Africa and the Middle East
1945–Present

Key Events
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 Impact Today
The events that occurred during this time period still impact our lives today.
• Many African nations struggle with political and economic stability.
• The United States continues to work with the Israelis and Palestinians to find a peaceful solution to their territorial disputes.

Revolution in Iran

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.”


Why It Matters

These revolutionary events in Iran are examples of the upheavals that changed both Africa and the Middle East after 1945. In both these areas of the world, Europeans were forced to give up their control and allow independent states to emerge. The change from colony to free nation was not easy. In Africa, the legacy of colonialism left arbitrary boundaries, political inexperience, and continued European economic domination. In the Middle East, ethnic and religious disputes persist.

History and You

The Arab-Israeli war is not one war but a continual series of struggles. Using your textbook and outside resources, make a time line of the conflict. Choose three points on your time line to highlight, then describe the events that led to those specific episodes.
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

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>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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?

Preview of Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Blacks massacred in Sharpeville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Arrest of ANC leader Nelson Mandela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Organization of African Unity forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Civil war in Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Idi Amin seizes control of Uganda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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."

Z Jon E. Lewis, 2000

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. When both Great Britain and France decided to let go of their colonial empires in the late 1950s and 1960s, most black African nations achieved their independence.

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 two 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 European settlers, the process was more complicated. Political activity on the part of local 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

1. Interpreting Maps
Which countries became independent by 1957?

2. Interpreting Maps
Which countries became independent after 1965?

3. Applying Geography Skills
Is there a pattern to the chronology in which independence occurred in the different countries of Africa? What can you infer from the presence or absence of a pattern?
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.

The views of these African leaders on economics were somewhat more diverse. Some, such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and General Mobutu Sese Seko of the present-day Democratic Republic of Congo, believed in Western-style capitalism. Others, such as Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sékou Touré of Guinea, preferred an “African form of socialism.”

The African form of socialism was not like that practiced in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. Instead, it was based on African traditions of community in which ownership of the country’s wealth would be put into the hands of the people. As Nyerere declared in 1967, “The basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis . . . is human equality.”

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. The OAU has contributed to African unity through such activities as settling border disputes.

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

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People In History

Nelson Mandela
1918–
South African leader

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 1949, 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
1931–
South African activist

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 national resources were spent on military equipment or expensive consumer goods rather than on building the foundations for an industrial economy. In addition, corruption and bribery became common.

Population growth also crippled efforts to create modern economies. By the 1980s, population growth averaged nearly 3 percent throughout Africa, the highest rate of any continent.

Drought conditions led to widespread hunger and starvation, first in West African countries such as Niger and Mali and then in Ethiopia, Somalia, and the Sudan. Millions fled to neighboring countries in search of food.

In recent years, the spread of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) in Africa has reached epidemic proportions. According to one estimate, one-third of the entire population of sub-Saharan Africa is infected with the virus that causes AIDS.

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 had hoped that independence would lead to stable political order based on “one person, one vote.” They were soon disappointed as democratic governments gave way to military regimes and one-party states. Between 1957 and 1982, over 70 leaders of African countries were overthrown by violence. In 1984, 34 of the 41 major African states were under single-party regimes or were ruled by the military.

Within many African nations, the concept of nationhood was undermined by warring ethnic groups. This is not surprising, since the boundaries of African nations had generally been arbitrarily drawn by colonial powers. Virtually all of these states included widely 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 three 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, however, 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 Congress. He spent 27 years of his life in the maximum-security prison on Robben Island in South Africa. For all those years, Mandela never wavered from his determination to secure the liberation of his country. In January 1985, he was offered his freedom, given certain conditions, from then President Botha. At this point, Mandela had served over 21 years of a life sentence and had passed his 70th 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 Peace prize winner (1984) Bishop Desmond Tutu 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 South Africa’s first democratic national elections in 1993. Here you see people waiting to vote for the first time. Who was the first freely elected president of South Africa?
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 1001 to read excerpts from Nelson Mandela’s An Ideal for Which I am Prepared to Die in The Primary Sources Library.)

Reading Check 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.

Steps}

The contrast between modern and traditional lifestyles often creates tension in African society. About what percentage of the African people live in cities?

Modern office buildings and contemporary art in Pretoria, South Africa, demonstrate the Westernization of Africa’s cities.

Tea pickers on a plantation in Kenya.
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 and winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1989. 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?
Interpreting Statistics

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.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation (rank)</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Gov’t Intervention</th>
<th>Wages/Prices</th>
<th>Overall Score</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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</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

Guide to Reading

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

Places to Locate
Israel, Egypt, Sinai Peninsula, West Bank, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Persian Gulf

Preview Questions
1. How was the state of Israel created?
2. How did the Islamic revival affect Middle Eastern Society?

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>
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<tbody>
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</table>

Voices from the Past

David Ben-Gurion

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.

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 March 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?

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**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 early 1980s, Palestinian Arabs, frustrated by their failure to achieve self-rule, became even more militant. This militancy led to a movement called the intifada (“uprising”) among PLO supporters living inside Israel. The intifada was marked by protests throughout the nation. A second intifada began in September 2000 and continued for over a year.

As the 1990s began, U.S.-sponsored peace talks to address the Palestinian issue opened between Israel and a number of its Arab neighbors. Finally, in 1993, Israel and the PLO reached an agreement calling for Palestinian autonomy in certain areas of Israel. In return, the PLO recognized the Israeli state. Yasir Arafat became the head of the semi-independent area known as the Palestinian Authority. Progress in making this agreement work, however, has been slow.

Identifying

What are the terms of the agreement reached in 1993?

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 (ko•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 the death of Khomeini in 1989, a new government, under President Hashemi Rafsanjani, began to loosen control over personal expression and social activities. Rising criticism of official corruption and a high rate of inflation, however, sparked a new wave of government repression in the mid-1990s.

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

**Iraq’s Aggression**

To the west of Iran was a militant and hostile Iraq, under the leadership of Saddam Hussein since 1979. Iraq and Iran have long had an uneasy relationship, fueled by religious differences. Both are Muslim nations. The Iranians, however, are largely Shiites, whereas most Iraqi leaders are Sunnis. Iran and Iraq have engaged for years in disputes over territory, especially the Strait of Hormuz, which connects the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman.

In 1980, President Saddam Hussein launched an attack on Iran. Poison gas was used against civilians, and children were used to clear minefields. A cease-fire was finally arranged in 1988.

In 1990, Iraqi troops moved across the border and occupied the small neighboring country of Kuwait, at the head of the Persian Gulf. The invasion sparked an international outcry. The United States led an international force that freed Kuwait and destroyed a large part of Iraq’s armed forces. The allies hoped that an internal revolt would overthrow Hussein, but he remained in power.

**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, Noor Taraki and Babrak Karmal, attempted to create a Communist government but were opposed by groups wanting to create an Islamic state. Karmal called for aid from the Soviets, who launched a full-scale invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

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 1952, 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.

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**TAKS Practice**

**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?

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**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 933. 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?

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**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 1854 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?
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?
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Many new nations are undermined by civil war.</td>
<td>• Most new nations rely on the export of a single crop or resource.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Democracy is threatened by military regimes.</td>
<td>• Population growth cripples efforts to create modern economies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Democratic national elections are held in South Africa.</td>
<td>• Poverty is widespread.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle East</th>
<th>Economy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Palestine is divided into two states.</td>
<td>• Much of the Middle East is dependent on oil revenue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Arab-Israeli dispute results in war and peace treaties.</td>
<td>• OPEC is formed to gain control over oil prices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Israel and PLO reach agreement about autonomy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle East</th>
<th>Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Tension between traditional ways and Western culture continues.</td>
<td>• Islamic revival reasserts cultural identity and values over foreign, Western influences.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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.

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**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 931 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?