As you read this chapter, look for the key events in the development of Africa and the Middle East.

- From the 1950s to the 1970s, most African nations gained independence from colonial powers.
- Israel declared statehood on May 14, 1948, creating conflict and struggle between the new state and its neighbors.

The events that occurred during this time period still impact our lives today.

- Many African nations struggle with political and economic instability.
- The United States continues to work with the Israelis and Palestinians to find a peaceful solution to their territorial disputes.

In the 1970s, many Iranians began to grow dissatisfied with their ruler, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the shah of Iran. An opposition movement, led by the Muslim clergy under the guidance of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, grew in strength. (An ayatollah is a major religious leader. The word means “the sign of God.”)

One observer described a political rally in the capital city of Tehran in 1978: “On Sunday, December 11, hundreds of thousands of people held a procession in the center of Tehran... Slogans against the shah rippled in the wind—‘Death to the Shah!’ ‘Death to the Americans!’ ‘Khomeini is our leader,’ and so on. People from all walks of life could be found in the crowd.”

In January 1979, the shah left Iran, officially for a “period of rest and holiday.” Three weeks later, the Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Iran from exile in Paris. On April 1, his forces seized control and proclaimed Iran to be an Islamic republic. Included in the new government’s program was an attack on the United States, viewed by Khomeini as the “Great Satan.”

Independence in Africa

Main Ideas
• People hoped that independence would bring democratic governments, but many African nations fell victim to military regimes and one-party states.
• Culturally and economically, African nations struggled to resolve the tension between the modern and the traditional.

Key Terms
apartheid, Pan-Africanism

People to Identify
Kwame Nkrumah, Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere, Desmond Tutu, Chinua Achebe

Places to Locate
South Africa, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria

Preview Questions
1. What economic problems did independent African nations face?
2. How have social tensions impacted African culture?

Reading Strategy
Categorizing Information  As you read this section, complete a chart like the one below identifying the problems in Africa during its first stages of independence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Political</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Preview of Events

1960 Blacks massacred in Sharpeville
1962 Arrest of ANC leader Nelson Mandela
1963 Organization of African Unity forms
1967 Civil war in Nigeria
1971 Idi Amin seizes control of Uganda

Voices from the Past

On March 21, 1960, Humphrey Taylor, a reporter, described a peaceful march by black South Africans against white rule:

"We went into Sharpeville the back way, around lunch time last Monday, driving along behind a big grey police car and three armoured cars. As we went through the fringes of the township many people were shouting the Pan-Africanist slogan ‘Our Land.’ They were grinning and cheerful... Then the shooting started. We heard the chatter of a machine gun, then another, then another... One woman was hit about ten yards from our car... Hundreds of kids were running, too. Some of the children, hardly as tall as the grass, were leaping like rabbits. Some of them were shot, too.


The Sharpeville massacre was a stunning example of the white government's oppression of the black majority in South Africa.

The Transition to Independence

European rule had been imposed on nearly all of Africa by 1900. However, after World War II, Europeans realized that colonial rule in Africa would have to end. This belief was supported by the United Nations charter, which pledged that all colonial peoples should have the right to self-determination.

In 1957, the Gold Coast, renamed Ghana and under the guidance of Kwame Nkrumah, was the first former British colony to gain independence. Nigeria, the Belgian Congo (renamed Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo), Kenya, and others soon followed. Seventeen new African nations emerged in 1960.
Another 11 nations followed between 1961 and 1965. After a series of brutal guerrilla wars, the Portuguese finally surrendered their colonies of Mozambique and Angola in the 1970s.

In North Africa, the French granted full independence to Morocco and Tunisia in 1956. Because Algeria was home to one million French settlers, France chose to keep control there. Meanwhile, however, Algerian nationalists had organized the National Liberation Front (FLN) and in 1954 initiated a guerrilla war to liberate their homeland. The French leader, Charles de Gaulle, granted Algeria its independence in 1962.

In South Africa, where the political system was dominated by whites, the process was more complicated. Political activity on the part of blacks had begun with the formation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912. Its goal was economic and political reform. The ANC’s efforts, however, met with little success.

At the same time, by the 1950s, South African whites (descendants of the Dutch, known as Afrikaners) had strengthened the laws separating whites and blacks. The result was a system of racial segregation known as apartheid (“apartness”).

Blacks demonstrated against the apartheid laws, but the white government brutally repressed the demonstrators. In 1960, police opened fire on people who were leading a peaceful march in Sharpeville, killing 69, two-thirds of whom were shot in the back. After the arrest of ANC leader Nelson Mandela in 1962, members of the ANC called for armed resistance to the white government.

How did Algeria gain independence from France?

Reading Check

Describing How did Algeria gain independence from France?
The New Nations

The African states that achieved independence in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s still faced many problems. The leaders of these states, as well as their citizens, dreamed of stable governments and economic prosperity. Many of these dreams have yet to be realized.

New African Leaders

Most of the leaders of the newly independent African states came from the urban middle class and had studied in either Europe or the United States. They spoke and read European languages and believed in using the Western democratic model in Africa.

One of these leaders was Jomo Kenyatta. Educated in Great Britain, Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1946 and founded the Kenya African National Union, which sought independence for Kenya. British authorities imprisoned him on a charge of supporting the Mau Mau movement, which used terrorism to gain freedom from the British. He led his country to independence in 1963 and served as its president from 1964 to his death in 1978.

The views of African leaders on economics were diverse. Some leaders, such as Jomo Kenyatta, believed in Western-style capitalism. Others, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, preferred an “African form of socialism.” This meant a system in which ownership of the country’s wealth would be put into the hands of the people.

Some African leaders believed in the dream of Pan-Africanism—the unity of all black Africans, regardless of national boundaries. In the view of Pan-Africanists, all black African peoples shared a common identity. Pan-Africanism was supported by several of the new African leaders, including Léopold Senghor of Senegal, Kwame Nkrumah, and Jomo Kenyatta.

Nkrumah in particular hoped that a Pan-African union would join all of the new countries of the continent in a broader community. Although his dream never became a reality, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), founded by the leaders of 32 African states in 1963, was a concrete result of the belief in Pan-Africanism. In 2002 the African Union (AU) replaced the OAU. The new 53-nation group aims to promote democracy and economic growth in the region.

Economic Problems

Independence did not bring economic prosperity to the new African nations. Most still relied on the export of a single crop or natural resource. Liberia, for example, depended on the

People In History

Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela was the first black president of South Africa. Mandela was trained to be a leader of the Thembu people, and, later, he received a Western education.

In 1952, Mandela became one of the leaders of the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC at first advocated a policy of passive resistance to white rule in South Africa. Later, it supported more violent methods. The result was a sentence of life imprisonment for Mandela.

During his stay in prison, Mandela’s reputation grew throughout Africa and the world. Finally, the South African government released Mandela and agreed to hold free elections. In 1994, he became president.

Desmond Tutu

Head of the Anglican Church in South Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu became a leader of the nonviolent movement against apartheid. Raised in Johannesburg, he studied theology and was ordained an Anglican priest in 1961. He rose quickly through the ranks and became an archbishop and head of the Anglican Church in South Africa in 1986. As a passionate believer in nonviolence, he supported a policy of economic sanctions against his own country in order to break the system of apartheid peacefully. He wrote: “If we cannot consider all peaceful means then people are in effect saying that there are no peaceful means.” For his efforts, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984.
export of rubber; Nigeria, on oil. When prices dropped, their economies suffered. To make matters worse, most African states had to import technology and manufactured goods from the West.

The new states also sometimes created their own problems. Scarce resources were spent on military equipment or luxury goods rather than on building the foundations for an industrial economy. In addition, corruption and bribery became common.

African population growth, averaging 3 percent by the 1980s, crippled efforts to build modern economies. Serious droughts were another economic handicap and caused widespread hunger and starvation. Since the 1980s, droughts have recurred in Niger, Mali, the Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia. Millions fled to other countries looking for food.

In recent years, the greatest challenge to African progress was the spread of AIDS, or acquired immune deficiency syndrome. (See also page 972.) In sub-Saharan Africa, where poor countries have few medical resources, more than 29 million people lived with AIDS in 2002. This crisis led the U.S. Congress in 2003 to authorize $15 billion in funds to treat AIDS in foreign nations, mostly in Africa.

As a result of all these problems, poverty is widespread in Africa, especially among the three-quarters of the population still living off the land. Cities have grown tremendously and are often surrounded by massive slums populated by rural people who came to the cities looking for employment. The growth of the cities has overwhelmed sanitation and transportation systems. Pollution and perpetual traffic jams are the result.

Millions live without water and electricity in their homes. In the meantime, the fortunate few enjoy lavish lifestyles. The rich in many East African countries are known as the wabenzi, or Mercedes-Benz people.

**Political Challenges** Many people hoped that independence would lead to democracies. They were soon disappointed as democratic governments failed. Between 1957 and 1982, more than 70 leaders were violently overthrown. In the 1980s, either the military or a single party ruled in many major African states. In the 1990s, demand for responsible government grew, but political instability is still a fact of life for many African nations.

Within many African countries, the concept of nationhood was also undermined by warring ethnic groups. In the colonial period, European powers created boundaries that suited their own interests. They did not often consider the ethnic make-up of the people. Thus, virtually all these states included many different ethnic, linguistic, and territorial groups.

During the late 1960s, civil war tore Nigeria apart. When northerners began to kill the Ibo people, thousands of Ibo fled to their home region in the eastern part of Nigeria. There, Lieutenant Colonel Odumegu Ojukwu organized the Ibo in a rebellion and declared the eastern region of Nigeria an independent state.
called Biafra. After two and a half years of bloody
civil war, Biafra finally surrendered and accepted the
authority of the central government of Nigeria.

Conflicts also broke out among ethnic groups in
Zimbabwe. In central Africa, fighting between the
Hutu and Tutsi created unstable governments in both
Burundi and Rwanda. In 1994, a Hutu rampage left
some five hundred thousand Tutsi dead in Rwanda.

**Reading Check**  
**Explaining** Why was the Organization of African Unity formed?

**New Hopes**

As you will learn, worldwide pressure on the South African government led to the end of
apartheid and the election of that country’s first black president in 1994.

Not all the news in Africa has been bad. In recent
years, popular demonstrations have led to the collapse of one-party regimes and the emergence of
democracies in several countries. One case was that of Idi Amin of Uganda. After ruling by terror and
brutal repression throughout the 1970s, Amin was
deposed in 1979. Dictatorships also came to an end in
Ethiopia, Liberia, and Somalia. In these cases, how-
ever, the fall of the regime was later followed by
bloody civil war.

One of the most remarkable events of recent
African history was the election of Nelson Mandela
to the presidency of the Republic of South Africa.

Mandela had been sentenced to life imprisonment in
1962 for his activities with the African National Con-
gress. He spent almost 26 years of his life in maxi-
mum-security prisons in South Africa. For all those
years, Mandela never wavered from his determina-
tion to secure the liberation of his country. In January
1985, he was offered his freedom, given certain condi-
tions, from then President Botha. At this point, Man-
dela had served over 20 years of a life sentence and
had passed his 66th birthday. Yet, he refused to accept
a conditional freedom: “Only free men can negotiate;
prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Your freedom
and mine cannot be separated.” Over the years, Nobel
and others worked to free him and to end apartheid
in South Africa. Worldwide pressure on the white
South African government led to reforms and the
gradual dismantling of apartheid laws. In
1990, Mandela was finally
released from prison.

In 1993, the government
of President F. W. de Klerk
agreed to hold democratic
national elections—the
first in South Africa’s
history. In 1994, Nelson
Mandela became South
Africa’s first black presi-
dent. In his presidential
inaugural address, he
expressed his hopes for

**HISTORY Online**

**Web Activity** Visit
the Glencoe World
History—Modern
Times Web site at
wh.mt.glencoe.com
and click on Chapter 23–
Student Web Activity
to learn more about
African independence.
unity: “We shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity—a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.” (See page 781 to read excerpts from Nelson Mandela’s An Ideal for Which I am Prepared to Die in The Primary Sources Library.)

Identifying Which African countries overthrew dictatorships?

Society and Culture in Modern Africa

Africa is a study in contrasts. Old and new, native and foreign live side by side. One result is a constant tension between traditional ways and Western culture.

City and Countryside In general, the impact of the West has been greater in the cities than in the countryside. After all, the colonial presence was first and most firmly established in the cities. Many cities, including Dakar, Lagos, Cape Town, Brazzaville, and Nairobi, are direct products of colonial rule. Most African cities today look like cities elsewhere in the world. They have high-rise apartments, wide boulevards, neon lights, movie theaters, and, of course, traffic jams.

Outside the major cities, where about three-quarters of the inhabitants of Africa live, modern influence has had less of an impact. Millions of people throughout Africa live much as their ancestors did, in thatched dwellings without modern plumbing and electricity. They farm, hunt, or raise livestock by traditional methods, wear traditional clothing, and practice traditional beliefs. Conditions such as drought or flooding affect the ability of rural Africans to grow crops or tend herds. Migration to the cities for work is one solution. This can be very disruptive to families and villages. Many urban people view rural people as backward. Rural dwellers view the cities as corrupting and destructive to traditional African values and customs.

Women’s Roles Independence from colonial powers had a significant impact on women’s roles in African society. Almost without exception women were allowed to vote and run for political office. Few women hold political offices. Although women dominate some professions, such as teaching, child care, and clerical work, they do not have the range of career opportunities available to men. Most African women are employed in low-paid positions such as farm laborers, factory workers, and servants. Furthermore, in many rural areas, traditional attitudes toward women, including arranged marriages, still prevail.
**African Culture** The tension between traditional and modern and between native and foreign also affects African culture. Africans have kept their native artistic traditions while adapting them to foreign influences. A dilemma for many contemporary African artists is the need to find a balance between Western techniques and training on the one hand, and the rich heritage of traditional African art forms on the other.

In some countries, governments make the artists’ decisions for them. Artists are told to depict scenes of traditional African life. These works are designed to serve the tourist industry.

African writers have often addressed the tensions and dilemmas that modern Africans face. The conflicting demands of town versus country and native versus foreign were the themes of most of the best-known works of the 1960s and 1970s.

These themes certainly characterize the work of Chinua Achebe, a Nigerian novelist who has won international acclaim. Achebe’s four novels show the problems of Africans caught up in the conflict between traditional and Western values. Most famous of Achebe’s four novels is *Things Fall Apart*, in which the author portrays the simple dignity of traditional African village life.

**Reading Check** Summarizing What themes are characterized in the work of Chinua Achebe?

---

**SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

1. Define apartheid, Pan-Africanism.
4. Explain how population growth has crippled the efforts of African nations to create stable, modern economies. Identify at least two other recent obstacles to an improved economy.
5. Describe the relationship between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Identify other nations in the news today with ethnic or religious conflict.

**Critical Thinking**

6. Explain Why was the idea of Pan-Africanism never realized?
7. Organizing Information Create a chart comparing the characteristics of the modern African city and rural areas.

**Analyzing Visuals**

8. Examine the photograph of Kwame Nkrumah shown on page 701 of your text. How does this photograph reflect the pride that Kwame Nkrumah and his companions feel about Ghana’s newly won independence? Use specific visual evidence from the photograph to support your answer.

**Writing About History**

9. Persuasive Writing Assume the role of an African leader of a newly independent nation. Write a speech to your citizens in which you explain Pan-Africanism and convince them that Pan-Africanism will benefit both the nation and the people.
Why Learn This Skill?

A news report comes out that statistical evidence from a recent scientific study proves that chocolate can prevent cancer. The next day, a doctor is interviewed saying that the statistics are misleading. What are you to believe?

Statistics are used to support a claim or an opinion. They can be used to support opposing sides of an issue. To avoid being misled, it is important to understand how to interpret statistics.

Learning the Skill

Statistics are sets of tabulated information that may be gathered through surveys and other sources. When studying statistics, consider each of the following:

- **Biased sample** The sample may affect the results. A sample that does not represent the entire population is called a biased sample. An unbiased sample is called a representative sample.

- **Correlation** Two sets of data may be related or unrelated. If they are related, we say that there is a correlation between them. For example, there is a positive correlation between academic achievement and wages. There is a negative correlation, however, between smoking and life expectancy.

- **Statistical significance** Researchers determine whether the data support a generalization or whether the results are due to chance. If the probability that the results were due to chance is less than 5 percent, researchers say that the result is statistically significant.

Practicing the Skill

The table at the top of the next column rates countries according to economic freedom, that is the fewest restrictions on trade, property rights, and monetary policies. The scores are on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being the greatest economic freedom. Study the table. Then answer the questions that follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation (rank)</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Gov’t Intervention</th>
<th>Wages/Prices</th>
<th>Overall Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong (1)</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States (5)</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.75</td>
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<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.05</td>
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<td>Israel (54)</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.85</td>
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<tr>
<td>Botswana (68)</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.95</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria (141)</td>
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<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.00</td>
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<td>Zimbabwe (146)</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Heritage Foundation.

1. Which category or categories show a positive correlation with economic freedom?
2. Which category or categories show a negative correlation with economic freedom?

Applying the Skill

Create a two-question survey that will generate answers that can be correlated. For example, ask: “How many hours of television do you watch per day?” and “How many hours of homework do you do per day?” Gather responses, then develop a correlation between the topics addressed by the two questions.

Glencoe’s Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.
Conflict in the Middle East

Main Ideas
- Instability in various parts of the Middle East has led to armed conflict and mediation attempts from countries outside the region.
- In many Middle Eastern countries, an Islamic revival has influenced political and social life.

Key Terms
Pan-Arabism, intifada

People to Identify
Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar el-Sadat, Yasir Arafat, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Saddam Hussein, Naguib Mahfouz

Reading Strategy
Categorizing Information As you read this section, fill in the important events in the history of Arab-Israeli conflicts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Suez War begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>PLO is founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Khomeini seizes control of Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Iran frees American hostages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Guide to Reading

Preview of Events

On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion stood in Museum Hall in Tel Aviv and announced to the people assembled there:

“The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. In their exile from the land of Israel the Jews remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersal, never ceasing to hope and pray for the restoration of their national freedom. Therefore by virtue of the natural and historic right of the Jewish people to be a nation as other nations, and of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we hereby proclaim the establishment of the Jewish nation in Palestine, to be called the State of Israel.”


The creation of the state of Israel made Arab-Israeli conflict a certainty.

Voices from the Past

The Question of Palestine

As you will learn, in 1948, Palestine was divided into two states: an Arab state and a Jewish state.

In the Middle East, as in other areas of Asia, World War II led to the emergence of new independent states. Syria and Lebanon gained their independence near the end of World War II. Jordan achieved complete self-rule soon after the war. These new states were predominantly Muslim.
In the years between the two world wars, many Jews had immigrated to Palestine, believing this area to be their promised land. Tensions between Jews and Arabs had intensified during the 1930s. Great Britain, which governed Palestine under a United Nations (UN) mandate, had limited Jewish immigration into the area and had rejected proposals for an independent Jewish state in Palestine. The Muslim states agreed with this position.

The Zionists who wanted Palestine as a home for Jews were not to be denied, however. Many people had been shocked at the end of World War II when they learned about the Holocaust, the deliberate killing of six million European Jews in Nazi death camps. As a result, sympathy for the Jewish cause grew. In 1948, a United Nations resolution divided Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. The Jews in Palestine proclaimed the state of Israel on May 14, 1948.

Its Arab neighbors saw the new state as a betrayal of the Palestinian people, most of whom were Muslim. Outraged, several Arab countries invaded the new Jewish state. The invasion failed, but the Arab states still refused to recognize Israel’s right to exist.

As a result of the division of Palestine, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled to neighboring Arab countries, where they lived in refugee camps. Other Palestinians came under Israeli rule. The issue of a homeland and self-governance for the Palestinians remains a problem today.

Reading Check Identifying Why was there international support for Palestine to serve as a home for Jews?

Nasser and Pan-Arabism

In Egypt, a new leader arose who would play an important role in the Arab world. Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser took control of the Egyptian government in the early 1950s. On July 26, 1956, Nasser seized the Suez Canal Company, which had been under British and French administration.

Concerned over this threat to their route to the Indian Ocean, Great Britain and France decided to strike back. They were quickly joined by Israel. The forces of the three nations launched a joint attack on Egypt, starting the Suez War of 1956. The United States and the Soviet Union supported Nasser and forced Britain, France, and Israel to withdraw their troops

Global Migrations

Since 1945, tens of millions of people have migrated from one part of the world to another. There are many reasons for these migrations. Persecution for political reasons caused many people from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Eastern Europe, and East Germany to seek refuge in Western European countries. Brutal civil wars in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Europe led millions of refugees to seek safety in neighboring countries. A devastating famine in Africa in 1984–1985 drove hundreds of thousands of Africans to relief camps throughout the continent to find food.

Most people who have migrated, however, have done so to find jobs. Latin Americans seeking a better life have migrated to the United States. Guest workers from Turkey, southern and Eastern Europe, North Africa, and South Asia have entered more prosperous Western European lands. In the 1980s, about fifteen million guest workers worked and lived in Europe.

Many host countries allowed guest workers to stay for several years. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, foreign workers often became scapegoats when countries faced economic problems. Political parties in France and Norway, for example, called for the removal of blacks and Arabs.

Are there immigrant populations where you live? Describe some of the attitudes your friends and families have toward foreign workers. Think of several reasons why foreign populations have migrated to the United States.
from Egypt. These Cold War enemies were opposed to French and British influence in the Middle East.

Nasser emerged from the conflict as a powerful leader. He now began to promote Pan-Arabism, or Arab unity. In February 1958, Egypt formally united with Syria in the United Arab Republic (UAR). Nasser was named the first president of the new state. Egypt and Syria hoped that the union would eventually include all the Arab states. Many other Arab leaders were suspicious of Pan-Arabism, however. Oil-rich Arab states were concerned they would have to share revenues with poorer states in the Middle East. Indeed, in Nasser’s view, Arab unity meant that wealth derived from oil, which currently flowed into a few Arab states or to foreign interests, could be used to improve the standard of living throughout the Middle East.

In 1961, military leaders took over Syria and withdrew the country from its union with Egypt. Nasser continued to work on behalf of Arab interests.

Reading Check Evaluating Why were France and Great Britain threatened when Nasser seized the Suez Canal?

The Arab-Israeli Dispute

During the late 1950s and 1960s, the dispute between Israel and other states in the Middle East became more heated. In 1967, Nasser imposed a blockade against Israeli shipping through the Gulf of Aqaba. He declared: “Now we are ready to confront Israel. We are ready to deal with the entire Palestine question.”

Fearing attack, on June 5, 1967, Israel launched air strikes against Egypt and several of its Arab neighbors. Israeli warplanes wiped out most of the Egyptian air force. Israeli armies broke the blockade and occupied the Sinai Peninsula. Israel seized territory on the West Bank of the Jordan River, occupied Jerusalem, and took control of the Golan Heights. During this Six-Day War, Israel tripled the size of its territory. Another million Palestinians now lived inside Israel’s new borders, most of them on the West Bank.

Over the next few years, Arab states continued to demand the return of the occupied territories. Nasser died in 1970 and was succeeded in office by
The PLO and the Intifada

In 1964, the Egyptians took the lead in forming the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to represent the interests of the Palestinians. The PLO believed that only the Palestinian peoples had the right to create a state in Palestine. At the same time, a guerrilla movement called al-Fatah, headed by the PLO political leader Yasir Arafat, began to launch terrorist attacks on Israeli territory. Terrorist actions against Israel continued for decades.

During the 1980s, Palestinian Arabs, frustrated by their failure to achieve self-rule, became more militant and led an intifada, or uprising, in the territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. (See map, p. 931.) Finally, in 1993, Israel and the PLO agreed that the PLO would have control over a semi-independent area. In return, the PLO recognized Israel’s right to exist.

Even with this change, little progress was made toward Palestinian statehood. Some Israelis did not want to give up the occupied territories for a Palestinian state, while some Palestinians continued terrorist attacks and did not accept the state of Israel. A new sign of progress emerged in 2003 when the Israeli cabinet formally accepted the principle of a Palestinian state for the first time.

Identifying What are the Camp David Accords?

Revolution in Iran

The leadership of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and revenue from oil helped Iran to become a rich country. Iran was also the chief ally of the United States in the Middle East in the 1950s and 1960s.

However, there was much opposition to the shah in Iran. Millions of devout Muslims looked with distaste at the new Iranian civilization. In their eyes, it was based on greed and materialism, which they identified with American influence.

Leading the opposition to the shah was the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (ku•MAY•nee), a member of the Muslim clergy. By the late 1970s, large numbers of Iranians had begun to respond to
Khomeini’s words. In 1979, the shah’s government collapsed and was replaced by an Islamic republic.

The new government, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini, moved to restore Islamic law. Supporters of the shah were executed or fled the country. Anti-American sentiments erupted when militants seized 52 Americans in the United States embassy in Tehran and held them hostage for over a year.

After Khomeini’s death in 1989, a more moderate government allowed some civil liberties. Some Iranians were dissatisfied with the government’s economic performance, while others, especially young people, pressed for more freedoms and an end to the power of conservative Muslim clerics.

**Reading Check**  
**Summarizing** List the reasons that the shah’s government collapsed.

### Iraq’s Aggression

West of Iran was a militant, hostile Iraq which was under the leadership of Saddam Hussein from 1979. Iraq and Iran have long had an uneasy relationship fueled by religious differences. The Iranians are largely Shiite Muslims, while most Iraqi leaders are Sunni Muslims. Iran and Iraq have often disputed territory, especially the Strait of Hormuz.

In 1980, Hussein attacked Iran. During the war, Hussein used children to clear minefields. He also used chemical weapons against soldiers and civilians, especially the Kurds, an ethnic minority. The war’s basic issues were not solved. In 1988, the two countries signed a cease-fire.

In 1990, Iraqi troops occupied the small country of Kuwait at the head of the Persian Gulf. The invasion sparked an outcry and the United States led an allied force that freed Kuwait. In 2003, the United States and its allies again launched an attack, this time to topple Hussein because he appeared to threaten the use of weapons of mass destruction.

**Reading Check** **Describing** Describe why Iran and Iraq have been in conflict for many years.

### Afghanistan and the Taliban

After World War II, the king of Afghanistan, in search of economic assistance for his country, developed close ties with the Soviet Union. In 1973, the king was overthrown by his cousin, who himself was removed during a pro-Soviet coup in 1978. The new leaders attempted to create a Communist government but were opposed by groups who wanted an Islamic state. The Soviets then launched a full-scale invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, installing Babrak Karmal as prime minister.

The Soviets occupied Afghanistan for 10 years but were forced to withdraw by anti-Communist forces supported by the United States and Pakistan. Though a pro-Soviet government was left in the capital at Kabul, various Islamic rebel groups began to fight for control. One of these, the Taliban, seized Kabul in 1996. By the fall of 1998, the Taliban controlled more than two-thirds of the country.

Opposing factions controlled northern Afghanistan. Condemned for its human rights abuses and imposition of harsh social policies, the Taliban was also suspected of sheltering Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda organization. In 1999 and 2000, the United Nations Security Council demanded the Taliban hand over bin Laden for trial, but it refused. In 2001, the Taliban was driven out of Kabul by rebel forces and American bombers.

**Reading Check** **Explaining** What was the political situation in Afghanistan in 1996?

### Society and Culture

In recent years, conservative religious forces have tried to replace foreign culture and values with Islamic forms of belief and behavior. This movement is called Islamic revivalism or Islamic activism. For
most Muslims, the Islamic revival is a reassertion of cultural identity, formal religious observance, family values, and morality.

**Islamic Militants** Actions of militants have often been fueled by hostility to the culture of the West. In the eyes of some Islamic leaders, Western values and culture are based on materialism, greed, and immorality. The goal of extremists is to remove all Western influence in Muslim countries.

The movement to return to the pure ideals of Islam began in Iran under the Ayatollah Khomeini. In revolutionary Iran, traditional Muslim beliefs reached into clothing styles, social practices, and the legal system. These ideas and practices spread to other Muslim countries. In Egypt, for example, militant Muslims assassinated President Sadat in 1981. Unfortunately for Islam, the extreme and militant movements received much media exposure, giving many people an unfavorable impression of Islam.

**Women’s Roles** At the beginning of the twentieth century, women’s place in Middle Eastern society had changed little for hundreds of years. Early Muslim women had participated in the political life of society and had extensive legal, political, and social rights. Cultural practices in many countries had overshadowed those rights, however.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Muslim scholars debated issues surrounding women’s roles in society. Many argued for the need to rethink outdated interpretations and cultural practices that prevented women from realizing their potential. This had an impact on a number of societies, including Turkey and Iran.

Until the 1970s, the general trend in urban areas was toward a greater role for women. Beginning in the 1970s, however, there was a shift toward more traditional roles for women. This trend was especially noticeable in Iran.

**Middle Eastern Culture** The literature of the Middle East since 1945 has reflected a rise in national awareness, which encouraged interest in historical traditions. Writers also began to deal more with secular themes. Literature is no longer the preserve of the elite but is increasingly written for broader audiences.

The most famous contemporary Egyptian writer is Naguib Mahfouz. He was the first writer in Arabic to win the Nobel Prize for literature (in 1988). His *Cairo Trilogy*, published in 1957, is considered the finest writing in Arabic since World War II. The story follows a merchant family in Egypt in the 1920s. The changes in the family parallel the changes in Egypt.

The artists of the Middle East at first tended to imitate Western models. Later, however, they began to experiment with national styles and returned to earlier forms for inspiration.

![Reading Check](Identifying Which Arabic writer won the Nobel Prize for literature?)

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**SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

1. **Define** Pan-Arabism, *intifada*.
2. **Identify** Zionists, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar el-Sadat, Yasir Arafat, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, OPEC, Saddam Hussein, Naguib Mahfouz.
3. **Locate** Israel, Egypt, Sinai Peninsula, West Bank, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.
4. **Explain** the meaning and purpose of OPEC. What control does it have?
5. **Summarize** the events that led to the Six-Day War. What gains and losses resulted from the war?

**Critical Thinking**

6. **Explain** Why do some people believe it was a mistake for the UN and the United States not to occupy Iraq after the Persian Gulf crisis? What did the Allies hope would happen in Iraq after the Iraqi forces were defeated?

7. **Taking Notes** Organize the information presented in this section in outline form, following the model below.

   I. Palestine
      A. Great Britain limits Jewish immigration.
      B. Zionists want Jewish homeland.
   II. Nasser takes control of Egypt

**Analyzing Visuals**

8. **Examine** the photograph of Kuwait shown on page 715. Why do you think the Iraqi troops decided to set fire to the oil fields as they retreated from Kuwait? Do you think that they set the fires for military, political, or economic reasons, or for all three?

**Writing About History**

9. **Persuasive Writing** Choose the role of either an Arab Palestinian or a Jewish settler. Write a letter to the United Nations General Assembly arguing your position on the Palestine issue. What do you think should be done in Palestine and why?
The Suez Canal Belongs to Egypt

THE SUEZ CANAL was built between 1859 and 1869, using mainly French money and Egyptian labor. It was managed by a Paris-based corporation called the Suez Canal Company. In this excerpt from a speech, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser declared that it was time for the canal to be owned and managed by Egyptians.

"The Suez Canal is an Egyptian canal built as a result of great sacrifices. The Suez Canal Company is an Egyptian company that was expropriated [taken away] from Egypt by the British who, since the canal was dug, have been obtaining the profits of the Company. . . . And yet the Suez Canal Company is an Egyptian limited liability company. The annual Canal revenue is 35 million Egyptian pounds. From this sum Egypt—which lost 120,000 workers in digging the Canal—takes one million pounds from the Company.

It is a shame when the blood of people is sucked, and it is no shame that we should borrow for construction. We will not allow the past to be repeated again, but we will cancel the past by restoring our rights in the Suez Canal. . . .

The Suez Canal Company was a state within a state, depending on the conspiracies of imperialism and its supporters. The Canal was built for the sake of Egypt, but it was a source of exploitation. There is no shame in being poor, but it is a shame to suck blood. Today we restore these rights, and I declare in the name of the Egyptian people that we will protect these rights with our blood and soul. . . .

The people will stand united as one man to resist imperialist acts of treachery. We shall do whatever we like. When we restore all our rights, we shall become stronger and our production will increase. At this moment, some of your brethren, the sons of Egypt, are now taking over the Egyptian Suez Canal and directing it. We have taken this decision to restore part of the glories of the past and to safeguard our national dignity and pride. May God bless you and guide you in the path of righteousness."

—Nasser’s Speech Nationalizing the Suez Canal Company

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. What problem was President Nasser addressing?
2. According to Nasser, why does the Suez Canal rightfully belong to Egypt?
CHAPTER 23

ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES

Using Key Terms
1. The former South African policy of separating the races was called _____.
2. The belief in Arab unity has been called _____.
3. The uprising to protest Israeli domination of Palestine was called the _____.
4. The Organization of African Unity was a result of the belief in _____.

Reviewing Key Facts
5. **Government** Why did France grant independence to Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, but not to Algeria?
6. **Government** What was the philosophy behind African socialism?
7. **History** Why was Nelson Mandela imprisoned by the white South African government?
8. **Citizenship** What did Nelson Mandela achieve in 1994?
9. **Government** Why is Desmond Tutu an important international leader?
10. **Economy** Why has Israel allocated a large part of its national production to maintaining highly trained and well-equipped military forces?
11. **Government** Why did Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran lose the support of his people despite rapid growth in Iran’s economy and standard of living?
12. **Culture** What problems resulted from the migration of Africans from rural areas into cities?
13. **Culture** How has the literature of the Middle East dealt with traditional versus modern values?
14. **History** How was Israel created and which factors contributed to its founding?
15. **History** What effect did the Six-Day War have on the relationship between Arabs and Israelis?
16. **Government** Name some major accomplishments of Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser that elevated his status as a leader in the Arab world.
17. **History** How was the concept of nationhood undermined in many African countries?
18. **Economy** How did price increases and production cuts by OPEC nations in 1973 affect the United States and Europe?
19. **History** Give two reasons for the war that broke out in 1980 between Iran and Iraq.

Critical Thinking
20. **Evaluating** Why have English and French been used as official languages of government in many African nations?
21. **Analyzing** Could a lasting peace have been established between Iraq and its neighbors even if UN forces had captured Saddam Hussein? Explain your answer.
22. **Evaluating** Compare the legacy of European colonialism in Africa and the Middle East. Discuss the consequences of colonialism still being felt in these areas.
23. **Analyzing** Why do you think Israel was able to seize so much territory during the Six-Day War?

Writing About History
24. **Expository Writing** Compare and contrast the role of women and their positions and rights in the Middle East and Africa.

Chapter Summary
In the postwar period, Africa and the Middle East faced many challenges that threatened their stability.

| **Africa** | **Government** | • Many new nations are undermined by civil war. • Democracy is threatened by military regimes. • Democratic national elections are held in South Africa. |
| **Economy** | • Most new nations rely on the export of a single crop or resource. • Population growth cripples efforts to create modern economies. • Poverty is widespread. |
| **Society** | • Tension between traditional ways and Western culture continues. |
| **Middle East** | • Palestine is divided into two states. • Arab-Israeli dispute results in war and peace treaties. • Israel and PLO reach agreement about autonomy. | • Much of the Middle East is dependent on oil revenue. • OPEC is formed to gain control over oil prices. | • Islamic revival reasserts cultural identity and values over foreign, Western influences. |
Applying Technology Skills
32. Using the Internet Use the Internet to create a bibliography of resource materials about Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu. Design a Web page to organize the links.

Self-Check Quiz
Visit the Glencoe World History—Modern Times Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 23—Self-Check Quiz to prepare for the Chapter Test.

Analyzing Sources
Read the following quote describing a political rally in Tehran in 1978.

“On Sunday, December 11, hundreds of thousands of people held a procession in the center of Tehran . . . . Slogans against the shah rippled in the wind—‘Death to the Shah!’ ‘Death to the Americans!’ ‘Khomeini is our leader,’ and so on. People from all walks of life could be found in the crowd.”

25. What is meant by the phrase “people from all walks of life?”
26. Why were the people protesting the shah? Why were anti-American slogans included in the protest? What resulted when the shah left Iran and the Ayatollah Khomeini became the leader? Who are the leaders of Iran today? Does the quote above reflect current sentiments?

Making Decisions
27. Create a new peace accord for Israel and the Palestinians. Why do the Israelis and the Palestinians need a peace accord? What do you need to consider in creating the terms of the agreement? What country would both parties agree to accept as an intermediary to help them settle their problems? What resistance to your accord might you face from either party? How do you get both Israelis and Palestinians to accept the accord? Once it is accepted, how would you enforce this agreement?
28. You have been elected South Africa’s first president after the end of apartheid. What challenges will you face now that apartheid is over? How will you try to solve these problems? What are your hopes for South Africa?

Analyzing Maps and Charts
Refer to the map on page 713 of your textbook to answer the following questions.
29. What do you think Iraq hoped to gain by invading the country of Kuwait?
30. How far is Tehran from Baghdad?
31. How important is access to the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz for oil-producing countries?
32. Selected Events in Middle Eastern Politics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Jews in Palestine proclaim the new state of Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser takes control of Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Colonel Nasser seizes the Suez Canal Company, sparking the Suez War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Egypt creates a short-lived union with Syria called the United Arab Republic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which of the following events resulted from the events on this time line?
F  Shock over the Holocaust helped Jews realize their goals for a homeland.
G  Nasser imposed a blockade against Israeli shipping.
H  Iraq launched an attack on its enemy, Iran.
J  The Balfour Declaration gave support to Zionist Jews.

Test-Taking Tip: Time lines show chronology, or the order in which events happened. You can use your knowledge of chronology to get rid of incorrect answer choices. Think about what events happened before this time line begins. Those answer choices must be wrong.