy because of pogroms against them by the Hausa-Fulani Islamic group in the north. The *Igbos'* secession movement failed. At the conclusion of the war in 1970, a majority of *Igbo* generals were granted amnesty, but civilian government did not return. A series of military coups with generals in command of the government continued until the 1999 election of Olusegun Obasanjo, who presided over a democratic civilian government called the Fourth Republic of Nigeria.

In an effort to prevent tribalism from destroying the country, the government established a federation of 36 states with borders that cut across ethnic and religious lines. Friction continued, however, between Christian Yoruba, *Igbo* groups in the south, and Islamic groups in the northern states. The Nigerian Constitution permitted states to vote for a dual legal system of secular law and shariah. Eleven states voted for this option. In an additional effort to discourage ethnic strife, the constitution encouraged intermarriage among the ethnic groups.

Problems remained in the *Niger River Delta* due to rich oil deposits there. People there complained that the national government exploited oil resources without returning wealth to the region. Also, they complained that the oil companies had polluted their lands and rivers. Militants set fire to oil wells and pipelines in protest.

Modern Mexican Culture and Politics

The Mexican revolution, which ended in 1917, saw the emergence of one strong political party, the *Institutional Revolutionary Party* or *PRI*. This party dominated Mexican politics for most of the twentieth century. Despite the assassinations of several presidents, the basic principles of the 1917 constitution stayed in place, and Mexico remained stable, although people suspected government officials of corruption.

Student Uprisings By the 1960s, Mexico had become prosperous enough to support a middle class that sent its children to universities. In the summer of 1968, an incident sparked by a fight after a soccer game led to a siege and the death of some preparatory school students at the hands of riot police. In the

days that followed, university students protested and battled with the police and the army, resulting in about forty more deaths. The official account of the events of 1968 stated that the students, infiltrated by Communist forces, fired first on the soldiers, who then fired back in self defense. Other accounts said that the authorities overreacted and used excessive force. The protests continued for months.

Despite this controversy, the PRI remained firmly in power in Mexico until the election of President Vicente Fox in 2000. The Mexican political system has often been called *corporatist* since the ruling PRI party claimed favors, such as access to primary education and jobs created through improvements to infrastructure, for its constituents. During PRI's rule, there was a vast improvement in the economy, especially in the period from 1930 to the 1970s. In 1938, for example, the government nationalized the country's mostly foreign-owned oil industry. This company, *PEMEX*, became the second largest state-owned company in the world.

Cultural and Economic Trends Mexican culture and economy in the twenty-first century exhibited the following trends:

- Poverty remained high, in spite of a rich oil industry, a vast tourism business, and a constitutional ban on foreign ownership of land.
- There was large-scale immigration to the United States, both legal and illegal. While many Mexican immigrants planned to stay in the United States, others saw their stay there as temporary. Many Mexicans living and working in the United States sent much-needed cash back to their relatives in Mexico.
- *NAFTA*, the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement, encouraged U.S. and Canadian industries to build *maquiladoras* (factories) in Mexico that used low-wage Mexican labor to produce tariff-free goods for foreign export. Oppressive working conditions were discovered in factories that hired large numbers of young women. Labor unions in the United States complained that NAFTA led to the export of thousands of U.S. jobs to Mexico, where wages and benefits were lower and safety and environmental standards were weaker.
- The Mexican economy was affected by the fluctuating price of oil and worldwide economic trends, such as the global recession of 2007–2010.
- While the majority of Mexicans were Roman Catholic, constitutional restrictions on the church and its priests kept them from exercising rights such as free speech. Civil rights were restored in 1992, but the Roman Catholic Church still had no special standing with the secular government.
- *Drug cartels*, large criminal organizations engaged in drug trafficking, promoted violence against government officials and private citizens. Frequent kidnappings, massacres in drug rehabilitation centers, and execution-style killings took place. Some observers wondered if Mexico was on the road to becoming a failed state, one in which the cartels use

the government as their tool. The drug was frequently crossed over the border into the United States. When U.S. officials complained about this, Mexican officials noted that the weapons used by the drug cartels came from the United States, as did much of the demand for drugs.

Political Trends in Latin America

Latin America included a mix of countries. However, several trends were common throughout the region in the decades following 1945.

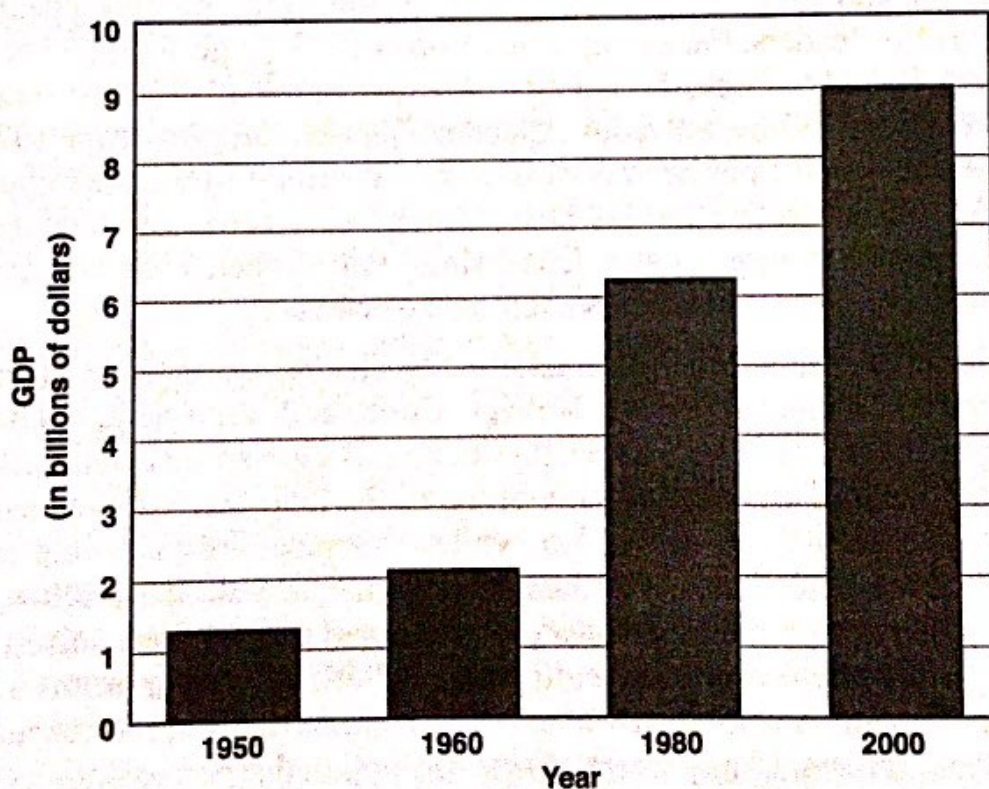
- *Dependence on State-Run Industries* Since World War II, Latin American governments ran industries because there was a shortage of capital in the private sector or because they wished to avoid dependence upon foreign investors. For example, the Argentine government owned an airline; the government of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela nationalized the cement industry along with other industries; President Morales of Bolivia nationalized the hydrocarbon industries; and in Ecuador the government owned much of the oil industry.
- *High Government Debt* Global economic recession and a financial crisis of the 1980s put many countries into serious debt. By 2005, some countries had structured successful debt management programs.
- *Political Dictatorships* Many countries suffered under authoritarian rulers that abused human rights. Often, these rulers were chosen by the military and they remained in power by torturing and “disappearing” opposition leaders. For example, in Chile in 1973, Augusto Pinochet took power in a U.S.-backed coup against a democratically elected socialist government led by Salvador Allende. Pinochet reigned from 1974 to 1990, at which time he was ousted by a coalition of citizens opposed to his violent tactics and his privatization of the economy. Indicted for kidnapping, torture, money laundering, and murder, Pinochet died in 2006 before he could be convicted on the charges.
- *Debates over Land Reform* In addition to Mexico, other Latin American countries, including Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, and Venezuela, tried land reform programs. In Venezuela, for example, the government redistributed some five million acres of land. Some of the land was state-owned and not previously under cultivation, while other pieces of land were seized from large landowners. The land reform, begun with a 2001 law, was not popular with the landowners who claimed that the state seized their property while it was under cultivation. Additional problems arose from illegal squatters who moved in to settle on lands that were not scheduled for land reform. Land reform efforts had political repercussions as well; those who benefitted were more willing to vote for the government instituting the reforms, while those from whom land was confiscated tended not to support the states that appropriated their land.

- *Reflecting on the Distribution of Wealth* An ideology called liberation theology, which combined socialism with Catholicism, spread through Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s. It interpreted the teachings of Jesus to include freeing people from the abuses of economic, political, and social conditions. Part of this liberation included redistributing some wealth from the rich to the poor. In many countries, military dictators persecuted and killed religious workers who embraced liberation theology.

Advocates of liberation theology had a few notable successes. In Nicaragua, they helped a rebel movement topple a dictator and institute a socialist government. In Venezuela, President Hugo Chavez was deeply influenced by the movement. Then, in 2013, the Roman Catholic Church selected a cardinal from Argentina as pope, the first one from Latin America. The new leader, who took the name Pope Francis, reversed the Vatican's opposition to liberation theology.

The long-term changes in Latin America in the early twenty-first century paralleled ones in East Asia and parts of Africa. Governments were generally becoming more democratic and less authoritarian. Their economic systems were based on the principles of free enterprise and included a strong role for government in promoting growth.

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN LATIN AMERICA
1950 TO 2000



GDP stands for "gross domestic product." It is a commonly used measure of the wealth of a country.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHY ARE SOME COUNTRIES WEALTHY?

In 1776, Adam Smith published the first modern, in-depth look at why some countries are wealthier than others, *The Wealth of Nations*. While arguing for an active government role, he emphasized the benefits of free trade against those who defended mercantilism.

Modernization Following World War II, Western Europe and the United States grew wealthier so rapidly that it seemed natural. Scholars in these regions, such as American political scientist David Apter who studied the relative wealth of nations, developed *modernization theory*. The problems of poor, newly emerging countries were seen as the natural by-products of the transition from a traditional, agrarian society to a modern, developed society. Developed countries could provide economic and technological assistance to help in this transition.

Self-Reliance In the 1970s, a new generation of scholars, who had grown up during colonial independence movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, saw developed countries as the problem, not the solution. They rejected modernization theory, arguing that it mistakenly placed the blame for poverty on poor countries, when it should be placed on the former colonial powers. According to this *dependency theory*, former colonies were the victims of the international marketplace. In this theory, the way out of poverty was to become more self-reliant.

Globalization Recent writers, such as journalist Thomas Friedman, in his 2005 book *The World Is Flat* focused not on self-reliance but on *globalization*. Friedman saw the increasing interconnectedness of economies around the world as an opportunity for countries to prosper. His "flat world" referred to relatively inexpensive technologies that allowed developing nations to compete with the developed nations for jobs and the creation of innovative products everywhere.

In response, Canadian journalist Linda McQuaig attacked Friedman as an "apologist of globalization." Friedman's critics charged that he looked at the benefits of increased trade and investments without seeing the costs incurred in poor countries through these actions.

Trade Ha-Joon Chang, a British economist who was born and raised in South Korea, took a historical view. In *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategies in Historical Perspective* (2002), he evaluated the path to prosperity for today's wealthy countries in Western Europe and the United States. All once had high tariffs and other trade barriers to protect their growing industries from foreign competition. Only after they became wealthy did they advocate for free trade. However, today wealthy countries press poor ones to open their borders economically. The lesson of history, he argued, was to let poor countries use the same protectionist methods that led to prosperity for other countries.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

STATE-BUILDING: HISTORICAL FIGURES

General Muhammad
Zia-ul-Haq
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
Benazir Bhutto
Idi Amin
Pol Pot
Jimmy Carter
Menachem Begin
Anwar Sadat
Yasser Arafat
Gamal Abdel Nasser
Hosni Mubarak
Shah Reza Khan
Shah Muhammad Reza
Pahlavi
Ayatollah Ruhollah
Khomeini
Abdullah Gul
Kwame Nkrumah
Charles De Gaulle
Kofi Annan
Jomo Kenyatta
Daniel Moi

STATE-BUILDING: STATES, MOVEMENTS, & ORGANIZATIONS

Muslim League
West Pakistan
East Pakistan

Bangladesh
Kashmir
Khmer Rouge
Palestinian Liberation
Organization (PLO)
 Hamas
Fatah
Arab League
Iran
Kurdistan Workers'
Party (PKK)
Gold Coast
Organization of African
Unity (OAU)
African Union
FLN (National
Liberation Front)
Kenya
Mau Mau
Kenyan African
National Union
(KANU)
Nigeria

STATE-BUILDING

partition
Balfour Declaration
Suez Crisis
Camp David Accords
one-party state
Algerian War for
Independence
Fifth Republic
Algerian Civil War
Biafran Civil War

CULTURE

passive resistance
Zionist movement
Theodore Herzl
Pan-Arabism
Pan-Africanism
Igbo
mullahs
theocracy
Kurds
modernization theory
Dependency theory

ENVIRONMENT

metropolises
Niger River Delta

ECONOMICS

nationalized
International Mon-
etary Fund (IMF)
corporatist
PEMEX
NAFTA
maquiladoras
drug cartels
Institutional
Revolutionary
Party (PRI)
globalization