8.4

Spread of Communism after 1900

The road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous.
—Mao Zedong, 1949

Essential Question: How did communism and land reform affect China and other countries?

The Cold War provided the context in which many countries wrestled with the legacies of their past. The combined heritage of feudalism, capitalism, and colonialism often resulted in societies with a small class of powerful landowners and a large class of peasants who owned little or no land. When socialists or communists sought to make more people into landowners, they got caught up in the U.S.-Soviet ideological battle. Land reform was a vital issue in China, Iran, Vietnam, Ethiopia, India, and a number of Latin American countries, including Mexico, Bolivia, and Venezuela.

Communism in China

In China, the Communists and the Nationalists began fighting for control of the country in 1927. However, after the Japanese invaded, the two sides agreed to focus on fighting them instead of each other. (See Topic 7.5.)

Victory by the Communists After the defeat of the Japanese in 1945, the Chinese Civil War resumed. The Communists, led by Mao Zedong, won popular support because they redistributed land to peasants, opened schools and hospitals, and punished soldiers who mistreated civilians. Peasants saw the Communists as more nationalist and less corrupt than the Nationalists. In 1949, the Communists defeated the Nationalists and set up the People’s Republic of China. Mao ordered the nationalization of Chinese industries and created five-year plans based on the Soviet model. Like the Soviets, the Chinese plans emphasized heavy industry instead of consumer goods.

Great Leap Forward In 1958, China went through more land reform as part of the policy called the Great Leap Forward. Peasant lands were organized into communes, large agricultural communities where the state held the land, not private owners. Those who protested this policy could be sent to “reeducation camps” or killed.
Even though failing harvests caused severe food shortages, China continued to export grain to Africa and Cuba. Mao sought to convince the outside world of the success of his economic plans. Some 20 million Chinese died from starvation. By 1960, the Great Leap Forward was abandoned.

Cultural Revolution In 1966, Mao attempted to reinvigorate China’s commitment to communism, an effort called the Cultural Revolution. In practice, the Cultural Revolution silenced critics of Mao and solidified his hold on power. Its impact on China was similar to the impact of Stalin’s purges in the Soviet Union. Mao ordered the Red Guards, groups of revolutionary students, to seize government officials, teachers, and others and send them to the countryside for reeducation. Reeducation involved performing hard physical labor and attending group meetings where Red Guards pressured them to admit they had not been revolutionary enough.

Relations with the Soviets Although China and the Soviet Union were both communist states, they were often hostile to each other. From 1961 onward, the two countries skirmished over their border. They also competed for influence around the world. For example, Albania, a Soviet satellite, took advantage of the split by allying with China against the Soviet Union, thereby receiving more autonomy and additional financial aid from China.

Turmoil in Iran

The modern country of Iran fell under foreign domination in the late 19th century. Britain and Russia fought to control the area. The competition grew even keener when oil was discovered in Iran in the early 20th century.

Foreign Influence Early in World War II, the leader of Iran considered supporting Hitler’s Nazi regime. Determined not to let that happen, Russia and Britain invaded Iran. They forced the leader to abdicate power to his young
son, Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi. They kept their forces in Iran until the end of the war.

Iranian nationalists objected to the new shah as a puppet of Western powers. In 1951, they forced him to flee the country. Two years later, Iran selected Mohammad Mosaddegh as prime minister. He vowed to nationalize the oil companies. The United States and Great Britain engineered an overthrow of the democratically chosen Mosaddegh and returned the shah to power. The shah ran an authoritarian regime that relied on a ruthless secret police force.

**Land Reform in the White Revolution** Despite his harsh rule, the shah instituted several progressive reforms, known as the White Revolution because they came without bloodshed. They included recognizing women’s right to vote, creating a social welfare system, and funding literacy programs in villages.

The most important reform dealt with land ownership. The shah wanted to undercut the power of traditional landowners and increase his popularity among peasants. Under his plan, the government bought land from landlords and resold it at a lower price to peasants. The program helped many peasants become first-time landowners, but it failed to reach a majority of peasants.

Many Iranians—both landowners who had been forced to sell their land and frustrated peasants who received nothing—opposed the land reforms. Religious conservatives opposed modernizing the country, particularly changing the relationship between men and women. Advocates for greater democracy opposed the shah’s harsh rule.

**The Iranian Revolution** In 1979, a revolution toppled the shah. Many Iranians supported the revolution because they vividly remembered the overthrow of the Mosaddegh government in 1953. The leaders to emerge from the revolution, though, were ones who rejected the shah’s secular worldview for one that viewed Islam as a key part of the individual-state relationship. The new government was a theocracy, a form of government in which religion is the supreme authority. The new government was headed by a cleric and a Guardian Council, a body of civil and religious legal experts who were responsible for interpreting the constitution and making sure all laws complied with shariah (Islamic law). The clergy had the right to approve or disapprove anyone who ran for office. Iran opposed Western policies in the Middle East and the state of Israel.

**Land Reform in Latin America**

Throughout Latin America, leaders saw the concentration of land ownership as a barrier to progress. Hence, as countries freed themselves from colonialism, they considered land reform. Mexico’s effort dates back to the 1930s, but much of the land reform in Latin America took place in the 1960s or later.

**Venezuela** In Venezuela, for example, the government redistributed some five million acres of land. Some of the land was state-owned and not previously under cultivation, while other pieces of land were seized from large
landowners. The land reform, begun with a 2001 law, was not popular with the landowners who claimed that the state seized their property while it was under cultivation. Additional problems arose from illegal squatters who moved in to settle on lands that were not scheduled for land reform. Land reform efforts had political repercussions as well; those who benefitted were more willing to vote for the government instituting the reforms, while those from whom land was confiscated tended not to support the states that seized it. Land reform in Latin America varied in its details in each country, shaped partly by environmental factors, partly by a legacy from colonialism, and partly by the ideology of the rulers instituting the reforms.

**Guatemala** A democratically elected government under Jacob Arbenz in the Central American country of Guatemala began efforts at land reform. Feeling threatened, the United Fruit Company lobbied the U.S. government to remove the Arbenz. In 1954, he was overthrown.

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The U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles called the overthrow of Guatemala’s government a “glorious victory for democracy.” Diego Rivera used this phrase ironically for the title of his mural condemning the action. Rivera portrayed Dulles holding a bomb that featured the face of U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower.

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**Land Reform in Asia and Africa**

**Vietnam** During World War II, Japan occupied Vietnam, which France still claimed as a colony. At the end of the war in 1945, Vietnam declared independence from Japanese and French control. Vietnam was an agricultural society. A few people controlled most of the land. Communists vowed to seize land from the large landowners and redistribute it among the peasants. This pledge won them great support among peasants. When Communists took power in the north, they carried out their policies—sometimes violently. In South Vietnam, the government was slow to implement land reform, which was one reason it remained unpopular.
Ethiopia  Other than a short period from 1936 to 1941 when it was under Italian occupation, Ethiopia had remained an independent country, but it suffered problems similar to those of many colonies. During World War II, exiled Ethiopian leader Haile Selassie returned to power. He aligned the country with the western powers after the war, and Ethiopia enjoyed economic success based largely on its coffee trade. This led to western-style political and cultural reforms. Selassie was unable to effectively implement land reforms in Ethiopia. By the 1960s, the country was souring on his leadership. Many people saw him as a pawn of U.S. imperialism.

In 1974, a group of military and civilian leaders deposed Selassie. One of the primary figures was Mengistu Haile Mariam, an Ethiopian native and major in the military. He ordered the assassination of 60 former regime officials. The new government declared itself socialist and received aid and weapons from the Soviet Union and other communist countries. Famine, failed economic policies, and rebellion marred Mengistu’s leadership. By 1991, he had resigned and fled to Zimbabwe.

India  Southern Asia had been under British rule since 1858. That changed in 1947. Mahatma Gandhi had led the independence movement against England since the 1920s, but it wasn’t until after World War II that India became independent. India was partitioned in 1947, creating two countries: Pakistan and India. Pakistan was overwhelmingly Muslim, and India was largely Hindu.

Both countries struggled to establish their new relationship and economies. India undertook economic reforms. It instituted land reforms and tried to redistribute some land to the landless, abolish the overwhelming power of rent collectors, protect land renters, and promote cooperative farming. The results were mixed. However, in Kerala, a series of policies had some success:

- 1960: The state passed land reform, but they were overturned by courts.
- 1963: Tenant won the right to purchase land from landowners.
- 1969: New laws allow tenants to become full owners of land.
- 1974: Laws provide for fixed hours of work and minimum wages.

Despite the popularity of the land reform program, the Indian central government took direct rule of Kerala in order to slow down or reverse the program.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

**SOCIETY: Global**
- land reform
- commune
- theocracy

**GOVERNMENT: Asia**
- Mao Zedong
- Great Leap Forward
- Cultural Revolution
- Red Guards
- White Revolution

**GOVERNMENT: Middle East**
- Muhammad Reza Pahlavi
- Mohammad Mosaddegh
- Haile Selassie
- Mengistu Haile Mariam

SPREAD OF COMMUNISM AFTER 1900 575
Decolonization after 1900

From its inception, South Vietnam was only considered to be an outpost in the war against communism.

—Nguyen Cao Ky (1930–2011)

Essential Question: How did people pursue independence after 1900?

In the 20th century, nationalist groups and leaders challenged colonial rule not only through land reform but also through political negotiation, as in India, and armed struggle, as in Angola (See Topic 8.3.) Struggles for independence after World War I and the failure of many independence movements added to anticolonial sentiments during World War II. Empires became politically unacceptable. European powers struggled to hold onto their colonies. Notions of freedom born of World War II rhetoric helped speed up decolonization. That process coincided with the Cold War and the development of the United Nations. Nguyen Cao Ky, a South Vietnamese military and political leader, noted (above) that his country’s war was part of the Cold War.

Movements for Autonomy: India and Pakistan

The drive for Indian self-rule began in the 19th century with the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Its leader in 1920 was Mohandas Gandhi. Hindu and Muslim groups, united by their desire to get rid of the British, supported the independence movement in South Asia. The National Congress’s tactics included mass civil disobedience, and it remained a powerful governmental force after Indian independence. The Muslim League, founded in 1906, advocated a separate nation for Indian Muslims.

Not all Indian leaders agreed with Gandhi’s nonviolent, noncooperation movement or his call for unity between Muslims and Hindus. However, they put aside their differences until after World War II. Then leaders again demanded independence.

After the war, Britain grew weaker as India’s fighting abilities grew stronger. When Britain failed to follow through on promises for more rights for Indians, Indian people increased their protests for full independence from British rule. The Royal Indian Navy Revolt in 1946 was instrumental in bringing Britain to the realization it could no longer rule India. As a result of
economic pressures from India and from its own sluggish postwar recovery, Britain was ready to negotiate independence in South Asia.

**Division and Conflict** Muslims feared living in an independent India dominated by Hindus. Distrust between Muslims and Hindus dated back centuries to the 8th century, when Muslims invaded Hindu kingdoms in northern India. Muslims campaigned for an independent Muslim country—Pakistan. India and Pakistan both gained independence in 1947.

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**Decolonization in Ghana and Algeria**

Britain agreed to negotiate independence for its West African colony of the Gold Coast, just as it had for its colonies in South Asia. The Gold Coast combined with the former British Togoland to form Ghana, the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence in the 20th century. (The new country of Ghana was smaller in area than the historic kingdom of the same name.) Negotiations led by the United Nations helped bring about Ghana’s independence in 1957. Its first president, **Kwame Nkrumah**, took office in 1960.

Ideas from modern nation-states influenced Ghanaian nationalism. Nkrumah emulated nationalistic traditions he learned during his time in the United States and Britain. For example, Nkrumah constructed a national narrative that centered on having a historical past of glory and rich tradition, founding fathers, a currency, a flag, an anthem, museums, and monuments. He was responsible for numerous public works and development projects, such
as hydroelectric plants. However, some critics accused him of running the country into debt and allowing widespread corruption—an economic pattern that often happened in later African dictatorships. In 1964, Nkrumah claimed dictatorial powers when the voters agreed to a one-party state, with him as party leader.

Nkrumah strongly advocated Pan-Africanism, a term with multiple meanings. In the 19th century, American and British abolitionists called their plans to return former slaves to their homes in Africa Pan-Africanism or Africa for Africans. The country of Liberia was founded on this vision. In the second half of the 20th century, for some Africans, the term Pan-Africanism meant a celebration of unity of culture and ideas throughout the continent. These Pan-Africanists rejected intervention by former colonial powers.

In keeping with his vision of Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah founded the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. However, three years later, a military coup overthrew Nkrumah’s government and expelled many foreigners from the country. Not until 2000 would Ghana witness a peaceful transfer of civilian power from one elected president to another.

**Algeria** In northern Africa, the French colony of Algeria endured far more violence than Ghana before becoming independent. Mounting social, political, and economic crises in Algeria resulted in political protests. The French government responded with restrictive laws and violence.

Many Algerians, driven by feelings of nationalism, campaigned for independence after World War II. The **Algerian War for Independence** began in 1954, and it involved many groups. Because so many French people lived in Algeria as settlers, the French government considered Algeria a part of France and was adamant that it could not become a separate country. The FLN (National Liberation Front) led the Algerian movement for independence. The FLN sought self-determination through guerrilla techniques against half a million French forces sent to Algeria. While French military casualties were relatively low, hundreds of thousands of Algerians died in the war, often in violent street-by-street battles. French historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet confessed that there were “hundreds of thousands of instances of torture” by the French military in Algeria.

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

However, with the coming of independence in 1962, war broke out again in Algeria. Thousands of pro-French Algerians and settlers fled the country. The influx of these refugees into France created housing and employment
problems as well as increased anti-immigration sentiment. Violence in Algeria left between 50,000 and 150,000 dead at the hands of FLN and lynch mobs.

The first president of the new Algerian Republic was overthrown in 1965 in a military coup led by his former ally. The National Liberation Front continued in power under different leadership, making Algeria a single-party state for a number of years. The FLN maintained a socialist authoritarian government that did not tolerate dissent. Meanwhile, the government led a drive for modernization of industry and collectivization of agriculture.

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

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

**Negotiated Independence in French West Africa**

As Britain negotiated independence with its African colonies, France did the same with its colonies in French West Africa. These included Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta, and other territories. France had controlled them since the late 1800s with small military forces. France used indirect rule, which relied on local chiefs, existing governments, and other African leaders to maintain stability.

Over the years, France invested in West Africa, building railroads, advancing agricultural development, and benefitting in trade revenue that grew substantially. But by the mid-1950s, various African political parties (democratic, socialist, and communist) and leaders arose in French West Africa. By 1959, many of the French West African countries had negotiated their independence from France.
Nationalism and Division in Vietnam

World War II interrupted France’s long colonial rule in Indochina, but France reoccupied the southern portion of Vietnam when the war ended. A bloody struggle began against the forces of **Ho Chi Minh**, the communist leader of North Vietnam. He appealed to nationalist feelings to unite the country under a single communist government.

France responded by attempting to reestablish its colonial rule, sparking a Vietnamese war of independence that lasted until 1954. The peace treaty split the country into North and South Vietnam, with elections planned for 1956 that would reunite the country. However, many in South Vietnam, along with the United States, opposed the Communists and feared Ho would win the election. No election took place.

War broke out between the communist North and the South. U.S. military troops supported the South. South Vietnamese who supported the Communists, known as **Viet Cong**, fought a guerrilla war against U.S. troops.

As the Vietnam War worsened, American military involvement and casualties grew. In response, the antiwar movement became more vocal. President Richard Nixon began to withdraw U.S. troops in 1971; the last troops left in 1975. North Vietnam quickly gained control of South Vietnam. It is estimated that the Vietnam War resulted in between one million and two million deaths, including about 58,000 Americans. It also destabilized Southeast Asia. Communists soon won control of Laos and Cambodia, but the spread of communism stopped there.

Beginning in the 1980s, Vietnam introduced some market-based economic reforms. In following years, Vietnam and the United States reestablished trade and diplomatic relations. (Connect: Write an outline connecting Vietnam’s fight for independence with the Vietnam War. See Topics 6.2 and 8.4.)

Struggles and Compromise in Egypt

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

**Nasser** Following World War II, Egypt became one of six founding members of the Arab League, which grew to 22 member states. In 1952, General **Gamal Abdel Nasser**, along with Muhammad Naguib, overthrew the king and established the Republic of Egypt. Naguib became its first president; Nasser its second. Nasser was a great proponent of Pan-Arabism, a movement promoting the cultural and political unity of Arab nations. Similar transnational movements would attempt to unite all Africans (Pan-Africanism) and all working people (communism).
Nasser’s domestic policies blended Islam and socialism. He instituted land reform, transforming private farms into socialist cooperatives that would maintain the existing irrigation and drainage systems and share profits from crops. He nationalized some industries and businesses, including foreign-owned banks, taking them over and running them as state enterprises. However, Nasser touched off an international crisis when he nationalized the Suez Canal.

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

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

**Independence and Civil War in Nigeria**

The western African country of Nigeria, the most populous state on the continent, gained independence from Britain in 1960. The Biafran Civil War began in 1967 when the Igbo, a Westernized, predominantly Christian tribe in the southeastern oil-rich Niger River Delta area, tried to secede from the northern-dominated government. The Igbo sought autonomy because of targeted attacks against them by the Hausa-Fulani Islamic group in the north. They declared themselves an independent nation called Biafra.

The Igbo’s secession movement failed, and Biafra ceased to exist when the war ended, in 1970. Nigeria granted amnesty to a majority of Igbo generals, but civilian government did not return. A series of military coups with generals in command of the government continued until the 1999 election of Olusegun Obasanjo, who presided over a democratic civilian government called the Fourth Republic of Nigeria.

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

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

Canada and the “Silent Revolution” in Quebec

Quebec is the largest of Canada’s provinces, and its history is deeply rooted in French culture. France’s North American colonial territory in the early 1700s spanned from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico. By the late 1700s, England controlled what was called New France, beginning a cultural and political divide in Quebec. People in New France were mainly Catholic, while the English-speaking parts of Britain’s Canadian colony were mainly Protestant.

The Quebeccois historically aligned themselves with France rather than England. Over the centuries, efforts to create a separate independent state have flared up—sometimes with violent results. The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s involved much political and social change in Quebec, with the Liberal Party gaining power and reforming economic policies that led to further desires for separation from the rest of British-controlled Canada. French Canadian nationalism expanded, and splinter groups adopted extreme tactics, including terrorist bombings that began in 1963. Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, a native of Quebec, was able to preserve the country’s unity. Later, in 1995, a referendum to make Quebec an independent nation failed by a narrow margin.

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Newly Independent States

*India is free but she has not achieved unity, only a fissured and broken freedom.*

—Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950)

**Essential Question:** What political changes led to territorial, demographic, and nationalist developments and the economic shifts that resulted?

As imperialistic powers handed over governmental control to their former colonies, they often created new states. Between 1945 and 2000, the number of independent states in the world more than doubled, from approximately 75 to around 190. The boundaries of the new states often led to conflicts, population displacement, and resettlement. In India, as lamented by Sri Aurobindo, an Indian nationalist and philosopher, the country was partitioned into Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. Later, Pakistan divided again, creating Bangladesh. In the Middle East, the newly created Israel displaced Palestinian residents.

Newly independent countries often instituted strong policies to promote economic development. At the same time, migrants from the newly independent countries kept alive cultural and economic ties as they migrated to the colonizing countries, usually to the large cities.

**Israel’s Founding and Its Relationships with Neighbors**

The *Zionist movement* originated in the 1890s from reaction to the Dreyfus Affair. (See Topic 5.1.) Theodore Herzl, a Hungarian Jewish intellectual and journalist, used the affair as evidence that assimilation of Jews into European society was failing to provide safety and equal opportunity. At the First Zionist Congress in 1897, he urged the creation of a separate Jewish state.

**Birth of Israel** Zionists hoped that the new state could be established in Palestine because that was where their ancestors had lived. In modern times, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire, and most of its inhabitants were Arabs who practiced Islam. In a new state, Zionists argued, Jews could be free of persecution. In 1917, during World War I, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, which favored the establishment in Palestine of a “national home” for the Jewish people. However, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour wrote that “nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.”
The situation was complicated because British officer T. E. Lawrence, known as “Lawrence of Arabia,” promised certain Arabs an independent state as well. The British Foreign Office hoped that Arabs would rise up against the Ottoman Empire, which would make it easier to defeat during World War I. The Balfour Declaration promised civil and religious rights to non-Jews in Palestine, but the supporters of the Arabs did not trust the British.

In 1918, after World War I, Britain was given a mandate over former Ottoman lands in the Middle East. Soon Zionists began to immigrate to Palestine from Europe and from other Middle Eastern areas. As immigration increased, the Arabs in the area protested their loss of land and traditional Islamic way of life.

World War II and the deaths of six million Jews in the Holocaust provided another impetus for Jewish immigration. The fate of the European Jews brought worldwide sympathy for the survivors. Britain, trying to hold the line on Jewish immigration in the face of Arab opposition, turned the matter over to the United Nations. As in India, leaders hoped that partition would bring peace and stability. In 1948, after the UN divided Palestine into Jewish and Arab sections, the Jewish section declared itself to be a new country: Israel.

**Multiple Wars** War broke out immediately between Israel, which had support from the United States, and the Palestinians, who had support from neighboring Arab countries. Arab forces from Syria, Jordan (then called Transjordan), Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel. After several cease-fires, the Israeli army won, and an armed truce was declared. Immediately after the truce, about 400,000 Palestinians became refugees, living in camps near the Israeli border. Three other Israeli-Palestinian wars followed:

- In 1956, Israel, with support from France and Great Britain, invaded Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula, in part to liberate the Suez Canal, which the Egyptian government had nationalized under Gamal Abdel Nasser’s economic programs (See Topic 8.5.) Following international protests, Israel and its allied forces were ordered to withdraw from Egypt.

- In the **Six-Day War** of 1967, Israel fought on three fronts at once. Israel gained the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria.

- In the **Yom Kippur War** of 1973, Israel repelled a surprise invasion by Egypt and Syria.

**Israeli-Egyptian Peace** After 30 years of conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors, U.S. President Jimmy Carter mediated the **Camp David Accords**, a peace agreement between Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. However, the Palestinians and several Arab states rejected the 1979 peace treaty. The **Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)** and its longtime leader Yasser Arafat wanted the return of occupied lands and the creation of an independent nation of Palestine.
**Ongoing Violence** In the 21st century, the peace process became more complicated when the Palestinians split into two factions. The Fatah faction controlled the West Bank. The Hamas faction controlled Gaza. Security concerns led the Israeli government to implement tighter border controls on the West Bank and on Gaza. These controls, amounting to economic sanctions, severely restricted normal activity for hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and fomented anger. Israel further angered Palestinians by approving new settlements on lands it had occupied during previous wars, lands Palestinians considered theirs.

Without a peace process, violence continued. Between 2000 and 2014, over 7,000 Palestinian and over 1,000 Israelis were killed. Many countries in the Middle East remained hostile to United States over its support of Israel.

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**Cambodia Gains Independence and Survives Wars**

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

Following the Vietnam War, a communist guerrilla organization called the Khmer Rouge, under the leadership of Pol Pot, overthrew the right-wing government of Cambodia. Once in power, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge imposed a ruthless form of communism, following the Chinese model of “cultural revolution” that targeted intellectuals and dissenters. The slaughter
and famine that followed took more than two million lives—about one-quarter of the country’s population. Mass graves of victims from the “killing fields” of Cambodia continued to be discovered in the countryside and jungles for decades afterward. (Connect: Create a graphic organizer comparing the tactics of the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot with that of Joseph Stalin. See Topic 7.4.)

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

**India and Pakistan Become Separate Countries**

In 1947, the British divided colonial India into two independent countries: a mostly Hindu India and a mostly Muslim Pakistan. India’s population was about 10 times larger than Pakistan’s. In both countries, women had the right to vote.

The partition of the colony was chaotic, and violence broke out along religious lines. At least 10 million people moved: Hindus and Sikhs fled their homes in Pakistan to resettle in India, and Muslims fled India for Pakistan. In the political turmoil, between 500,000 and one million people died.

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This Buddhist shrine at Choeng Ek, Cambodia, houses remains of victims of the Khmer Rouge in the “killing fields.”
After partition, Pakistani-India distrust grew. While India became the world’s largest democracy, Pakistan had both elected leaders and authoritarian military rulers. Moderates in both countries confronted powerful conservative religious movements that opposed compromise with the other country.

**Kashmir Conflict** One persistent tension between India and Pakistan was over Kashmir, a border region in the mountainous north. At the time of partition, most people in Kashmir were Muslims, but its leader was a Hindu. Therefore, both Pakistan and India claimed Kashmir. At times the rivalry there broke out into armed conflict. The tension between the two countries became more significant after each began developing nuclear weapons. Eventually, India controlled about 45 percent of the Kashmir region, Pakistan controlled about 35 percent, and China controlled about 20 percent.

**Women Gain Power in South Asia**

In some newly emerging countries, women became heads of state. Often, they replaced their fathers or husbands. In India and Pakistan, women won the right to vote in 1947.

**Sri Lanka** The world’s first female prime minister was Sirimavo Bandaranaike. She won that position in 1960 in Ceylon (later Sri Lanka). Her husband was assassinated in office in 1959, and Bandaranaike ran for office to fill his seat. She continued her husband’s socialist economic policies. But in 1965, with a sagging economy, she was voted out of office. Five years later, she returned to power and instituted much more radical policies, including land reforms, restrictions on free enterprise, and a new constitution that changed the country’s name to Sri Lanka. While some of her reforms succeeded, the economy stalled again, and in 1977, she was again voted out of office.

Bandaranaike remained active in Sri Lankan politics. Her children became leaders as well. When her daughter Chandrika became the country’s first female president in 1994, she appointed her mother again to the role of prime minister.

**India** In 1966, two years after the death of India’s first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, his only child, Indira Gandhi, became India’s leader. (She was not related to Mohandas Gandhi.) She was underestimated at first but proved to be effective, distancing herself in some ways from her father’s old-guard advisors and making political and economic moves to strengthen India’s economy. War with Pakistan took a toll on the economy, though India won the conflict with the help of military support from the Soviet Union.

Indira Gandhi became a revered leader in India, though further economic strife would undermine her popularity in the ensuing years. High inflation and growing poverty threatened her rule. She declared a national emergency in 1975 and jailed many opposition leaders. Her 20-point economic program proved successful, alleviating inflation, reforming corrupt laws, and increasing national production. But some of her policies were unpopular with the people of India despite the economic gains. In 1977, Gandhi lost in the elections. She returned to power as prime minister in 1980 but was assassinated in 1984.
Pakistan  Pakistan elected Benazir Bhutto prime minister in 1988. Her father had also served as prime minister. She was the first elected female leader of a majority Muslim country. Bhutto struggled to improve Pakistan’s economy and reduce its poverty. Corruption charges dogged her and her husband. Bhutto won election to two nonconsecutive terms and then went into exile from 1999 until 2007. Shortly after she returned to Pakistan, an assassin killed her.

Tanzania Modernizes

Tanganyika gained its independence from Britain in 1961, later becoming the United Republic of Tanzania. Its first president, Julius Nyerere, instituted African socialist political and economic ideas—summarized in the Arusha Declaration of 1967. It was an egalitarian approach based on cooperative agriculture. Literacy campaigns, free education, and collective farming were key components of what Nyerere called ujamaa (Swahili for “familyhood”). He also advanced the country’s economic independence away from foreign aid. Economic hardships challenged Nyerere’s leadership for years, as did conflicts with Uganda and its leader Idi Amin. Though personally popular, Nyerere could not pull Tanzania out of poverty. He resigned the presidency in 1985 but remained an important social leader until his death in 1999.

Emigration from Newer Countries to Older Ones

People from these newly independent countries sometimes moved to the former colonial powers. For example, large numbers of refugees and immigrants from Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh moved to London after the chaos of World War II and other conflicts. London was a metropole—a large city of a former colonial ruler. Similarly, Vietnamese, Algerians, and West Africans migrated to Paris and other cities in France, and Filipinos migrated to the United States. Many migrants found jobs in the medical field. Others worked on railroads, in foundries, and in airports. In this way, economic and cultural ties between the colonial power and newly independent countries remained strong.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

**GOVERNMENT:** The Middle East
Six-Day War
Yom Kippur War
Camp David Accords
Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)
Fatah
Hamas

**GOVERNMENT:** Asia
Khmer Rouge
Kashmir
Sirimavo Bandaranaike
Indira Gandhi
Benazir Bhutto

**GOVERNMENT:** Africa
Julius Nyerere

**ENVIRONMENT:** Emigration
metropole