

CHAPTER
19

Struggles for Democracy, 1945–Present

PREVIEWING THEMES

Economics

Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and Deng Xiaoping in China allowed reforms that moved their Communist economies toward capitalism. Many nations—such as Brazil and Poland—discovered that economic stability is important for democratic progress.

Revolution

In 1989, democratic revolutions overthrew Communist governments in the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe. In China, the Communist government and the army put down a student protest calling for democracy.

Cultural Interaction

Democratic reforms spread from one Eastern European country to another, causing Communist governments to fall like dominoes. In addition, Chinese students brought democratic ideas from the West back to China and tried to change Chinese culture.

EUROPE, AFRICA, SOUTH AMERICA



In November 1989, the Communist East German government allowed one reform—visits to West Germany. Within days, more than 2,000,000 East Germans crossed the border. The crowds were so huge that the government bulldozed new openings in the **Berlin Wall**. Protesters danced on top of what was left of the wall and demolished big chunks of it.

Europe, 1989

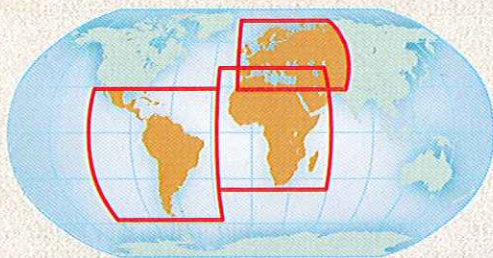


INTERNET CONNECTION

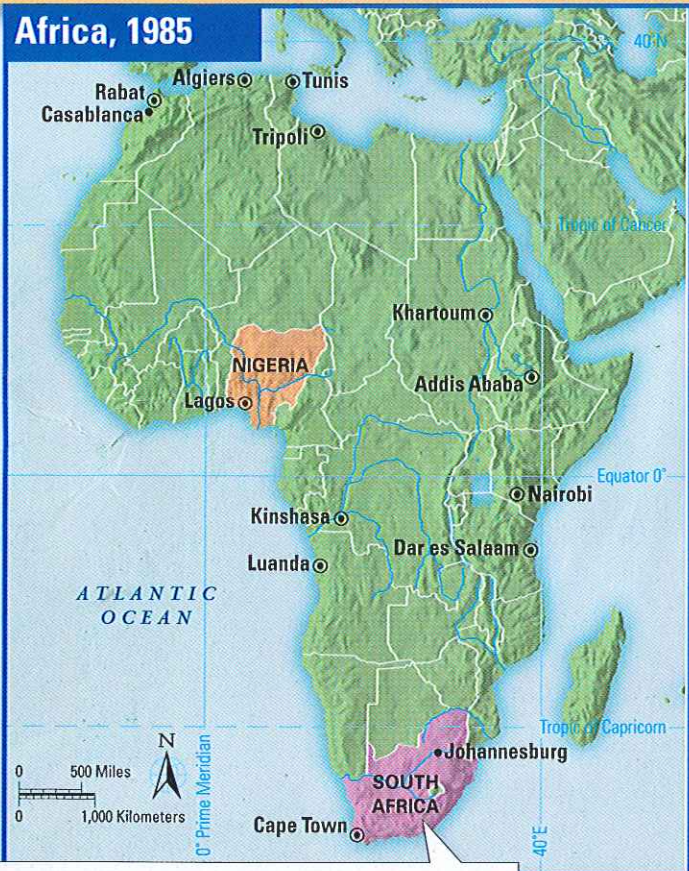
Visit us at www.mcdougallittell.com to learn more about democratic movements in the 20th century.

PREVIEWING THE CHAPTER

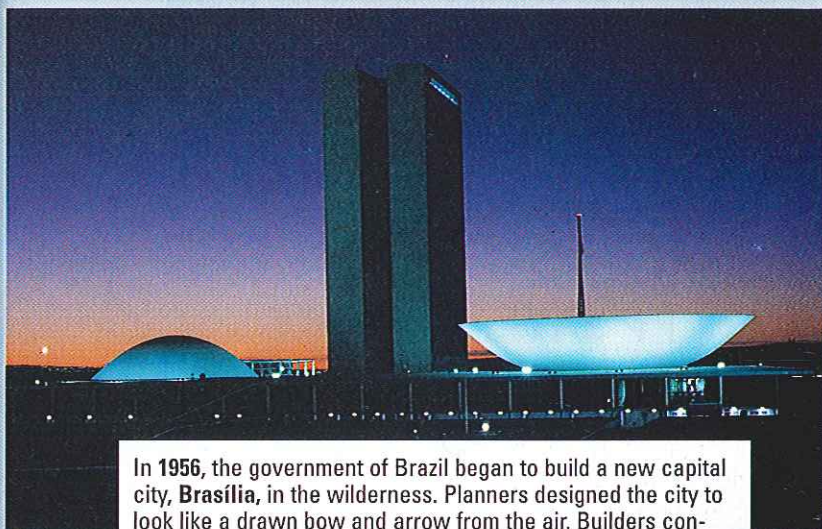
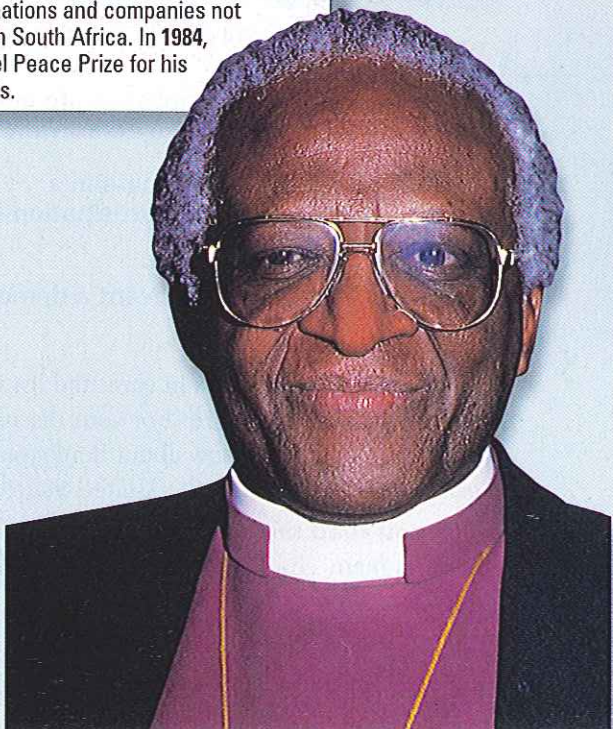
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Africa, 1985



Anglican bishop **Desmond Tutu** worked to end apartheid, which was legalized racial discrimination. He asked foreign nations and companies not to do business with South Africa. In 1984, Tutu won the Nobel Peace Prize for his nonviolent methods.



In 1956, the government of Brazil began to build a new capital city, **Brasília**, in the wilderness. Planners designed the city to look like a drawn bow and arrow from the air. Builders constructed many modern buildings, such as the bowl-shaped Chamber of Deputies and the twin towers that are home to congressional offices.



South America, 1956

Interact *with* History

On the news, you watch stories about protesters who demand more democratic freedom in their countries. Such demonstrations are taking place all over the world. Many times, students lead the protests. These students have learned about democracy through watching television or by attending school in the West.

At school, you meet a foreign exchange student who comes from a country that is controlled by a non-democratic government. At lunch, this student asks you to explain what democracy is and how it works. What would you say?

What makes democracy work?

In Beijing, China, in 1989, students gather in a public square to call for more democracy. For example, they want freedom of speech and the press.

For inspiration, they erect a statue that looks like the Statue of Liberty.

They demand an end to corrupt, authoritarian government.

EXAMINING *the* ISSUES

- What rights and institutions are necessary for a government to be democratic?
- How do citizens participate in a democracy? How can participation be encouraged?
- What obstacles can prevent a democracy from succeeding?

Discuss these questions in class and list important points on the board. For your discussion, consider what you know about democracy in ancient Greece and in the United States.

As you read this chapter, think about the challenges many countries face in trying to develop democratic systems.



Students in Czechoslovakia demonstrate in memory of the pro-democracy protests in China. They wear headbands that say "democracy." They also demand more non-Communist representatives in their own government.

1

Democracy

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

CASE STUDY: Latin American Democracies

TERMS & NAMES

- Brasília
- land reform
- standard of living
- recession
- PRI

MAIN IDEA

Democracy is not easy to achieve. In Latin America, economic problems and authoritarian rule delayed democracy.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

By the mid-1990s, almost all Latin American nations had democratic governments.

Background

Indirect democracy is also called representative democracy.

SETTING THE STAGE By definition, democracy is government by the people. Direct democracy, in which all citizens meet to pass laws, is not practical for nations. Therefore, democratic nations such as the United States developed indirect democracy, in which citizens elect representatives to make laws for them.

Making Democracy Work

Democracy is more than a form of government. It is also a way of life and an ideal goal. A democratic way of life includes practices such as free and open elections. The chart on this page lists four basic practices and ideal conditions that help those practices to succeed. Many nations follow these democratic practices to a large degree. However, none does so perfectly. Establishing democracy is a process that takes years.

Even in the United States, the establishment of democracy has taken time. Although the principle of equality is part of the Constitution, many Americans have struggled for equal rights. To cite one example, women did not receive the right to vote until 1920—132 years after the Constitution went into effect. Under the best of circumstances, democracy is always a “work in progress.”

Democratic institutions may not ensure stable, civilian government if other conditions are not present. In general, the participation of a nation’s citizens in government is essential to democracy. If citizens don’t vote or don’t contribute to public discussions of important issues, democracy suffers. Education and literacy—the ability to

PATTERNS OF CHANGE: Making Democracy Work

Common Practices	Conditions That Foster Those Practices
Free elections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having more than one political party • Universal suffrage — all adult citizens can vote
Citizen participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High levels of education and literacy • Economic security • Freedoms of speech, press, and assembly
Majority rule, minority rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All citizens equal before the law • Shared national identity • Protection of such individual rights as freedom of religion • Representatives elected by citizens to carry out their will
Constitutional government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear body of traditions and laws on which government is based • Widespread education about how government works • National acceptance of majority decisions • Shared belief that no one is above the law

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

1. Which of those conditions that foster democratic practices refer to political institutions?
2. Identify the conditions that increase citizen participation and explain why they would do so.

read and write—give citizens the tools they need to make political decisions. Also, a stable economy with a strong middle class and opportunities for advancement helps democracy. It does so by giving citizens a stake in the future of their nation.

Other factors advance democracy. First, a firm belief in the rights of the individual promotes the fair and equal treatment of citizens. Second, rule by law helps prevent leaders from abusing power without fear of punishment. Third, a sense of national identity—the idea that members of a society have a shared culture—helps encourage citizens to work together for the good of the nation.

The struggle to establish democracy continued in the 1990s as many nations abandoned authoritarian rule for democratic institutions. Several Latin American countries, such as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina, were among those making democratic progress.

CASE STUDY: Brazil

From Dictators to Democracy



Many Latin American nations won their independence in the early 1800s. However, three centuries of colonial rule left problems. This included powerful militaries, one-crop economies, and sharp class divisions. These patterns persisted in the modern era. One reason is that Europe and the United States dominated the region economically and politically. In addition, many Latin American leaders

seemed more interested in personal power than in democracy.

Like much of Latin America, Brazil struggled to establish democracy. After gaining independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazil became a monarchy. This lasted until 1889, when Brazilians established a republican government—which a wealthy elite actually controlled. Then, in the 1930s, Getulio Vargas became dictator of Brazil. Vargas suppressed political opposition. At the same time, however, he promoted economic growth and helped turn Brazil into a modern industrial nation.

Daily Life

Favelas: The Slums of Brazil

"I am living in a favela (fuh-VEHL-uh). But if God helps me, I'll get out of here," wrote Carolina Maria de Jesus in her diary in the 1950s. A favela was a sprawling slum of flimsy shacks that had no electricity, sewers, or running water. Carolina struggled to provide for herself and her children.

Everything that I find in the garbage I sell. . . . I collected two sacks full of paper. Afterward I went back and gathered up some scrap metal, some cans, and some kindling wood.

In 1960, Carolina published her diary, which was a success. She earned enough money to make a down payment on a home and leave the favela. However, millions of others were not so lucky. In the 1990s, favelas still plagued the cities and had spread to the countryside.

Kubitschek's Ambitious Program After Vargas, three popularly elected presidents tried to steer Brazil toward democracy. Juscelino Kubitschek (zhoo-suh-LEE-nuh KOO-bih-chehk), who governed from 1956 to 1961, continued to develop Brazil's economy. Promising "fifty years of progress in five," Kubitschek encouraged foreign investment to help pay for elaborate development projects. He built a new capital city, **Brasília** (bruh-ZIHL-yuh), in the country's interior. Kubitschek's dream proved expensive. The nation's foreign debt soared and inflation shot up. This caused hardship for most Brazilians.

Kubitschek's successors proposed reforms to lessen economic and social problems. Conservatives resisted this strongly. They especially opposed the plan for **land reform**—breaking up large estates and distributing that land to peasants. In 1964, with the blessing of wealthy Brazilians, the army seized power in a military coup.

Military Dictators For two decades, military dictators ruled Brazil. Emphasizing economic growth at all costs, the generals opened the country to foreign investment. They began huge development projects in the Amazon jungle. The economy boomed, in what many described as Brazil's "economic miracle."

The boom had a downside, though. The government froze wages and cut back on social programs. This caused a decline in the **standard of living**—or quality of life, which is judged by the amount of goods people have. When Brazilians protested, the government imposed censorship. It also jailed and tortured government critics. Nevertheless, opposition to military rule continued to grow.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

A. Making

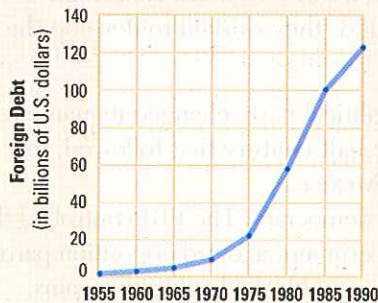
Inferences Why would democracy suffer if citizens didn't participate?

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

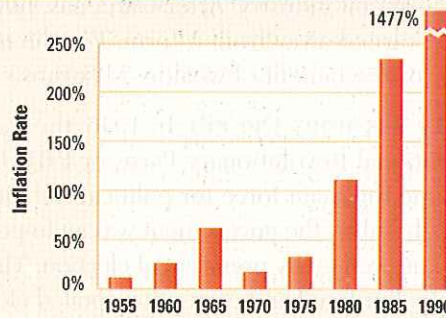
B. Analyzing

Motives Why might the wealthy prefer military rule to land reform?

Brazilian Economy, 1955-1990



Source: *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*



SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Graphs

- How much did Brazil's foreign debt increase from 1955 to 1990?
- Of the years shown on the bar graph, which was the worst year for inflation?
- Did Brazil's economy get better or worse from 1955 to 1990? Explain.

The Road to Democracy By the early 1980s, a **recession**—or slowdown in the economy—gripped Brazil. At that point, the generals decided to open up the political system. They allowed direct elections of local, state, and national officials.

In 1985, a new civilian president, José Sarney (zhoh-ZAY SAHR-nay), took office. Although he was elected indirectly, a 1985 constitutional amendment declared that all future presidents would be elected directly by the people. Sarney inherited a country in crisis:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

I . . . became the holder of the largest foreign debt on the face of the earth, as well as the greatest internal debt. My inheritance included the deepest recession in our history, the highest rate of unemployment, an unprecedented climate of violence, potential political disintegration and the highest rate of inflation ever recorded in our country's history—250 percent a year, with the prospect of reaching 1,000 percent.

JOSÉ SARNEY, "Brazil: A President's Story"

Though well-intentioned, Sarney failed to solve the country's problems and lost support. The next elected president fared even worse. He resigned because of corruption charges. In 1994, and again in 1998, Brazilians elected Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who achieved some success in tackling the nation's economic and political problems. Although Brazil faced many challenges, during the 1990s it continued on the path of democracy.

CASE STUDY: Mexico

One Dominant Party

Unlike Brazil, Mexico enjoyed relative political stability for most of the 20th century. Following the Mexican Revolution, the government passed the Constitution of 1917. It outlined a democracy and promised reforms. This document helped prevent direct military involvement in politics—which has been a common problem in many Latin American countries.

Beginnings of One-Party Domination From 1920 to 1934, Mexico elected several generals as president. However, these men did not rule as military dictators. They did create a ruling party—the National Revolutionary Party, which has dominated Mexico under various names ever since.

From 1934 to 1940, President Lázaro Cárdenas (KAHR-day-nahs) tried to improve life for peasants and workers. He carried out land reform and promoted labor rights.

Background

Before the change to direct elections, the president was chosen by members of the congress and state legislatures.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Analyzing Problems

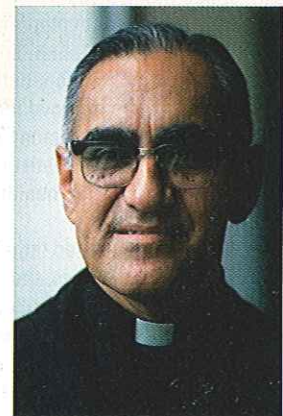
In your opinion, what is the worst problem Sarney faced? Explain.

SPOTLIGHT ON

Liberation Theology

At a 1968 conference, Roman Catholic leaders of Latin America—including several prominent Brazilians—started a movement known as liberation theology. These leaders taught that the Church must become a church of the poor. It must work to ease poverty by becoming involved in political affairs and crying out against injustice.

One of the most outspoken advocates of liberation theology was Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador, shown below. In 1980, a right-wing assassin murdered the Archbishop for speaking out against government oppression of poor Salvadorans.



He nationalized the Mexican oil industry, kicking out foreign oil companies and creating a state-run oil industry. After Cárdenas, however, a series of more conservative presidents turned away from reform. For the most part, they worked to develop the economy for the benefit of wealthy Mexicans.

The Party Becomes the PRI In 1946, the main political party changed its name to the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or **PRI**. In the half-century that followed, the PRI became the main force for political stability in Mexico.

Although stable, the government was an imperfect democracy. The PRI controlled the congress and won every presidential election. The government allowed opposition parties to compete, but fraud and corruption spoiled elections and blocked opposition gains.

Even as the Mexican economy rapidly developed, Mexico continued to suffer severe economic problems. Lacking land and jobs, millions of Mexicans struggled for survival. In addition, a huge foreign debt forced the government to spend money on interest payments instead of helping the Mexican people. Two episodes highlighted Mexico's growing difficulties. In the late 1960s, students and workers began calling for economic and political change. On October 2, 1968, protesters gathered at the site of an ancient Aztec market in Mexico City. A reporter recalled what happened next:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Suddenly one helicopter flew low over the crowd and dropped a flare. Immediately hundreds of soldiers hidden among the Aztec ruins of the square opened fire with automatic weapons. . . . Students who fled . . . were chased and beaten and some were murdered. . . . That night, army vehicles carried away the bodies, while firetrucks washed away the blood.

ALAN RIDING, *Distant Neighbors*

The massacre in the Aztec ruins claimed several hundred lives.

A second critical episode occurred during the early 1980s. By that time huge new oil and natural gas reserves had been discovered in Mexico. The economy had become dependent on oil and gas exports. In 1981, however, world oil prices fell sharply, cutting Mexico's oil and gas revenues in half. Mexico went into an economic decline.

Economic and Political Crises The rest of the 1980s and 1990s saw Mexico facing various crises. In 1988, opposition parties seriously challenged the PRI in national elections. The PRI candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, won the presidency—some argued by fraud. Even so, opposition parties won seats in congress and began to force a gradual opening of the political system.

During his presidency, Salinas signed NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA removed trade barriers between Mexico, the United States, and Canada. In early 1994, just as the agreement was going into effect, peasant rebels in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas (chee-AH-pahs) staged a major uprising. Shortly afterward, a gunman assassinated the PRI presidential candidate.

The PRI Loses Control After these events, Mexicans felt more concerned than ever about the prospects for democratic stability. Nevertheless, the elections of 1994 went ahead as planned. The new PRI candidate, Ernesto Zedillo (zuh-DEE-yoh), won in what appeared to be a fair ballot. At the same time, opposition parties continued to challenge the PRI.

In 1997, two opposition parties each won a large number of congressional seats—denying the PRI control of congress for the first time in its history. Then, in 2000, Mexican voters ended 71 years of PRI rule by electing center-right party candidate Vicente Fox Quesada as president.

Background

The initials *PRI* come from the party's Spanish name—*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

D. Recognizing Effects Why does over-reliance on one product weaken an economy?

SPOTLIGHT ON

Chiapas Revolt

In January 1994, a rebel army burst out of the jungle and seized several towns in the state of Chiapas. The rebels, one of whom is shown above, called themselves Zapatistas—after the revolutionary hero Emiliano Zapata. Demanding greater democracy, the Zapatistas especially wanted to improve life for Maya Indians, who were among the poorest Mexicans. The Zapatistas demanded better housing, health clinics, and schools.

Although the revolt had little chance of military success, the Mexican president appointed a peace negotiator to discuss the rebels' demands. Negotiations continued for months. Mexico's move toward multi-party rule in 1997 might perhaps provide a way for groups like the Zapatistas to influence the government legally.

CASE STUDY: Argentina

Argentina Casts Off Repression



Mexico and Brazil were not the only Latin American countries where democracy had made progress. By the late 1990s, all of Latin America—except Cuba—was under democratic rule. One notable example of democratic progress was Argentina.

Perón Rules Argentina The second largest country in South America, Argentina had struggled to establish democracy. Argentina was a major exporter of grain and beef. It was also an industrial nation with a large working class. In 1946, Argentine workers supported an army officer, Juan Perón, who won the presidency and then established a dictatorship.

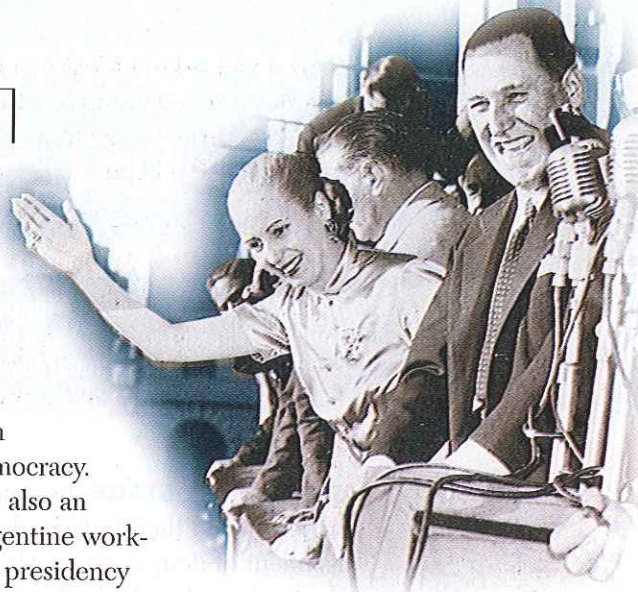
Perón did not rule alone. He received critical support from his wife, Eva—known as “Evita” to the millions of Argentines who idolized her. Together, the Peróns created a welfare state. The state offered social programs with broad popular appeal but limited freedoms. After Eva’s death in 1952, Perón’s popularity declined and his enemies—the military and the Catholic Church—moved against him. In 1955, the military ousted Perón and drove him into exile.

Repression in Argentina For the next three decades, the military essentially controlled Argentine politics. Perón returned to power once more, in 1973, but ruled for only a year before dying in office. By the mid-1970s, Argentina was in chaos. The economy was in ruins and radical terrorism was on the rise.

In 1976, the generals seized power again. They established a brutal dictatorship and hunted down political opponents. For several years, torture and murder were everyday events. By the early 1980s, several thousand Argentines had simply disappeared—kidnapped by their own government. The government killed at least 10,000 people. Critics charged that some of the victims were pushed out of airplanes over the ocean.

Moving Toward Democracy In 1982, the military government went to war with Britain over the nearby Falkland Islands and suffered a humiliating defeat. Thoroughly disgraced, the generals agreed to step down. In 1983, Argentines elected Raúl Alfonsín (ahl-fohn-SEEN) president in the country’s first truly free election in 40 years.

During the 1980s, Alfonsín worked to rebuild democracy and the economy. The next president continued that process. By the late 1990s, democracy seemed established in Argentina, though economic problems continued. In Section 2 you will read how ethnic and racial conflicts slowed democratic progress in parts of Africa.



In 1950, President Juan Perón and his wife Eva greet a crowd of hundreds of thousands. The Peróns are standing on the balcony of the government house.

Vocabulary

welfare state: a government that tries to provide for all its citizens’ needs—such as health, education, and employment.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

E. Analyzing Causes

What finally caused military rule to end in Argentina?

Section 1 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- Brasília
- land reform
- standard of living
- recession
- PRI

2. TAKING NOTES

On a chart like the one below, record the steps that Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina have taken toward establishing democracy.

Nation	Steps toward democracy
Brazil	
Mexico	
Argentina	

3. COMPARING AND CONTRASTING

Compare and contrast the roles of the military in the governments of Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina.

THINK ABOUT

- their relationship to civilian governments
- whether they hindered or advanced democracy

4. ANALYZING THEMES

Economics How does the state of a nation’s economy affect its democratic progress?

THINK ABOUT

- how economic conditions affect citizens’ support for the government
- how economic conditions affect the government’s ability to provide for its citizens

Democratic Challenges in African Nations

TERMS & NAMES

- federal system
- martial law
- dissident
- apartheid
- Nelson Mandela

MAIN IDEA

As the recent histories of Nigeria and South Africa show, ethnic and racial conflicts can hinder democracy.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

As Nigeria struggled with democracy, in 1996 South Africa adopted a bill of rights that promotes racial equality.

SETTING THE STAGE Beginning in the late 1950s, dozens of European colonies in Africa gained their independence and became nations. As in Latin America, the establishment of democracy in Africa proved difficult. In many cases, the newly independent nations faced a host of problems that slowed their progress toward democracy.

Colonial Rule Hampers Democracy

The main reason for Africa's difficulties was the negative impact of colonial rule. European powers did little to prepare their African colonies for independence. In fact, the lingering effects of colonialism undermined efforts to build stable, democratic states.

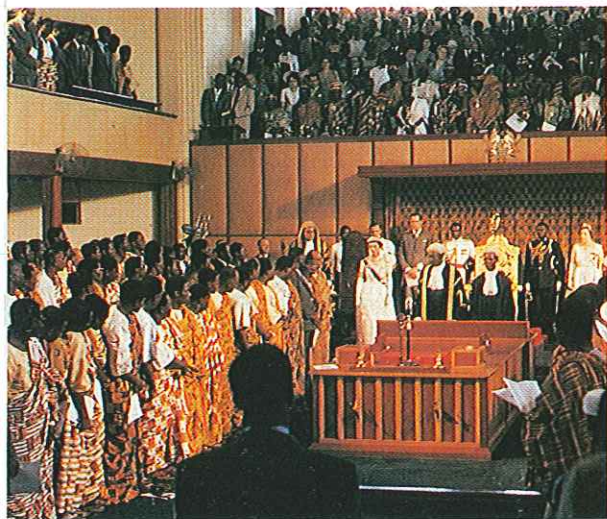
European Policies Cause Problems When the Europeans established colonial boundaries, they ignored ethnic or cultural divisions. Borders often divided peoples of the same background or threw different—often rival—groups together. Because of this, a sense of national identity was almost impossible to develop. After independence, the old colonial boundaries became the borders of the newly independent states. As a result, ethnic and cultural conflicts remained, and even increased.

Other problems had an economic basis. European powers had viewed colonies as sources of wealth for the home country. They had no desire to develop the colonies for the benefit of the Africans who lived there. The colonial powers encouraged the export of one or two cash crops—such as coffee or rubber—rather than the production of a range of products to serve local needs. Europeans developed plantations and mines but few factories. Manufactured goods were imported from European countries. They also built few roads, bridges, or communications systems—all necessary for economic development. These policies left new African nations with unbalanced economies and a small middle class. Such economic problems lessened their chances to create democratic stability.

European rule also disrupted African family and community life. In some cases, colonial powers moved Africans far from their families and villages to work in mines or on plantations. In addition, colonial governments did little to educate the majority of African people. As a result, most newly independent nations lacked a skilled, literate work force that could take on the task of building a new nation.

Short-Lived Democracies When Britain and France gave up their colonies, they left new democratic governments in place. Soon problems threatened those governments. Rival ethnic groups often fought each other for power. Strong militaries, left over from colonial rule, became a tool for ambitious leaders. In many cases, a military dictatorship quickly replaced democracy. Since independence, the struggle between democracy and authoritarian rule has torn apart many African nations.

This photo shows the 1957 ceremony marking Ghana's independence from Britain. At the ceremony were Britain's Duchess of Kent and Ghana's new President Kwame Nkrumah.



THINK THROUGH HISTORY

A. Recognizing Effects What were the main negative effects of the economic policies of European colonizers?

Background

Many colonies had strong militaries because the colonizers created them to control the local people.

Background

In 1995, Nigeria's estimated population was about 95 million. More than 250 ethnic groups live in the country.

Nigeria Erupts in Civil War

Nigeria provides a good example of the political struggles that have shaken Africa. Nigeria, a former British colony, won its independence peacefully in 1960. Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and one of its richest. Because of that, Nigeria seemed to have good prospects for democratic stability. The country was ethnically divided, however. This soon created problems that led to war.

A Land of Many Peoples Three major ethnic groups and many smaller ones live within Nigeria's borders. In the north are the Hausa-Fulani, who are Muslim. In the south are the Yoruba and the Igbo (also called Ibo), who are mostly either Christians or animists. The Yoruba, a farming people with a tradition of kings, live to the west. The Igbo, a farming people who have a democratic tradition, live to the east.

After independence, Nigeria adopted a **federal system**. In a federal system, power is shared between state governments and a central authority, much like in the United States. The Nigerians set up three states, one for each region and ethnic group, with a corresponding political party in each.

War with Biafra Although one group dominated each state, the states also had other ethnic minorities. In the Western Region—the Yoruba homeland—non-Yoruba minorities began to resent Yoruba control. In 1963, they tried to break away and form their own region. This led to fighting. In January 1966, a group of army officers, most of them Igbo, seized power in the capital city of Lagos.

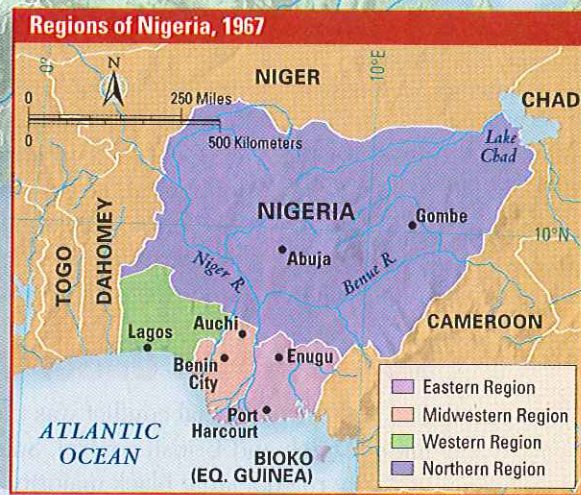
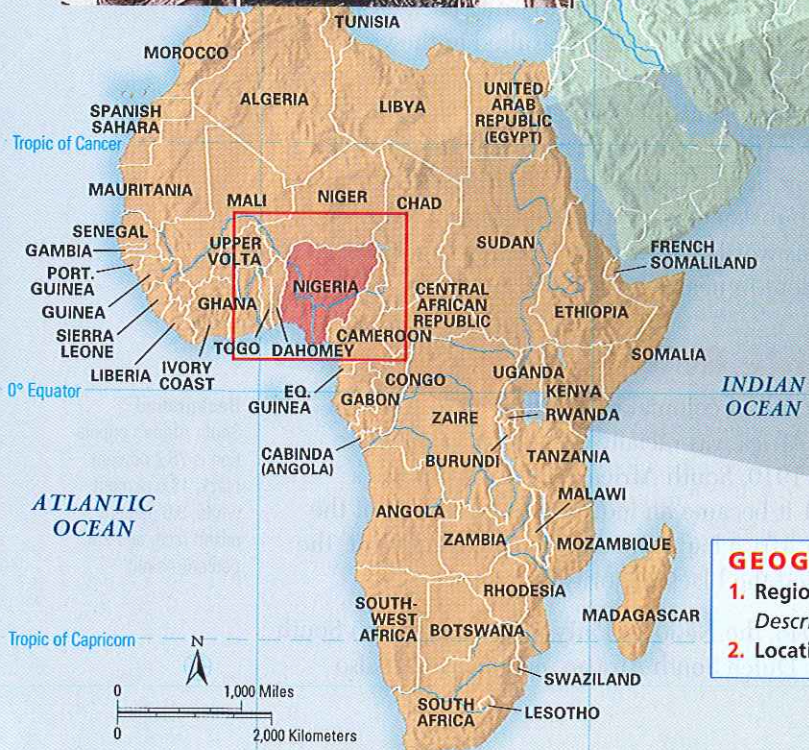
These officers abolished the regional governments and declared **martial law**, or temporary military rule.

The Hausa-Fulani, who had long distrusted the Igbo, launched an attack from the north. They persecuted and killed many Igbo. The survivors fled east to their homeland. In 1967, the Eastern Region seceded from Nigeria, declaring itself the new nation of Biafra (bee-AF-ruh).

During the civil war in Nigeria, Biafra was so desperate for troops that it enlisted boys younger than 18 in its army.



Africa, 1967



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

- Region** Describe the Eastern Region, which seceded as Biafra. Describe its size and location compared to the rest of Nigeria.
- Location** In which region is Nigeria's capital city of Lagos?

The Nigerian government then went to war to reunite the country. The Nigerian civil war lasted three years. The Igbo fought heroically but were badly outnumbered and outgunned. In 1970, Biafra surrendered. Nigeria was reunited, but the war took a tremendous toll. Although exact numbers are unknown, perhaps several million Igbo died, most from starvation.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

B. Recognizing Effects What was the effect of the war on the Igbo?

Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy

After the war, Nigerians returned to the process of nation-building. "When the war ended," noted one officer, "it was like a referee blowing a whistle in a football game. People just put down their guns and went back to the business of living." The Nigerian government did not punish the Igbo. It used federal money to rebuild the Igbo region.

Federal Government Restored The military governed Nigeria for most of the 1970s. During this time, Nigerian leaders tried to create a more stable federal system, with a strong central government and 19 regional units. The government also tried to build a more modern economy, based on oil income. Nigeria became the world's seventh largest oil producer. For a time, it grew wealthy from oil money.

In 1979, the military handed power back to civilian rulers. Nigerians were cheered by the return to democracy. Some people, like businessman Godfrey Amachree, however, remained concerned about ethnic divisions in the nation:

SPOTLIGHT ON

Silencing Dissidents

On November 10, 1995, Nigeria hanged nine political prisoners—all critics of the military government. Many around the world believed the nine were convicted on false charges just to silence them.

One of the nine was Ken Saro-Wiwa, a noted writer and activist. Saro-Wiwa had protested oil drilling in his native province. He charged oil companies and the government with destroying the environment.

Although Saro-Wiwa died, his protest lived on. Shortly before his death, Saro-Wiwa smuggled several manuscripts out of prison. In one, he wrote:

Injustice stalks the land like a tiger on the prowl. To be at the mercy of buffoons [fools] is the ultimate insult. To find the instruments of state power reducing you to dust is the injury.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

We've got such great potential in this country if we can truly pull together as one people, one nation. But there are these deep divisions that have torn us apart before. I can only hope we've learned our lesson. Have we? I don't know. I'd only be guessing. It all depends on whether we're ready to start thinking in terms of nation instead of tribe.

GODFREY AMACHREE, from *The Africans* by David Lamb

Nigerian democracy was short-lived. In 1983, the military overthrew the civilian government, charging it with corruption. A new military regime, dominated by the Hausa-Fulani, took charge. It carried out a policy of discrimination against other ethnic groups.

A Return to Civilian Rule In the years that followed, the military continued to govern Nigeria, while promising to bring back civilian rule. The army held elections in 1993, which resulted in the victory of popular leader Moshood Abiola. However, officers declared the results not valid and handed power to a new dictator, General Sani Abacha.

General Abacha jailed Abiola and numerous other **dissidents**, or opponents of government policy. Upon Abacha's death in 1998, General Abdulsalami Abubakar seized power and promised to end military rule. He kept his word, and in 1999 Nigerians freely elected their first civilian president in nearly twenty years.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Clarifying Review the chart on page 529. Which element of a democratic way of life was Godfrey Amachree discussing?

South Africa Under White Rule

In South Africa, racial conflict was the result of colonial rule. From its beginnings under Dutch and British control, South Africa was racially divided. A small white minority ruled a large black majority. In 1910, South Africa gained self-rule as a dominion of the British Empire. In 1931 it became an independent member of the British Commonwealth. Although South Africa had a constitutional government, the constitution gave whites power and denied the black majority its rights.

Apartheid Segregates Society In 1948, the National Party came to power in South Africa. This party promoted Afrikaner, or Dutch South African, nationalism. It also

Background

South Africa's population is 75.2 percent black, 13.6 percent white, 8.6 percent mixed race, and 2.6 percent Asian.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

D. Making

Inferences How did the policy of apartheid strengthen whites' hold on power?

instituted a policy of **apartheid**, a complete separation of the races. The minority government banned social contacts between whites and blacks. It established segregated schools, hospitals, and neighborhoods. It provided the best facilities for whites.

In 1959, the minority government set up reserves, called homelands, for the country's major black groups. Blacks were forbidden to live in white areas unless they worked as servants or laborers for whites. The homelands policy was totally unbalanced. Although blacks made up 75 percent of the population, the government set aside only 13 percent of the land for them. Whites kept the best lands.

Blacks Protest Black South Africans resisted the controls imposed by the white minority. In 1912, they formed the African National Congress (ANC) to fight for their rights. The ANC organized strikes and boycotts to protest racist policies. During one demonstration in 1960, police killed 69 people—an incident known as the Sharpeville Massacre. Afterward, the government banned the ANC and imprisoned many of its members. One was ANC leader **Nelson Mandela** (man-DEHL-uh).

The troubles continued. In 1976, riots over school policies broke out in the black township of Soweto, leaving 600 students dead. In 1977, police beat popular protest leader Steve Biko to death while he was in custody. This sparked an international outcry. As protests mounted, the government declared a state of emergency in 1986.

South Africa Moves Toward Democracy

By the late 1980s, South Africa was under enormous pressure to change. For years, a black South African bishop, Desmond Tutu, had led an economic campaign against apartheid. He asked foreign nations not to do business with South Africa. In response, many nations of the world imposed trade restrictions. They also isolated South Africa in other ways. For example, since the 1960s, South Africa had not been allowed to take part in the Olympic Games.

The First Steps In 1989, white South Africans elected a new president, F. W. de Klerk. His goal was to transform South Africa and end its isolation. In February 1990, he legalized the ANC and also released Nelson Mandela from prison.

These dramatic actions marked the beginning of a new era in South Africa. Over the next 18 months, the South African Parliament repealed apartheid laws that had segregated public facilities and restricted land ownership by blacks. World leaders welcomed these changes and began to ease restrictions on South Africa.

Although some legal barriers had fallen, others would remain until a new constitution was in place. First, the country needed to form a multiracial government. After lengthy negotiations, President de Klerk agreed to hold South Africa's first universal elections, in which people of all races could vote, in April 1994.

Majority Rule Among the candidates for president were F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. During the campaign, the Inkatha Freedom Party—a rival party

GlobalImpact

International Boycott

South Africa's racial policies and violent actions made it an outcast among nations. In 1974, the United Nations forbade South Africa's delegates to attend UN sessions. In 1976, the UN urged its members to stop trading with South Africa and competing against its athletes.

One year later, the UN banned all military sales to the country. In the mid-1980s, many countries imposed trade restrictions on South Africa. For example, in 1985 the U.S. government banned the importing of Krugerrand gold coins, which had been a popular investment item. Eventually, international pressure helped convince South Africa's government that it must end apartheid.



South Africa adopted this flag in 1994.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

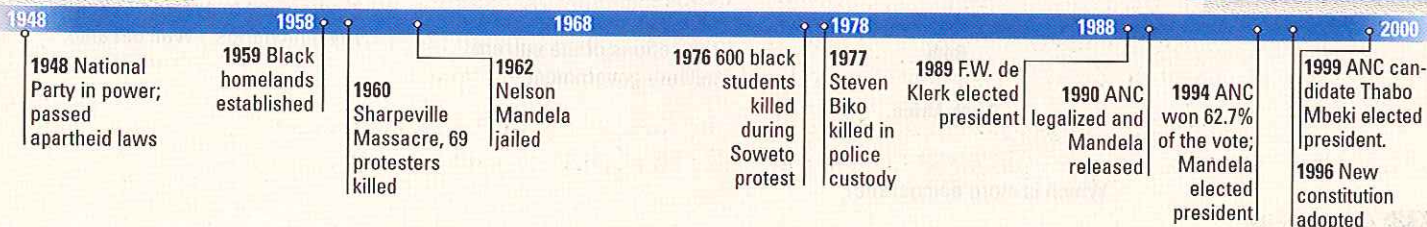
E. Analyzing Causes

How did other nations help force South Africa to end apartheid?

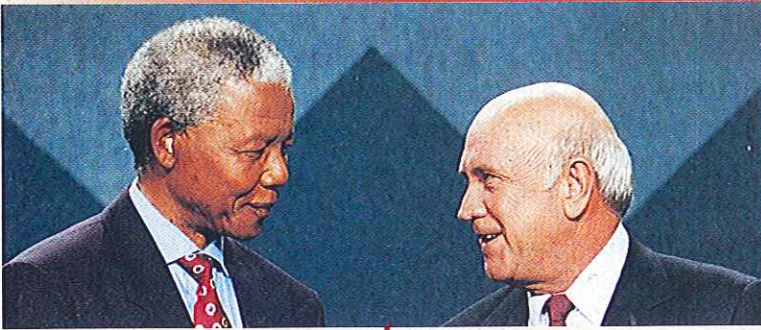
This was South Africa's flag from 1927 to 1994.



South Africa 1948–2000



HISTORY MAKERS



Nelson Mandela
1918–

Nelson Mandela has said that he first grew interested in politics when he heard elders in his village describe how freely his people lived before whites came. Inspired to help his people regain that freedom, Mandela trained as a lawyer and became a top official in the ANC. Convinced that apartheid would never end peacefully, he joined the armed struggle against white rule. For this, he was imprisoned for 27 years.

After his presidential victory, Mandela looked to the future,

We must . . . build a better life for all South Africans. This means creating jobs, building houses, providing education, and bringing peace and security for all.

As president, he continued to work to heal his country.

F.W. de Klerk
1936–

Like Mandela, Frederik W. de Klerk also trained as a lawyer. Born to an Afrikaner family with close links to the National Party, de Klerk was elected to Parliament in 1972.

A firm party loyalist, de Klerk backed apartheid but was also open to reform. Friends say that his flexibility on racial issues stemmed from his relatively liberal religious background. De Klerk explained his willingness to negotiate with black leaders by saying, "Dialogue is God's style."

In 1993, de Klerk and Mandela were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to bring democracy to South Africa. The next year, de Klerk ran for president against Mandela. Coming in second, de Klerk became vice president. The photograph above shows them after one of their campaign debates.

to the ANC—threatened to disrupt the process. Nevertheless, the vote went smoothly. South Africans of all races peacefully waited at the polls in lines that sometimes stretched for up to a kilometer, which is .62 mile. (See pages 468–469.) To no one's surprise, the ANC won 62.7 percent of the vote. They won 252 of 400 seats in the National Assembly (the larger of the two houses in Parliament). Mandela was elected president. As scheduled, President Mandela stepped down in 1999 but the nation's democratic process continued. That year, ANC official Thabo Mbeki won election as president.

A New Constitution In 1996, after much debate, South African lawmakers passed a new, more democratic constitution. It guaranteed equal rights for all citizens. The constitution included a bill of rights modeled on the U.S. Bill of Rights, but with important differences. The South African document expressly forbids discrimination and protects the rights of minorities and children. It also guarantees the right to travel freely—a right denied blacks in the past. It proclaims social and economic rights,

including the right to adequate housing, education, and health care.

As they passed the constitution, South African leaders realized that these sweeping promises would be difficult to fulfill. Many South African blacks wanted instant results. Even so, the political changes that South Africa had achieved gave other peoples around the world great hope for the future of democracy. In Section 3, you will read how democratic ideas changed the Communist Soviet Union.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
F. Drawing Conclusions How did the memory of apartheid influence the writing of the new bill of rights?

Section 2 Assessment

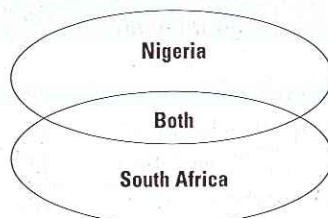
1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- federal system
- martial law
- dissident
- apartheid
- Nelson Mandela

2. TAKING NOTES

Compare political events in Nigeria and South Africa using a Venn diagram like the one below.



Which is more democratic?

3. IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS

What do you think is the main problem that Nigeria must overcome before it can establish a democratic government?

THINK ABOUT

- the problems that led to the civil war
- the actions of the current military government

4. THEME ACTIVITY

Revolution Working in small teams, write biographies of South African leaders who were instrumental in the revolutionary overturn of apartheid. Include pictures if possible. Use these biographies to create or expand a revolutionaries' "Wall of Fame."

Gorbachev Moves Toward Democracy

TERMS & NAMES

- Politburo
- Mikhail Gorbachev
- glasnost
- perestroika
- Solidarity
- Lech Walesa
- reunification

MAIN IDEA

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev promoted democratic reforms, which inspired many Eastern Europeans.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

In the 1990s, most Eastern European nations overthrew communist governments. Germany reunified.

SETTING THE STAGE After World War II, the Soviet Union and the United States engaged in a Cold War. Each tried to increase its worldwide influence. The Soviet Union extended its power over much of Eastern Europe. By the 1960s, it appeared that communism was permanently established in the region.

Gorbachev's Reforms

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet Union's Communist leadership kept tight control over the Soviet people. Leonid Brezhnev and the **Politburo**—the ruling committee of the Communist Party—crushed all political disagreement. Censors decided what writers could publish. The Communist Party restricted such basic rights as freedom of speech and worship.

After Brezhnev's death in 1982, the aging leadership of the Soviet Union tried to hold on to power. Time was against them, however. Each of Brezhnev's two successors died after only about a year in office. Who would succeed them?

A Younger Leader To answer that question, the Politburo debated between two men. One was a conservative named Victor Grishin. The other was **Mikhail Gorbachev** (mih-KYL gawr-buh-CHAWF). Gorbachev's supporters praised his youth, energy, and political skills. With their backing, Gorbachev became the party's new general secretary. In choosing him, Politburo members signalled their support for mild reform in the Soviet Union. They did not realize they were unleashing a second Russian Revolution.

The Soviet people welcomed Gorbachev's election. At 54, he was the youngest Soviet leader since Stalin. Gorbachev was only a child during Stalin's ruthless purge of independent-minded party members. Unlike other Soviet leaders, Gorbachev had not needed to blindly follow Stalin's policies. He could pursue new ideas.

Glasnost Promotes Openness Past Soviet leaders had created a totalitarian state. It rewarded silence and discouraged individuals from acting on their own. As a result, Soviet society rarely changed. Gorbachev realized that economic and social reforms could not occur without a free flow of ideas and information. In 1985, he announced a policy known as **glasnost** (GLAHS-nuhst), or openness. He encouraged Soviet citizens to discuss ways to improve their society.

Glasnost brought remarkable changes. The government allowed churches to open. It released dissidents from prison and allowed the publication of books by previously banned authors. Reporters actively investigated social problems and openly criticized government officials.

Background

Like Nigeria, the Soviet Union jailed dissidents. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, a dissident writer who wrote about the Soviet prison system, lived in exile from 1974 to 1994.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

A. Making

Inferences How might Gorbachev's young age have made him more open to reform?

HISTORY MAKERS



Mikhail Gorbachev
1931–

Mikhail Gorbachev's background shaped the role he would play in history. Both of his grandfathers were arrested during Stalin's purges. Both were eventually freed. However, one died at an early age, perhaps because of the torture he had suffered. Gorbachev never forgot his grandfathers' stories.

After working on a state farm, Gorbachev studied law in Moscow and joined the Communist Party. As an official in a farming region, Gorbachev learned much about the Soviet system and its problems.

He advanced quickly in the party. When he became general secretary in 1985, he was the youngest Politburo member and a man who wanted to bring change. He succeeded. Although he pursued reform to save the Soviet Union, ultimately he triggered its breakup.



This political cartoon contrasts the old Soviet closed-door system with Gorbachev's new policy. The sign over the open doorway reads "Glasnost," which means openness.

Perestroika Reforms the Economy The new openness allowed Soviet citizens to complain publicly about economic problems. Angry consumers protested that they had to stand in long lines to buy food, soap, and other basics. Gorbachev blamed these problems on the Soviet Union's inefficient system of central planning. Under central planning, party officials told farm and factory managers how much to produce. They also told them what wages to pay, and what prices to charge. Because individuals could not increase their pay by producing more, they had little motive to improve efficiency.

In 1985, Gorbachev introduced the idea of **perestroika** (PEHR-ih-STROY-kuh), or

economic restructuring. In 1986, he made changes to revive the Soviet economy.

Local managers gained greater authority over their farms and factories, and people were allowed to open small private businesses. Gorbachev's goal was not to throw out communism, but to make the system more efficient and productive.

Democratization Opens the Political System Gorbachev also knew that for the economy to thrive, the Communist Party would have to loosen its grip on Soviet society and politics. In 1987, he unveiled a third new policy called democratization. This would be a gradual opening of the political system.

The plan called for the election of a new legislative body. In the past, voters had merely approved candidates who were hand-picked by the Communist Party. Now, voters could choose from a list of candidates for each office. The election produced many surprises. In several places, voters chose lesser-known candidates over powerful party bosses. Voters also elected a number of outspoken reformers.

Foreign Policy Soviet foreign policy also changed. Gorbachev realized that the troubled Soviet economy could no longer afford the costly arms race. He announced a "new thinking" in foreign affairs that stressed diplomacy over force. Therefore, arms control became one of Gorbachev's top priorities. In December 1987, he and President Reagan signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. This treaty banned nuclear missiles with ranges of 300 to 3,400 miles.

Gorbachev's new thinking led him to urge Eastern European leaders to open up their economic and political systems. The aging Communist rulers of Eastern Europe resisted reform. However, powerful forces for democracy were building in those countries. In the past, the threat of Soviet intervention had kept those forces in check. Now, Gorbachev was saying that the Soviet Union would not oppose reform. "Each people determines the future of its own country and chooses its own form of society," he announced. "There must be no interference from outside, no matter what the pretext."

Reforms in Poland and Hungary

Poland and Hungary were among the first countries in Eastern Europe to embrace the spirit of change. In fact, the Polish struggle for democracy had begun before Gorbachev's rise to power. In 1978, a Polish archbishop became Pope John Paul II and lent his support to the anti-communist movement. In 1980, workers at the Gdansk shipyard went on strike, demanding government recognition of their union, **Solidarity**. When millions of Poles supported the action, the government gave in to the union's demands. Union leader **Lech Walesa** (lehk vah-WEHN-sah) became a national hero.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

B. Making

Inferences Why would it be inefficient for the central government to decide what should be produced all over the country?

Background

In 1972, President Nixon and Soviet leader Brezhnev had signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT), which limited the number of nuclear missiles the super-powers could build.

Background

These striking workers took a great risk. Communist governments often sent the army to attack such protesters.

Solidarity Defeats Communists The next year, however, the Polish government banned Solidarity again and declared martial law. The Communist Party quickly discovered that military rule could not revive Poland's failing economy. In the 1980s, industrial production declined, while foreign debt rose to more than \$40 billion.

Frustrated shoppers endured long lines, shortages, and rising prices.

Public discontent deepened as the economic crisis worsened. In August 1988, defiant workers walked off their jobs. They demanded raises and the legalization of Solidarity. Faced with Poland's worst labor unrest since 1980, the military leader, General Jaruzelski (YAH-roo-ZEHL-skee), agreed to hold talks with Solidarity leaders. In April 1989, Jaruzelski legalized Solidarity and agreed to hold Poland's first free election since the Communists took power.

In elections during 1989 and 1990, Polish voters voted against Communists and overwhelmingly chose Solidarity candidates. They elected Lech Walesa president. For the first time, the people of a nation had turned a Communist regime out of office peacefully.

Hungarian Communists Disband Inspired by the changes in Poland, Hungarian leaders also launched a sweeping reform program. To stimulate economic growth, reformers encouraged private enterprise and allowed a small stock market to operate. A new constitution permitted a multiparty system with free parliamentary elections.

The pace of change grew faster when radical reformers took over a Communist Party congress in October 1989. The radicals deposed the party's leaders and then dissolved the party itself. Here was another first: a European Communist Party had voted itself out of existence. A year later, in national elections, the nation's voters put a non-Communist government in power.

In 1994, a socialist party—largely made up of former Communists—won a majority of seats in Hungary's parliament. The socialist party and a democratic party formed a coalition, or alliance, to rule. The following year, the government sought to improve the economy by raising taxes and cutting back on government services.

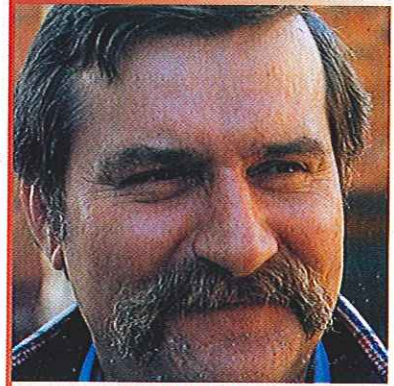
Communism Falls in East Germany

While Poland and Hungary were moving toward reform, conservative leaders in East Germany stubbornly refused to accept change. East Germany's 77-year-old party boss Erich Honecker dismissed reforms as unnecessary. Then in 1989, Hungary allowed vacationing East German tourists to cross the border into Austria. From there they could travel to West Germany. Thousands of East Germans took this new escape route.

Fall of the Berlin Wall In response, the East German government closed its borders entirely. By October 1989, huge demonstrations had broken out in cities across East Germany. The protesters demanded the right to travel freely—and later added the demand for free elections. At one point, Honecker tried to regain control by ordering the police to break up a demonstration in Leipzig. The police refused. Honecker lost his authority with the party and resigned on October 18.

The new East German leader, Egon Krenz, boldly gambled that he could restore stability by allowing people to leave East Germany. On November 9, 1989, he opened the Berlin Wall. Thousands of East Germans poured into West Berlin. The long-divided city of Berlin erupted in joyous celebration. Once-feared border guards smiled as huge crowds climbed on top of the wall to celebrate. The jubilant Berliners danced and chanted, "The wall is gone! The wall is gone!" (See photograph on page 528.)

HISTORY MAKERS



Lech Walesa
1943–

When Lech Walesa was 18 months old, his father died. Before dying, he predicted that his wife would be proud of Lech someday.

At 24, Walesa began to work at the shipyard in Gdansk, Poland. Three years later, he took up the struggle for free trade unions after seeing police shoot protesters.

During the 1980 strike, Walesa and others locked themselves inside the shipyard. This attracted the attention of the world to their demands for a legally recognized union and the right to strike.

The government granted these demands but later outlawed Solidarity and jailed Walesa and other leaders. After his release, Walesa fulfilled his father's prediction. He won both the Nobel Prize and his country's presidency.

Vocabulary
deposed: removed
from power

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Analyzing

Causes How did the fall of communism in Hungary contribute to turmoil in East Germany?

Krenz's dramatic gamble to save communism did not work. When the public discovered evidence of widespread corruption among party leaders, Krenz and other top officials were forced to resign in disgrace. By the end of 1989, the East German Communist Party had ceased to exist.

SPOTLIGHT ON

Fighting Neo-Nazis

The new, united Germany faced the problem of increasing violence. After communism fell, refugees flooded into Germany from the poorer countries of Eastern Europe. This immigration angered many Germans, who accused foreigners of stealing jobs by working for cheap wages.

Thousands of angry young people joined neo-Nazi groups, which began to carry out violent actions against foreigners. In May 1993, five Turkish immigrants died when their house was set on fire.

Attacks such as this revived ugly memories of Nazi violence in the 1930s. By the 1990s, however, Germany had deep democratic roots. Millions of Germans spoke out against racism and antforeign violence and held candlelight vigils to declare, "Never again!" One such vigil is shown below.



Germany Is Reunified With the fall of Communism in East Germany, many Germans began to speak of **reunification**—the merging of the two Germanys. However, the movement for reunification worried many people. They feared that a united Germany would once again try to dominate Europe.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl assured world leaders that Germans had learned from the past. They were now committed to democracy and human rights. Kohl's assurances helped persuade other European nations to accept German reunification. Forty-five years after its crushing defeat in World War II, Germany was officially reunited on October 3, 1990.

Germany's Challenges The newly united Germany faced serious problems. More than 40 years of Communist rule had left eastern Germany in ruins. Its railroads, highways, and telephone system had not been modernized since World War II. Many East German industries produced shoddy goods that could not compete in the global market.

Rebuilding eastern Germany's bankrupt economy was going to be a difficult, costly process. To pay these costs, Kohl raised taxes. As taxpayers tightened their belts, workers in eastern Germany faced a second problem—unemployment. Inefficient factories closed, depriving millions of workers of their jobs.

In spite of these difficulties, German voters returned the ruling coalition of political parties to power in late 1994. Kohl was re-elected chancellor. But in 1998, economic woes prompted German voters to turn Kohl out of office and elect a new president, Gerhard Schroeder of the Socialist Democratic Party (SPD).

Reunification forced Germany to rethink its role in international affairs. As central Europe's largest country, Germany gained important global responsibilities. As these responsibilities grew, German leaders began to argue that the country deserved a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. The Security Council is a group of 15 nations with the authority to decide UN actions. As of 2000, however, Germany had not gained a Security Council seat.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

D. Clarifying Why would Europeans fear the reunification of Germany?

Democracy Spreads

Changes in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary had helped inspire reforms in East Germany. In the same way, changes in East Germany affected other Eastern European countries, including Czechoslovakia and Romania. In those countries, however, repressive governments delayed the movement toward democracy.

Czechoslovakia Reforms While huge crowds were demanding democracy in East Germany, neighboring Czechoslovakia remained quiet. Vivid memories of the violent crackdown against the reforms of 1968 made the Czechs cautious. A conservative

government led by Milos Jakes resisted all change. In October 1989, the police arrested several dissidents. Among these was the Czech playwright Vaclav Havel (VAH-tslahv HAH-vehl), a popular critic of the government.

On October 28, 1989, 10,000 people gathered in Wenceslas Square in the center of Prague. They demanded democracy and freedom. Hundreds were arrested. Three weeks later, 25,000 students inspired by the fall of the Berlin Wall gathered in Prague to demand reform. Following orders from the government, the police brutally attacked the demonstrators and injured hundreds.

The government crackdown angered the Czech people. On each of the next eight days, huge crowds gathered in Wenceslas Square. They demanded an end to Communist rule. On November 24, 500,000 protesters crowded into downtown Prague. Within hours, Milos Jakes and his entire Politburo resigned. One month later, a new parliament elected Vaclav Havel president of Czechoslovakia.

Overthrow in Romania By late 1989, only Romania seemed unmoved by the calls of reform. Romania's ruthless Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu (chow-SHES-koo) maintained a firm grip on power. His secret police enforced his orders brutally. Nevertheless, Romanians were aware of the reforms in other countries. They began a protest movement of their own. One student explained their anger at the government:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

We were raised on a mountain of lies. There was a fantastical difference between the things they told us and the things we saw. They published incredible statistics on agricultural production, and in the shops there was nothing to eat. On paper, we had freedom of expression, but anytime anyone said anything, members of the Communist Party told us to keep our mouths shut.

STEFAN GHENCEA, Romanian student

In December, Ceausescu ordered the army to fire on demonstrators in the city of Timisoara (tee-mee-SHWAH-rah). The army killed and wounded scores of people. The massacre in Timisoara ignited a popular uprising against Ceausescu. Within days, the army joined the people. They fought to defeat the secret police and overthrow their ruler. Shocked by the sudden collapse of his power, Ceausescu and his wife attempted to flee. They were captured, however, then hastily tried and executed on Christmas Day, 1989.

Romania held general elections in 1990 and in 1992. The government also made economic reforms to introduce elements of capitalism. At the same time, the slow pace of Gorbachev's economic reforms began to cause unrest in the Soviet Union.

SPOTLIGHT ON

Television's Influence

Television played a key role in the movements for democracy. Mikhail Gorbachev used television to spread news of reform programs and bolster his image. In East Germany, people viewed Western programs and saw the contrast between affluence in the West and their own lower standard of living.

In Romania the role of television was more direct. Revolutionaries captured the state television station in Bucharest and broadcast their own views of the struggle. They used television to coordinate revolutionary actions in different parts of the country. When Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife were tried and executed, television carried the news throughout the country—along with pictures of their dead bodies. Ceausescu is shown below.



THINK THROUGH HISTORY

E. Contrasting

Contrast the democratic revolutions in Czechoslovakia and Romania.

Section 3 Assessment

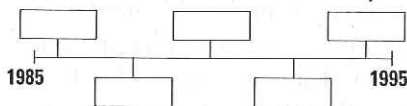
1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- Politburo
- Mikhail Gorbachev
- glasnost
- perestroika
- Solidarity
- Lech Walesa
- reunification

2. TAKING NOTES

Use a time line like the one below to record significant events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.



During which year did most of Eastern Europe turn toward democracy?

3. SYNTHESIZING

Explain how Gorbachev's reforms helped to move the Soviet Union closer toward democracy.

THINK ABOUT

- the democratic practices and conditions listed on the chart on page 531
- how Gorbachev's policies promoted those practices and conditions

4. THEME ACTIVITY

Cultural Interaction With a partner, create a cause-and-effect diagram to show how democratic reform spread through Eastern Europe. The diagram should show the order in which reform happened and which countries influenced others. You may want to look through this textbook for model diagrams.

Collapse of the Soviet Union

TERMS & NAMES

- Boris Yeltsin
- CIS
- “shock therapy”
- ethnic cleansing

MAIN IDEA

In the early 1990s, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia all broke apart.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Many of the new nations created after those breakups continue to struggle to establish democracy.

SETTING THE STAGE The reforms of the late 1980s brought high hopes to the people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. For the first time in decades, they were free to make choices about the economic and political systems governing their lives. They soon discovered that increased freedom sometimes challenges the social order.

HISTORY MAKERS



Boris Yeltsin
1931–

Boris Yeltsin was raised in poverty. For 10 years, his family lived in a single room and slept on the floor next to their goat for warmth.

As a youth, Yeltsin earned good grades but behaved badly. Mikhail Gorbachev named him party boss and mayor of Moscow in 1985. Yeltsin’s outspokenness got him into trouble. At one meeting, he launched into a bitter speech criticizing conservatives for working against perestroika. Gorbachev fired him for the sake of party unity.

Yeltsin made a dramatic comeback and won a seat in parliament in 1989. Parliament elected him president of Russia in 1990, and voters re-elected him in 1991. Due at least in part to his failing health—heart problems—Yeltsin resigned in 1999.

Unrest in the Soviet Union

As Eastern Europe gained freedom from Soviet control, various nationalities in the Soviet Union began to call for their own freedom. More than 100 ethnic groups lived in the Soviet Union. Russians were the largest, most powerful group. However, non-Russians formed a majority in the 14 Soviet republics other than Russia.

Ethnic tensions brewed beneath the surface of Soviet society. As reforms loosened central controls, unrest spread across the country. Nationalist groups in Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldavia (now Moldova) demanded self-rule. The Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia called for religious freedom.

Lithuania Defies Gorbachev The first challenge came from the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. These republics had been independent states between the two world wars—until the Soviets annexed them in 1940. Fifty years later, in March 1990, Lithuania declared its independence. To try to force it back into the Soviet Union, Gorbachev ordered a blockade of the republic.

Although Gorbachev was reluctant to use stronger measures, he feared that Lithuania’s example might encourage other republics to secede. In January 1991 Soviet troops attacked unarmed civilians in Lithuania’s capital. The army killed 14 and wounded more than 150.

Yeltsin Denounces Gorbachev The bloody assault in Lithuania and the lack of real economic progress in the Soviet Union damaged Gorbachev’s popularity. More and more people looked for leadership to **Boris Yeltsin**. He was a member of parliament and the former mayor of Moscow. Yeltsin criticized the crackdown in Lithuania and the slow pace of reforms. In June 1991, voters overwhelmingly chose Yeltsin to become the Russian Republic’s first directly elected president.

Yeltsin and Gorbachev were now on a collision course. In spite of their rivalry, they faced a common enemy in the old guard of Communist officials. Hard-liners—conservatives who opposed reform—were furious at Gorbachev. They were angry that he had given up the Soviet Union’s role as the dominant force in Eastern Europe. They also feared losing their power and privileges. These officials vowed to overthrow Gorbachev and undo his reforms.

Background

About three-fourths of the Soviet population were Slavic peoples such as Russians or Ukrainians. Turkic peoples, such as Uzbeks or Azerbaijani, were the second largest group. Most of these were Muslim. Other groups included Georgians and Armenians.

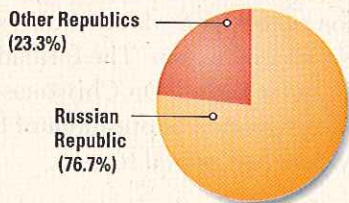
Background

As part of government reform, Gorbachev became president of the Soviet Union—a new office modeled on the U.S. presidency. Each of the 15 republics was also allowed to have a president. For example, Yeltsin was the president of Russia.

The Breakup of the Soviet Union, 1991



Distribution of Territory, 1991



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

1. Place Name the 15 republics of the former Soviet Union.
2. Region Which republic received the largest percentage of the former Soviet Union's territory?



Crowds of citizens surround the tanks in Moscow during the August coup attempt. The soldiers' refusal to fight doomed the coup.

The August Coup On August 18, 1991, the hard-liners detained Gorbachev at his vacation home on the Black Sea. They demanded his resignation as Soviet president. Early the next day, hundreds of tanks and armored vehicles rolled into Moscow. The hard-liners—who called themselves the State Committee—assumed that a show of force would ensure obedience. However, the Soviet people had lost their fear of the party. They were willing to defend their freedoms. Protesters gathered at the Russian parliament building, where Yeltsin had his office.

Around midday, Yeltsin emerged and climbed atop one of the tanks. As his supporters cheered, Yeltsin declared, “We proclaim all decisions and decrees of this committee to be illegal. . . . We appeal to the citizens of Russia to . . . demand a return of the country to normal constitutional developments.”

On August 20, the State Committee ordered troops to attack the parliament, but they refused. Their refusal turned the tide. On August 21, the military withdrew its forces from Moscow. That night, Gorbachev returned to Moscow.

End of the Soviet Union The coup attempt sparked anger against the Communist party. Gorbachev resigned as general secretary of the party. The Soviet parliament voted to stop all party activities. Having first seized power in 1917 in a coup that succeeded, the all-powerful Communist Party now collapsed because of a coup that failed.

The coup also played a decisive role in accelerating the breakup of the Soviet Union. Estonia and Latvia quickly declared their independence. Other republics soon followed. Although Gorbachev pleaded for unity, no one was listening. By early December, all 15 republics had declared independence.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
A. Analyzing Motives Why do you think the Soviet troops refused the order to attack the parliament?

Cuba

The Soviet collapse harmed Cuba. Since becoming a Communist state in the early 1960s, Cuba had depended on Soviet assistance. By the late 1980s, Cuba relied on the Soviet Union for more than three-fourths of its imports and all of its oil.

As reform swept the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Cuba's leader, Fidel Castro, criticized the reformers. He also vowed that Cuba would remain Communist.

After the August Coup of 1991, Soviet support of Cuba's economy came to an abrupt end. Cut off from Soviet aid and deeply affected by an American trade embargo, Cuba went into severe economic decline. During the 1990s, Cuba struggled to form new trade relationships and mend its tattered economy.

Yeltsin met with the leaders of other republics to chart a new course. They agreed to form the Commonwealth of Independent States, or **CIS**, a loose federation of former Soviet territories. Only the Baltic republics and Georgia refused to join. The formation of the CIS meant the death of the Soviet Union. On Christmas Day 1991, Gorbachev announced his resignation as president of the Soviet Union, a country that by then had ceased to exist.

The Yeltsin Era

As president of the large Russian Republic, Boris Yeltsin was now the most powerful figure in the CIS. He would face many problems—an ailing economy, tough political opposition, and an unpopular war.

Yeltsin Faces Problems One of Yeltsin's goals was to reform the Russian economy. He adopted a bold plan known as **"shock therapy,"** an abrupt shift to free-market economics. To eliminate government involvement in the economy, Yeltsin lowered trade barriers, removed price controls, and ended subsidies to state-owned industries.

Initially, the plan produced more shock than therapy. Prices soared; from 1992 to 1994, the inflation rate averaged 800 percent. Many factories dependent on government money had to cut production or shut down entirely. This forced thousands of people out of work. By 1993,

most Russians were suffering severe economic hardship:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

A visitor to Moscow cannot escape the feeling of a society in collapse. Child beggars accost foreigners on the street. . . . Children ask why they should stay in school when educated professionals do not make enough money to survive. . . . A garment worker complains that now her wages do not cover even the food bills, while fear of growing crime makes her dread leaving home.

DAVID M. KOTZ, "The Cure That Could Kill"

Economic problems fueled a political crisis. In October 1993, legislators opposed to Yeltsin's policies shut themselves inside the parliament building. Yeltsin ordered troops to bombard the building, forcing hundreds of rebel legislators to surrender. Many were killed. Opponents accused Yeltsin of acting like a dictator.

Chechnya Rebels Yeltsin's troubles included war in Chechnya (CHEHCH-nee-uh), a largely Muslim area in southwestern Russia. In 1991, Chechnya declared its independence, but Yeltsin denied the region's right to secede. In 1994, he ordered 40,000 Russian troops into the breakaway republic. Russian forces reduced the capital city of Grozny (GROHZ-nec) to rubble. News of the death and destruction sparked anger throughout Russia. With an election coming, Yeltsin sought to end the war. In August 1996, the two sides signed a peace treaty. That year, Yeltsin won re-election.

War soon broke out again between Russia and Chechnya. In late 1999, as the fighting raged, Yeltsin resigned and named Russian Premier Vladimir Putin as acting president. Putin forcefully quashed the rebellion in Chechnya—a popular move that helped him win the presidential election in 2000. The nation's economic woes continue, however, and some observers wonder whether Russian democracy can survive.

Yugoslavia Falls Apart

Ethnic conflict also plagued Yugoslavia. This country, formed after World War I, had six major groups of people—Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Slovenes, Macedonians, and Montenegrins. Ethnic and religious differences dating back centuries caused these groups to view each other with suspicion. After World War II, Yugoslavia became a federation of six republics. Each republic had a mixed population.

Background

Georgia did join the CIS later, in 1993, but the Baltic states remained separate.

Vocabulary

subsidies: government funds given to support industries.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

B. Evaluating

Decisions Compare Yeltsin's action here to his actions during the August Coup. Which actions were more supportive of democracy?

Background

Tito unified the country by imposing communism. In 1990, the Yugoslav party congress voted to end communism—ending the major unifying force in Yugoslavia.

A Bloody Breakup Josip Tito, who led Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1980, held the country together. After Tito's death, however, long-simmering ethnic resentments boiled over. Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic (mee-LOH-sheh-vihch) asserted Serbian leadership over Yugoslavia. Two republics—Slovenia and Croatia—then declared independence. In June 1991, the Serbian-led Yugoslav army invaded both republics. After months of bloody fighting, both republics freed themselves from Serbian rule.

In February 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina joined Slovenia and Croatia in declaring independence. (In April, Serbia and Montenegro formed a new Yugoslavia. See the map below.) Bosnia's ethnically mixed population included Muslims (44 percent), Serbs (31 percent), and Croats (17 percent). While Bosnia's Muslims and Croats backed independence, Bosnian Serbs strongly opposed it. Supported by Serbia, the Bosnian Serbs launched a brutal war in March 1992.

During the war, the Serbs used murder and other forms of brutality against Bosnian Muslims living in Serb-held lands. Called **ethnic cleansing**, this policy was intended to rid Bosnia of its Muslim population. By 1995, the Serbs controlled 70 percent of Bosnia.

In December 1995, the leaders of the three factions involved in the war signed a U.N.- and U.S.-brokered peace treaty. In September 1996, Bosnians elected a three-person presidency—one leader from each ethnic group. But the nation continues to experience unrest.

Rebellion in Kosovo The Balkan region descended into violence and bloodshed again in 1998—this time in Kosovo, a province in southern Serbia made up almost entirely of ethnic Albanians. As an independence movement in Kosovo grew increasingly violent, Serb forces invaded the province and fought back with a harsh hand. In response to growing reports of Serb atrocities—and the failure of diplomacy to bring peace—NATO began a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999. After enduring more than two months of sustained bombing, Yugoslav leaders finally withdrew their troops from Kosovo. However, the atmosphere in the region remains tense—and the future status of the province remains uncertain.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Identifying Problems Why did Bosnia's mixed population cause a problem after Bosnia declared independence?



These two women stand in front of a building that has been heavily damaged in the war. The building is in Sarajevo, Bosnia.

Former Yugoslavia, 1989–2000



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

1. **Region** Which nations now make up what used to be Yugoslavia in 1989?
2. **Location** Where is Serbia located relative to the republics that declared independence from Yugoslavia?

Eastern Europe Faces Problems

Compared with Yugoslavia, the nations of Eastern Europe were relatively stable in the 1990s and did not experience widespread violence. Nevertheless, countries like Poland faced ongoing challenges.

SPOTLIGHT ON

Rising Crime Rates in Poland

Ruling by fear, the Communist state held down crime rates. After communism fell, crime increased. In Poland, crime was on the rise in the 1990s. Many conditions made the situation worse.

- Criminals tried to make quick money in the open market—for example, by selling stolen goods.
- When Poland turned out the Communists, it replaced the police force with inexperienced officers.
- Police departments didn't have enough money to do their jobs.
- Many Poles ignored the legal system. For example, they paid ransoms for stolen cars instead of calling the police.

It remained to be seen whether rule by law would take root in Poland.

Poland Votes Out Walesa After becoming president in 1991, Lech Walesa tried to revive Poland's bankrupt economy. Like Boris Yeltsin, he adopted a strategy of shock therapy to move Poland toward a free market economy. As in Russia, inflation and unemployment shot up. By the mid-1990s, however, the economy was improving.

Nevertheless, many Poles remained unhappy with the pace of economic progress. In the elections of 1995, they turned Walesa out of office in favor of a former Communist, Aleksandr Kwasniewski (kfahs-N'YEHF-skee). Kwasniewski vowed to combine free market policies with greater social benefits. Despite his Communist background, it appeared that he was committed to democratic rule.

Czechoslovakia Breaks Up In Czechoslovakia, reformers also launched an economic program based on shock therapy. The program caused a sharp rise in unemployment. It especially hurt Slovakia, the republic occupying the eastern third of Czechoslovakia.

Unable to agree on economic policy, the country's two parts—Slovakia and the Czech Republic—drifted apart. In spite of President Havel's pleas for unity, a movement to split the nation gained support. Havel resigned because of this. Czechoslovakia split into two countries on January 1, 1993. Havel was elected president of the Czech Republic. He won re-election in 1998.

The nations of the former Soviet bloc had made many gains. Even so, they continued to face serious obstacles to democracy. Resolving ethnic conflicts remained crucial, as did economic progress:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The clear lesson . . . is that opening up the political process without a corresponding opening up and success in the economy merely gives people more opportunity to gripe about more things. People can handle political processes. You can proclaim a free election and hold it relatively easily. You cannot propose economic success and obtain it easily.

U.S. SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL, quoted in "Neophyte Democracies Present a Challenge to U.S."

If the nations of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union can improve their standard of living, democracy might have a better chance to grow. In the meantime, economic reforms in Communist China sparked demands for democratic reforms.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

D. Contrasting
Contrast the breakups of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Section 4 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- Boris Yeltsin
- CIS
- "shock therapy"
- ethnic cleansing

2. TAKING NOTES

Use a chart like the one below to record the main reason or reasons that the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia each broke apart.

Former nations	Reasons for breakup
Soviet Union	
Yugoslavia	
Czechoslovakia	

3. ANALYZING CAUSES

Why did ethnic tension become such a severe problem in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the early 1990s?

THINK ABOUT

- the role that past Communist leaders had played in holding those countries together
- the democratic reforms demanded by various ethnic groups
- how those demands affected national unity

4. ANALYZING THEMES

Revolution It has been said that Gorbachev's reforms led to a second Russian Revolution. What did this revolution overthrow?

THINK ABOUT

- changes in the Soviet government and in the political process
- who lost and who gained power

5 China Follows Its Own Path

TERMS & NAMES

- Zhou Enlai
- Deng Xiaoping
- Four Modernizations
- Tiananmen Square
- Hong Kong

MAIN IDEA

In recent years, China's government has experimented with capitalism but has rejected calls for democracy.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

After the 1997 death of Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, President Jiang Zemin seemed to be continuing those policies.

SETTING THE STAGE The trend toward democracy around the world also affected China to a limited degree. A political reform movement arose in the late 1980s. It built on economic reforms begun earlier in the decade. China's Communist government clamped down on the reformers, however, and maintained a firm grip on power.

Mao's Unexpected Legacy

After the Communists came to power in China in 1949, Mao Zedong set out to transform China. Mao believed that peasant equality, revolutionary spirit, and hard work were all that was needed to improve the Chinese economy. For example, intensive labor could make up for the lack of tractors on the huge agricultural cooperatives that the government had created.

However, lack of modern technology damaged Chinese efforts to increase agricultural and industrial output. In addition, Mao's policies stifled economic growth. He eliminated incentives for higher production. He tried to replace family life with life in the communes. These policies took away the peasants' motive to work for the good of themselves and their families.

Facing economic disaster, some Chinese Communists talked of modernizing the economy. Accusing them of "taking the capitalist road," Mao began the Cultural Revolution to cleanse China of anti-revolutionary influences. The movement proved so destructive, however, that it caused many Chinese to distrust party leadership. Instead of saving radical communism, the Cultural Revolution turned many people against it. In the early 1970s, China entered another moderate period under **Zhou Enlai** (joh eh-n-ly). Zhou had been premier since 1949. During the Cultural Revolution, he had tried to restrain the radicals.

China and the West

Throughout the Cultural Revolution, China played almost no role in world affairs. In the early 1960s, China had split with the Soviet Union over the leadership of world communism. In addition, China displayed hostility toward the United States because of U.S. support for the government on Taiwan and memories of the Korean War.

China Opened Its Doors China's isolation worried Zhou. He began to send out signals that he was willing to form ties to the West. In 1971, Zhou startled the world by

Mao's Attempts to Change China

Mao's Programs	Program's Results
First Five-Year Plan 1953–1957	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Industry grew 15 percent a year. • Agricultural output grew very slowly.
Great Leap Forward 1958–1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China suffered economic disaster—industrial declines and food shortages. • Mao lost influence.
Cultural Revolution 1966–1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mao regained influence by backing radicals. • Purges and conflicts among leaders created economic, social, and political chaos. • Moderates increasingly opposed radicals in Communist Party.

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

1. Which had more successful results, the first five-year plan or the Great Leap Forward? Explain.
2. Did conditions improve or grow worse during the Cultural Revolution? Explain.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

A. Recognizing

Effects What was the ultimate result of Mao's radical Communist policies? Why?

inviting an American table tennis team to tour China. It was the first visit by an American group to China since 1949.

The visit began a new era in Chinese-American relations. In 1971, the United States reversed its policy and endorsed UN membership for the People's Republic of China. The next year President Nixon made a state visit to China. He met with Mao and Zhou. The three leaders agreed to begin cultural exchanges and a limited amount of trade. In 1979, the United States and China established formal diplomatic relations.

Economic Reform Both Mao and Zhou died in 1976. Shortly afterward, moderates took control of the Communist Party. They jailed several of the radicals who had led the Cultural Revolution. By 1980, **Deng Xiaoping** (duhng show-pihng) had emerged as the most powerful leader in China. Like Mao and Zhou, Deng had survived the Long March. He was the last of the "old revolutionaries" who had ruled China since 1949.

Although a lifelong Communist, Deng boldly supported moderate economic policies. Unlike Mao, he was willing to use capitalist ideas to help China's economy. He embraced a set of goals known as the **Four Modernizations**. These called for progress in agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology. Deng launched an ambitious program of economic reforms, which he called the "Second Revolution."

First, Deng eliminated Mao's unpopular communes and leased the land to individual farmers. The farmers paid rent by delivering a fixed quota of food to the government. They could then grow any crops they wished and sell them for a profit. Under this system, food production increased by 50 percent in the years 1978 to 1984.

Deng then extended his program to industry. The government permitted small private businesses to operate. It gave the managers of large state-owned industries more freedom to set production goals. Deng also welcomed some foreign technology and investment.

Deng's economic policies produced striking changes in Chinese life. As incomes increased, people began to buy appliances and televisions. Chinese youths now wore stylish clothes and listened to Western music. Gleaming hotels filled with foreign tourists symbolized China's new policy of openness.

HISTORY MAKERS



Deng Xiaoping
1904–1997

In his late teens, Deng Xiaoping became a Communist and a close associate of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. In the 1960s, Deng embraced economic pragmatism—he was more interested in what produced results than in Communist theory. He summed up his views by saying, "It doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice."

This flexible attitude caused Deng problems during the Cultural Revolution. Radicals removed him from his position and paraded him through the streets wearing humiliating labels.

Deng re-emerged in the 1970s, however, and became China's chief leader until his death in 1997. A key figure in world history, Deng would be remembered as the man who opened up China's economy while maintaining strict Communist rule.

Tiananmen Square

Deng's economic reforms produced a number of unexpected problems. As living standards improved, the gap between the rich and poor widened. Increasingly, the public believed that party officials took advantage of their positions by accepting bribes and enjoying privileges denied to others.

Furthermore, the new policies admitted not only Western investments and tourists but also Western political ideas. Increasing numbers of Chinese students studied abroad and learned about the West. Warned by hard-line officials that Communist values were at risk, Deng replied, "If you open the window, some flies naturally get in." In his view, the benefits of opening the economy exceeded the risks. Nevertheless, as Chinese students learned more about democracy, they began to question China's lack of political freedom.

Students Demand Democracy In 1989, students sparked a popular uprising that stunned China's leaders. Beginning in April of that year, more than 100,000 students occupied **Tiananmen** (tyahn-ahn-mehn) **Square**. This square is a huge public space in the heart of Beijing. The students mounted a protest for democracy by chanting, "Down with corruption!" "Down with dictatorship!" and "Long live democracy!"

Background

Table tennis is commonly called Ping-Pong after a brand of the game's equipment.

Background

The moderates jailed Mao's widow and three of her followers—known as the Gang of Four.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

B. Analyzing

Causes How did economic reform introduce new political ideas to China?

Background

Tiananmen Square had also been used as a staging area for student protests in 1919. (See page 782.)

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

C. Contrasting

Contrast what the students expected to happen as explained in the quotation with what actually happened at Tiananmen Square.

The student protest won widespread popular support. When several thousand students began a hunger strike to highlight their cause, perhaps a million people poured into Tiananmen Square to support them. Many students now boldly called for Deng Xiaoping to resign.

Deng Orders a Crackdown Instead of considering political reform, Deng declared martial law. He ordered more than 250,000 troops to surround Beijing. One student recalled the mood at the time:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

It would be a lie to say that we were not afraid, but we were mentally prepared and very determined. Some students could not believe that the army really would use deadly force. But most of all, we were motivated by a powerful sense of purpose. We believed that it would be worth sacrificing our lives for the sake of progress and democracy in China.

ANONYMOUS STUDENT, *San Francisco Examiner*

Although many students left the square after martial law was declared, about 3,000 chose to remain and continue their protest. The students revived their spirits by defiantly erecting a 33-foot statue that they named the “Goddess of Democracy.” It resembled the American Statue of Liberty.

On June 4, 1989, the standoff came to an end. Thousands of heavily armed soldiers stormed Tiananmen Square. Tanks smashed through barricades and crushed the Goddess of Democracy. Soldiers sprayed gunfire into crowds of frightened students. They also attacked protesters elsewhere in Beijing. The assault killed hundreds and wounded thousands.

The attack on Tiananmen Square marked the beginning of a massive government campaign to stamp out protest. Police arrested an estimated 10,000 people. The state used the media to announce that reports of a massacre were untrue. Officials claimed that a small group of criminals had plotted against the government. After showing great restraint, officials said, the army was forced to crush a riot. Television news, however, had already broadcast the truth to the world.

China in the 1990s

The brutal repression of the pro-democracy movement left Deng firmly in control of China. During the final years of his life, Deng continued his program of economic reforms. By the mid-1990s, China’s booming economy was producing extraordinary changes:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The country today is an endless series of jolting surprises. Streets are clogged with traffic. There is construction everywhere. Indoor malls with glittering new department stores surge with customers for whom shopping is rapidly becoming the recreational pastime of choice. At night, restaurants are packed with China’s new urban middle class, raucously eating, drinking, and chain-smoking until the air inside turns gray.

ORVILLE SCHELL, “China—the End of an Era”

Although Deng moved out of the limelight in 1995, he remained China’s unquestioned leader. In February 1997, after a long illness, Deng died. Communist Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin (jee-ahng zeh-meen) assumed the presidency.

China After Deng Many questions arose after Deng’s death. What kind of leader would Jiang be? Would he be able to hold onto power and ensure political stability? A highly intelligent and educated man, Jiang had served as mayor of Shanghai. He was considered skilled, flexible, and practical. However, he had no military experience.

Daily Life

Training the Chinese Army

Xiao Ye is a former Chinese soldier living in the United States. After Tiananmen Square, he explained how Chinese soldiers are trained to obey orders without complaint:

We usually developed bleeding blisters on our feet after a few days of . . . hiking. Our feet were a mass of soggy peeling flesh and blood, and the pain was almost unbearable. . . . We considered the physical challenge a means of tempering [hardening] ourselves for the sake of the Party. . . . No one wanted to look bad. . . .

And during the days in Tiananmen, once again the soldiers did not complain. They obediently drove forward, aimed, and opened fire on command. In light of their training, how could it have been otherwise?



Capturing Historical Moments

From the earliest days of photography, magazines and newspapers have used photographs to convey the news.

Photojournalists have to respond quickly to recognize the history-making moment and record it before the moment has passed. As the photographs on this page demonstrate, photojournalists have done much to capture the history of Communist China.



February 21, 1972

During his historic visit to China, President Richard Nixon raises a toast with Premier Zhou Enlai in a pledge of U.S.-Chinese friendship.



October 1, 1950

Workers, marching on the first anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, carry posters to honor Mao Zedong.

Connect to History

Drawing Conclusions Which of these photographs seems to have been taken spontaneously when the photojournalist spotted an important historical moment? Which of these photographs seems to have been arranged ahead of time? Explain.

 SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE 664

Connect to Today

Compare Look through newspapers or news magazines to find a news photograph that you find interesting. Bring it to class and explain how it compares with the photographs shown here in spontaneity, drama, and historical importance.

June 5, 1989

A single Chinese man blocks tanks on their way to crush pro-democracy protests in Tiananmen Square. Bystanders pulled the man to safety.



Therefore, Jiang had few allies among the generals. He also faced challenges from rivals, including hard-line officials who favored a shift away from Deng's economic policies.

Other questions following Deng's death had to do with China's poor human rights record and relations with the United States. During the 1990s, the United States pressured China to release political prisoners and ensure basic rights for political opponents. China remained hostile to such pressure. Its government continued to repress the pro-democracy movement.

Nevertheless, the desire for freedom still ran through Chinese society. If China remained economically open but politically closed, tensions seemed bound to surface. As Chinese writer Liu Binyan observed in 1995, "The government Deng Xiaoping leaves behind will be the weakest in China since Communist rule began in 1949. . . . At the same time, the populace has become more difficult to rule than any other in Chinese history."

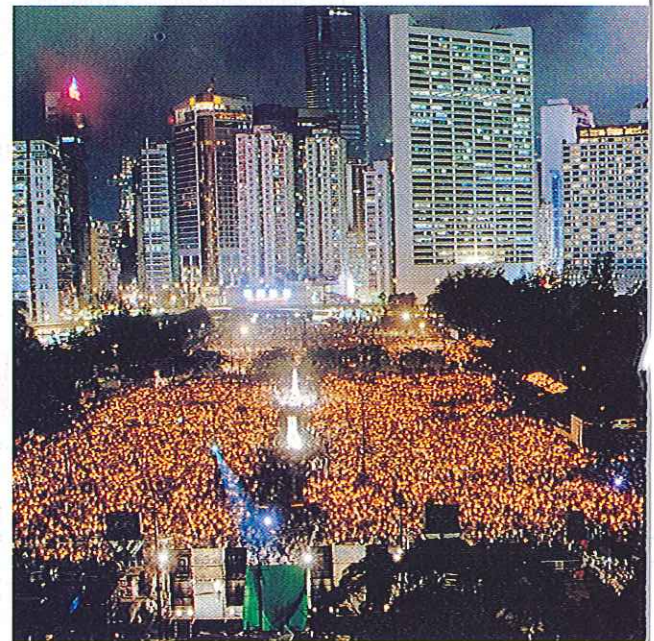
In late 1997, Jiang paid a state visit to the United States. During his visit, U.S. protesters demanded more democracy in China. Jiang admitted that China had made some mistakes but refused to promise that China's policies would change.

Transfer of Hong Kong Another major issue for China was the status of **Hong Kong**. Hong Kong was a thriving business center and British colony on the southeastern coast of China. On July 1, 1997, Great Britain handed Hong Kong over to China, ending 155 years of colonial rule.

As part of the negotiated transfer, China promised to respect Hong Kong's economic system and political liberties for 50 years. Many Hong Kong citizens worried about Chinese rule and feared the loss of their freedoms. Others, however, saw the transfer as a way to reconnect with their Chinese heritage.

The case of China demonstrates that the creation of democracy can be a slow, fitful, and incomplete process. Liberal reforms in the economy, may not lead immediately to political reforms. Even so, people around the world have a desire for more political freedom. As economic and social conditions improve—for example, as the middle class expands and educational opportunities grow—the prospects for democracy also may improve. And, as countries are increasingly linked through technology and trade, they may influence each other politically. In 2000, for example, the U.S. Congress voted to normalize trade with China. Supporters argue that the best way to prompt political change in China is through greater engagement rather than isolation.

In 1997, citizens of Hong Kong held their annual candle-light vigil to remember the massacre in Tiananmen Square. Many feared that the Chinese government would ban such memorials now that it controlled Hong Kong.



THINK THROUGH HISTORY

D. Making

Inferences Why does Liu Binyan say that the Chinese have become so difficult to rule?

Background

British control of Hong Kong began during the Opium War, which lasted from 1839 to 1842.

Section 5 Assessment

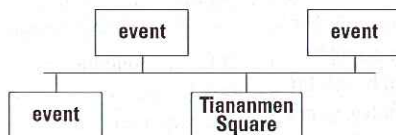
1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- Zhou Enlai
- Deng Xiaoping
- Four Modernizations
- Tiananmen Square
- Hong Kong

2. TAKING NOTES

Use a diagram like the one below to show the events leading up to the demonstration in Tiananmen Square and the events that followed it.



3. SUPPORTING OPINIONS

Judging from what you have read about the Chinese government, do you think Hong Kong will keep its freedoms under Chinese rule? Explain.

THINK ABOUT

- the economic reforms of Deng Xiaoping
- Tiananmen Square
- the Chinese government's promise to respect Hong Kong's liberties for 50 years

4. THEME ACTIVITY

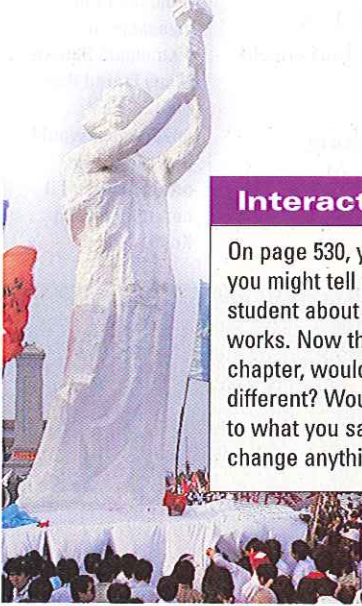
Cultural Interaction Create a collage showing the different ways that contact with the West led to the call for democratic reform in China. Be sure to include pictures that symbolize all the different types of contact China had with the West.

Chapter 19 Assessment

TERMS & NAMES

Briefly explain the importance of each of the following to the democratic movements that took place from 1945 to the present.

- PRI
- apartheid
- Nelson Mandela
- Mikhail Gorbachev
- glasnost
- perestroika
- Lech Walesa
- Boris Yeltsin
- Deng Xiaoping
- Tiananmen Square



Interact with History

On page 530, you considered what you might tell a foreign exchange student about how U.S. democracy works. Now that you've read the chapter, would your explanation be different? Would you add anything to what you said before? Would you change anything you said before?

REVIEW QUESTIONS

SECTION 1 (pages 531–535)

Patterns of Change: Democracy

Case Study: Latin American Democracies

- Name four common democratic practices.
- What group held up democratic progress in both Brazil and Argentina until the 1980s?

SECTION 2 (pages 536–540)

Democratic Challenges in African Nations

- What brought about the civil war in Nigeria?
- Name three significant steps toward democracy taken by South Africa in the 1990s.

SECTION 3 (pages 541–545)

Gorbachev Moves Toward Democracy

- What were the main reforms promoted by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev?
- Which Eastern European nations overthrew Communist governments in 1989?

SECTION 4 (pages 546–550)

Collapse of the Soviet Union

- What was the August Coup and how did it end?
- What led to the breakup of Yugoslavia?

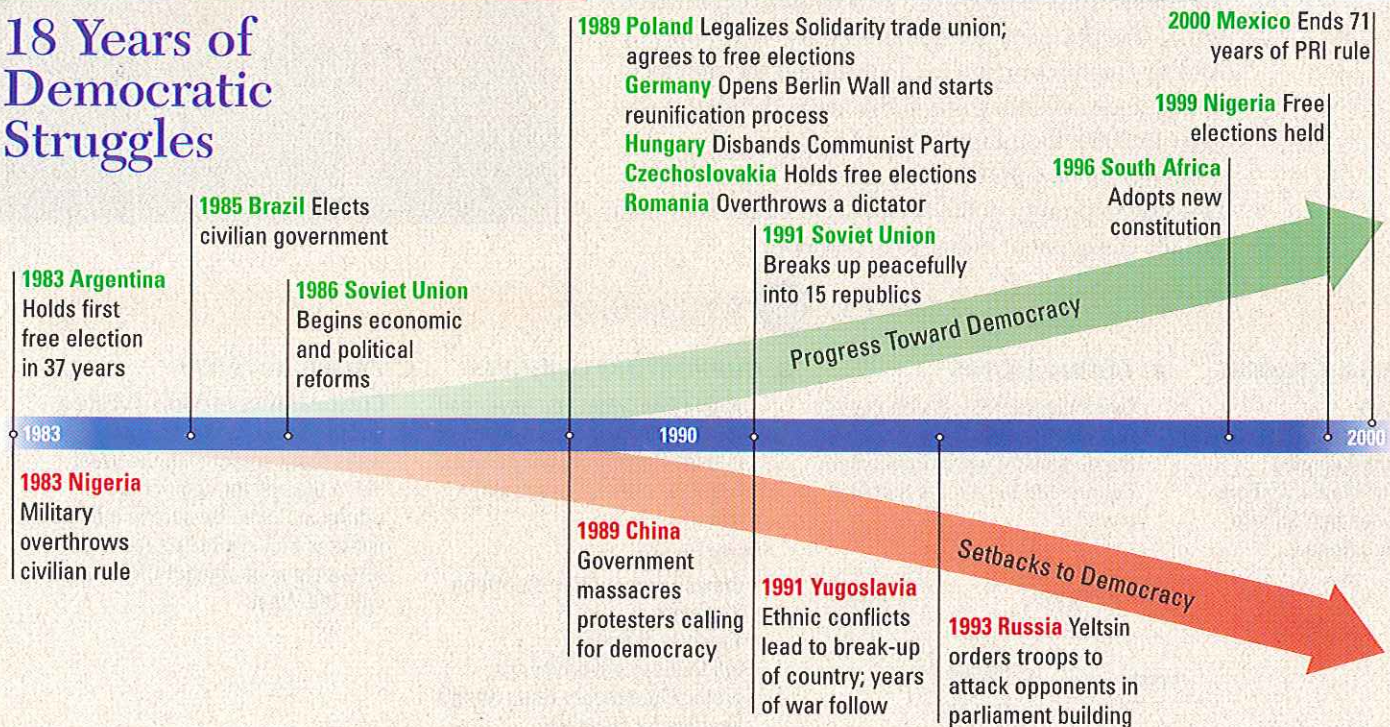
SECTION 5 (pages 551–555)

China Follows Its Own Path

- What changes took place in China during the 1970s?
- How did the Chinese government react to demands for democratic reform?

Visual Summary

18 Years of Democratic Struggles



CRITICAL THINKING

1. ROADBLOCKS TO DEMOCRACY

THEME CULTURAL INTERACTION Name some examples from this chapter in which the negative impact of one culture on another blocked democratic progress.

2. DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Create a chart like the one below. List several leaders who you think helped their nations make democratic progress. For each leader, cite one example of an action that made a positive difference.

Leader	Nation	Positive Action

3. LESSONS OF DEMOCRACY

Think about the democratic movements you have studied in this chapter. Especially consider what conditions helped those movements succeed and what conditions caused difficulties for them. What do you think were the hardest challenges facing democratic movements?

4. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

The following excerpt comes from an article written about changes in the culture of Hong Kong in the months before it was returned to China. Read the paragraph and then answer the questions below it.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Whatever else you can say about the new Hong Kong, it will be more Chinese. Liu Heung-shing, the editor of the new Hong Kong magazine *The Chinese*, says that "for any meaningful art and culture to take off here, Hong Kong must find somewhere to anchor itself. To find that anchor, people will have to go north [to mainland China]." . . . Increasing numbers of Hong Kong's Cantonese speakers are studying mainland Mandarin. . . . At the same time that [Hong Kong] must resist China to retain Britain's legacy of rule of law, it knows that the most logical place for it to turn for commerce and culture is China.

ORVILLE SCHELL, "The Coming of Mao Zedong Chic"

- What is the main change that is taking place in Hong Kong's culture?
- What point of view might a business person have about this change?
- What point of view might a politician have about this change?

CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

1. LIVING HISTORY: Unit Portfolio Project

THEME ECONOMICS Your unit portfolio project focuses on economic changes within nations. For Chapter 19, you might use one of the following ideas to add to your portfolio.

- A government official has asked you for suggestions on how to move a Communist economy to a free market economy. Go through the chapter and compile a "Things to Do" list based on actions that other governments have taken.
- Create a poster with two contrasting lists: "Signs of a Healthy Economy" and "Signs of an Unhealthy Economy."
- Write an interview in which Deng Xiaoping discusses his economic reforms. Have him explain his goals for China.

2. CONNECT TO TODAY: Cooperative Learning

THEME REVOLUTION In this chapter, you read about how the democratic reforms initiated by Gorbachev led to an overturn of the Communist Soviet government. In effect, this was a second Russian Revolution.

Work with a team to create time lines of the first Russian Revolution in 1917 and the revolutionary events of 1985 to 1991. Then write a paragraph about the impact of the second revolution on Russia today.

INTERNET Using the Internet or a library, research Russian politics today. Is there still a Communist party? Is the Communist party still trying to undo the democratic reforms?

- Use this textbook, encyclopedias, or history books to find events for your time lines.
- Illustrate your time lines with photographs, drawings, or political cartoons.
- In your paragraph, evaluate how successful you think the second Russian Revolution was. Do you think the change will be long-lasting? Explain.

3. INTERPRETING A TIME LINE

Revisit the unit time line on pages 470–471. Use the Chapter 19 time line to learn what happened in Argentina in 1946.

FOCUS ON POLITICAL CARTOONS

Look carefully at this political cartoon, dated June 7, 1989.

- Do you recognize any world leaders in this cartoon? If so, who?
- What is the cartoon saying about the state of communism in Poland, China, and the Soviet Union?
- What is the cartoon's point of view—for or against communism? Explain.

Connect to History Judging from what you have read in the chapter, was the cartoon correct in its assessment of the state of communism? Explain your answer by citing specific events for each nation.

