Africa and the Middle East

After World War II, many countries in Africa and the Middle East struggled for independence from European rule. After they gained that independence, they faced other challenges created by political, religious, and economic issues.

North Carolina Standards

Social Studies Objectives

6.05 Analyze issues such as ecological/environmental concerns, political instability, and nationalism as challenges to which societies must respond;

6.06 Trace the development of internal conflicts due to differences in religion, race, culture, and group loyalties in various areas of the world.

Language Arts Objective

2.01.4 Demonstrate the ability to read, listen to and view a variety of increasingly complex print and non-print information texts appropriate to grade level and course by demonstrating comprehension of main idea and supporting details.

Time Line

1945 Following World War II the United Nations is established.

1948 The State of Israel is established.

1963 Kenya achieves independence from Great Britain.

1965 Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated.


1978 Egypt and Israel sign a peace agreement known as the Camp David Accords.
1982 Great Britain and Argentina go to war over the Falkland Islands.

1985

1994 Nelson Mandela is elected president of South Africa.

2005 Iraq holds democratic elections.

1997 Hong Kong reverts to Chinese control.

1999 The United States and NATO stop “ethnic cleansing” in Kosovo.

2005 The United States and NATO stop “ethnic cleansing” in Kosovo.

Reading like a Historian

After spending 27 years in prison for his activities against South Africa’s apartheid government, Nelson Mandela was released in 1990 and became South Africa’s president four years later. In this photo, Mandela visits a school in Johannesburg.

Analyzing Visuals How does this photograph show Nelson Mandela’s importance as a leader to black South Africans?


History’s Impact video program

Watch the video to understand the impact of oil.
Starting Points

At the end of World War II European powers still controlled much of Africa. Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Italy all had African colonies. Forces of change were brewing, however, and most African colonies would become independent nations in the coming years.

1. **Analyze** What challenges do you think Africans faced living under European colonial rule?

2. **Predict** How do you think African countries gained independence from European colonial governments?

Go online to listen to an explanation of the starting points for this chapter.
How did a jailed radical become leader of an African nation? In 1951 Kwame Nkrumah sat in jail in the Gold Coast, a British colony, serving a three-year jail sentence for subversive activities. Nkrumah was the head of the Convention People’s Party (CPP), and the British saw him as a dangerous radical.

At the same time, the British were holding elections in the Gold Coast. Assuming that these elections would be the first step toward self-government in the colony, the British hoped moderates would win the elections. The moderates did not win. Instead, the Convention People’s Party won a majority of the seats.

The British governor of the Gold Coast now faced a dilemma. He could ignore the election results and keep Nkrumah in jail, or he could release Nkrumah and ask him to form a government. On November 12, 1951, the governor released Nkrumah from prison and asked him to form a government, which he did. In 1952 Nkrumah became the prime minister of the Gold Coast, and when the country achieved independence from Britain in 1957, he became the prime minister of the new nation—Ghana.
British and French Colonies

After 1945 European colonial powers began a process of decolonization—the withdrawal of colonial powers from their colonies and areas of influence. Great Britain and France led the way by gradually leaving their colonies and granting them independence.

Ghana After World War II the British colony of the Gold Coast in West Africa was the first British colony to achieve independence. To gain independence, some African leaders in the Gold Coast established a convention to demand greater participation in government. The goal of the convention was to cooperate with the British and gain influence as peacefully as possible.

However, a less cooperative nationalist movement was brewing in the Gold Coast. In 1947 Kwame Nkrumah became the leader of the Gold Coast nationalist movement and established the Convention People’s Party (CPP). As leader of the CPP, Nkrumah led strikes and demonstrations. The British responded by jailing him. Yet, even while in jail, Nkrumah transformed the CPP into a major political party with considerable popular support. Faced with this kind of pressure, the British eventually agreed to allow national elections in the Gold Coast in 1951. The CPP swept the national elections.

In part because Nkrumah continued to press for independence, Britain granted the Gold Coast full self-government in 1957. Nkrumah became the first prime minister of the new nation, which he named Ghana.

Kenya In Kenya in the 1950s, the path to independence did not go as smoothly as it did in Ghana. The ownership of land and the possibility of independence led to conflict between white Kenyan farmers and the native Kikuyu people. The farmers feared independence would cause them to lose large tracts of valuable cash crops, such as coffee, which they grew in the Kenyan highlands. The Kikuyu considered the highlands their ancestral homeland, and they wanted the land back.

A leader of Kenya’s nationalist movement, Jomo Kenyatta, argued for the Kikuyu’s right to the land and its importance.
It is the key to the people’s life; it secures them that peaceful tillage [cultivation] of the soil which supplies their material needs and enables them to perform their magic and traditional ceremonies in undisturbed serenity.

—Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya

To rid Kenya of the white farmers and gain their land back, many Kikuyu farmers formed a violent movement called the Mau Mau. For several years the group terrorized the highlands of Kenya. They murdered anyone who opposed them, including other Africans who cooperated with the white settlers.

The British eventually regained control of the colony by murdering and torturing some members of the Mau Mau movement. Nevertheless, by the late 1950s the British were convinced that they must accept decolonization. A few years later, in 1963, Kenya became an independent nation with Jomo Kenyatta as the nation’s first prime minister.

French Africa  Whereas the British colonies followed one path toward independence, France’s African colonies followed another path. Unlike the British, the French had always insisted that their goal was to incorporate their African colonies into France itself. After World War II, France’s prime minister, Charles de Gaulle, tried to pursue that goal. At the same time, he tried to respond to calls for greater African participation in France’s colonial government.

Some African leaders in France’s colonies believed they should have greater opportunities for self-rule, but rejected a final break with France. These leaders believed Africans could attain economic and cultural benefits from a continuing relationship with France. In 1958, de Gaulle called for a referendum on the continuing union between France and its African colonies. He gave African leaders the choice between remaining tied to France through a new organization of colonies known as the French Community and becoming completely independent. Most colonies voted to become part of the French Community. A few years later France granted most of the colonies of the French Community independence.

**READING CHECK**  **Find the Main Idea**  How did Britain grant independence to its African colonies?

**FERWUAY**

As a young man in the 1920s, Kenyatta joined a group that protested against Kenya’s white-minority government. As a member of the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta spent most of his life fighting to gain more rights for the Kikuyu.

In 1952 the Kenyan government arrested and jailed Kenyatta for leading a movement—called the Mau Mau—against European settlers in Kenya. Although, Kenyatta denied he had any involvement in the movement, he remained in jail for seven years. In 1963, several years after Kenyatta’s release from prison, Kenyans celebrated their independence and elected Kenyatta as their prime minister.

**Infer**  Why do you think Kenyans elected Kenyatta as prime minister?

**Portuguese and Belgian Colonies**

For the Belgian and Portuguese colonies in Africa, the transition to independence was more difficult than for the British and French colonies. The Belgians and the Portuguese held on to their African colonies longer than any other European nations until violence forced them to decolonize.

After World War II, the Belgian government agreed that it should prepare the people of the Belgian Congo for self-government. In the 1950s, African nationalists in the Congo demanded immediate self-government. In 1960 the Belgians suddenly announced that they would withdraw completely from the Congo. Soon violence toward Belgian settlers and a civil war in the Congo erupted.

As Portugal continued to hold on to its colonies, African leaders emerged in the colonies of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, and Mozambique. These leaders organized their own armies to fight for independence. As a result, long years of bloody warfare between the Africans and the Portuguese marked the last decades of Portuguese rule. Years of war and a military coup in Portugal drained Portugal’s economy, making it impossible for the Portuguese to support their colonies. In 1974 Portugal withdrew completely from Africa.

**READING CHECK**  **Summarize**  How did Africans in the Portuguese colonies achieve independence?
Chapter 31

Independence in Africa

1. Regions During what years did most African countries achieve independence?

2. Place Which five countries in Africa have been independent for the longest time?

Julius Nyerere helped Tanzania achieve independence in 1961.

Eritreans celebrate their country’s independence from Ethiopia in 1991.

Japanese Text: 一覧に表示された文脈から、自然言語表現を返す。

South Africa

In the early 1900s South Africa was run by white Afrikaners—descendants of the original Dutch settlers. Even though South Africa had received its official independence from Great Britain in 1910, nonwhites in South Africa were not free under the Afrikaner government of South Africa. The government passed restrictive laws meant to limit the freedom of nonwhites in South Africa.

**Apartheid** In 1948 racial discrimination heightened when the Afrikaner-dominated National Party came to run the South African government. The National Party instituted a policy of apartheid, which means “apartness” in the Afrikaans language. This policy divided people into four racial groups: White, Black, Colored (mixed ancestry), and Asian.

Apartheid attempted to create a greater separation between nonwhites and whites and impose harsh controls over nonwhites. Apartheid laws banned interracial marriages, and placed further restrictions on African ownership of land and businesses.

Apartheid laws were especially harsh on blacks in South Africa. They were required to carry passes or identity books, which indicated where they lived and worked. Further restrictions blacks faced included imprisonment if the police found them in an area for more than 72 hours without a pass.

Under apartheid, only white South Africans could vote or hold political office. Blacks, who made up nearly 75 percent of the population, were denied South African citizenship and were restricted to certain occupations with very little pay.

**Homelands** Apartheid laws also placed strict limits on where blacks could live. In cities, blacks were required to live in impoverished areas called townships. Government laws restricted the types of businesses allowed in townships, ensuring that the people would stay poor. Starting in the 1950s, the government created rural “homelands” for different African tribes or groups. Most of these areas did not include good farmland or resources.

The South African government used these homelands as an excuse for depriving millions of black South Africans of citizenship. In addition, millions of black men were forced to migrate miles from the homelands to work in mines, factories, and farms. These men were not permitted to bring their families with them. As a result, the homeland policy made millions of black South Africans resident aliens in their own country.

**READING CHECK** Find the Main Idea What was apartheid, and how did it function?

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**SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT**

**Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People**

1. **a. Identify** Who was Kwame Nkrumah?
   **b. Compare and Contrast** How did the process of gaining independence differ for British and French colonies in Africa?
   **c. Evaluate** Do you think the Kikuyu people had a right to the land the white farmers owned? Why or why not?

2. **a. Recall** What happened in the Belgian Congo after independence?
   **b. Identify Cause and Effect** What caused Portugal to finally withdraw from its African colonies?

3. **a. Define** What was apartheid?
   **b. Explain** How were the lives of blacks in South Africa restricted by apartheid laws?
   **c. Elaborate** How did homelands deny citizenship to blacks in South Africa?

**Critical Thinking**

4. **Identify Cause and Effect** Copy the graphic organizer here and use it and your notes from this section to list the causes of African independence movements and their effects.

5. **Exposition** In a brief paragraph, compare and contrast the nationalist movements in Ghana and Kenya. Be sure to use supporting details from the section.

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**ACADEMIC VOCABULARY**

**institute** to originate and establish

**READING SKILLS**

**Drawing Conclusions** What can you conclude about the effects of South Africa’s independence?
Sculpture

African Sculpture

What is it? African sculpture includes many different forms such as masks, statues, and carvings. In Africa, peoples of different regions and cultures create styles of sculpture that reflect their unique cultures. Many of these styles use the human form as a subject. One of the highest compliments an African artist can receive is someone praising their work by saying it “looks like a human being.”

Key characteristics:
- Highly skilled artists learn to sculpt at an early age from a master sculptor.
- Sculptures usually represent royalty, ancestors, animals, or spirits.
- Traditional materials used to create sculptures include wood, metals, and clay.

Why is it important?
- Sculpture shows us the rich diversity of cultures throughout Africa.
- African sculpture is a significant art form that is passed on from generation to generation to keep African history and cultures alive.

These masks from South Africa represent the diversity of styles among African artists who created them.

This Yoruba artist is from Nigeria. Over the past 700 years the Yoruba have been known for their skilled craftsmanship and the bronze sculptures they produce like the one pictured above.

Compare What characteristics do these three forms of African sculpture have in common?
How did black South Africans end 300 years of white rule in only four days? First the elderly and the ill came to vote. Some came in wheelchairs and some with canes to cast their ballots in South Africa’s first democratic election. On the following day, April 27, 1994, South Africa’s general population began to vote. In some black areas voters waited in line for more than 10 hours. In rural areas, some voters had to cast their ballots by candlelight.

In some cases, black voters went to cast ballots in white areas where the lines were shorter. The racial hostility that had dominated South Africa for so long seemed to have disappeared. Black and white voters shared a sense of elation as they participated in the rebirth of their nation—the new, democratic South Africa.

For older black voters, the chance to vote was empowering. Many thought that it would never be possible for them to choose their own government. “My parents never saw this day. My husband never saw this day,” said Mildred Motsuenane. “I can tell you dawn is breaking and the dark light is gone.” For voters like Mildred, this was not merely an election, but was a chance for people to get their dignity back.
Political Challenges

In the 1950s and 1960s many former European colonies in Africa were ruled by dictators and some nations fell into civil war. However, the 1990s brought renewed hope with the return of democracy in many African countries and the end of the apartheid system in South Africa.

Protesting South Africa’s Apartheid

In the early 1900s a group of blacks in South Africa had formed the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC petitioned the government and held peaceful protests against apartheid. In the 1940s, however, younger and more radical members joined the organization, including a young lawyer named Nelson Mandela.

In 1952 Mandela helped organize a campaign that urged blacks in South Africa to break apartheid laws. The ANC gained a mass following from this campaign.

In 1960 the ANC drastically changed its peaceful philosophy after police fired on demonstrators in the township of Sharpeville, killing more than 60 people. The Sharpeville Massacre was a turning point in the anti-apartheid movement. Some ANC leaders, including Mandela, decided that they would have to meet violence with violence. In response to this decision, the government banned the ANC and jailed Mandela.

In 1976, a major student protest movement took place in the township of Soweto. The Soweto Uprising was set off by a government decree that black schools teach their students Afrikaans—the language spoken by the majority of white South Africans. When police killed a protesting student, the peaceful march developed into a revolt. The police crushed the uprising, but more than 600 people were killed and 4,000 wounded.

After the uprising, violence erupted in many black townships, while the ANC fought to end apartheid. At the same time, much of the international community imposed trade sanctions, or restrictions, on South Africa in an attempt to force the nation to abandon apartheid.

Democracy in South Africa

In 1990 under President F.W. de Klerk, South Africa legalized the ANC and began negotiations to enact a new constitution that would end apartheid. De Klerk released Mandela from prison and lifted the long-standing ban on the African National Congress. De Klerk also abolished the homelands and held South Africa’s first democratic elections. The ANC swept the elections, and

Mandela’s Trial Speech

In 1964 Nelson Mandela gave a speech at the Rivona Trial, in which 10 ANC leaders were accused of promoting acts of sabotage and violent revolution. In the speech, Mandela explained why ANC leaders felt they had no choice but to use violence to resist the government. He also eloquently expressed his commitment to his principles.

“During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”

—Nelson Mandela, April 20, 1964

1. Explain  To what cause does Mandela say he is committed?
2. Analyze Primary Sources  What impact do you think Mandela’s speech had on his cause?

Nelson Mandela became the first black president of a democratic South Africa.

**Military Dictatorships** By the end of the 1960s almost all of the newly independent African nations had adopted a one-party system. In this system, a single political party controls the government and elections are rarely competitive. In many countries opposition parties were outlawed.

Dictators ruled many of these African nations by maintaining their power through patronage, giving their loyal followers well-paying positions in the government. Some corrupt officials required bribes for government contracts or licenses. These officials also ran government enterprises for their own personal profit, and sometimes stole money from the public treasury.

This new generation of African dictators robbed their countries of their wealth. For example, Mobutu Sese Seko, dictator of the Congo, amassed a personal fortune of about $5 billion and built a $100 million palace. While Mobutu enriched himself, his nation’s people fell into poverty. Other dictators committed similar offenses.

**Ethnic Conflicts and Civil War** When the European powers divided Africa into colonies, preexisting political units were not maintained. After independence, rival ethnic groups competed for control.

Some of these conflicts led to destructive civil wars. In 1967 in Nigeria people of the Igbo-speaking ethnic group of eastern Nigeria proclaimed their own independent state of Biafra. As a result, a bloody civil war erupted. About 2 million Nigerians died from fighting, and just as many died of starvation. After Biafra collapsed, the territory rejoined Nigeria.

Similarly, a civil war and a severe drought led to enormous suffering in Somalia in 1992. Hundreds of thousands of Somalis died when warping militias stole food sent to Somalia from international relief agencies. The United States and the United Nations tried to help but were unsuccessful.

In the 1990s tensions between two ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi, in Rwanda erupted in widespread violence. In 1994 the Hutu-led government encouraged a genocide of Tutsi and moderate Hutu civilians, which resulted in the massacre of about 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutus. Many more civilians fled to refugee camps in the neighboring countries of Burundi, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**Democracy for Some** Despite conflicts and war throughout the late 1900s, many African countries were still dictatorships. During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union had each provided large amounts of money to dictators who were friendly to their side. But when the Cold War ended in 1989, most of that money dried up. The lack of funding began to weaken some of the dictators’ governments. Many Africans saw this weakness as an opportunity to create democratic governments and they demanded elections.

By 2005, more than 30 African countries had abandoned one-party systems and held elections. Results of these elections were mixed, however. Some former dictators resorted to fraud and intimidation to win elections. Others were elected because the people preferred them to other alternatives.

**Quick Facts**

**ONE-PARTY RULE AND MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS**

Since gaining independence, many African countries have struggled to build stable governments.

**ETHNIC CONFLICTS AND CIVIL WAR**

Africa’s ethnic diversity and rivalries, combined with country borders that were drawn without consideration of ethnic homelands, led to conflicts and civil wars in many countries.

**STRUGGLES WITH DEMOCRACY**

Beginning in the early 1990s many African countries began to make progress toward democracy and overcome their history of dictatorship and conflict. However, most countries still struggled to hold free and fair elections and maintain stability.
Economic and Environmental Challenges

After achieving independence, many African nations faced economic challenges that came with their new status. In addition, Africans had to combat the spread of disease and environmental problems.

**Struggling Economies** After independence, the economies of most African nations were fragile because they depended on only one or two exports for their support. African nations were not yet industrialized and depended on farming or the mining of raw materials. For example, Ghana depended on cocoa, and Nigeria, on oil.

To support themselves, many African nations turned to international organizations, such as the World Bank, for development loans. However, even with economic help, bad planning and corrupt leaders left these nations with huge debts and no infrastructure.

**Disease** African nations have also been challenged by the management of deadly diseases. Malaria, a disease that is spread by mosquitoes, continues to be one of the most common causes of death in much of Africa today.

In the 1980s a new disease, acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), spread rapidly through Africa. The HIV virus that causes AIDS weakens the body’s immune system and results in death. The social costs of HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa are staggering. Millions of children are orphans because their parents died from AIDS. A small percentage of infected Africans are receiving AIDS treatment, but prevention programs continue to be somewhat effective in several countries.

**Desertification** The scarcity of fertile farmland and pastures for livestock is a challenge for many Africans today. Farmers must plant crops in poor soil, and herders have to graze their animals in extremely dry regions. As a result, the soil in these areas dries out, and the natural grasses cannot grow. The Sahara and the Sahel in North Africa are expanding today due to *desertification*, the spread of desertlike conditions. Desertification threatens the future of Africa by contributing to the cycles of drought and famine that plague many African countries today.
Revival of African Culture

In spite of the challenges African countries have faced since independence, Africans have experienced a cultural revival. Many Africans lost faith in their own culture during the colonial era, but a new generation of African writers, artists, and musicians has emerged to establish a powerful African identity.

Language and Literature  During colonial rule Africans preserved their culture and used it as a means of expressing dissatisfaction with colonial rule. For example, many Africans in East Africa continued to study Swahili, an African language. After independence in the early 1960s, Swahili became the national language in both Kenya and Tanzania. Swahili writers maintained a strong tradition of poetry, plays, and novels.

A new type of African literature developed in the French-speaking colonies of West Africa. A group of African and Caribbean students living in Paris in the 1930s founded the negritude movement. Their writings rejected European culture and focused on African culture and identity.

In the years after independence, African writers shifted their focus from a criticism of European colonialism to a criticism of African leaders. However, many of these writers faced censorship and harassment by the African governments they ridiculed. Writers such as Wole Soyinka spent time in prison for opposing the Nigerian government through his writings. Other African writers fled Africa to escape possible imprisonment.

Art, Music, and Dance  Just as literature became a new means of expressing African identity, so did the traditional arts such as sculpture, music, and dance. African artists began to produce traditional pieces, such as ceremonial masks, African musical instruments, and sculptures carved from wood or cast in bronze. These African artists incorporated new ideas and materials into their work, giving the revival of African art a new vitality and creativity. As a result, African art is highly valued on the world market today.

Music and dance are also an important art form in many African societies. African musicians have traditionally played music to honor their history and mark special occasions. Traditional dances are also performed in many African cultures to celebrate specific events or special ceremonies.

In the 1960s African musicians began to blend traditional African styles with Western musical styles. To create this new music, African musicians used common Western instruments in addition to traditional African instruments. Later, in the 1980s, African popular music, or Afro-Pop, became popular in Europe and throughout the world. As a result, many African musicians are internationally known today.

Find the Main Idea  What subject did many African writers focus on after independence?

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. a. Define  What are one-party systems?
   b. Draw Conclusions  Why were civil wars common in post-colonial Africa?
   c. Elaborate  How important was the end of apartheid?
2. a. Recall  What caused African economies to struggle and depend on outside aid?
   b. Explain  Why has economic development been so difficult in Africa?
   c. Develop  What do you think African leaders should do to improve economic conditions in their countries?
3. a. Define  What was the negritude movement?
   b. Analyze  In what ways have Africans preserved their traditional culture?

Critical Thinking

4. Summarize  Copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list the key people or events that are related to Africa’s challenges.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key People or Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apartheid</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dictatorship and War</td>
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<td>Struggling economies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disease</td>
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<td>Desertification</td>
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</tbody>
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5. Narration  Write a brief radio report that might have been broadcast after Nelson Mandela was elected president of South Africa in 1994. In your report, relate the sequence of events that ended apartheid in South Africa.
By Wole Soyinka

Once, for a dare,
He filled his heart-shaped swimming pool
With bank notes, high denomination
And fed a pound of caviar to his dog.
The dog was sick; a chartered plane
Flew in replacement for the Persian rug.

He made a billion yen
Leap from Tokyo to Buenos Aires,
Turn somersaults through Brussels,
New York, Sofia and Johannesburg.
It cracked the bullion market open wide.
Governments fell, coalitions cracked
Insurrection raised its bloody flag
From north to south.

He knew his native land through iron gates,
His sight was radar bowls, his hearing
Electronic beams. For flesh and blood,
Kept company with a brace of Dobermans.
But—yes—the worthy causes never lacked
His widow’s mite, discreetly publicized.

He escaped the lynch days. He survives.
I dreamt I saw him on a village
Water line, a parched land where
Water is a god
That doles its favors by the drop,
And waiting is a way of life.
Rebellion gleamed yet faintly in his eye
Traversing chrome-and-platinum retreats. There,
Hubs of commerce smoothly turn without
His bidding, and cities where he lately roosted
Have forgotten him, the preying bird
Of passage.

They let him live, but not from pity
Or human sufferance. He scratches life
From earth, no worse a mortal man than the rest.
Far, far away in dreamland splendor,
Creepers twine his gates of bronze relief.
The jade-lined pool is home
To snakes and lizards; they hunt and mate
On crusted algae.
How did Algerians win their independence? Bombs explode in crowded cafes, restaurants, and markets in the French section of Algiers. In response, government troops close off the Casbah, the old section of the city. They search houses and arrest thousands of people. Many of those arrested are tortured.

This was the scene in Algiers in 1956 when an Algerian nationalist group, the National Liberation Front (FLN), decided to take its war for independence against Algeria’s French rulers to the cities. The FLN launched a campaign of bombings and assassinations aimed at both police and civilians. The French responded with a harsh crackdown on Arab residents.

Through tough interrogations of the people they had arrested, the French were able to track down most of the leadership of the FLN. The leaders were killed or thrown into prison, effectively shutting down the FLN’s terror campaign.

Even though the French won the Battle of Algiers, they lost Algeria. The harsh tactics the French used increased popular support for the FLN, and six years later Algeria won its independence.
French North Africa

After World War II, France faced growing nationalist movements in its North African protectorates of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. In all three places, resistance to colonialism had a strong influence on national identity.

Morocco and Tunisia  In both Morocco and Tunisia, nationalist campaigns for independence began to grow in the early and mid-1900s. Attempts by France to crack down on these growing movements eventually led to increasing unrest, demonstrations, and guerrilla wars.

Meanwhile, Algeria was also struggling for independence. Algeria was far more important to the French because it was home to a large French settler population. Eventually, the French government concluded that it could not fight guerrilla wars in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia at the same time. As a result, France decided to negotiate with nationalist leaders in Morocco and Tunisia. Both countries were granted independence in 1956.

Algeria  France had been involved in Algeria since 1830, when it first took control of some areas there. Later, France began to encourage large-scale European settlement in Algeria. By the 1950s there were more than 1 million European settlers in the area. These settlers owned the best land, dominated the economy, and had a grip on political power.

In 1954 a group of Algerian nationalist leaders formed the National Liberation Front (FLN). When the FLN began a campaign of armed attacks against French targets in November 1954, the French responded with mass arrests and raids on Muslim towns.

The next year the FLN decided to directly target French settlers. In one city, attacks killed more than 100 people. French forces and groups of settlers responded by attacking Muslims. Between 1,200 and 12,000 Muslims were killed in these reprisal attacks. These attacks set the pattern for the deadly war in Algeria—the FLN targeted French civilians, and the French responded by attacking the Muslim population.

In Algiers, the Algerian capital, the FLN launched a campaign of bombings and assassinations directed at both civilians and the military. The French responded with a harsh counterterrorism campaign that included torture of suspected FLN members. By the summer of 1957, the FLN had been largely defeated in Algiers. But the war was far from over.

French settlers in Algeria became increasingly angry over a perceived lack of support from the French government. In May 1958 French troops and a mob of settlers seized power in Algiers, demanding a change in government in Paris. Their demands were met when Charles de Gaulle was appointed prime minister in June 1958. De Gaulle was seen as a strong supporter of the settler population of Algeria.

De Gaulle hoped to satisfy both the French settlers and the Algerian nationalists by giving Algeria a limited degree of self-government. But he faced a violent reaction from the French settlers, who did not want France to give up any degree of control over Algeria, and the nationalists, who wanted full independence for Algeria.

De Gaulle finally decided that French rule in Algeria could not be maintained. He opened peace talks with the FLN in February 1961 and signed an agreement granting Algeria independence in 1962.

Contrast  How was the struggle for independence in Algeria different from the struggle in Morocco and Tunisia?

The Creation of Israel

Nationalism also led to the creation of Israel. Since the late 1800s the Jewish nationalist movement known as Zionism had been growing, and Jews had been calling for an independent state in their ancient homeland. After World War II, Jewish dreams of an independent Jewish state were finally realized.

End of the British Mandate  After World War I, the League of Nations gave Britain control over the mandate of Palestine and required Britain to make preparations for a Jewish homeland there. Following World War II, Jewish leaders in Palestine pressed the British to create a Jewish state. With the horrors of the Holocaust revealed to the world, the international community was sympathetic to the Zionist cause.
In 1947 Britain announced that it was giving up control of the mandate and turning the matter over to the United Nations. The UN proposed to partition, or divide, Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state with Jerusalem under international control. Jewish leaders accepted the proposal, but Arab leaders rejected it. Despite Arab objections, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution supporting the partition as valid.

Independence and War As the British left Palestine, David Ben-Gurion and other Jewish leaders declared the birth of the democratic State of Israel on May 14, 1948. Ben-Gurion later became Israel’s first prime minister.

The day after Israel declared its independence, armies from the Arab countries of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Iraq invaded Israel, launching the first Arab-Israeli war. The war lasted from May to December 1948. In the end, the Arab armies were soundly defeated.

Arab states negotiated cease-fire agreements with Israel, but they would not sign permanent peace treaties.

One result of this first Arab-Israeli war was that the Arab state proposed by the UN did not come into existence. Instead, during the fighting both Israel and neighboring Arab countries seized and held the land that had been planned for the new state. At the end of the war, Egypt controlled the Gaza Strip, and Transjordan controlled the territory west of the Jordan River known as the West Bank.

The war also caused massive refugee problems. By the end of the fighting, around 700,000 Palestinian Arabs had become refugees. They fled or were expelled from areas that Israel took control of as well as from the general war and chaos. Meanwhile, many Jewish refugees fled or were expelled from Arab countries and resettled in Israel.

READING CHECK Summarize What events led to the creation of Israel as an independent state?
Changes in Egypt and Iran

Israel’s victory in the first Arab-Israeli war had effects throughout the Arab world. The victory discredited many of the region’s leaders. As the pro-Western leaders lost popular support, a group of young nationalist leaders came to power in places such as Egypt and Iran. These new nationalist leaders soon came into conflict with the West.

A New Government in Egypt  Egypt had gained its formal independence from Great Britain in 1922. But in many ways Egypt was not a fully independent country. British troops occupied the Suez Canal Zone, and a 1936 treaty allowed Britain to defend Egypt if it was attacked. The Egyptian monarch, King Farouk I, was strongly pro-British and seen as dependent on the British for his power.

Egypt’s loss in the first Arab-Israeli war discredited King Farouk I and the leaders of Egypt’s parliament. Many Egyptians believed that corruption in the palace, the parliament, and the army contributed to the defeat. The growing gap between rich and poor under the post-independence government also angered many Egyptians.

Out of this dissatisfaction came a 1952 military coup led by a 34-year-old colonel named Gamal Abdel Nasser. A group of young nationalist army officers staged the coup. Nasser and his co-conspirators moved quickly to consolidate power. They forced King Farouk out of power, abolished the monarchy, banned existing political parties, and created a single government party. Nasser also undertook an ambitious program of land reform to gain support among the poor.

The Suez Crisis  Nasser became the most important figure in the Arab world after his confrontation with Britain, France, and Israel over the Suez Canal. This confrontation, known as the Suez Crisis, had its roots in the politics of the Cold War.

After Nasser came to power, he refused to join the Baghdad Pact, the U.S.-led alliance against communism in the Middle East. Then, when Nasser requested that western countries sell him arms, they refused. As a result, Nasser turned to Czechoslovakia, which was controlled by the Soviet Union, and signed an arms deal. The United States and Britain responded by refusing to loan Egypt money to build a dam on the Nile River at Aswan.

Causes and Effects of the Suez Canal Crisis

Causes

- Egypt signs an arms deal with Czechoslovakia.
- The United States and Great Britain decide not to help Egypt fund the Aswan High Dam.
- Egypt blocks Israeli shipping and supports raids against Israel.
- Egypt takes over control of the Suez Canal.
- Great Britain, France, and Israel secretly agree to attack Egypt and take the canal back.

Effects

- Egypt is defeated militarily, but Nasser emerges as a hero for standing up to the West.
- A desire for Arab unity, or Pan-Arabism, increases.
- Hostility between Egypt and Israel increases.
Nasser was enraged that the United States and Britain denied him the funding necessary to build the dam. In response, he decided to nationalize, or take control of, the Suez Canal, which was owned by an international company controlled by Britain and France.

For many people in the Arab world, Nasser’s action was celebrated as an act of defiance against European imperialism. But the British and French were outraged by this seizure of property. Hostility between Egypt and Israel was also growing.

In October 1956 Britain, France, and Israel launched a coordinated attack on Egypt. Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula, and British and French troops occupied the Suez Canal Zone. Militarily, they defeated the Egyptian forces. The United States did not support these actions, which created tensions with the Soviet Union. The U.S. government pressured Britain, France, and Israel to withdraw, which they did. When these countries withdrew and Egypt was left in control of the Suez Canal, the Suez Crisis became a great victory for Nasser. He became a hero in the Arab world.

Nasser promoted Pan-Arabism, or Arab unity, hoping to unite the Arab world. He brought Egypt and Syria together in 1958 as the United Arab Republic, but Syria withdrew two years later. Despite this failure, Nasser remained very popular in the Arab world.

Conflict in Iran When Mohammad Reza Pahlavi became shah of Iran in 1941, British and Russian troops occupied parts of the country. A British-run company also controlled Iran’s highly profitable oil industry and kept most of the profits.

Iranian nationalists were determined to take control of the country’s oil resources, reduce the power of the shah, and establish a constitutional monarchy. These nationalists were led by Mohammad Mosaddeq, an opponent of foreign influence in Iran.

In 1951 the Iranian parliament named Mosaddeq prime minister and voted to nationalize the Iranian oil industry. In response, Britain and the United States called for a boycott of Iranian oil, preventing Iran from selling much of its oil on the world market.

Meanwhile, Mosaddeq worked to reduce the power of the monarchy. He placed army forces under the control of the government, not the shah. He reduced the size of the army and forced officers loyal to the shah to leave.

Many military officers were upset with these reforms, and some joined a coup to replace Mosaddeq that was supported by the United States and Britain. When the coup was successful. Mosaddeq was overthrown and the shah returned to power.

After returning to power, the shah began an ambitious program of reforms, including land reform and a campaign to increase literacy. Iran’s industry, education, and health care improved. Education and employment opportunities for women also improved.

The shah continued to rule with an iron hand, however. He used his secret police to spy on, intimidate, and torture the opposition. The shah’s reforms were also opposed by conservatives who viewed them as moving Iran away from traditional Islamic values.

**REVIEWING IDEAS, TERMS, AND PEOPLE**

1. **Recall** How did the large population of French settlers in Algeria affect Algeria’s history?
   - **Compare and Contrast** What tactics were used by the FLN and by the French in the struggle in Algeria?
2. **Describe** What was the UN plan for the partition of Palestine?
   - **Sequence** What happened after David Ben-Gurion and other Jewish leaders announced the creation of the State of Israel in 1948?
   - **Predict** How might the events of 1947 and 1948 have set the stage for more conflicts between Israel and Arab states in the Middle East?
3. **Describe** Who was Gamal Abdel Nasser, and how did he promote Pan-Arabism?
   - **Summarize** What events led to the Suez Crisis?
   - **Develop** How did the policies of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi both help and hurt Iran?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

4. **Sequence** Use your notes from this section and a graphic organizer like this one to create a time line of the key events in North Africa and the Middle East.

5. **Exposition** Write a brief newspaper article that describes the crisis over the Suez Canal.
Conflicts in the Middle East

Before You Read

Main Idea
Regional issues in the Middle East have led to conflicts between Israel and its neighbors and to conflicts in and between Iran and Iraq.

Reading Focus
1. How have regional issues contributed to conflicts in the Middle East?
2. What were some key events in the Arab-Israeli conflict?
3. What caused a revolution in Iran?
4. How have conflicts in Iraq affected that country?

Key Terms and People
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
- Six-Day War
- Yom Kippur War
- Golda Meir
- Anwar Sadat
- Menachem Begin
- Camp David Accords
- intifada
- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini
- Iranian Revolution

A Difficult Peace

How did a meeting in Maryland lead to peace between Egypt and Israel? In the summer of 1978 Egypt and Israel were holding peace talks after decades of conflict. U.S. president Jimmy Carter decided to bring together Egyptian and Israeli leaders for face-to-face negotiations. Carter invited Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin to a meeting at Camp David, the U.S. presidential retreat in northern Maryland.

At first, the meetings went poorly. Israeli and Egyptian delegates sat in different sections of the dining room. On the third day of talks, discussions between Begin and Sadat broke down into heated arguments. One of Begin’s advisors suggested that Begin and Sadat be kept apart for the remainder of the negotiations.

President Carter and his staff kept working for an agreement. The U.S. team went back and forth between the Egyptians and the Israelis, gathering comments and suggested changes to a proposed peace agreement. U.S. negotiators wrote 23 drafts of an agreement before coming up with a version that both sides would accept. After 13 days of intense negotiations, Begin and Sadat finally signed the agreement—the first peace treaty between Israel and one of its Arab neighbors.

Regional Issues

Over the last few decades, major conflicts have erupted in the Middle East. Although the circumstances surrounding each of these conflicts were unique, some general regional issues have contributed to the conflicts. These regional issues include the presence of huge oil reserves, the growth of Islamism, and the conflict between Israel and its neighbors.

Oil in the Middle East

About two-thirds of the world’s known oil reserves are located in the Middle East. These vast oil reserves have been a great source of wealth for Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and other countries. Most of the region’s oil-rich countries...
are members of the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**, which attempts to regulate the production of oil exports to maximize revenues.

Oil revenues have allowed governments in the Middle East to modernize their countries and promote industrialization, economic development, and social programs. However, oil has also been a source of conflict. Some governments have used oil revenues to build up their military, maintain power, and even threaten their neighbors. Oil wealth has also caused internal clashes within countries and societies. In addition, the region’s strategic importance as a source of oil has led outside nations to become involved in Middle Eastern affairs and politics.

**Growth of Islamism** Another regional issue that has led to conflict is the growth of Islamism, or Islamic fundamentalism, a movement to reorder government and society according to Islamic laws. Islamists believe that Muslim countries have strayed from the path of true Islam by following Western models of political and economic development. Over the last decades, countries such as Egypt, Iran, and Iraq have seen a growth in Islamism, which has led to conflicts within society and government. Furthermore, some Islamic extremists have used violence to try to bring about the changes they want. These radical extremists have attacked regional governments, their allies, and innocent civilians.

**Conflicts with Israel** A third regional issue that has been a source of conflict in the Middle East involves Israel. Since Israel was established in 1948, most Middle Eastern countries have refused to recognize its right to exist. Some countries have repeatedly attacked Israel and funded militant groups that conduct raids and terrorist attacks against Israelis. A series of wars between Israel and its neighbors has led to the expansion of Israel, which controls more land now than it did in 1948. As a result, many Palestinian Arabs live under Israeli control, another source of tension and conflict in the region.

**READING CHECK** Summarize What regional issues have led to conflicts in the Middle East?
The Arab-Israeli Conflict

The Arab-Israeli conflict that began in 1948 has continued through the years. In 1967 and again in 1973, war erupted. Six years after the 1973 war, Egypt and Israel signed a peace agreement, but unrest among Palestinian Arabs in Israel remained a major problem.

War in 1967 and 1973 In 1967 Egypt demanded that the UN remove its troops from Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula. Egyptian troops then moved into the Sinai, and Egypt began to close off the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel’s route to the Red Sea. Expecting a large-scale Arab attack, Israel decided to strike first.

Israel launched air strikes against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, destroying most of their airplanes on the ground. Israeli ground troops then moved in and rapidly defeated Arab forces. In this war, called the Six-Day War, Israel took control of the Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, West Bank, and East Jerusalem. Israel gained control of land in the West Bank and Gaza with a large Palestinian population.

Determined to win their territory back Egypt and Syria launched the Yom Kippur War, a surprise attack against Israel in 1973. The war takes its name from the Jewish holy day when the attack began. At first, Arab troops made gains in the war. Israel’s government, led by Golda Meir, was not fully prepared for the attack and needed military support from the United States. With U.S. support, Israeli forces regrouped and pushed back the Egyptian and Syrian armies. After weeks of fighting, both sides agreed to a cease-fire.

During the war, Arab members of OPEC declared an oil embargo, or a refusal to sell oil, to countries supporting Israel, including the United States. The price of oil around the world rose dramatically as a result.

A Peace Agreement Until the late 1970s no Arab nation had recognized Israel’s right to exist. Then, in 1977, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat made a momentous declaration: Egypt wanted peace with Israel. To help facilitate this historic peace, U.S. president Jimmy Carter invited Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin to Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland. There, in 1978, Sadat and Begin reached an agreement known as the Camp David Accords. Egypt recognized Israel, and Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. The treaty ended 30 years of hostility between Egypt and Israel.

Palestinian Unrest As Egypt and Israel made peace, Palestinian Arabs continued their struggle for nationhood. Under the UN partition plan of 1947, there were supposed to be two states in Palestine—a Jewish state and an Arab state. After the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, however, the land set aside for the Arab state was occupied by Israel, Egypt, and Jordan.

Palestinian nationalism was strong, and in 1964 the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) formed with a pledge to destroy Israel and replace it with a Palestinian state. After Yasser Arafat became leader in 1969, the PLO launched a campaign of guerrilla attacks against Israel, first from Jordan and later from Lebanon. In an effort to stop the PLO attacks, Israel invaded Lebanon in 1978 and again in 1982.

Meanwhile, tensions were building in the West Bank and Gaza, where Israel had begun building settlements. In 1987 Palestinian resentment of Israeli occupation boiled over into a rebellion called the intifada. During the intifada, Palestinian youths battled Israeli troops
AfRICA AnD THE MIDDlE EAST

in widespread street violence. Israel responded with strong military and police resistance, but the fighting continued until the early 1990s.

In 1993 PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin negotiated the Oslo Accords to end the violence. The agreement called for the Palestinians to gradually gain control over the governing of the West Bank and Gaza. Israel and the PLO were supposed to sign a permanent agreement by 1998.

Extremists on both sides worked hard to undermine the peace process. The militant group Hamas launched suicide bombings in Israel. An Israeli religious fanatic assassinated Rabin in 1995. Eventually, relations between the Israeli and Palestinian leadership soured.

In 2000 a second intifada began. This time, Palestinian youths were joined by Palestinian security forces with guns. Hamas sent suicide bombers into Israel to attack civilians. The Israelis countered by sending troops backed by tanks, fighter jets, and helicopter gunships into cities in the West Bank and Gaza.

In 2004 Yasser Arafat died and was succeeded by Mahmoud Abbas. That same year, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon decided that Israel would withdraw from Gaza and parts of the West Bank. Israeli troops compelled Israeli settlers to leave Gaza and turned it over to the Palestinians in 2005. But tensions grew once more when Hamas, which many countries consider a terrorist organization, won control of the Palestinian parliament in 2006.

Also in 2006, armed conflict erupted after militants kidnapped several Israeli soldiers along the borders with Gaza and Lebanon. Israel launched massive air strikes and ground offensives in Gaza and southern Lebanon to root out extremists and secure its borders.

SEQUENCE Describe the sequence of events in the Arab-Israeli conflict.
Revolution in Iran

A different kind of conflict erupted in Iran, where a revolution ousted the shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. The shah had close ties to Western governments and oil companies. With their support, Iran westernized, and foreign influence grew. By the 1970s, Iran had changed from a traditional rural society to a more industrialized and urban one. Many Iranians felt threatened by this rapid change, while others felt betrayed by a government they viewed as corrupt. Islamists, in particular, opposed the shah because of his ties to the West.

In 1978 Iranians began to protest against the shah’s rule. These protests were inspired by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (koh-MAH-nee), a Shia religious leader. Unable to calm the unrest, the shah fled Iran in 1979. During the Iranian Revolution Iran became an Islamic republic with Khomeini as its leader.

Under Khomeini’s regime, the government suppressed political opposition and enforced strict social and religious values. Iran’s foreign policy became strongly anti-Western, especially after the shah went to the United States for medical treatment.

In 1979 Iranian revolutionaries seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took 66 Americans hostage. The Iranians demanded that the shah be returned to Iran to stand trial. Although the shah left the United States shortly thereafter, the Iranians continued to hold the hostages until January 1981.

Conflict in Iraq

As Iran’s new government was dealing with the hostage crisis, it soon found itself at war with its neighbor, Iraq. Later, Iraq fought two wars against U.S.-led coalitions before the government of Saddam Hussein was overthrown.

The Iran-Iraq War In 1980 Iraq attacked Iran because of border disputes and because Iran’s new government called for revolution among Iraq’s Shiite population. The war was long and costly, with as many as 500,000 dead on both sides. During the war, Iraq used chemical weapons against Iranian troops as well as Kurdish Iraqis who supported Iran. In 1988, after years of stalemate, Iran and Iraq agreed to a cease-fire.

The Persian Gulf War After the cease-fire, Saddam Hussein continued to build up Iraq’s military, even though Iraq already had the largest army in the Arab world. In 1990 Iraq accused neighboring Kuwait of drilling into an Iraqi oil field and stealing oil. Hussein used this excuse to invade Kuwait.

In an effort to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, the UN passed economic sanctions against Iraq. Those sanctions failed. As a result, a U.S.-led coalition launched the Persian Gulf War, attacking the Iraqi forces in Kuwait. In weeks, Kuwait was freed.

After the war, the UN continued its economic sanctions, insisted that Iraq destroy its chemical and biological weapons and agree not to develop nuclear weapons. But Iraq failed to fully cooperate with UN weapons inspectors.
who had been sent to verify that Iraq's weapons had been destroyed.

**The Iraq War** Following the attacks of September 11, 2001, some U.S. leaders believed that Saddam Hussein posed a greater threat to the United States than before. They worried that Hussein might have deadly weapons that he could give to terrorists. A new round of UN weapons inspections did not find any stockpiles of chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons; but again, Iraq did not fully cooperate with the inspections. Some U.S. officials were convinced that Hussein was hiding weapons. As a result, in 2003 another U.S.-led coalition invaded Iraq, quickly forcing Hussein out of power.

The coalition then moved to bring order to the nation, but efforts to restore peace were thwarted. A growing insurgency, or armed rebellion, by different groups from both inside and outside Iraq targeted coalition forces, their Iraqi allies, and innocent civilians. Insurgent attacks grew more and more deadly.

Meanwhile, the coalition worked to create a new, democratic government in Iraq. In 2004 political power was transferred to the Iraqis. In 2005 Iraqis voted in the country's first multiparty election in 50 years and later approved a new constitution that would make Iraq an Islamic federal democracy. But even as Iraq made progress toward a new government, continuing violence and the potential for civil war made the country's future highly uncertain.

**READING CHECK** Infer What are the main problems Iraq has faced in recent years?

**Critical Thinking**

5. **Identify Cause and Effect** Using your notes, fill in a graphic organizer like the one below to identify causes and effects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Iranian Revolution, and wars in Iraq.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Effects</th>
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6. **Description** For a library display on the Camp David Accords, write a paragraph describing the scene at Camp David when the agreement was reached.
The Iranian Revolution

**Historical Context** The four documents below present opinions from both sides of the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

**Task** Study the selections and answer the questions that follow. After you have studied all the documents, you will be asked to write an essay explaining why the Iranian Revolution occurred. You will need to use evidence from these selections and from the chapter to support the position you take in your essay.

**Document 1**

**Iran before the Revolution**

Before the Revolution of 1979, Iran was ruled by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who worked to modernize and Westernize the country. As part of his effort to change Iran—a goal not shared by all Iranians—the shah wanted closer ties with the United States, a desire he expressed in a toast delivered to U.S. president Richard Nixon at a state dinner in 1972.

Depending upon 25 centuries of national heritage and sovereignty, we today have started a new period of renewing our past glories, based on the eternal values of our culture and civilization, and hope that the pages of our future history will also be thumbed through with the same national pride based on honor, righteousness, peace, and justice.

We have based our independent national policy on international understanding in the path of national reconstruction and the strengthening of world peace, coexistence, and, above all, cooperation. It is to be noted that we shall not tolerate any inequality from any quarter in our relations with other countries. Certainly under no circumstances will we allow any violation of our land or of our rights.

**Document 2**

**Leader of the Revolution**

The Iranian Revolution was led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a Muslim leader who had been exiled from Iran for making derogatory comments against both the shah and the United States. Though the ayatollah died in 1989, images of him, such as this mural in a busy Tehran street, can still be seen all over Iran.
The Ayatollah Speaks

Shortly after the overthrow of the shah, Ayatollah Khomeini addressed the people of Iran about the events that inspired the revolution.

Your opponents, oppressed people, have never suffered. In the time of the taghut [impurity], they never suffered because either they were in agreement with the regime and loyal to it, or they kept silent. Now you have spread the banquet of freedom in front of them and they have sat down to eat. Xenomaniacs, people infatuated with the West, empty people, people with no content! Come to your senses; do not try to westernize everything you have! Look at the West, and see who the people are in the West that present themselves as champions of human rights and what their aims are. Is it human rights they really care about, or the rights of the superpowers? What they really want to secure are the rights of the superpowers. Our jurists should not follow or imitate them. You should implement human rights as the working classes of our society understand them. Yes, they are the real Society for the Defense of Human Rights. They are the ones who secure the well-being of humanity; they work while you talk; for they are Muslims and Islam cares about humanity.

An American View of the Revolution

The revolution in Iran drew attention around the world. Scholars tried to explain its causes. One such scholar was Lewis Ware, who published this passage in the Air University Review in 1980. In his article, Ware points out that many Iranians did not consider the shah to be their legitimate ruler. He had already been overthrown once before, in 1953, and only regained his position through the intervention of the CIA. As a result, many Iranians considered him a puppet of the U.S. government.

The Shah was the great modernizer of Iran. To further his goals he chose an autocratic model of nation-building bequeathed to him by his father, Reza Shah. During his reign a need for independence informed Muhammad Reza Pahlavi’s vision of Iranian grandeur from which he never wavered and to which he applied the limitless resources of absolute monarchy. He failed to unite Iran under his person and destroyed in the process any possibility for Iran to act in an unrestrained environment... The Shah’s debacle came about because there had never been, nor could there ever be under the circumstances, a general agreement on the meaning of progress. As a consequence, the Shah was denied the very security and legitimacy his regime needed to exist.

Skills Focus

Reading Like a Historian

**DOCUMENT 1**

a. **Identify** What values does the shah say he wants Iran to be known for?

b. **Elaborate** How do you think the shahs’ opinions would have been received by those who did not share his goals?

**DOCUMENT 2**

a. **Explain** Why do you think the ayatollah’s image can still be seen throughout Iran?

b. **Develop** What does the popularity of the ayatollah’s image suggest about people’s views of his ideas?

**DOCUMENT 3**

a. **Describe** What does the ayatollah say is Westerners’ real motivation for their involvement in Iran?

b. **Contrast** How did the ayatollah’s views differ from the shah’s? Which do you think were shared by more Iranians?

**DOCUMENT 4**

a. **Analyze** How does Ware characterize the shah’s reign?

b. **Interpret** Why does Ware think the shah’s government was overthrown?

**DOCUMENT-BASED ESSAY QUESTION**

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 was led by Ayatollah Khomeini, but he did not fight alone. Khomeini was supported by a huge segment of Iran’s population. Could the revolution have been successful without the people’s support? Using the documents above and information from the chapter, form a thesis about the role of the Iranian people in the revolution. Then write a short essay to support your position.

Conflicts in the Middle East

- The region’s oil wealth has led to the build up of military forces, internal clashes within countries and societies, and outside influence by the world powers.
- The growth of Islamism in countries such as Egypt, Iran, and Iraq has led to conflicts within societies and governments.
- Since the State of Israel was established in 1948, a conflict between Arabs and Israelis has existed.
- During the Iranian Revolution in 1979, Islamists ousted the shah and Iran became an Islamic republic.
- In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Iraq was involved in three wars: the Iran-Iraq War, the Persian Gulf War, and the Iraq War.

Challenges in Africa

- Decades of protest against apartheid led to its end, and South Africans elected the country’s first black president—Nelson Mandela.
- Dictators led governments with one-party systems in many newly independent countries.
- After independence, ethnic conflicts and civil war broke out in some African countries.
- Many countries struggled to establish democratic governments, while some countries were ruled by corrupt leaders.
- Today Africa faces many economic and environmental challenges, such as struggling economies, disease, and desertification.

Key Events in Africa and the Middle East, 1945–Present

1948 - The State of Israel is established, and the first Arab-Israeli war begins.
1956 - Morocco and Tunisia gain independence from France.
1956 - Egypt seizes the Suez Canal, sparking the Suez Crisis.
1957 - Ghana gains independence.
1960 - Belgium withdraws from the Belgian Congo.
1963 - Britain grants independence to Kenya, and Jomo Kenyatta becomes prime minister.
1967 - Israel fights Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in the Six-Day War.
1973 - Egypt and Syria attack Israel in the Yom Kippur War.
1974 - Portugal withdraws from its African colonies after years of war.
1978 - Egypt and Israel sign the Camp David Accords.
1991 - A U.S.-led coalition forces Iraq out of Kuwait in the Persian Gulf War.
1994 - South Africans elect Nelson Mandela as president.
2003 - A U.S.-led coalition invades Iraq and forces Saddam Hussein from power.

Review Key Terms and People

Identify the term or person from the chapter that best fits each of the following descriptions.

1. leader of Kenya’s independence movement
2. policy of racial segregation in South Africa
3. system in which a single political party controls the government
4. a literature movement focused on African identity
5. Egyptian nationalist leader
6. first Israeli prime minister
7. Arab unity
8. peace agreement between Egypt and Israel
9. Palestinian rebellion
10. leader of the Iranian Revolution
11. organization of oil-rich countries
12. to originate and establish
Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (pp. 936–941)
13. a. **Recall** Who was Jomo Kenyatta?

   b. **Explain** How did Kwame Nkrumah help gain independence for the Gold Coast?

   c. **Evaluate** How do you think the establishment of homelands prevented black South Africans from gaining equal rights in South Africa?

SECTION 2 (pp. 943–947)
14. a. **Describe** What role did Nelson Mandela play in the ANC in the 1950s and 1960s?

   b. **Summarize** How did ethnic conflict affect the peoples of Rwanda in the 1990s?

   c. **Predict** How do you think Africans should work to overcome economic and environmental challenges such as disease and desertification?

SECTION 3 (pp. 949–953)
15. a. **Recall** How did nationalism lead to the creation of the State of Israel?

   b. **Contrast** How did the rise of nationalist leaders in both Egypt and Iran affect those countries differently?

   c. **Support a Position** Do you think the French settler population in Algeria gave France a stronger or weaker claim to Algeria? Explain.

SECTION 4 (pp. 954–959)
16. a. **Describe** Describe two regional issues that have contributed to conflicts in the Middle East.

   b. **Summarize** What were the key events of the Arab-Israeli conflict since the 1960s?

   c. **Elaborate** How have events in Iraq made it difficult for Iraqis to establish a stable democracy?

Reading Skills

**Drawing Conclusions** Use what you know about drawing conclusions to answer the questions below.

17. If you know that South Africa’s apartheid system was abolished, what can you conclude about how life for black South Africans changed?

18. If you know that most of world’s countries depend on oil and the Middle East has most of the world’s oil, what can you conclude about the future of the Middle East?

Analyzing Primary Sources

**Reading Like a Historian** The excerpt below is from a speech that Nelson Mandela gave in 1994 after he was inaugurated as the president of South Africa.

“We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in . . . our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the 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.”

—Nelson Mandela, Inaugural Address, May 10, 1994

19. **Infer** What former South African policy might have affected what Mandela says in his speech?

20. **Interpret** What do you think Mandela means by the phrase “a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world”?

Using the Internet

21. In 1947 the United Nations proposed a plan to divide Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states. Using the Internet, research the proposal and the reaction it received. Then write a report about the UN plan, using maps and other documents to support your work. Be sure to include information about how people living in Palestine reacted to the proposal.

**Writing About History**

**Exposition: Comparing and Contrasting** After World War II, nationalist movements grew in many areas European powers controlled in Africa and the Middle East. In some countries, the transition to independence took very different forms.

22. **Assignment:** In an essay, compare and contrast nationalist movements in two nations discussed in this chapter. To provide support for your essay, use information from this chapter and from other research as needed. Be sure to collect facts and examples to clearly illustrate the points you are making about how the struggles for independence in these nations were similar and different.