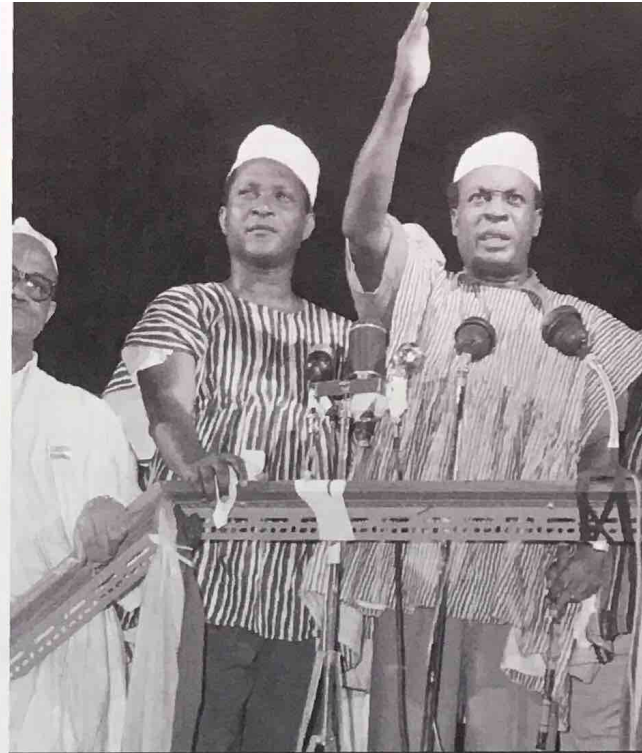


11.2 In 1945, four European powers—Britain, France, Belgium, and Portugal—controlled almost all of Africa. Only Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and white-ruled South Africa were independent nations.



>> Kwame Nkrumah and others wave to a crowd during independence celebrations. **Analyze Visuals** How are the men in this image dressed? What does this reveal about their attitude toward their culture?

 **Interactive Flipped Video**

# African Nations Win Independence

## The New Nations of Africa

World War II sparked a rising tide of nationalism in Africa. Japanese victories in Asia shattered the West's reputation as an unbeatable force. Also, African troops who had fought for the Allies were unwilling to accept discrimination when they returned home. Nationalists also won support among workers who had migrated to the cities to work in war industries.

After the war, most European nations lacked the resources and will to fight to hold onto colonies. Faced with nationalist demands, Britain and France introduced political reforms that they thought would gradually lead to independence. But they soon discovered that they could not control the pace of change. Starting in the late 1950s, they gave up direct control of most of their colonies. In countries with large settler populations, however, independence was thwarted for years.

In the new nations, crowds celebrated their freedom, while bands played new national anthems. However, even as independence celebrations took place, African nations faced tough challenges.

**A Geographically Diverse Continent** Africa is the world's second-largest continent. It has the world's largest desert—the Sahara—in the

### >> Objectives

**Summarize** how African nations won independence.

**Analyze** the issues facing new African nations and the different paths they took.

**Identify** examples of and summarize the reasons for ethnic conflict and genocide in African nations.

### >> Key Terms

savanna  
Kwame Nkrumah  
Jomo Kenyatta  
coup d'état  
Mobutu Sese Seko  
Islamist  
Katanga  
Biafra  
Hutus  
Tutsis  
Darfur

north and the smaller Kalahari Desert in the south, as well as fertile coastal strips in North and South Africa. **Savannas**, or grasslands with scattered trees, make up much of the interior. Tropical rain forests cover central Africa's Congo Basin and coastal West Africa.

Africa's population has long been concentrated in the most fertile areas, such as the highlands of East Africa. Like people in other parts of the world, however, millions of Africans are migrating to cities. About 40 percent of Africans live in fast-growing cities.

Africa has rich deposits of minerals such as gold ore, copper ore, and diamonds. However, these resources are distributed unevenly across the continent. Some African nations produce valuable cash crops, including coffee and cacao. Some regions also have large oil reserves. European powers had established colonies in Africa to tap into these natural resources.

**Nationalism Leads to Freedom** Most nationalist leaders were Western educated. Many were powerful speakers whose words inspired supporters. **Kwame Nkrumah** (KWAH may un KROO muh) in Gold Coast, **Jomo Kenyatta** in Kenya, and Léopold Senghor (sahn GAWR) in Senegal were skilled organizers.

Nationalist leaders organized political parties. In the cities, parties published newspapers, held mass rallies,

and mobilized popular support for independence. Colonial powers imprisoned many nationalists, including Nkrumah and Kenyatta. But demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts eventually forced European rulers to negotiate timetables for freedom.

Most African nations won independence through largely peaceful efforts. However, colonies with large numbers of white settlers, such as Algeria and Kenya, were unwilling to grant Africans their freedom. Africans in these colonies were forced to go to war against the colonial powers. Later, you will examine five of these nations in detail.

**? IDENTIFY CAUSE AND EFFECT** How did World War II affect African independence efforts?

## A Variety of New Governments

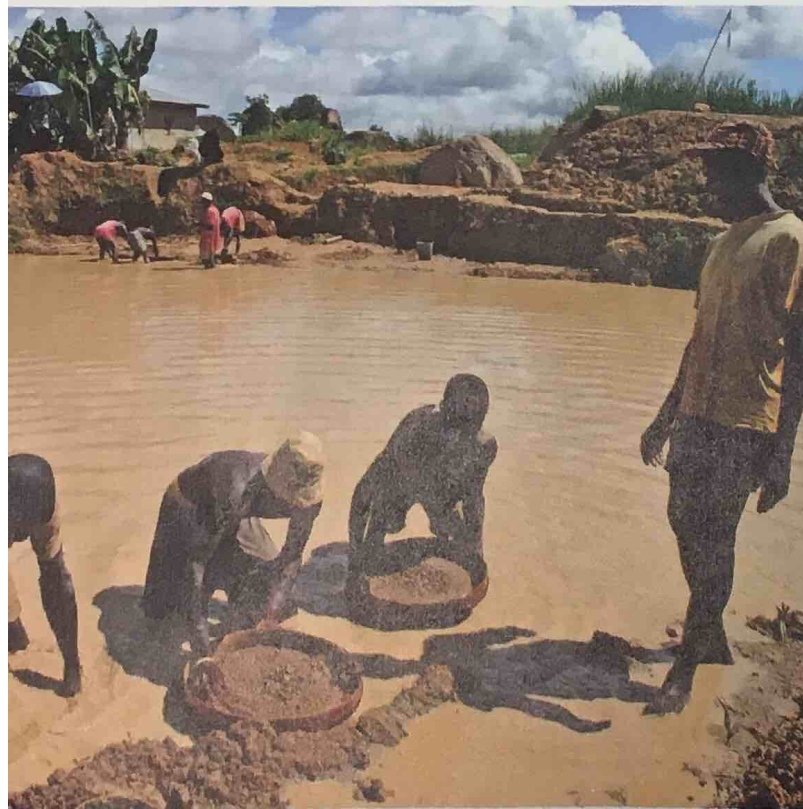
More than 50 new nations were born in Africa during the great liberation. Throughout the continent, Africans had great hopes for the future. After 70 years of colonial rule, Africans were again in control of their destinies. The new nations took different paths to modernization. Some made progress despite huge obstacles. Many others were plunged into crisis by civil war, military rule, or corrupt dictators. In recent decades, a number of African nations have taken steps toward democracy.

**Old Boundaries, New Problems** In Africa, as in other regions such as Eastern Europe, the question of where to draw national borders created challenges. European colonial powers had drawn boundaries around their colonies without regard to the many rival ethnic groups living there. Most newly independent African nations included a patchwork of peoples with different languages, religions, and traditions.

Within these new nations, people often felt their first loyalty was to their own ethnic group, not to a distant national government. As a result, ongoing conflict between rival ethnic groups has plagued many African nations.

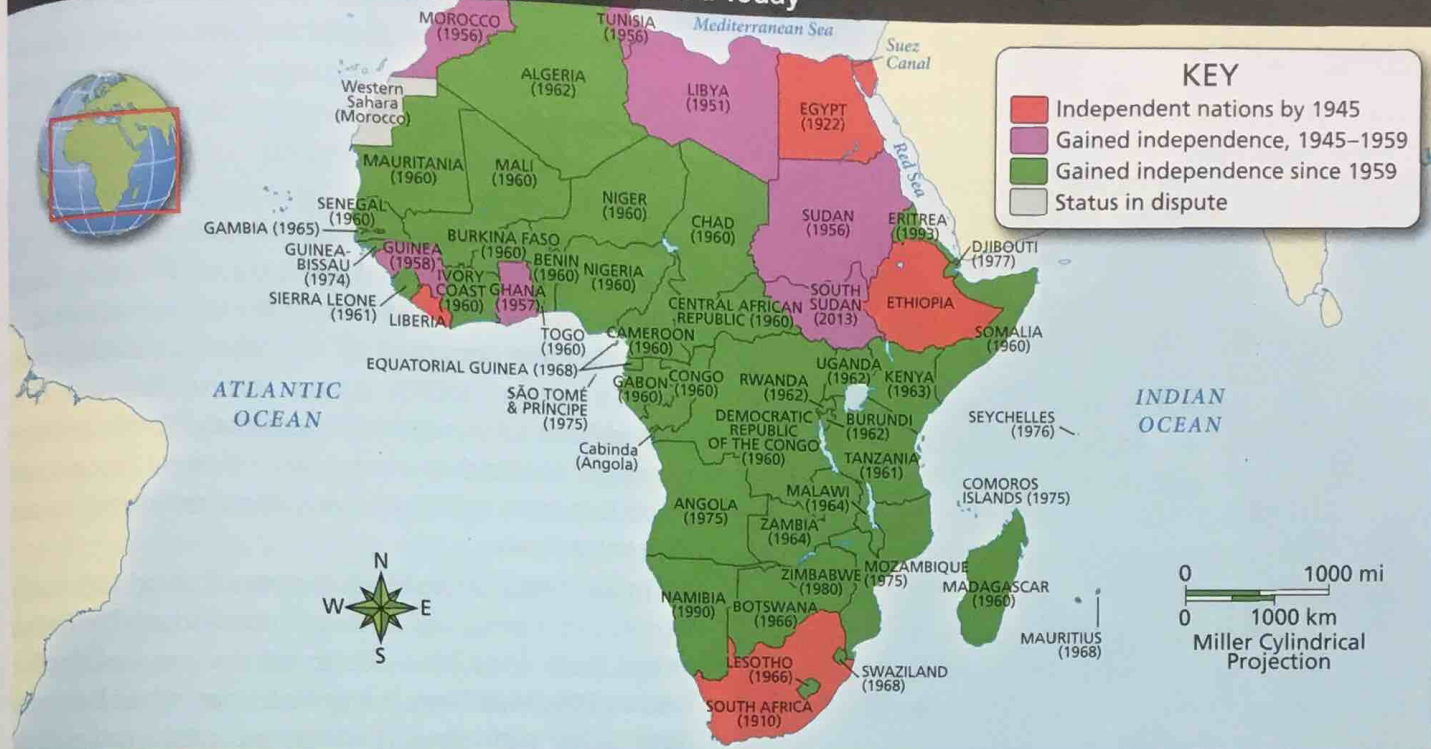
**The Rise of Dictators** After independence, the new African nations set up governments modeled on those of the departing colonial rulers. But parliamentary systems did not work in Africa as they had in Europe, where they had evolved over centuries. Creating unified nations with stable governments proved to be a hard goal to reach.

Many leaders of the new nations were heroes of the liberation struggle. Some chose to build one-party states. They argued that multiparty systems



>> Some mining operations in Africa employ the most modern technology and machinery, but in poorer nations, older methods are still used. Here, men mine diamonds by hand in Sierra Leone.

## Africa Today



>> Over the course of many years, African nations gained their independence from European powers. **Analyze Maps** What do the dates on this map tell you about when nations gained independence?

**Interactive Map**

encouraged disunity, which was often true. Many of these one-party governments became repressive, and some liberation leaders became dictators. Dictators often used their positions to enrich themselves and their supporters at the expense of the nation.

In many nations, unsuccessful policies or corrupt governments led to civil unrest. This in turn, led to military coups (kooz). A coup, or **coup d'état** (koo day TAH) is the forcible overthrow of a government. Some coup leaders became brutal tyrants. Others tried to end corruption and improve conditions. Military leaders usually promised to restore civilian rule. But in many cases, they only surrendered power when they were toppled by another coup.

**Democracies Emerge** By the 1990s, many African nations were moving away from strongman rule. Africans organized and demanded democratic elections. In some countries, independent newspapers came out, with their editors risking arrest for their publications. Religious leaders spoke out for greater freedom. Outside pressures also played a role. Western governments and lenders, such as the World Bank, demanded political reforms before granting loans needed for economic development.

In response, some governments allowed opposition parties to emerge and lifted censorship. In nations

such as Nigeria and Benin, multiparty elections were held, unseating long-ruling leaders.

**Outside Influences on African Nations** Even after African nations won independence, colonial powers and foreign companies often retained control of businesses and resources in these former colonies. Many new nations remained dependent on their former colonial rulers for aid, trade, and investment.

The new nations were also buffeted by the Cold War. Both the United States and the Soviet Union competed for military and strategic advantage through alliances with several African countries. The United States, for example, backed **Mobutu Sese Seko**, the dictator of Zaire (now called the Democratic Republic of Congo). It wanted to counter Soviet influence in nearby Angola. During the 1970s, the United States backed Somalia, while the Soviet Union supported neighboring Ethiopia. Both African countries were important because they controlled access to the Red Sea, a vital world shipping route.

**? INFER** Why did one-party rule often lead to repression and tyranny?

## Case Studies: Five African Nations

Making accurate generalizations about Africa is difficult. Every nation is different. Some nations have rich resources to help finance progress. Others are poor in resources. Each has its own set of problems and its own history. To gain a better understanding of the process of nation-building in Africa, we will examine the histories of five important nations.

**Ghana** In 1957, Ghana was the first African nation south of the Sahara to win independence. Britain had called this colony Gold Coast, for its rich mineral resources. Under independence leader Kwame Nkrumah, it took the name Ghana, after the ancient West African kingdom.

As president, Nkrumah supported socialism and government ownership of major industries. He backed the building of a huge dam to provide electric power, but the project left Ghana with massive debts. Nkrumah's government became increasingly corrupt and dictatorial. In 1966, Nkrumah was toppled by the first of several military coups.

In the 1980s, Jerry Rawlings, a military officer, took power in a coup. He strengthened the economy and moved Ghana toward democracy. In 1992, Rawlings

allowed multiparty elections and was chosen president. Other elections followed. Although the economy suffered from falling prices for its main exports of cocoa and gold, Ghana made progress toward improving life for its people. The recent discovery of offshore oil raised hopes for more economic growth.

**Kenya** While Ghana made a peaceful transition to freedom, Kenya faced an armed struggle. Under colonial rule, white settlers carved out plantations on lands once occupied by the Kikuyu (kee KOO yoo), Kenya's largest ethnic group. White Kenyans then passed laws to ensure their domination over the black majority. Nationalist leader and Kikuyu spokesman Jomo Kenyatta called for nonviolent resistance to end oppressive laws.

In the 1950s, some black Kenyans turned to guerrilla warfare, attacking and killing white settlers. The British called them Mau Mau. Claiming that he was a secret leader of the Mau Mau, the British imprisoned Kenyatta. Both sides committed terrible atrocities during this period, and thousands of Kikuyu were killed. In 1963, the British finally withdrew, and Kenyatta became the first president of an independent Kenya.

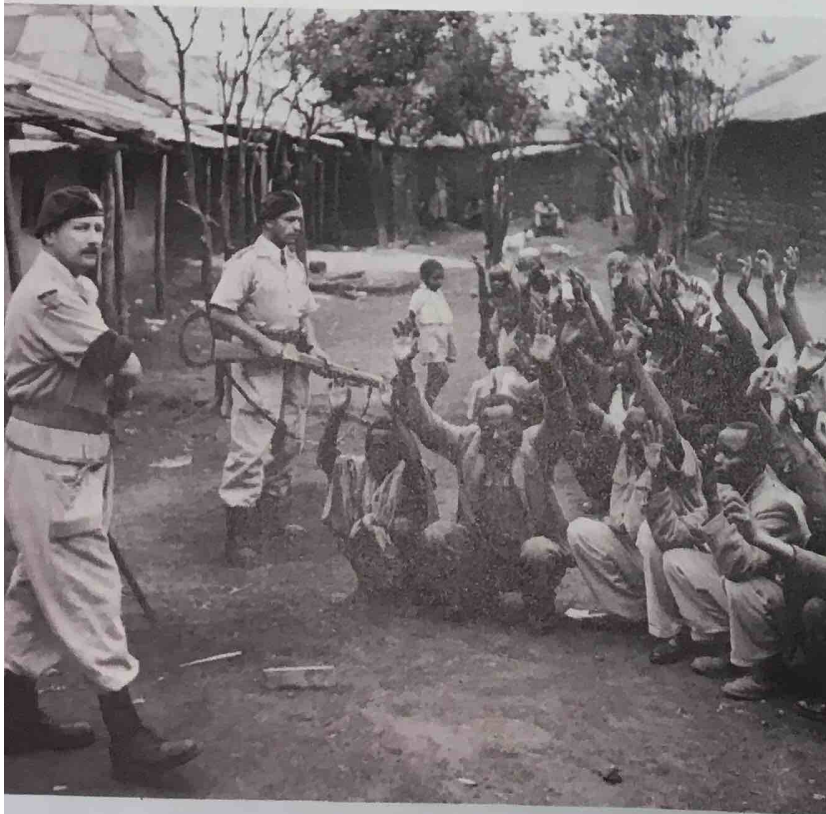
Kenyatta and his successor dominated the country for decades. They limited freedom of expression and suppressed other parties. Unrest and international pressure forced Kenya to restore multiparty rule in the 1990s.

Since then, Kenya has faced many challenges from high unemployment to periodic droughts. Corruption and disputed elections have sparked violence and ethnic unrest. With its many national parks and game reserves, tourism is a major industry in Kenya, so any conflict hurts this vital source of income. In 2013 the country held tense but largely peaceful elections.

**Algeria** Like Kenya, French-ruled Algeria had a large population of European settlers who saw the country as their homeland. France, too, had come to see Algeria as part of their country. From 1954 to 1962, a long, costly war of liberation raged in Algeria.

Algerian nationalists set up the National Liberation Front, which used guerrilla warfare to win freedom. France, which had just lost Vietnam, was unwilling to retreat from Algeria. As the war dragged, both sides suffered huge casualties. Finally, French public opinion turned against the war, and Algeria won independence.

After independence, Algeria suffered periods of military rule and internal conflict. During the 1990s, a civil war erupted between the military and Islamist militants after the government rejected an election won by an Islamist party. **Islamists** are people who want a government based on Islamic law and beliefs.



>> In this image, British troops search a village in Kenya seeking people who participated in the Mau Mau Rebellion.

The fighting left an estimated 150,000 people dead. The violence slowed after 1999, but tensions remained. Algeria has also been rocked by suicide bombings by Islamist militants

Algeria's economy has seen some improvements. It first adopted a socialist model of development, but since the 1980s, has moved toward a market economy. Its oil and gas resources have helped the country economically. Still, like many developing countries it faces the problems of high unemployment, widespread poverty, and corruption.

**Democratic Republic of Congo** The Democratic Republic of Congo (or Congo), once ruled by Belgium, covers about a million square miles of central Africa. It has rich resources, including vast tropic rainforests, plantations, and great mineral wealth, especially the copper and diamonds.

Belgium was eager to keep control of Congo's resources, such as the copper and diamonds of the **Katanga** province. Fearing a struggle like the French war in Algeria, Belgium suddenly rushed Congo to independence in 1960. But the new nation had no preparation for self-government and no sense of unity. More than 100 political parties sprang up, representing diverse regional and ethnic groups.

Katanga rebelled against Congo shortly after independence. The country's first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, appealed for Soviet help. This led the United States to back Lumumba's rival, Colonel Joseph Mobutu, later known as Mobutu Sese Seko. Mobutu captured Lumumba, who was soon executed. The United Nations ended the Katanga rebellion in 1963.


For 32 years, Mobutu imposed a harsh, corrupt dictatorship on Congo. Mobutu survived in power in part because his strong anti-communism won favor in the West during the Cold War. Rebels finally forced Mobutu from power in 1997. After his removal, rival leaders again battled to control Congo's government and mineral riches.

Congo's first free elections in 41 years brought Joseph Kabila to power in 2006. Kabila faced immense challenges. He had to ease ethnic tensions, protect Congo's mineral resources, reduce corruption, and heal a country deeply scarred by decades of war.

**Nigeria** Located in West Africa, Nigeria has the continent's largest population. Its people belong to more than 250 ethnic groups, speak many languages, and practice different religions. The dominant groups are the mainly Christian Ibo (EE boh) and Yoruba (YOH roo buh) in the south, and the Muslim Hausa (HOW suh) in the north.



>> Patrice Lumumba was newly independent Congo's first prime minister. Here, Lumumba waves to a crowd after receiving a 41-2 vote of confidence from the Congolese senate in September 1960.

 **Interactive Gallery**

After gaining independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria experienced frequent military coups. Military leaders ruled with an iron hand but failed to improve Nigeria's government or its economy. Since 1999, Nigeria has had elected civilian governments.

Ethnic and religious divisions have threatened to tear Nigeria apart. In 1966, the Ibo people in the oil-rich south rebelled and set up the independent Republic of **Biafra**. A brutal civil war led to famine and a huge death toll. After three years, Nigeria crushed the rebels and reunited the country. More recently, Islamists in the north have imposed Sharia law in several areas, causing many Christians to flee. A separatist group, Boko Haram, has launched terrorist attacks throughout the country.

Nigeria has rich oil resources, which has brought benefits as well as disadvantages. When oil prices are high, the country reaps great profits that can be invested in development. But falling oil prices has caused problems and cutbacks in spending. Also oil wealth has contributed to corruption. In the oil-producing Niger Delta region, local people were bitter about the environmental damage caused by oil drilling and the huge profits going to foreign oil companies.

Armed groups have attacked pipelines and held foreign oil workers for ransom.

**? IDENTIFY CENTRAL ISSUES** How did the conflicts in Katanga and Biafra reflect the challenges that new African nations faced after independence?

## The Wars of Southern Africa

Colonies in southern Africa were among the last to win independence. Unlike the peaceful transition to independence in much of Africa, the road to freedom in southern Africa was marked by long, violent struggles.

**Zimbabwe** During the colonial period, many whites had settled in British-ruled Southern Rhodesia. Whites made up only five percent of Rhodesia's population but owned half the land and controlled the government. White Rhodesians rejected any move to give up power to the black majority. When Britain supported demands for majority rule, whites led by Ian Smith declared independence in 1965.



>> By the year 2009, when this photo was taken, Robert Mugabe was being forced to share power, but Zimbabwe still faced terrible inflation, food shortages, and disease epidemics.

Guerrilla forces took up arms to win majority rule. They finally succeeded in 1980. Rhodesia became the independent nation of Zimbabwe. Liberation leader Robert Mugabe was elected president.

Although popular at first, Mugabe grew increasingly dictatorial. He cracked down on opponents and ended many basic freedoms. Despite international pressure and an economic crisis, the aging Mugabe held on to power.

**Angola and Mozambique** Portugal clung fiercely to its profitable colonies of Angola and Mozambique. To achieve independence, nationalist groups had to wage a long guerrilla war. In 1975, Portugal finally agreed to withdraw.

Brutal civil wars, largely supported by foreign powers, soon developed in both countries. White-ruled South Africa feared the rise of strong, black-dominated governments on its borders. As a result, they funded rebel groups in both Mozambique and Angola. The Cold War also fueled tensions. In Angola, the Soviet Union financed Cuban troops who supported the left-wing government, while the United States backed insurgent anti-communist forces.

The fighting continued until 1992 in Mozambique and until 2002 in Angola. Decades of war had ravaged both countries, which slowly began to rebuild.

**? DRAW CONCLUSIONS** Why did fighting continue after Angola achieved independence?

## Ethnic Conflict and Genocide

After independence, ethnic conflicts plagued some African nations. The causes were complex. Often one group held political and economic power at the expense of other groups. Weak or unstable governments were unable to build national unity. Regional and cultural differences also fed rivalries that on occasion led to tragic violence. At times, ambitious leaders took advantage of rivalries to increase their own power.

**Rwanda and Burundi** Power struggles between rival groups led to a deadly genocide in Rwanda, a small central African nation. The country is home to two main groups, the majority **Hutus** and the minority **Tutsis**. Though often considered separate ethnic groups, they speak the same language, share the same culture, follow the same Catholic religion and look alike. In colonial times, the Belgian government had favored Tutsis over the Hutus. After independence, the majority Hutu came into power and violence against

Tutsis increased. Over the next 30 years, many Tutsis fled to neighboring countries.

In early 1994, a suspicious plane crash killed the presidents of Rwanda and neighboring Burundi. The crash triggered a coordinated attack on Tutsis. Urged on by extremist Hutu officials, civilians turned on their Tutsi neighbors. At least 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were brutally slaughtered within a few months. Even as the death toll rose, the world community was slow to act to stop the genocide. By July, a Tutsi-led army had invaded from Burundi, ended the slaughter, and set up a unity government.

Rwandan leaders tried to heal the horrors of the genocide. Almost two million people were tried in traditional community courts where the goal was to achieve truth and reconciliation. The hearings resulted in some convictions, but many of those who took part in the killings remained in their communities. The main leaders of the genocide, however, faced trials in an international court.

Burundi faced similar tensions between Hutus and Tutsis. Violence erupted, but did not lead to genocide as in Rwanda. In 2005, voters approved a new constitution that guaranteed both groups participation in the government and military.

**Rebellion and Civil War in Sudan** The large, geographically diverse country of Sudan has faced decades of conflict. After independence, the Arab Muslim north dominated the non-Muslim, non-Arab south. A long civil war pitted the north against the south, killing more than a million and a half people.

The Sudanese government and rebels in the south finally agreed to a peace accord. In 2011, the people of South Sudan voted to secede and set up their own independent nation. Relations between the two countries remain strained over disputed borders and the sharing of oil revenues, which both countries desperately need. Within South Sudan itself, tensions threatened civil war as rival groups jockeyed for power.

Another conflict raged in **Darfur**, in the western region of Sudan. There, the rebels were non-Arab Muslims who fought against the Arab-dominated Sudanese government. The government launched a campaign of genocide, encouraging Arab militias to destroy the villages and slaughter the black Sudanese residents. An estimated 300,000 people were killed and more than two million fled their homes.

The United States and other countries sent humanitarian aid to refugees in Darfur. The UN sent peacekeepers to prevent further violence but with little success. The International Criminal Court (ICC) charged Sudan's president, Omar al-Bashir, with crimes against humanity and genocide. However, the



>> The Kigali Memorial Centre in Kigali, Rwanda, displays photographs of people killed in the genocide. **Analyze Image** How could these photographs affect a person's understanding of the genocide?



>> Children celebrate with a Republic of South Sudan flag cake during Sudanese independence celebrations in 2011.

ICC is not recognized in Sudan, and no arrest was ever made. In 2010, al-Bashir won reelection, though many believe those elections were not fair or free. The conflict in Darfur has lessened but not ended. The situation is complex with many warring groups and no easy solution.

**? DESCRIBE** Why was there conflict between northern and southern Sudan?

## ASSESSMENT

1. **Analyze Information** Where did struggles for independence in Africa turn violent and why?

2. **Compare and Contrast** What were the issues facing the Democratic Republic of Congo and Kenya as they achieved independence and what paths did those countries take?
3. **Synthesize** Why did many new nations in Africa have difficulty building democratic governments?
4. **Summarize** How did the ethnic conflict in Rwanda become a genocide?
5. **Compare** How was the conflict in Darfur similar to the conflict in Rwanda?