CHAPTER 33
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Chapter Summary

Indira Ghandi. Separatist Sikhs of India were one of many ethnoreligious groups that threatened the peace of newly independent India. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered Sikh radicals to be forced out of the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Thousands died, and shrines were destroyed. A few months later, Gandhi was assassinated by her own Sikh bodyguards. The daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, the country's first prime minister, Gandhi had been expected to remain in her father's shadow, even after his death. She was elected as a puppet in 1966, but surprised her backers by pursuing her own policies. She was the dominant

force in Indian politics from 1966 to her death in 1984, with only a three-year hiatus. Her greatest challenges were feeding her people, improving their living standards, and managing tensions between the country's many ethnoreligious divisions. The challenges she faced were shared by other postcolonial leaders. Deep divisions between ethnic and religious groups remained when European rulers disappeared from their former colonies. Economic life was hampered by concessions made to the departing colonizers and by an international economy that favored industrialized nations. They lacked technological and management expertise, and had to face steady population growth and environmental degradation.

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<u>The Challenges of Independence.</u> Successful nationalistic movements usually involved mass mobilization of peasants and urban workers drawn into national political life for the first time. Nationalist leaders promised an improved life once the Europeans departed. When lack of resources blocked fulfillment of expectations, quarrels erupted among rival leaders, classes, and ethnic groups. The resulting instability further hampered development and deflected attention from the real problems hindering progress.

The Population Bomb. Population growth proved to be one of the most important barriers to economic advance after independence. Importation of New World food crops had fueled growth, and colonial rule reinforced the trends by combating local war and disease. Modern transportation systems helped to check famine. After independence, population growth eventually decreased in Asia, but numbers have soared in Africa. The policies of the colonizers that limited industrial development meant a lack of employment opportunities and ability to produce necessities for rising populations. Most African and Asian nations have been slow to develop birth-control programs in their male-dominated societies. Procreation demonstrates male virility, while male children are critical to female social standing. In Africa, some societies regard children as vital additions to lineage networks. High mortality rates formerly had encouraged families to have many children, a factor persisting when rates declined. Many African and Asian nations have recognized the dangers to their societies and now are running family planning programs.

Thinking Historically: Artificial Nations and the Rising Tide of Communal Strife. Internal strife and the collapse of political systems have been common in the new Asian and African states. One reaction in the West is to assert that former colonial peoples are unfit to rule themselves and that many were better off under European rule. Others called for active intervention by the West and Japan. The responses do not give enough attention to the immense obstacles confronting the new nations, or to the harmful legacies of colonial rule. Western societies in the past also had to overcome disruptive social and political divisions. Nearly all new Asian and African states were artificially created by Europeans who gave minimal attention the interests of the peoples involved. The imposed boundaries incorporated ethnic and religious groups that were often very hostile. The colonial rulers maintained power by divide-and-rule tactics. When the colonial era ended, the rulers left resolution of long-existing problems to new regimes unable to contain them. Internal strife and war between states resulted, and democratic regimes suffered. Economic improvement was hampered by military spending, while hostilities caused extensive human suffering.

Parasitic Cities and Endangered Ecosystems. Population growth contributed to massive migration to urban areas. Most cities lacked expanding industrial sectors able to utilize the arrivals. The resulting urban underclass became a volatile factor in postindependence political struggles and forced governments to expend valuable resources to keep food and other staples available and cheap. The cities spread without planning, and developed vast slums. Some nations concluded that only slums could provide necessary housing, and thus supplied them with electrical and sanitary systems. The result is the creation of

parasitic, not productive, cities that diminish national resources by drawing supplies from already impoverished rural regions. The demands upon the latter have caused soil depletion and deforestation that upset fragile tropical ecosystems. Industrial pollution heightens the problem.

The Subordination of Women and the Nature of Feminist Struggles in the Postcolonial Era. The constitutions of the new nations promised women, who had played an active role in independence struggles, legal, educational, and occupational equality. Postindependence reality was different as males continued to dominate political life in African and Asian countries. The few important female heads of state, such as Indira Gandhi, Corazon Aquino, and Benazir Bhutto, initially won support because of connections to powerful males. The inferior education of most women helps to ensure continuance of a secondary role. The position of women is equally disadvantageous outside the political sphere. Obstacles to self-fulfillment and even survival are much greater than in industrialized societies. Early marriages necessitate spending youthful and middle-age years in caring for children at the expense of gaining education or following a career. Poor sanitation, lack of food, and male-centric customs endanger the lives of women and their children. Where legal rights exist, the lack of education and resources often block women's chance to utilize them. The spread of religious fundamentalism usually suppresses women's opportunities and rights.

Neocolonialism, Cold War Rivalries, and Stunted Development. The plans of the leaders of new nations for industrial development were failures. They had a very limited industrial base to begin with, and had little capital to stimulate progress. State revenues went to internal government needs. Necessary foreign exchange came from the export of cash crops and minerals. But prices of primary products have fluctuated widely, and declined in relation to the prices of manufactured goods, since World War II. Many African and Asian leaders have blamed the legacy of colonialism for their economic problems. Neocolonialism certainly contributes to their difficulties, but it is not alone. New nations often have fallen to corrupt elites that rule at the expense of the mass of the population. Asian and African nations have sought aid from international organizations or industrial nations, but the price can be high in economic and political concessions. When the requirement for aid was a removal of state subsidies for food and other staple goods, regimes faced unrest or collapse.

<u>**Delayed Revolutions: Religious Revivalism and Liberation Movements in Settler Societies.**</u>
Whatever the source of blame for lack of postindependence development, leaders of new nations had to deliver on at least some of their promises if they were to continue in power. Efforts have achieved some success, but in most nations, the majority of the population rarely has benefited.

Charismatic Populists and One-Party Rule. One of the least successful responses was the development of authoritarian rule under a charismatic leader. Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana after 1957 attempted reform programs to improve the lives of Ghanaians. Internal rivals hampered initiatives, while Nkrumah's turning to the Soviet bloc and its ideology drove off Western investors. The price of cocoa, the dominant export crop, fell sharply on the world market. Nkrumah, despite the difficulties, went ahead with his policies. Most failed. During the 1960s he forcibly crushed all opposition groups and took dictatorial powers. Nkrumah tried to justify his actions by manipulating symbols supposedly drawn from Ghana's past and by talk of a unique brand of African socialism. As the economy floundered, opposition increased; Nkrumah was deposed in 1966 and died in exile in 1972.

Military Responses: Dictatorships and Revolutions. There have been many military coups in Asian and African nations. The military often is one of the few societal groups resistant to ethnic and religious divisions, and it has the near-monopoly of force. Soldiers may have the technical training lacking among civilian leaders. When military men were anti-communist, they gained Western assistance. Once in power, many military men established repressive and corrupt regimes where limited resources were used to protect their authority. A few military men were different and attempted radical reform. Gamal Abdul Nasser took power in Egypt in 1952 as part of a movement, the Free Officers, formed during the 1930s by young nationalistic officers. They were allied for a long period with another opponent of the regime, the Muslim Brotherhood, founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna, a teacher and scholar interested in scientific subjects and independence for Egypt. He was contemptuous of the wealthy Egyptian and European minority who flourished in the midst of general poverty. The Muslim Brotherhood was founded to

remedy such problems. Although believers in revivalist Islam, its members worked for sweeping reforms. By the late 1930s the Brotherhood intervened in politics through strikes, riots, and assassinations. Although the khedive's men murdered al-Banna in 1949, the Brotherhood continued to be important. Egypt's defeat in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 and the continuing British occupation of the Suez Canal led to a successful coup in 1952 by the Free Officers. By 1954 all political parties, including the Muslim Brotherhood, had been disbanded and Nasser's regime imposed broad social and economic reform. Land was redistributed to peasants, education through college became free, and government became the main employer. State subsidies lowered prices of food staples and five-year plans like that of the Soviet Union were introduced. Some foreign properties were seized. Nasser also began an active foreign policy designed to defeat Israel, forge Arab unity, and foment socialist revolutions. In 1956, with United States and Soviet Union backing, he forced the British from the Suez Canal zone. Despite his good intentions, many of Nasser's reforms failed. Population growth offset economic advances, and Western capital was not replaced by Egypt's communist supporters. Failed foreign adventures, including the disastrous Six-Day War with Israel in 1967, added to the regime's problems. Nasser's successor, Anwar Sadat, had to end many programs and turn to private initiatives. He came to terms with Israel, expelled the Russians, and opened Egypt to Western assistance. Sadat's policies have been continued by his successor, Hosni Mubarak. None of the paths followed since 1952 have solved Egypt's problems. Muslim fundamentalist movements proliferated; one group assassinated Sadat.

The Indian Alternative: Development for Some of the People. Indian leaders favored socialism and state intervention for reforming their society, but differed from the Egyptians in important ways. Indians have preserved civilian rule since independence. Despite the burden of overpopulation, India differed by possessing at independence a large industrial and scientific sector, a developed communications system, and an important middle class. The early leaders of the Indian National Congress were committed to social reform, economic development, and preservation of democracy and civil rights. Despite a host of problems, India has remained the world's largest working democracy. The first leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, mixed government and private economic initiatives. Foreign investment from both the democratic and socialist blocs was accepted. Private investment by farmers was at the heart of the Green Revolution. Industrial and agrarian growth generated revenues for promoting education, family planning, and other social measures. Indians have developed a major world high-tech sector. Despite its successes, India faces problems similar to other developing nations because it lacks the resources to raise the living standards of most of its population. The middle class has grown rapidly, but a majority of Indians have gained little. This result is partly due to population growth, but other answers include the continued domination of wealthy landlords.

Iran: Religious Revivalism and the Rejection of the West. The Iranian Revolution directed by Ayatollah Khomeini presented a fundamental challenge to the existing world order. It recalls the religious fervor of the Mahdi's 19th-century movement in the Sudan by emphasizing religious purification and the rejoining of religion and politics central to early Islam. Both movements called for a return to a golden past age, and were directed against Western-backed governments. The Mahdi and Khomeini claimed divine inspiration and sought to establish a state based on Islamic precepts. Each wanted to spread his movement to wider regions. Khomeini succeeded because of circumstances unique to Iran, a nation not formally colonized, but divided into British and Russian spheres of interest. Iran thus lacked colonial bureaucratic and communications infrastructures as well as a large Western-educated middle class. Modernization policies, supported by Iran's oil wealth, were imposed by the regime of the Pahlavi shahs. Advances resulted, but the majority of Iranians were alienated. The shah's authoritarian rule offended the middle class; his ignoring of Islamic conventions roused religious leaders influential with the mass of the people. Favoritism to foreign investors and a few Iranian entrepreneurs angered bazaar merchants. Landholders were affronted by incomplete land reform schemes that did not much benefit the rural poor. Urban workers at first secured benefits, but then suffered from an economic slump. The military were neglected. When revolution came in 1978, the shah was without support and left Iran. Khomeini then carried through radical reform. Religious figures took over leadership and suppressed all opposition. Strict implementation of Islamic law began and women's opportunities were restricted. Most of the

planned reforms halted when Iraq forced a war that lasted for 10 years and absorbed most national resources. Iran finally accepted a humiliating peace in 1988. The war, plus the consequences of internal repression and failed development efforts, left Iran in shambles. Although some reduction of state repression has since occurred, control by Islamic leaders has continued.

South Africa: The Apartheid State and Its Demise. By the 1970s, South Africa's majority African population remained under the rule of the country's European-ancestry population. Afrikaner domination had been secured through victory in elections—Africans could not vote—of their Nationalist Party in 1948. Independence from Britain came in 1960. A vast system of laws was passed to create *apartheid*, a system designed to ensure white domination of political power and economic resources. All aspects of living were segregated. Special homelands were formed for the main "tribal" groups, thus leaving whites with most of the richest, productive land. The overpopulated homelands were reservoirs of cheap labor for white industry and agriculture. A brutal regime enforced the system. All forms of African protest, such as the African National Congress, were illegal. Leaders, such as Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, and Steve Biko, were imprisoned, tortured, or killed. Africans turned to guerrilla resistance during the 1960s without much immediate success. By the late 1980s, the state system began cracking because of internal and external economic and political pressures. Moderate Afrikaners led by F.W. De Klerk began dismantling *apartheid*. The release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in 1990 signaled the end of the old order. All South Africans voted for a new government in 1994, under Mandela, to begin building a new multiracial nation with equal opportunities for all citizens. Major problems—ethnic tensions, economic inequality—persist.

Comparisons of Emerging Nations. Along with the many common problems faced by newly independent nations, there are patterns that often reflect older traditions in key civilizations. India, less completely a new nation, maintained democracy. The new nations of the Middle East shared continuing tensions between secular and religious leaders. New African nations remained subject to Western economic dominance; they experienced massive cultural change as Islam and Christianity grew.

GLOBAL CONNECTIONS: Postcolonial Nations in the Cold War World Order. Most of the recently independent new nations attained independence with a multitude of problems from their colonial past waiting for solutions. Their subsequent experiences mirror the problems occurring in other nations, such as the United States, which gained independence earlier. Their experiences in social and economic matters mirror the European and North American past. Continual struggle, with approaches formed by a blending of indigenous and Western patterns, is necessary for the new nations to secure a satisfactory place in a world dominated by established industrial powers.

KEY TERMS

Bangladesh: formerly East Pakistan; after a civil war became independent in 1972.

Indira Gandhi: Prime Minister of India (r. 1966–1977, 1980–1984); daughter of former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru; dominated Indian politics for several decades.

Corazon Aquino: president of Philippines (r. 1986–1992).

Benazir Bhutto: Prime Minister of Pakistan, (r. 1988–1990, 1993–1996).

Primary products: food or industrial crops with a high demand in industrialized economies; their prices tend to fluctuate widely.

Neocolonialism: continued dominance of new nations by their former rulers.

Kwame Nkrumah: Ghanian leader at independence; his efforts at reform ended with the creation of dictatorial rule.

Muslim Brotherhood: Egyptian religious and nationalist movement founded by **Hasan al-Banna** in 1928; became an example for later fundamentalist movements in the Islamic world.

Gamal Abdul Nasser: member of the Free Officers Movement who seized power in Egypt in a 1952 military coup; became leader of Egypt; formed a state-directed reforming regime; ousted Britain from the Suez Canal in 1956; most reforms were unsuccessful.

Anwar Sadat: successor of Nasser as Egypt's ruler; dismantled Nasser's costly and failed programs; signed peace with Israel in 1973; assassinated by a Muslim fundamentalist.

Hosni Mubarak: president of Egypt (served: 1981–present); has continued Anwar Sadat's policies.

Jawaharlal Nehru: first leader of independent India; committed to programs of social reform, economic development, and preservation of civil liberties.

Green Revolution: agricultural revolution that increased production through improved seeds, fertilizers, and irrigation; helped to support rising Asian populations.

Ayatollah Khomeini: religious leader of Iran following the 1979 revolution; worked for fundamentalist Islamic religious reform and elimination of Western influences.

Apartheid: Afrikaner policy of racial segregation in South Africa designed to create full economic, social, and political exploitation of African majority.

Homelands: areas in South Africa for residence of "tribal" African peoples; overpopulated and poverty-stricken; source of cheap labor for whites.

African National Congress (ANC): South African political organization founded to defend African interests; became the ruling political party after the 1994 elections.

Walter Sisulu and Steve Biko: African leaders imprisoned (Sisulu) or murdered (Biko) by the Afrikaner regime.

Nelson Mandela: ANC leader imprisoned by Afrikaner regime; released in 1990 and elected president of South Africa in 1994.

F.W. de Klerk: South African president (served: 1989–1994); led Afrikaner push for reforms ending apartheid; Nelson Mandela was freed in his presidency.

LESSON SUGGESTIONS

Leader Analysis	Nkrumah
Peoples Analysis	Any of the New African Nations
Conflict Analysis	Population Growth versus the Environment, Apartheid
Change Analysis	India Before and After Nehru, Iran Before and After Khomeini
Societal Comparison	New African or Asian Countries and the U.S.
Document Analysis	Cultural Creativity in the Emerging Nations: Some Literary Samples
Inner/Outer Circle	In Depth: Artificial Nations and the Rising Tide of Communist Strife