

GUIDED READING The Indian Subcontinent Achieves Freedom

A. Following Chronological Order As you read this section, take notes to answer the questions about the time line.

| 1920 | Mohandas-Gandhi-launches first nonviolent campaign for independence. | 1. What were the major concerns of the Muslim League? |
|------|--|---|
| | | What problems had to be resolved in the months prior to independence? |
| 1940 | Muslim League proposes partition of India at Lahore Conference. | 3. What were the terms of the cease-fire? |
| 1947 | India and Pakistan become independent. | |
| 1949 | UN arranges cease-fire between India and Pakistan in Kashmir. | How did Nehru contribute to India's modernization and democracy? |
| | · / / | |
| | | 5. What events led to the creation of this new nation? |
| 1964 | Jawaharlal Nehru dies. | |
| 1971 | The nation of Bangladesh is formed. | 6. What major problem did Indira Gandhi face? |
| | | 7. What was the cause of turmoil in Sri Lanka? |
| 1980 | Indira Gandhi is reelected India's prime minister. | |
| 1987 | Leaders of India and Sri Lanka / reach an accord. | |

B. Clarifying On the back of this paper, identify each of the following people:

Muhammad Ali Jinnah

Benazir Bhutto



Guided Reading Southeast Asian Nations Gain Independence

| I. What was the Bell Act? | s you read about Sou | theast Asia, answer the questions that follow. |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| | | |
| a. Why did the Filipinos objec | et to this act? | b. Why did they agree to sign it? |
| . Why did the United State: | | se on its military and naval bases in the Philippines? |
| 730 Hz / 1745 3 146 1 | | |
| | | |
| . Why does the Philippine | constitution restrict | the president to a single term of office? |
| | | |
| 过,但157、1500 127.1565,145 14.1666 1488 1488 1488 148 148 148 148 148 148 | | |
| . What role did each play i | | |
| . General Ne Win | | b. National League for Democracy |
| | | |
| | | |
| | cal status of these f | former British colonies? |
| 5. What is the current politi | b. Malaya | c. Sarawak and Sabah |
| 5. What is the current polition. a. Singapore | ŀ | |
| | | |
| a. Singapore | | |
| | ed Indonesian dictat | tor Suharto to step down? |

B. Recognizing Facts and Details On the back of this paper, identify each of the following:

Ferdinand Marcos Corazón Aquino Aung San Suu Kyi Sukarno Suharto



GUIDED READING New Nations in Africa

A. *Determining Main Ideas* As you read this section, write notes about each African nation. Describe how each nation gained independence and the reforms and problems that followed independence.

| 1. Ghana | Nkrumah's reforms: | Problems: |
|---|----------------------|-----------------|
| Tactics used by Nkrumah: | | |
| | | T. L. COLOR |
| | | |
| | | |
| 2. Kenya | Kenyatta's reforms: | Problems: |
| Tactics used by Mau Mau: | | |
| , | | |
| ANALYSIA ANA | | |
| | Mobutu's rule: | Problems: |
| 3. Zaire | ivionata s raie. | 1 Toblems. |
| How independence gained: | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| 4 Algeria | Ben Bella's program: | Problems: |
| How independence gained: | | |
| 3 | | |
| , | | |
| | | |
| 5. Angola | Causes of civil war: | Other problems: |
| How independence gained: | | |
| | | |
| · . | | |

B. Analyzing Issues On the back of this paper, explain the reason for the formation of the Négritude movement.





GUIDED READING Conflicts in the Middle East

A. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects As you read this section, fill in the chart to describe cause-and-effect relationships in the Middle East.

| Causes | Actions | Effects. |
|--------|---|----------|
| | 1. Britain issues the Balfour Declaration. | |
| | 2. Independent Israel is created. | · |
| | 3. The 1956 Arab-Israeli war breaks out. | |
| · . | 4. The 1967 Six-Day War begins. | |
| | 5. The 1973 Yom Kippur War begins. | |
| | 6. Sadat and Begin sign the Camp David Accords. | |
| | 7. Rabin and Arafat issue a Declaration of Principles. | |

B. Recognizing Facts and Details On the back of this paper, identify the following:

Suez Crisis

Golda Meir

PLO

| A L | · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | | | D-+- | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|--|
| Name. | 5.144 | | | Date | |
| | | | | | |



GUIDED READING Central Asia Struggles

A. *Drawing Conclusions* As you read about the struggles of Central Asia, take notes to answer the following questions.

| Freedom in Central Asia brings nev | r challenges |
|--|--------------|
| Since gaining independence, why have the nations of Central Asia struggled economically? | |
| 2. Why have many regional wars been fought in Central Asia? | |

| Afghanistan Struggles for Freedom | $oldsymbol{n}$ |
|--|----------------|
| 3. During the 1800s, why did Britain want to gain control over Afghanistan? Why did Russia want control over this region? | |
| 4. Why did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan in 1979? | |

| How did rule by the Taliban affect Afghanistan? | | | | | • |
|---|--|--|---|--|-------|
| | | | • | | |
| How did the United States help to defeat the Taliban? | | | | | |

B. Perceiving Cause and Effect On the back of this paper identify each of the following.

Transcaucasian Republics Central Asian Republics mujahideen Taliban





BUILDING VOCABULARY The Colonies Become New Nations

| 3 4 5 6 7 8. Evaluat write F i 1. | in the blank and then w | c. d. f. g. h. h. wublic | a widespread Palestinian campaign of civil disobedience the first prime minister of India after the country gained its independence the term given to the division of India into separate Hindu and Muslim nations leader of the Muslim League who became Pakistan's first governor-general general who seized power in Indonesia in 1965 and turned the country into a police state the authoritarian ruler of the Philippines from 1966 to 1986 ruler of Zaire from 1965 to 1997 The statement is true. If the statement is false, the corrected statement on the line below. cs consist of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, in. |
|------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| 4 5 6 7 8. Evaluat write F i 1. | Mobutu Sese Seko Muhammad Ali Jinnah Suharto Jawaharlal Nehru intifada ting Write T in the blar in the blank and then write The Central Asian Rep | d. e. f. g. h. nk if | the term given to the division of India into separate Hindu and Muslim nations leader of the Muslim League who became Pakistan's first governor-general general who seized power in Indonesia in 1965 and turned the country into a police state the authoritarian ruler of the Philippines from 1966 to 1986 ruler of Zaire from 1965 to 1997 The statement is true. If the statement is false, the corrected statement on the line below. cs consist of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, |
| 5. 6. 7. 8. Evaluat write F i | Muhammad Ali Jinnah Suharto Jawaharlal Nehru intifada ting Write T in the blar in the blank and then wr | f. g. h. nk if | Muslim nations leader of the Muslim League who became Pakistan's first governor-general general who seized power in Indonesia in 1965 and turned the country into a police state the authoritarian ruler of the Philippines from 1966 to 1986 ruler of Zaire from 1965 to 1997 'the statement is true. If the statement is false, the corrected statement on the line below. cs consist of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, |
| 6 7 8. Evaluat write F i 1. | Suharto Jawaharlal Nehru intifada ting Write T in the blar in the blank and then wr | f. g. h. nk if rite t | governor-general general who seized power in Indonesia in 1965 and turned the country into a police state the authoritarian ruler of the Philippines from 1966 to 1986 ruler of Zaire from 1965 to 1997 The statement is true. If the statement is false, the corrected statement on the line below. cs consist of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, |
| 7 8. Evaluat write F i 1. | Jawaharlal Nehru intifada ting Write T in the blar in the blank and then wo The Central Asian Rep | g. h. nk if rite t | the country into a police state the authoritarian ruler of the Philippines from 1966 to 1986 ruler of Zaire from 1965 to 1997 the statement is true. If the statement is false, the corrected statement on the line below. cs consist of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, |
| 8. Evaluat write <i>F</i> i | intifada ting Write T in the blan in the blank and then wr The Central Asian Rep | h. nk if rrite t | ruler of Zaire from 1965 to 1997 The statement is true. If the statement is false, the corrected statement on the line below. cs consist of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, |
| Evaluat write F i | ting Write T in the blar in the blank and then w The Central Asian Rep | h. nk if rrite t | ruler of Zaire from 1965 to 1997 The statement is true. If the statement is false, the corrected statement on the line below. cs consist of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, |
| write F i | in the blank and then w The Central Asian Rep | nk if rite t | the statement is true. If the statement is false, the corrected statement on the line below. cs consist of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, |
| | | | roup that gained control of Afghanistan after rebel groups nown as the <i>mujahideen</i> . |
| 3. | | | ne chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), ablishment of a Palestinian state. |
| 4. | | | no planned a joint Arab attack on Israel in 1973 and then Israel's right to exist was Ahmed Ben Bella. |
| _ | write a paragraph ide ve in common. | entify | ying the following women and telling what |

| Name | | | D |
|---------|----|--|-------|
| Ivallie | 4_ | | ν |



SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE Evaluating Decisions

To evaluate a decision means to decide whether it is a good decision or a bad one. One way to evaluate a decision is to look at its consequences, both short-term and long-term. In 1961, the East African colony of Tanganyika won independence from Britain. In 1964, Tanganyika united with the island country of Zanzibar to form the nation of Tanzania. As president of Tanzania until 1985, Julius Nyerere made some important decisions that greatly affected the future of the new nation. Read the passage below and then evaluate Nyerere's decisions. (See Skillbuilder Handbook)

t independence, Tanzania was a poor agricultural country. In 1966, Julius Nyerere decided to take drastic steps to try to improve the economy. He feared that Tanzania was developing "an economic and social elite whose prime concern was profits for themselves and not the needs of the majority." He urged people to be guided by ideals of self-sacrifice and self-reliance.

Nyerere wanted to develop a socialist economy based on traditional African village life. He down-played industry and instead concentrated on farming. Moreover, he tried to avoid asking other countries for aid. Government officials were required to follow a strict code of ethics.

To accomplish his goals, Nyerere called for building *ujamaa* villages. (*Ujamaa* means "family-

hood" in Swahili.) In these villages, each person was expected to work for the common good. In return, the government promised to support medical care and education.

Many Tanzanians shared Nyerere's dream for a new society. Nyerere was popular among the ordinary people of the countryside. However, his *ujamaa* villages were less popular. People who were forced to move to the villages were unhappy. Sometimes wealthy peasants tried to take over leadership of the villages.

After ten years of Nyerere's economic experiment, the country was poorer. Food production was not keeping up with increasing population. Without foreign investments, there were few industrial jobs. Nyerere began to make reforms.

| 1. What economic decisions did Nyerere make for Tanzania? | |
|--|--|
| 2. How did these decisions affect life and work in Tanzania? | |
| 3. How would you evaluate these decisions? | |
| 4. What other options might Nyerere have considered? | |
| · | |





GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: MOVEMENT

The Congo Gains Independence

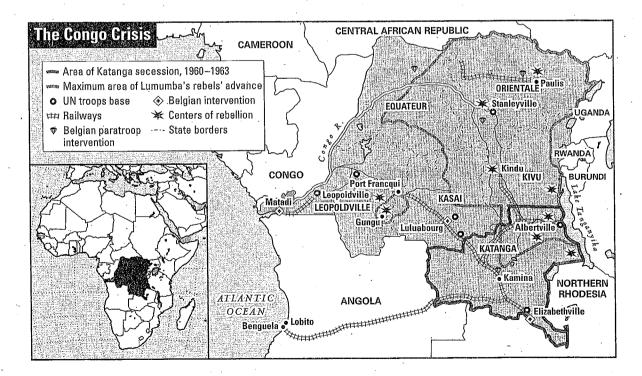
Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

In 1878, King Leopold II of Belgium formed the LInternational Congo Association from territory in the middle of Africa. He wanted to profit from the natural resources there. Upon Leopold's death in 1909, the Belgian government inherited the territory and renamed it the Belgian Congo. Belgium continued to exploit the labor of the Congolese people through the next 45 years.

By the late 1950s, Belgian rule had created a western-educated middle class in the Congo. This educated class became nationalistic and sought the country's independence. In 1959, nationalist sentiment erupted in a revolt against the Belgian rulers. The Belgian government panicked and quickly granted independence in 1960. In the first general election in the Congo, no party gained a majority. However, a compromise was reached in which two opposing leaders, Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba, agreed to share power.

Following this election, more revolts broke out against the Belgians, who still controlled the army. In July of 1960, the wealthy province of Katanga even broke away from the rest of the country. Belgian paratroopers went in to restore order and protect Belgian citizens.

Later in 1960, Kasavubu had gained enough power to dismiss Lumumba, who was later assassinated. As a result, Lumumba's supporters started a rival government. Civil war followed between Kasayubu and Lumumba's supporters. Kasayubu asked the United Nations to send soldiers to help. In 1961, the rival groups reached a compromise that united the country except for the Katanga province, which later re-joined the Congo in 1964. The country was torn by more internal strife until 1965, when Joseph Désiré Mobutu, an army leader, took control and formed a dictatorial government that lasted for 32 years.





PRIMARY SOURCE

from First Servant of the Indian People Speech by Jawaharlal Nehru

After gaining independence from Britain, India became free on August 15, 1947. On that day, India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, delivered a speech to the Indian people. As you read this speech excerpt, think about the problems that Nehru believed his nation had to resolve in order to move forward.

ellow countrymen, it has been my privilege to serve India and the cause of India's freedom for many years. Today I address you for the first time officially as the First Servant of the Indian people, pledged to their service and their betterment. I am here because you willed it so and I remain here so long as you choose to honour me with your confidence.

We are a free and sovereign people today and we have rid ourselves of the burden of the past. We look at the world with clear and friendly eyes and at the future with faith and confidence.

The burden of foreign domination is done away with, but freedom brings its own responsibilities and burdens, and they can only be shouldered in the spirit of a free people, self-disciplined, and determined to preserve and enlarge that freedom. . . .

Our first and immediate objective must be to put an end to all internal strife and violence, which disfigure and degrade us and injure the cause of freedom. They come in the way of consideration of the great economic problems of the masses of the people which so urgently demand attention. . . .

We cannot also delay their solution. So we must plan wisely so that the burdens on the masses may grow less and their standards of living go up. . . . We have to change rapidly our antiquated land tenure system, and we have also to promote industrialization on a large and balanced scale, so as to add to the wealth of the country, and thus to the national dividend which can be equitably distributed.

Production today is the first priority, and every attempt to hamper or lessen production is injuring the nation, and more especially harmful to our labouring masses. But production by itself is not enough, for this may lead to an even greater concentration of wealth in a few hands, which comes in the way of progress and which, in the context of

today, produces instability and conflict. Therefore, fair and equitable distribution is essential for any solution of the problem.

The Government of India have in hand at present several vast schemes for developing river valleys by controlling the flow of rivers, building dams and reservoirs and irrigation works and developing hydro-electric power. These will lead to greater food production and to the growth of industry and to allround development. These schemes are thus basic to all planning and we intend to complete them as rapidly as possible so that the masses may profit.

All this requires peaceful conditions and the cooperation of all concerned, and hard and continuous work. Let us then address ourselves to these
great and worthy tasks and forget our mutual wrangling and conflicts. There is a time for quarrelling
and there is a time for co-operative endeavour.
There is a time for work and there is a time for
play. Today, there is no time for quarrelling or overmuch play, unless we prove false to our country and
our people. Today, we must co-operate with one
another and work together, and work with right
goodwill.

from Jawaharlal Nehru, speech broadcast from New Delhi, August 15, 1947. Reprinted in Jawaharlal Nehru, Independence and After: A Collection of Speeches 1946–1949 (New York: John Day Company, 1950), 7–8

Activity Options

- Summarizing Written Texts Make a chart listing the economic problems that the prime minister of the newly independent India faced and the solutions that he proposed. Then share your chart with classmates.
- 2. **Recognizing Purpose** Deliver Nehru's speech to your classmates. Remember to speak clearly and to use an appropriate tone of voice to convey Nehru's message on India's first day of freedom.



PRIMARY SOURCE from The Snap Revolution

by James Fenton

Although Corazón Aquino won the presidential election in the Philippines in 1986, President Ferdinand Marcos also claimed victory. Widespread election fraud by the Marcos regime sparked public outrage, and many soldiers, including Lieutenant General Fidel Ramos, revolted. This eyewitness account describes an encounter between Aquino supporters and pro-Marcos forces under General Ver.

Leventually we found our way down to a stretch of the Avenue where the attacking soldiers were supposed to be.

Their vehicles were pointed in the wrong direction and they were well and truly stuck in the crowd. I went up to the officer in the first jeep and asked him what was happening. He was rather tight-lipped. All they wanted to do, he said, was go back to their base at Fort Bonifacio. But the people wouldn't let them. As he said this, the soldiers in the back seat were making Laban signs [hand signals showing support for Aquino] at me. The crowd had given them bags of bread rolls.

The officer seemed to think the people were being thoroughly unreasonable. But what could a mere four truckloads of them do against all these millions? People were coming up and cheering them and saying: "You are our brothers. You're Filipinos like us." Jojo asked one soldier whom he supported.

"I don't know," he said. "I'm confused. We have two commanders, Ramos and Ver. We don't know which to support."

We went to the next truck. Jojo asked a soldier: "Are you confused? You seem to have two commanders."

The soldier said: "No, I am not confused. We have only one commander."

Jojo said: "So which is your commander—Ramo's or Ver?"

"I don't know," the soldier replied.

These men had been brought in from Mindanao, and they were supposed to be pretty ruthless types. One of them said: "I just want to go back to Zambo." (Zamboanga.) They were absolutely loaded down with bandoleers of bullets. They had machine-guns—they had everything—and they were entirely nonplussed. At the back of the stranded convoy sat one such soldier, visibly teetering on the edge of defection. A man came up to him and said, "Here, take my watch, take it as a souvenir. Please, go on. We are all Filipinos and we

shouldn't kill each other." The soldier was terribly embarrassed. It was a gold watch and the man had tears in his eyes. Only yesterday I had seen my taximan bribing a soldier just like this one. This gesture of the man's was like an honest bribe. It was half sordid, half heroic. The crowd told the soldier to take the watch, but the soldier could only shake his head. If he was going to come over to the people, he couldn't come over on a bribe. The gesture was a rebuke to him. It said so much about the relationship between the military and the people.

And it was part of the genius of the Filipino revolution that it moved forward on simple gestures like this. It was essentially a confrontation between a cynical and a heroic view of the national character. Marcos had opted quite openly for cynicism. Filipinos, he had said, both before and after polling day, were great ones for joining bandwagons. And he had calculated that the right expenditure would achieve this effect. There was really nothing covert about his operation: everyone had known what the deal he was offering amounted to.

Opposed to Marcos were the people wearing T-shirts with Ninoy Aquino's slogan: "A Filipino is worth dying for." Their approach was essentially idealistic. If Marcos said, But Cory is a completely inexperienced politician, this cut no ice at all, because Marcos had already defined what a politician is. Nobody wanted a politician any more. They wanted heroism.

Activity Options

- 1. Recognizing Point of View With a classmate, role-play a conversation between a Filipino civilian who supports Aquino and a soldier who supports Marcos.
- 2. Writing for a Specific Purpose Fenton speaks of a conflict between cynical and heroic views. Write a slogan that illustrates the heroic view of the Filipino people.





PRIMARY SOURCE Farewell Without Tears Letter from Patrice Lumumba

Patrice Lumumba rose from his job as a postal clerk to become the leader of the nationalist movement in the Belgian Congo during the 1950s. He was the first elected prime minister of the independent Republic of Congo. He wrote the following letter to his wife in January 1961, shortly before his assassination. According to his letter, how did he view colonial rule and independence for his country?

am-writing these words not knowing whether Lthey will reach you, when they will reach you, and whether I shall still be alive when you read them. All through my struggle for the independence of my country, I have never doubted for a single instant the final triumph of the sacred cause to which my companions and I have devoted all our lives. But what we wished for our country, its right to an honorable life, to unstained dignity, to independence without restrictions, was never desired by the Belgian imperialists and their Western allies, who found direct and indirect support, both deliberate and unintentional, amongst certain high officials of the United Nations, that organization in which we placed all our trust when we called on its assistance.

They have corrupted some of our compatriots and bribed others. They have helped to distort the truth and bring our independence into dishonor. How could I speak otherwise? Dead or alive, free or in prison by order of the imperialists, it is not I myself who count. It is the Congo, it is our poor people for whom independence has been transformed into a cage from beyond whose confines the outside world looks on us, sometimes with kindly sympathy, but at other times with joy and pleasure. But my faith will remain unshakeable. I know and I feel in my heart that sooner or later my people will rid themselves of all their enemies, both internal and external, and that they will rise as one man to say No to the degradation and shame of colonialism, and regain their dignity in the clear light of the

We are not alone. Africa, Asia and the free liberated people from all corners of the world will always be found at the side of the millions of Congolese who will not abandon the struggle until the day when there are no longer any colonialists and their mercenaries in our country. As to my children, whom I leave and whom I may never see

again, I should like them to be told that it is for them, as it is for every Congolese, to accomplish the sacred task of reconstructing our independence and our sovereignty: for without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men.

Neither brutality, not cruelty nor torture will ever bring me to ask for mercy, for I prefer to die with my head unbowed, my faith unshakeable and with profound trust in the destiny of my country, rather than live under subjection and disregarding sacred principles. History will one day have its say, but it will not be the history that is taught in Brussels, Paris, Washington or in the United Nations, but the history which will be taught in the countries freed from imperialism and its puppets. Africa will write her own history, and to the north and south of the Sahara, it will be a glorious and dignified history.

Do not weep for me, my dear wife. I know that my country, which is suffering so much, will know how to defend its independence and its liberty. Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!

from Patrice Lumumba, Congo, My Country (London: Pall Mall Press, 1962). Reprinted in Alvin M. Josephy, ed., The Horizon History of Africa (New York: American Heritage, 1971), 517-518.

Discussion Questions

Determining Main Ideas

- 1. To what cause did Lumumba devote his life?
- 2. Who did Lumumba believe threatened the Congo's independence?
- 3. Drawing Conclusions Refer to pages 898-899 in your textbook. Considering the events that took place in the Congo after Lumumba's death, do you think that Lumumba's wishes for his country were realized? Explain your answer.



PRIMARY SOURCE The Balfour Declaration

Sir Arthur James Balfour, the British foreign secretary, wrote the following letter to Lord Lionel Rothschild, a Zionist leader, on November 2, 1917. Lord Rothschild replied, "I can assure you that the gratitude of ten millions of people will be yours, for the British government has opened up, by their message, a prospect of safety and comfort to large masses of people who are in need of it." What do you think were the pros and cons of the Balfour Declaration?

Foreign Office, November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabine

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

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Anga Kym

The Granger Collection, New York.

Discussion Questions

Analyzing Issues

- 1. How did the British government respond to the Zionist goal of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine?
- 2. What conditions did the British expect Zionists to meet?
- 3. *Making Inferences* Zionists such as Lord Rothschild were pleased by the letter from Balfour. How do you think Muslim residents of Palestine might have responded to Balfour's letter?



LITERATURE SELECTION

from The Year of Living Dangerously by C. J. Koch

This novel by Australian author C. J. Koch portrays the political turbulence that took place in Indonesia in 1965—the year President Sukarno dubbed "The Year of Living Dangerously"—through the eyes of Western journalists. The following excerpt recounts what happened when a group of army officers staged an unsuccessful coup to overthrow Sukarno. Guy Hamilton, who is mentioned in the excerpt, is an Australian broadcaster who was recently injured by rebel troups.

Thile Hamilton had lain in his darkness during the past twenty-four hours, drifting in and out of sleep, the forces of *banting-stir*, which nobody understood, had wrestled outside in the stunning heat, with their curious Javanese quietness. The foreign community, and most Indonesians, had remained indoors by their radios, listening to the broadcasts from the occupied studios of Radio Indonesia.

And the conspiracy of September the thirtieth had been beaten at the outset, it seemed. No pitched battles had been fought; few shots had been fired; but the Wayang [Javanese shadow puppets] of the Right had already triumphed over the Wayang of the Left when today dawned. The country, having briefly changed hands, had now changed hands again, through a mixture of bluff and threat: through the priyayi conversation on Merdeka Field [field in front of presidential palace]. It would be weeks before the world understood what had happened.

Yesterday, throughout the day, Lieutenant-Colonel Untung's September Thirtieth Movement had made its proud proclamations at frequent intervals on the radio. It had moved, it said, against the mysterious "Council of power-mad Generals" to stop their plotting with CIA and Nekolim [neocolonial imperialist] agents to overthrow the President. It had set up a Revolution Council to run Indonesia, and had taken President Sukarno under its protection. It did not say where the President was; but at the time when Hamilton was walking onto Merdeka Field, Sukarno had allowed himself to be driven in a humble Volkswagen out to the rebel command post at Halim, to join the conspirators there. He would later deny his involvement with them, but in vain; and it would lead to his ruin, since all positions in the wayang [Javanese shadow play are clear and unchanging. No one can inhabit the left side and pretend he has been a figure of the right, or of the centre: and no one can

pretend any more to be the *dalang* [puppet master] when he has become merely one of the puppets.

By eight o'clock that night, when General Suharto had induced the troops on Merdeka Field to surrender, the *Wayang* of the Left, who had attempted all day to direct events from Halim, were in despair. The *alus* prince had gained control of the radio station, and at dawn today, he had moved on Halim. There was no fighting: the Wayang of the Left had all fled during the night. D. N. Aidit [head of Indonesia's Communist Party] had flown to Jogjakarta, in Central Java, where he would soon be hunted down like an animal, and killed. Sukarno had withdrawn to his palace of dreams at Bogor, hoping to be above the fray.

And just for now, he was. Even at this stage, everything must be done in the raffish god's name: the Wayang of the Left and the Wayang of the Right had both claimed him in their broadcasts, both saying that they had acted on his behalf. But all would emerge in the end—like the bodies of the mutilated generals from Crocodile Hole.

In the months to come, Bung Karno would continue to wear his *pitji* [black cap] and his uniforms; would continue to be President, and address his crowds. But it would be like speaking to faces in a dream, faces that paid no heed.

Research Options

- Following Chronological Order Find out more about the failed coup in Indonesia. Then create a time line in which you list events that happened during the coup attempt.
- 2. Using Research in Writing Koch compares the coup attempt with a Javanese shadow play. Research shadow plays. Then write a paragraph or two to describe these shadow plays and to explain how the 1965 political struggle in Indonesia resembles them.



LITERATURE SELECTION

Poems from the Négritude Movement

In the 1930s, a group of French-speaking African and West Indian writers living in Paris launched a literary movement known as the Négritude movement. This movement celebrated traditional African culture, heritage, and values and criticized colonialism. What do the following poems tell you about the main concerns of the Négritude movement?

Africa

by David Diop

Africa my Africa

Africa of proud warriors on ancestral savannahs

Africa that my grandmother sings

On the bank of her distant river

I have never known you

But my face is full of your blood

Your beautiful black blood which waters the wide fields.

The blood of your sweat

The sweat of your work

The work of your slavery

The slavery of your children

Africa tell me Africa

Is this really you this back which is bent

And breaks under the load of insult

This back trembling with red weals

Which says yes to the whip on the hot roads of

noon

Then gravely a voice replies to me
Impetuous son that tree robust and young
That tree over there
Splendidly alone amidst white and faded flowers
That is Africa your Africa which grows
Grows patiently obstinately
And whose fruit little by little learn
The bitter taste of liberty.

Limbe

by Léon Damas

Will they ever know this rancor in my heart? From beneath suspicion's eye that opened all

too late

they have robbed me of the space that once was

mine

tradition

days

life

song

rhythm

effort

pathway

water

cabin

the gray, fertilized land

wisdom

words

palavers

the aged

cadence

hands

measure

hands

footbeats

soil

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Prayer to Masks

by Léopold Sédar Senghor

Masks! Masks!

Black mask red mask, you white-and-black masks

Masks of the four points from which the Spirit blows

In silence I salute you!

Nor you the least, Lion-headed Ancestor

You guard this place forbidden to all laughter of women, to all smiles that fade

You distil this air of eternity in which I breathe the air of my Fathers.

Masks of unmasked faces, stripped of the marks of illness and the lines of age

You who have fashioned this portrait, this my face bent over the altar of white paper

In your own image, hear me!

The Africa of the empires is dying, see, the agony of a pitiful princess

And Europe too where we are joined by the navel.

Fix your unchanging eyes upon your children, who are given orders

Who give away their lives like the poor their last clothes.

Let us report present at the rebirth of the World

Like the yeast which white flour needs.

For who would teach rhythm to a dead world of machines and guns?

Who would give the cry of joy to wake the dead and the bereaved at dawn?

Say, who would give back the memory of life to the man whose hopes are smashed?

They call us men of coffee cotton oil

They call us men of death.

We are the men of the dance, whose feet draw new strength pounding the hardened earth.

from Memorandum on My Martinique

by Aimé Césaire

For beauty is Black and wisdom Black for endurance is Black and courage Black for patience is Black and irony Black for charm is Black and magic Black for love is Black and hip swinging Black for dance is Black and rhythm Black for art is Black and movement Black for laughter is Black for joy is Black for peace is Black for life is Black

Research Options

- 1. Using Research in Writing Find out about the Négritude poets represented here: David Diop, Léon Damas, Aimé Césaire, and Léopold Sédar Senghor. Then write a one-or two-sentence summary about each poet and share your findings with the class.
- 2. Creating Oral Presentations Locate other poems from the Négritude movement. Then work with a group of your classmates to plan and present a dramatic reading of Négritude poems for the entire class.

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HISTORYMAKERS Jomo Kenyatta

Practicing Harambee

"We must unite together ... and forget tribalism. We must not let the Europeans forget that the land they tread is ours. We should work hard, and try to educate our people . . . so that they can take over the government of the country. . . ."—Jomo Kenyatta, speech (1946)

omo Kenyatta dedicated his life to removing British colonial rule in his homeland of Kenya. When it won independence, he became the new nation's first president. He recognized that ethnic loyalties could pull the country apart. He always reminded Kenyans to follow the principle of harambee, which means, in Swahili, "let us pull together."

In 1890, Kenyatta was born Kamau Ngengi in the highlands north of Nairobi, Kenya's chief city. He was a member of the Kikuyu, the largest ethnic group in the country.

While Kamau was growing up, the British encouraged settlement by offering free land to any British person who wanted it. They offered fertile Kikuyu land. Soon, English settlers had large farms throughout the area. Sometimes they bought the land—although the Kikuyu thought that the settlers were merely renting it. More often, the British simply took it.

Kamau made early contact with the Europeans. When he was a child, missionaries cured him of a painful foot disease. He then attended their school and learned to read and write English. He also converted to Christianity. Many years later, he credited the missionaries for their schools and clinics. However, when they tried to end African customs, he said, "they upset the life of the people."

In 1915, Kamau's life work took shape. That year, the colonial government of Kenya passed a law stating that only whites could own land. The Kikuyu chief used Kamau as an interpreter when the chief protested the law before the colony's supreme court. Kamau spoke eloquently, but the court, which was controlled by the British, upheld the law. About this time, he began to wear a beaded belt that was called, in Swahili, a kenyatta. Soon, he adopted the word as his name.

During the 1920s, Kenyatta joined Kikuyu groups that hoped to develop into a political force. He became the editor of a monthly magazine, the first one published by Africans in Kenya. In 1929, he was in London campaigning for African rights. He spent most of the next 15 years in Europe, studying

and teaching. During this time, he wrote a brilliant book about the Kikuyu. In Facing Mount Kenya, he defended African customs and described how colonial laws caused problems for Africans.

During this period, Kenyatta organized a movement for African self-rule. He returned to Kenya in 1946 and quickly became the leader of the Kenya African Union. From the start, he worked to bring non-Kikuyu people into the group.

In the 1950s, many Kenyans were frustrated by the lack of progress in this campaign. Some joined a secret society called the Mau Mau and began attacks aimed at the British. English settlers were alarmed. The colonial government arrested Kenyatta and other leaders, even though they had no connection to the troubles. He was convicted in 1953 of planning and managing the Mau Mau revolt. Most Africans viewed the trial as a farce and the conviction as unjust. Kenyatta spent the next seven years in prison.

The revolt died down, and the British took steps toward granting independence. When Kenyatta was freed in 1961, he was immediately chosen as president of the Kenya African National Union, the chief political party. Two years later, Kenya became independent, and he was elected as its leader.

Kenyatta told Kenyans that hard work and cooperation were the keys to building their country. He constantly preached harambee, trying to ensure that Kenya's different ethnic groups worked together. He led his country for 15 years. Living into his eighties, he was called Mzee, a Swahili word meaning "Old Man." This showed the love and respect of his nation.

Questions

- 1. Clarifying What details of Kenyatta's life show that he valued African culture?
- 2. **Making Inferences** What do you think was the single biggest problem that Kenyatta saw facing his people after independence?
- 3. **Drawing Conclusions** Do you think Kenyatta was comfortable in European culture? Explain.





Golda Meir HISTORYMAKERS

Israel's Founding Mother

"If there is any explanation necessary for the direction my life has taken, perhaps it is the desire to save Jewish children from a similar experience."—Golda Meir, describing persecution she saw as a child in Russia

norn in the Ukraine and raised in Milwaukee, DWisconsin, Golda Meir helped found Israel. She signed its declaration of independence, served in the government, and led the nation in a difficult time.

Meir was born Goldie Mabovitch in 1898. Her family came to the United States when she was a child. While her parents scratched out a living, she became an excellent student. By high school, she was committed to the cause of Zionism—finding a home in Palestine for the Jewish people—and to socialism. She became a notable speaker for a local group that pushed both causes. She spoke on street corners, which appalled her father. He threatened to drag her home by the hair but changed his mind after hearing her speak.

At age 21, Mabovitch married Morris Myerson. She then met Jewish leader David Ben-Gurion, who was touring the United States to build support for Zionism. In 1921, she persuaded her husband to move to Palestine. They lived a few years on a kibbutz—a communal farm—and then moved to the city of Tel Aviv. She participated in several organizations that promoted workers' rights and Zionism. Gaining influence, she joined the National Council, the body set up by British colonial officials to give some self-rule to Jewish people in this region.

After World War II, Jewish leaders in Palestine called for independence, and the British reacted by arresting Ben-Gurion and other Jewish activists. Goldie Myerson then became acting political chief for Jewish Palestine. She traveled to the United States and collected \$50 million for her cause. Disguising herself as an Arab, she traveled to Jordan to persuade it not to attack the Jewish state.

On May 14, 1948, the nation of Israel was proclaimed. She was the only woman in the new government. After a stint as Israel's chief diplomat in the Soviet Union, she served as the minister charged with finding jobs and houses for the hundreds of thousands of immigrants streaming into Israel.

In 1956, Myerson changed her name to the Hebrew form, Golda Meir. She became Israel's foreign minister in Ben-Gurion's government. She joined him in taking a tough stand against the attacks by Israel's Arab neighbors. For her support, Ben-Gurion wryly called her "the only man in my cabinet." She remained in this post for ten years, not only serving as Israel's chief diplomat but also representing the country in the United Nations.

Meir retired from government service in 1966. In 1969, the prime minister of Israel died. Meir was chosen to succeed him. Later that year, elections were held, but her party did not win a majority. As a result, she formed a government that combined several parties in a fragile coalition.

Meir faced a number of challenges. Israel was in a virtual state of war with its Arab neighbors. She urged peace but insisted that Arab leaders meet with Israel face to face. She campaigned to win military help, economic aid, and diplomatic support for Israel from the United States. In 1973, Meir feared that Egypt and Syria were preparing an attack. Persuaded by the United States that Israel would suffer in world opinion if it attacked first, she waited. The Arab nations attacked on the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur.

Israel was battered in the Yom Kippur war but eventually fought back. The United States brokered a peace agreement, but during these talks the 76year-old Meir decided to retire. Three years later, Egypt's president, Anwar Sadat, stunned the world by traveling to Israel. It was the first time an Arab leader had done so. He made a point of stopping to visit Meir. The peace she had sought for so long seemed to be at hand. She died the following year.

Questions

- 1. Recognizing Facts and Details What evidence suggests that Meir was a persuasive speaker?
- 2. Evaluating Judgments When she died, Meir was called "an extraordinary person." Explain why she might have earned that description.
- 3. Making Inferences How did Meir's childhood experiences influence her?

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connections across time and cultures $Becoming\ a\ New\ Nation$

THEMATIC CONNECTION:
REVOLUTION



You have read in this chapter that independence ushered in dramatic changes and challenges for former colonies in Asia and Africa. In Chapter 24, you read about the nationalist movements that ended Spanish rule in Latin America. How did the independence movements of the 19th century compare with those of the 20th century? Use the information presented in Chapters 24 and 34 to answer the questions that follow.

| 1. The French ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity inspired many Latin Americans | |
|--|---|
| to rise up against their colonial rulers. What ideals inspired people in Asia and Africa | |
| to seek independence? | |
| | |
| | |
| 2. Events in Europe triggered the Latin American revolutions. What effect did World War II | |
| have on independence movements in Asia and Africa? | |
| | |
| | |
| 3. After independence, Latin American countries faced severe economic problems. During | |
| the revolutionary wars, trade had been disrupted, cities and farms were destroyed, and | |
| the people became poorer. What economic challenges did Asian and African nations face | |
| after independence? | |
| | |
| | |
| 4. Independence also brought disunity and civil strife throughout Latin America. In South | |
| America, Gran Colombia divided into Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. In Central | , |
| America, the United Provinces split into five separate republics. What Asian and African | |
| nations experienced civil war and political upheavals as a result of independence? What | |
| were the reasons for these conflicts? | |
| | |
| | |
| 5. What other kinds of challenges did former colonies in Latin America, Asia, and Africa | |
| face after independence? | |
| | |
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RETEACHING ACTIVITY The Indian Subcontinent Achieves Freedom

Reading Comprehension Find the name or term in the second column that best matches the description in the first column. Then write the letter of your answer in the blank.

| | 1. Launched a nonviolent campaign of Indian non-cooperation with the British | A. Pakistan |
|-------------|--|-----------------|
| | 2. India's national political party | B. Mohandas C |
| | 3. Organization founded in 1906 in India to protect | C. Bangladesh |
| | Muslim interests | D. Congress Pa |
| | 4. Leader of the Muslim League | E. Sri Lanka |
| | 5. Term given to the division of India into separate Hindu and Muslim nations | F. partition |
| | 6. New nation created by division of India | G. Jawaharlal N |
| | 7. Small region at the northern point of India next to Pakistan causing conflict between India's Muslims | H. Benazir Bh |
| | and Hindus | I. Kashmir |
| | 8. Independent India's first prime minister | J. Muslim Lea |
| | 9. Woman elected as India's prime minister in 1966 | K. Indira Gand |
| | New name for East Pakistan after it declared independence | L. Muhammad |
| | 11. Woman twice elected prime minister after General Zia's death | |
| | 12. Small island nation off the southwest coast of India that has been the site of a civil war between Tamils and other groups | |

- Gandhi
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- Nehru
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RETEACHING ACTIVITY Southeast Asian Nations Gain Independence



Determining Main Ideas The following questions deal with the independence movements in Southeast Asian countries in the postwar period. Answer them in the space provided.

| Ριo | vided. |
|------|--|
| 1. | What were the goals of the Philippines immediately following World War II? |
| | |
| 2. ` | What postwar issues caused conflict between the United States and the Philippines? |
| 3. | What affect did Ferdinand Marcos's rule have on the Philippines? |
| 4. | How did Corazón Aquino come into office? |
| 5. | How have rebels' terrorist tactics affected life in the Philippines? |
| 6. | What events kept Burma from gaining independence? |
| 7. | How did Singapore become such a prosperous nation? |
| 8. | How did Indonesia achieve independence? |



RETEACHING ACTIVITY New Nations in Africa

| Multiple Choice Choose the best answer for each ite | m. Write the letter of your answer in the blank. |
|--|---|
| 1. The postwar movement that celebrated African culture and heritage was called a. the African independence movement. | 5. The secret society made up mostly of African farmers forced out by the British was |
| b. nationalism. | a. the Négritude movement. |
| c. the Négritude movement. | b. the Mau Mau. |
| d. colonialism. | . c. the Algerian National Liberation Front. |
| 2. The first African colony south of the Sahara to gain independence was | d. the Islamic Salvation Front. |
| a. Angola. | 6. The first president of newly-independent |
| b. Nigeria. | Algeria was |
| c. Zaire. | a. Jomo Kenyatta. |
| d. Gold Coast. | b. David arap Moi. |
| 3. The leader who worked to liberate Gold Coast from the British was | c. Ahmed Ben Bella. d. Mobutu Sese Sėko. |
| a. Kwame Nkrumah. | 7. Mobutu Sese Seko changed the name of |
| b. Jomo Kenyatta. | the Congo to |
| c. Mobutu Sese Seko. | a. Ghana. |
| d. Daniel arap Moi. | b. Ivory Coast. |
| and recording to the last terms of the last term | c. Algeria. |
| 4. The Kenyan nationalist leader who forced the British to accept African self- | d. Zaire. |
| government was | 8. Angola's independence movement was an |
| a. Daniel arap Moi. | attempt to free itself from the control of |
| b. Jomo Kenyatta. | a. Portugal. |
| c. Kwame Nkrumah. | b. Great Britain. |
| d. Mobutu Sese Seko. | c. the Dutch. |
| | d. France. |
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RETEACHING ACTIVITY Conflicts in the Middle East

Sentence Completion Select the name or term that best completes the sentence. Write the name or term in the blank.

| Suez Canal | Palėstinians | Golda Meir |
|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| . Yasir Arafat | intifada | Jimmy Carter |
| Oslo Peace Accords | Benjamin Netanyahu | Zionists |
| Balfour Declaration | Anwar Sadat | George W. Bush |
| I. Arab group that may be | most opposed to a Jewish state | e in a mostly Arab region: |
| 2. People who favored a Je | wish national homeland in Pal | estine: |
| | | leaders that supported the creation |
| of a Jewish homeland in | Palestine, but still recognized | the rights of non-Jewish people: |
| 4. The strategic water rout | e taken over by Egypt during t | he Arah-Israeli war in 1956: |
| ±. The strategic water rout | , and the state of | |
| 5. Egyptian president who | coordinated a joint Arab attac | k on Israel on Yom Kippur: |
| · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | · | |
| 6. Teraali prima ministar d | uring the Yom Kippur war: | |
| o, israen prime minister d | uring the four kappur war. | |
| | | |
| 7. Chairman of the Palesti | ne Liberation Organization: _ | • • |
| · | | |
| 8. U.S. president who bro | ught both sides of the Arab-Isr | aeli conflict together at |
| Camp David in Marylar | nd for a historic meeting in 197 | 78: |
| | | |
| 9. Palestinian campaign of | civil disobedience that includ | ed boycotts, demonstrations. |
| and armed attacks: | | |
| and armod attacks. | 6 | |



RETEACHING ACTIVITY Central Asia Struggles

| L. 1 | In 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed and 15 independent countries emerged. |
|------------|--|
| 2. | The Transcaucasioan Republics include Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan. |
| | Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan make up the Central Asian Republics. |
| | Much of the farmland in the Central Asian Republics has been devoted to a single crop, tobacco. |
| 5 . | Azerbaijan's economy is based on the income from the oil industry. |
| 6. | Afghanistan has endured two wars, one with the United States and one with Turkey. |
| 7. | Islamic Holy Warriors who fought against the Soviet-supported government were called mujahideen. |
| 8. | A conservative Islamic group known as the <i>mujahideen</i> controlled most of Afghanistan by 1998. |
| 9. | The United States drove the Taliban from power at the end of 2001. |
| 0. | The ruler Afghanis selected after the defeat of the Taliban is Hamid Karzai. |